



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

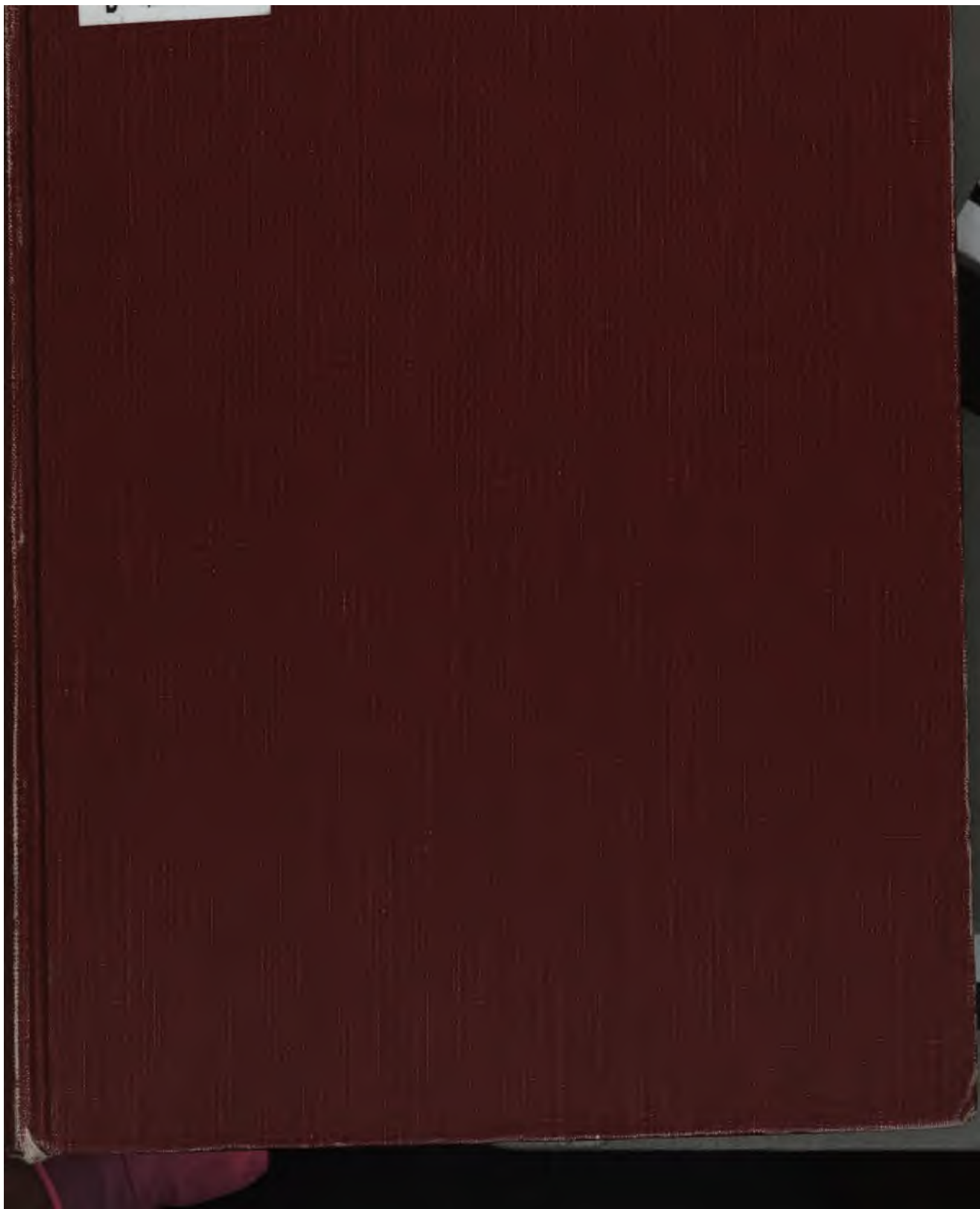
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>





7

CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND

FROM 1821 TO 1852.

NEW EDITION FIRST TIME PUBLISHED

1879

APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS

EDITED BY

JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,

LATE SECRETARY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN" "HISTORY OF THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN"
EDITOR OF FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MSS. OF IRELAND, &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND FAC-SIMILES



VOL. I. PART I.

DUBLIN,
ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY

1879

n

3287

A
CONTEMPORARY HISTORY
OF
AFFAIRS IN IRELAND
FROM 1641 TO 1652.

NOW FOR THE FIRST TIME PUBLISHED.

WITH AN
APPENDIX OF ORIGINAL LETTERS AND DOCUMENTS.

EDITED BY
JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
LATE SECRETARY OF THE PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE OF IRELAND;
AUTHOR OF "A HISTORY OF THE CITY OF DUBLIN"; "HISTORY OF THE VICEROYS OF IRELAND";
EDITOR OF FAC-SIMILES OF NATIONAL MSS. OF IRELAND; ETC.

ILLUSTRATED WITH PORTRAITS AND FACSIMILES.



VOL. I. PART I.

DUBLIN:
FOR THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.
1879.



Dis. 18. 5.

DH
900
. I 6
no. 9

COUNCIL OF
THE IRISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND CELTIC SOCIETY.

= Works . . . no. 93
MDCCLXXVIII.

HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF LEINSTER, PRESIDENT.

RIGHT HON. LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, VICE-PRESIDENT.

VERY REV. C. W. RUSSELL, D.D., VICE-PRESIDENT.

RIGHT REV. CHARLES GRAVES, D.D., BISHOP OF LIMERICK.

JOHN T. GILBERT, F.S.A., M.R.I.A.,
HON. SECRETARY AND TREASURER.

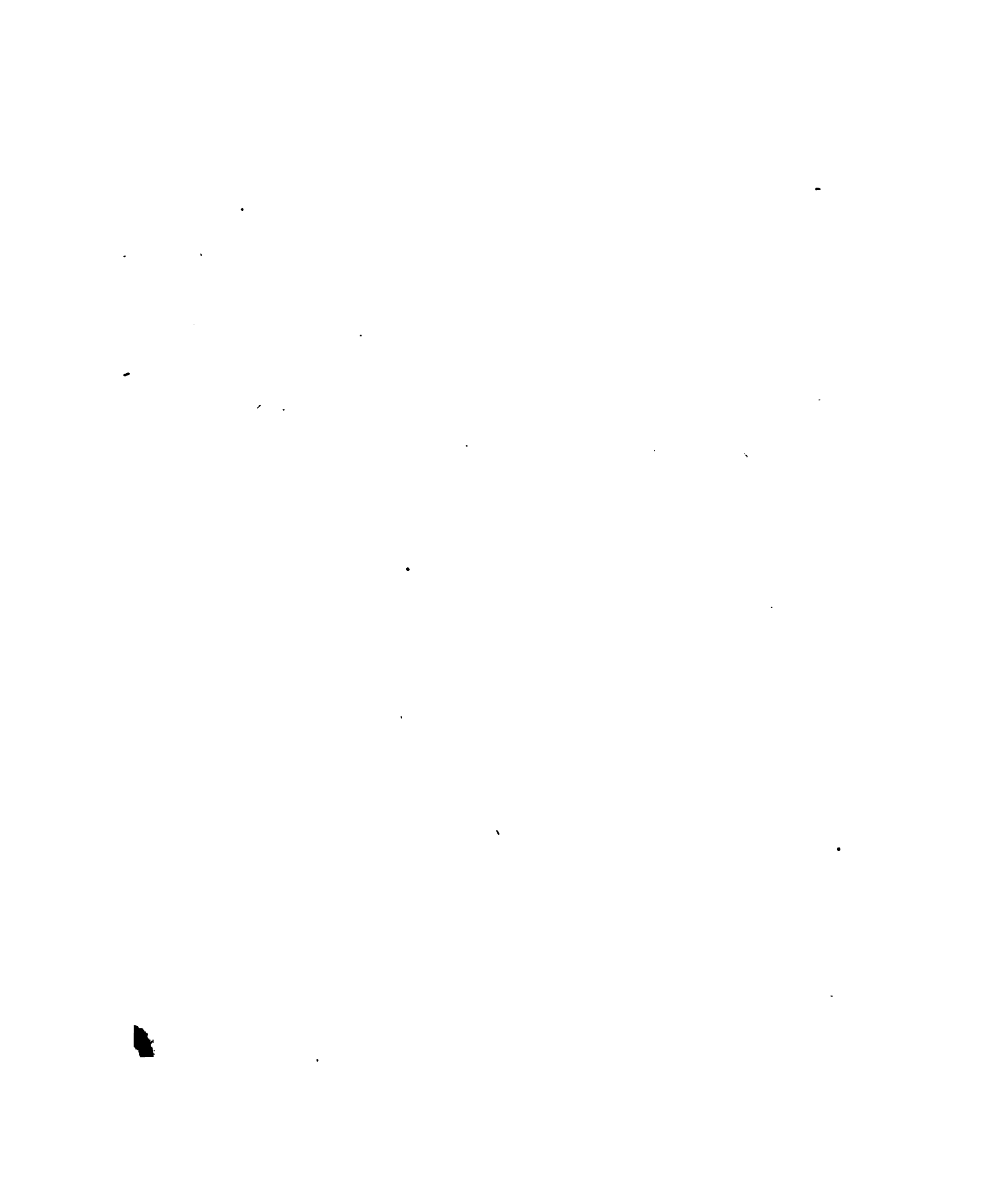
WILLIAM H. HARDINGE, Esq., M.R.I.A.

SIR T. A. LARCOM, BART., K.C.B.

JOHN C. O'CALLAGHAN, Esq., M.R.I.A.

VERY REV. WILLIAM REEVES, D.D., M.R.I.A.

AQUILLA SMITH, Esq., M.D., M.R.I.A.



P R E F A C E.

THE object of the present work is to furnish original and authentic contemporary materials towards elucidating the history of the important affairs in which Ireland and her people were concerned, from 1641 to the close of 1652.

The hitherto received accounts of the transactions of those years in Ireland have been based mainly on statements issued under Governmental licence, or compiled by writers influenced by political and religious prejudices and personal interests.

For the purposes of history, it is desirable to collect and render accessible such still surviving unpublished and rare materials as may assist us to estimate truly the acts and motives of the various parties who engaged in those grave civil and military contests. The unique and remarkable work entitled "An Aphorismical Discovery of Treasonable Faction," now printed for the first time, appears to have been written between 1652 and 1660. Towards 1697, the manuscript was in the possession of John Madden, President of the Dublin College of Physicians. From him it passed into the library of John Stearne, Protestant Bishop of Clogher, who, in 1741, presented it, with other books, to Trinity College, Dublin, where it is still preserved.

The manuscript of the "Aphorismical Discovery" now consists of two hundred and thirty leaves of small folio size, closely written on both sides, in the style exhibited in the fac-simile of the author's epistle

“to the Reader.” On some pages the writing is exceedingly minute, and in general difficult of decipherment. It is, unfortunately, defective at the end, and in some places injured by damp. The work, so far as now extant, consists of five books, arranged in chapters, which are subdivided into sections, numbered consecutively from 1 to 999. Each chapter opens with an “aphorism,” which the author considered applicable to the portion of the narrative by which it is followed, and hence the title “Aphorismical Discovery.” For the “aphorisms” the writer seems to have been mainly indebted to Sir Robert Dallington’s compilations from Guicciardini, published in 1613 and 1629. The term “Faction”¹ is used by the writer of the “Aphorismical Discovery” to designate the parties moving, as he conceived, in opposition to those who, in his view, acted for the true interest of his countrymen. The author has not placed his name on record, nor is it easy now to decide the weight to be attached to the indistinctly formed initials apparently intended for “P. S.” or “N. S.,” appended to the two preliminary epistles. “I have several times,” he writes, “disclaimed the publication of this Discovery, though sure I was posterity would reap some benefit by it. Being now earnestly solicited by pregnant wits that I should take it in hand, not for any abilitie I had, but as an eye-witnesse of all the storie, I must confesse my whole scope is only the discovery of faction, and not a whole historie of all the proceedings of the war, not that I want knowledge of the passages, but as alienat from my being of sword career, do reserve the same to its genuine authors of better abilitie and leasure . . . Knowe, Sir, I am indifferent between both ancient and recent Irish herein concerned, as my purest blood equally flowing through their channels these three hundred yeares, being so intimate unto both, ‘sed magis amica veritas.’ If in anything I seem to transgress the true limits of a historian, or shewe myself somewhat bitter, rather inclining unto the one side than unto the

¹ A lengthy definition of the term “Faction,” as applied at the time, will be found in “Mercurius Politicus,” cxi., London: 1652.

other, it is not the want of affection to either, but the obligation of a publick scrivener warranteth to tell truth and passion the other lett hit where it may. I would to God all were not true, though bound in conscience to a recantation and publick satisfaction to the lessed."

In some parts the narrator specially mentions occurrences which he himself witnessed; and he was evidently acquainted with many of the persons of whom he writes. The work supplies abundant evidence of the author's learning and familiarity with Latin, Spanish, Italian, French, and Gaelic; it is, however, noteworthy that in his numerous quotations and references he does not cite the writers of England.

The language of the narrative is the English spoken in Ireland in the first half of the seventeenth century, with a mixture of Gaelic, Spanish, and military terms.¹ The style—in general animated—is in some parts colloquial, humorous, declamatory, and pathetic; but occasionally obscure and involved from too great efforts at condensation. The orthography is irregular, frequently phonetic, and capriciously varied. Every care has been taken to reproduce it in print exactly in accordance with the manuscript. In the present volume are included the three first books of the "Aphorismical Discovery," embracing the period from 1641 to 1648. The author, it will be seen, writes as an Irish Royalist, fully in sympathy with his countrymen who, devoted to Charles I., had taken arms for the defence of his prerogatives, and for the protection, as they alleged, of their own lives, properties, and rights, against the oppressions and hostile designs of the dominant Puritan faction. That party, they conceived,

¹ A glossary of the peculiar and obsolete words will be appended to volume iii. The following forms of names used by the author may be here noted: Castillogh, Casttloch, Costellagh, Costelly, Costlagh (Costello); Catarlagh, Catarlogh, Catharlaghe (Carlow); Clamorgan (Glamorgan); Crafton (Crofton); Duyne (Dunne or Doyne); Harquett (Harcourt); Ikerie (Ikerrin); Insichuyne (Inchiquin); Johns (Jones); Keyry, Kierie (Kerry); Keuanagh (Kavanagh); Lalesse (Lawless); Magnize (Magennis); Mac Daniel (Mac Donnell); Munster (Munster); Montgerrot (Mountgarret); Muneaghan (Monaghan); Neyll, Oneale, Oneyl, O Neylle (O'Neill); OCahan, OKahan (O'Kane); ODOcharty, ODoghardie (O'Dogherty); Rely, Reyley, Reyllye (Reilly); Renuncini (Rinuccini); Spindola (Spinola); Wentfourth (Wentworth).

entertained the intention of extirpating the Irish, and of making a new conquest of the island. The Puritan Governmental administrators, on the other hand, in 1642, denounced the Northern Irish as "persons in rebellion," bearing "an unnatural hatred" to the British settlers, and desiring to root them out from amongst them. The "Aphorismical Discovery" abounds in interesting, minute, and authentic details, not elsewhere so fully on record, in connection with the personages chiefly concerned in the transactions chronicled in its pages. It is of special value in reference to the views and acts of descendants of the old Celtic race of Northern Ireland, represented by Owen Roe O'Neill and his "Ulster party," as distinguished from the Irish of the other provinces as well as from the Anglo-Irish and the Irish Scots.

The central figure and hero of the first books of the "Aphorismical Discovery" is Owen Roe O'Neill, usually styled by the author "General Neylle," and characterized in the work of his contemporary, Chancellor Clarendon, as "incomparably the best soldier and wisest man among the Irish Rebels." Owen O'Neill was a member of a chief family of the powerful clan named *Ui Neill*—descendants of Niall—or O'Neill, who had of old exercised sway both as Monarchs of Ireland and as Kings in Ulster. Con O'Neill, head of his clan, in 1542 accepted the title of Earl of Tirone, under the Crown of England. On the death in 1567 of his eldest son, Shane O'Neill, an Act of Parliament was passed at Dublin "for the extinguishment of the name of O'Neill, and the entitling of the Queen of England, her heirs and successors to the country of Tirone and to other countries and territories in Ulster."¹ "The name of O'Neill," says this Act, "in the judgments of the uncivil people of this realm doth carry in itself so great a sovereignty, as they suppose that all the lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name than in subjection to the Crown of England."

The first Earl's grandson, Hugh O'Neill, created Earl of Tirone by

¹ Appendix, iii., p. 302.

Elizabeth in 1587, subsequently carried on a protracted contest with her armies, but submitted in 1603, and withdrew to the Continent in 1607. An Act of Parliament was passed for the attainder of himself and his associates, with the forfeiture of their lands,¹ and he died at Rome in 1616.

The difficulties in which the English Government became involved by their contests with Hugh O'Neill were far from terminating with his exile, attainder, and death. Most of the old noble families of Ireland were, through intermarriages, connected with his house. One of his daughters was the wife of Lord Ormonde's uncle—Viscount Mountgarret; another was the mother of the second Earl of Antrim, who married the widow of the murdered Duke of Buckingham, and was regarded with suspicion as a "grandson of the traitor, Tirone." On the Continent, Hugh, the exiled Earl of Tirone, was long extolled as one of the greatest patriots and soldiers of Europe. After he had been dead more than sixty years a panegyric on him was published by an Italian writer, with a portrait, which has been reproduced in the present volume.

Hugh O'Neill's younger brother, Art, was father of Owen, surnamed Roe—*Ruadh*, or the red—whose acts form much of the theme of the "Aphorismical Discovery." Owen,² or "Don Eugenio," while yet a youth, entered the army of the King of Spain, in Flanders, then the chief school of the European art of war. He married Rose, sister of Sir Cahir O'Docharty of Inishowen, who fell in arms against the Crown of England in 1608. Her first husband was Cathbar O'Donel, brother of the Earl of Tir Connel; and she formed one of the party who quitted Ireland with Hugh O'Neill, in 1607. A letter written by her in Gaelic is still extant among the archives of the Franciscan Order, and a fac-simile

¹ Appendix, xi., p. 328.

² The name of Owen, in Gaelic *Eogan* or *Eoghan*, Latinized 'Eugenius, was of remote antiquity in the O'Neill clan. From it came the territorial designation of Tirone or Tyrone—in Gaelic *Tir Eoghain*—the land of Owen. A facsimile of the bardic pedigree of the O'Neills, from the "Book of Ballimote," a MS. of the fourteenth century, will be found in Part III. of the "Facsimiles of the National Manuscripts of Ireland," edited by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A. London: Longmans, 1879.

of it is given in the present volume. Having served with reputation, Owen O'Neill became Colonel of an Irish regiment in the Spanish army, and acquired high military renown by the skill and courage with which, in 1640, he defended Arras¹ against the combined forces of France under the command of three of the most eminent Marshals of the age,—La Meilleraie, de Chatillon, and de Chaulnes. Hugh O'Neill's son, Don John, recognized on the Continent as Earl of Tirone, having fallen in an engagement in Catalonia, the hopes of many of the old Irish race turned towards his distinguished cousin, Owen O'Neill, in connection with the plans then being secretly organized for the subversion of the Puritanic government in Ireland, and for the re-establishment of the natives in their ancestral lands, which under the Crown of England had been "planted" with English and Scotch settlers. The right to the headship of the O'Neill family in Ireland was at this time claimed by Owen's kinsman, Sir Phelim Roe O'Neill, "a light, desperate, young gentleman." He held the manor of Kinard, in Tirone, and other lands in Ulster, which had been secured by grant under the English Crown to himself and his mother, Catherine, who remarried with Robert Hovenden. Sir Phelim passed some time in England, was a student at Lincoln's Inn, conformed to the Established Church, and sat in the Parliament at Dublin, as Member for Dungannon. His chief counsellor was his brother Torlagh, a very grave man, "well seen in the laws of England, which he studied in Lincoln's Inn, and was of good repute there." Sir Phelim became "Captain General" of the movement in Ulster, which culminated on the 22nd of October, 1641. On that night, and during the following days, leaders of the septs of Magennis, Maguire, Mac Mahon, and O'Reilly, acting in concert with Sir Phelim and their English and Scotch connections, took, by surprise or force, in the name of King Charles, many of the forts and strongholds in Ulster, much of which province they brought under their control within one week. These acts were, they publicly declared, "no

¹ Appendix, xvii., p. 352.

ways intended against their sovereign lord, the King, nor the hurt of any of his subjects, either of the English or Scottish nation, but only for the defence and liberty of themselves and the Irish natives of this kingdom."

In nine chapters of the first book of the "Aphorismical Discovery" the author notices the events connected with the rising in October, 1641, and the subsequent establishment of a representative government by the Confederated Irish. The main narrative may be said to commence at the close of July, 1642, when Owen O'Neill, with many old and tried soldiers of his own regiment, landed from Dunkirk at Loch Swilly in Ulster, where the native Irish are described by our author as then being hunted out by General Alexander Lesly "like deers or savage beasts," and "bleeding under the force of two warlike nations, the English and Scots." The writer expatiates on the humanity, sagacity, and firmness of Owen O'Neill, who, later in the same year, took the oath of fealty to the Confederates, and was by them appointed their General for Ulster. Next in the author's estimation stand Owen O'Neill's son, Henry Roe, characterized as "a Cid in chivalry;" and his Lieutenant-General, Daniel O'Cahan, "a Hector in arms, a brave linguist in high and low Dutch, Polish, Swedish, French, and Spanish, every of these in its true fount." With those officers he classes others of old Irish race, including "brave warriors and prime captains out of the Vulcanian forge of the King of Spain, and the martial theatre of Flanders," who, at great sacrifice, resigned their posts in foreign armies to serve in their own country under the banner of O'Neill.

Throughout the work the author inveighs acrimoniously against the "Treasonable Faction," whose political acts and tendencies were in contravention to those of Owen O'Neill and his Ulster Party. The "prime Factioniers," in the author's view, were Lords Ormonde,¹ Clanricarde, Castelhaven, Taaffe, Digby, and Dillon. He also denounces

¹ Rinuccini, writing from Ireland to Rome, in 1646, observed: "Tutti i disturbi hanno origine da un fonte solo, il quale è la fazione del Marchese d'Ormonia." *Nunziatura in Irlanda*. Firenze: 1844, p. 113.

with them many members of the Supreme Council and General Assembly of the Confederates of Ireland; and he sharply condemns, both on moral and national grounds, the prelates and ecclesiastics of his own Church who joined the "faction," and consequently incurred the censures of the Nuncio Rinuccini. In contrast to them, the author eulogises the "real and loyal actions" of that "brave and noble personage, and prime peer of England," Edward, Earl of Glamorgan, subsequently Marquis of Worcester, in encountering toils, imprisonment, losses, and contumely, in efforts in Ireland on behalf of the King and his loyal subjects.

Towards elucidation of many of the subjects chronicled in the "Aphorismical Discovery" there will be found in the Appendix a series of contemporary letters and writings, with other materials of historic importance, on which some observations may here be made.

The condition of the North of Ireland in the early stages of the "Plantation" is illustrated by Thomas Blenerhasset's treatise in 1610,¹ and by the Roll on which are specified the "Undertakers," the chief tenants, the number of their acres and of their men and arms, whether swords, pikes, muskets, calivers, "snaphances," or halberts.² Blenerhasset, author of the "Direction," had, so far back as 1578, written part of the "Mirror for Magistrates," in blank verse of the then unusual length of twelve syllables. His interest in Ulster arose from his having joined with eleven others, under assignation of the Earl of Shrewsbury, to push their fortunes as planters in the county of Fermanagh, the ancient territory of the sept of Maguire. Addressing the "inhabitants of spacious Britain" in 1610, Blenerhasset assures them that they may make Ulster ere long "equal even fair England herself," and he dwells on the gains to be made there by energetic and determined planters. The natives he designates "a scattered people, without men of conduct and armour," and he proposes to organize armed parties periodically to hunt down the wolves and the "wood-kerne."

¹ Appendix, x., p. 317.

² Appendix, xiii., p. 332.

The jocund tone of Blenerhasset forms a striking contrast to the profound melancholy which pervades the Gaelic elegy on the death of the exiled Ulster princes at Rome in 1609. In that poem,¹ addressed to O'Donel's widow, as a "woman of piercing wail," mourning, with sigh and groan, at her husband's tomb, the bard bemoans the sufferings of the old Irish race under an iron thralldom, and begs that God, "whose ways are far above our feeble minds to understand," may sustain them in those doleful days, and render light the chain which binds their fallen country. He adds a prayer that the Almighty may shield them from darker woes, and continue to watch over the fate of hapless Erin.

The relations at a somewhat later period between the Irish and the Planters in Ulster are illustrated in the "Discourse concerning the Settlement of the Natives" in that province; and also in the instrument of Charles I., in connection with the lands there resumed by the Crown on the plea that they had been "demised, or some agisment therein granted unto the meere Irish by the several Undertakers and grantees thereof, contrary to the conditions in their Letters patent."²

The "Aphorismical Discovery" does not enter specifically upon the grievances of the Irish in the years immediately preceding 1641, but information on these heads will be found in their Remonstrances and statements in the Appendix under that year and 1642. "We," wrote the Ulster Irish, in a remonstrance to Charles I., "may boldly affirm that we are the most miserable and most unhappy nation of the Christian world."

Details in connection with the organisation at home and abroad for the Irish movement of 1641 appear in the letters to the learned Luke Wadding, Rector of the Irish Franciscans at Rome. That at page 407, is of special interest as a holograph of the erudite Donegal Franciscan, John Colgan, known in literature by his valuable works on Irish hagiology.

The surveillance maintained for England over the movements of

¹ Appendix, ix., p. 312.

² Appendix, xiv., p. 338; xvi., p. 348.

Eugenio O'Neill and the Irish officers on the Continent is exhibited in the letters of Sir Henry De Vic, English Agent at Brussels.¹ Writing in May, 1641, De Vic observed: "Upon a more exact inquiry of O'Neale's person, I am informed that he is not bald, onely hath something a high forehead, and wears his hair longer than ordinary."²

In connection with Owen O'Connolly, we have his depositions as to the projected rising, an original letter by him, preserved among the archives of the House of Lords, and the accounts of the proceedings in Parliament for his remuneration.³ Of the same period are the examinations of Hugh Mac Mahon, Gerald Aylmer, and Henry Cartan, Quarter-Master of Owen O'Neill's regiment in Flanders.⁴ The examination of Mac Mahon bears an entry notifying that it was taken while he was on the rack. In estimating the value of the other depositions purporting to have been made by persons in durance, it is to be remembered that we have respectable contemporary attestations, addressed to Charles I., that in 1641-2, prisoners in Ireland were examined under the Governmental authority—"some by menace, others by torture, and most were necessitated to subscribe to what the examiners pleased to insert."

In endeavouring to arrive at historical truth, it is important to compare the statements and sentiments in the "Aphorismical Discovery" with the narrations and views of contemporaries of opposite interests and opinions. The reader is, however, to bear in mind that writings of this class and time reflect in general the strong animosities of their age, and frequently abound with statements coloured to enlist national prejudices, with a view to increase confiscations and to augment compensation

¹ Appendix, lii., 460; lxiv., p. 521.

² The portrait of Owen O'Neill in the present volume is from an apparently contemporary oil-painting in the possession of Alexander Falls Henry, Esq., Maghera, Co. Derry, who inherited it from his ancestors of the branch of the O'Neills, named *Ui Inneirghe*, Anglicised Henery and Henry.

³ Appendix, xviii., p. 353; xx., p. 355; xxi., p. 357; lix., p. 516; cxviii., pp. 657, 786.

⁴ Appendix, xix., p. 355; xl., p. 396; xli., p. 401.

claimed for losses. The documents of this class in our Appendix, and their authors, may be here briefly adverted to.

From Arthur Culme, Captain of Loch Uachtair Castle, in Cavan, we have an account of the circumstances of his arrest in 1641 by O'Reilly, High Sheriff of that county.¹ Culme describes his subsequent detention in the solitary lake-fortress of which he had been the custodian for the Government at Dublin, and in which William Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore, and Viscount Montgomery were for a time confined.

Henry Jones, Dean of Kilmore, furnishes a "Relation" of the beginnings and proceedings of the rising in the county of Cavan from the 23rd of October, 1641, to the 15th of June, 1642.² He observes that none of the Irish were more forward than the septs in Cavan. In less than a week they made themselves masters of the whole of that county, except the strongly-garrisoned castles of Keilagh and Crohan, belonging to Sir Francis Hamilton and Sir James Craig. Cavan, we are told, at this time became the receptacle of all the lords, gentlemen, and their adherents, who had been forced by the English armies out of the counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth, Monaghan, Fermanagh, and elsewhere.

Jones describes his mission from the Irish Remonstrants in Cavan to the Government at Dublin, and gives many circumstantial details in connection with these affairs. His unsupported statements, however, are not always to be implicitly relied on, as throughout his career he occasionally evinced little regard for principle where it interfered with his personal interests. The "Relation" by Jones closes with an account of the surrender of the castles of Keilagh and Crohan to the O'Reillies, and the departure of the garrisons and people, who, according to stipulation, were conducted under guard, and "in love and amity" safely delivered near Drogheda to a convoy dispatched by the Governor of that town to receive them.

1 Appendix, xlv., p. 408.
VOL. I.

2 Appendix, lvi., p. 476.

In these statements by Captain Culme and Dr. Jones, relative to the transactions in Cavan, we find no reference to the funeral there, in 1642, of William Bedell, English Bishop of Kilmore, of which one of his sons, Ambrose Bedell, has left particulars which illustrate incidentally the conflict of interests and feelings then prevailing amongst some of the settlers and the natives. On the day of the Bishop's funeral, the Sheridans and other Irish of Cavan in considerable number resorted to the house in which his remains lay, and "some of the principal of them would needs be the bearers." When the procession had passed above half way to the church, it was met by Edmond O'Reilly, a chief leader of the Irish, with his son, Sheriff of the county, and other gentlemen, attended with a party of musketeers and a drummer. "The coming of this company in this warlike manner was," writes Ambrose Bedell, "thought at first to be intended to hinder and oppose the burial of the Bishop's corpse; but when they met the bier, it proved no such thing. For O'Reilly and those with him applied themselves in most courteous and condoling language to the Bishop's sons; speaking respectfully and honourably of the dead, and comfortably to the living: and so commanding their drum to beat, as the manner is when a souldier is buried, and placing the musketeers before the corpse, they thus conveyed the Bishop to his grave. And being come thither, the Sheriff told the Bishop's sons that they might use what prayers or what form of burial they pleased; none should interrupt them. And, when all was done, he commanded the musketeers to give a volley of shot, and so the company departed."¹

The movements from October, 1641, in Tirone, Fermanagh, Donegal, and Londonderry form the subject of a "Relation" presented to the House of Commons, London, in June, 1642, by Lieutenant-Colonel Audley Mervyn.² The author became subsequently noted for his talents in amplifying the accounts of his own services, as a soldier and a lawyer.

Some interesting details are found in the extracts from the "Relation"³

¹ Appendix, p. 786.

² Appendix, liv., p. 464.

³ Appendix, lxvi., p. 546.

in 1643, of Francis Sacheverell, an "Undertaker" of two thousand acres in the county of Armagh, who was detained among the Northern Irish for nine months. He mentions that he observed that when any of the prime commanders and gentry of the Irish in those parts of the North were in the presence of Owen Roe O'Neill, they gave him great reverence and respect, all of them from the meanest to the greatest, except Sir Phelim O'Neill, standing bare and uncovered before him, as Lord General of the army, and calling Sir Phelim Lord President of Ulster, styling them so in all their petitions and letters.

The amount of the losses which the Ulster movements entailed on some "Undertakers" there may be seen in the statements made, in 1643, by Sir William Stewart, of Newtown Stewart in the county of Tirone.¹ With his brother, Sir Robert Stewart, he had obtained extensive grants in the Northern counties, including lands taken by the Crown from previous planters because they had admitted Irish tenants on them. Captain Mervyn described Sir William Stewart, in 1642, as busy in Donegal, "firing and burning" the possessions of the native Irish.

In connection with the Scots in Ireland at this period we have the Irish letters of protection, in 1641, for Lady Forbes and her relatives;² also the despatches from Major Robert Monro to General Lesley, in 1642, on the proceedings of the Scottish army in Ulster.³

Further materials in this direction are found in the statements of two contemporary Scotchmen of attainments—the Rev. George Creighton and Sir James Turner.⁴ The latter was Major of Lord Sinclair's regiment, dispatched with other Scotch troops, in 1642, under Lesley, Earl of Leven, and Major-General Monro, to reduce the Northern Irish. Turner notices Lesley's cupidity and want of probity, and censures the ill management and self-sufficiency of Monro. He describes the sufferings of himself and his companions from ague, constant watchings and

¹ Appendix, lxix., p. 552.

² Appendix, xxxiii., p. 372.

³ Appendix, xlvi., p. 419.

⁴ Appendix, lxxxiv., p. 573.

conflicts, while they had scanty supplies of provisions, and "fingered" but little pay. Turner condemns the severities practised by the contending parties, and mentions an occasion when, by his decisive intervention, "pistol in hand," he rescued one hundred and fifty women from the hands of his soldiers, who were in the act of "massacring and drowning" them. Turner left Ireland at the close of 1643. His garrison at Newry had fallen into extreme want of provision, and, with the sanction of Monro, he held a conference for a truce with Colonel Torlogh O'Neill, acting on behalf of Sir Phelim O'Neill. "Each of us," writes Turner, "had twenty horse, and after one hour's discourse, and the drinking some healths in Scotch aquavitæ and Irish usquebaugh, we concluded a cessation of arms with them for our own garrison." Sir James Turner served with distinction on the Continent, and was the author of "Pallas Armata," a series of military essays on the art of war. Creighton, Vicar of the parish church of Lurgan, in the county of Cavan, in his deposition in April, 1643,¹ gives an animated account of the proceedings in which he was involved in those troublous days. He makes severe observations on some of the Anglo-Irish as well as on the natives, and details conversations between himself and the Earl and Countess of Fingal, Lord Gormanston, Colonel James Plunket, the O'Reillies, and others. Among the books which he possessed he mentions the "Whole art and trade of husbandry," by Googe; Bishop Carleton's "Thankful Remembrance of Gods mercy;" and the "View of the state of religion in the Western part of the world," by Sir Edmund Sandys.

The "Aphorismical Discovery" tells us little of Conor Maguire, Lord Enniskillen, who was only in his twenty-fifth year when arrested as a chief conspirator on the night of the 22nd of October, 1641. He was son of Brian Roe Maguire, whose father, Conor, had been styled the "Queen's Maguire," from having, during the wars with Tirone, adhered to Elizabeth. From her he consequently received a patent granting him "all

¹ Appendix, lxx., p. 525.

the territory or country called Farmanagh, alias Maguire's country," in Ulster, and recognising him as "the captain of his nation or sept." His abilities and the military services which he rendered to the Crown of England were acknowledged in the patent by which the title of Baron of Enniskillen was, in 1628, conferred on his son Brian.¹ The latter has a claim to remembrance for having given substantial assistance towards one of the Gaelic works compiled by Michael O'Clerigh, chief of the Annalists known as the "Four Masters," who were likewise aided by Patrick O'Luinin, hereditary Chronicler of the Maguire sept. O'Clerigh, in the address to his patron, wrote as follows on this subject :

"Upon communicating my intention to thee, O, Brien Roe Maguire, Lord of Enniskillen, the first of thy race who received that title, thou didst take in hand to assist me to commence and conclude my undertaking, because thou didst deem it a pity to leave in oblivion and unencouraged a work which would exalt the honor of thine own ancestors, as well as of the saints, nobles, and history of Erin in general."

Conor Maguire, the second Baron of Enniskillen, resided for a time at Magdalen College, Oxford, entered the House of Lords in Ireland in 1634, and in 1640 took an active part in the affairs of that assembly. It does not appear that Lord Maguire was subjected to the torture of the rack. The statements ascribed to and partly disavowed by him, the Parliamentary proceedings in his case, his petitions, extant among the archives of the House of Lords in London, and the account of his trial and execution, will be found in our Appendix. At the scaffold, in the moments immediately preceding his execution, Lord Maguire twice declared publicly that he thought the Irish had a just cause for the war in which they had engaged. Under the date of the 20th of February, 1644-5, an English contemporary wrote: "The Lord Maguire was executed at Tyburn, he refused to make any confession, but died desperately." Hugh Mac Mahon, who had been arrested at the same

¹ Appendix, xv., pp. 342—348.

time with Maguire, was executed earlier in 1644, also at Tyburn. Mr. Peters, we are told, "urged him to make confession, but he would not unless he might have a Romish priest."

After Lord Maguire's arrest, his brother, Rory, a nephew of Owen O'Neill, became leader of the Irish in Fermanagh, "the best planted of the Northern counties." He endeavoured vainly to induce Colonel Audley Mervyn, already mentioned, whose sister he had married, to intervene with the Government authorities to induce them to adopt conciliatory measures towards the natives in arms.

It is to be regretted that the "Aphorismical" author has not given us an account of Owen O'Neill's able and versatile nephew, Daniel O'Neill, who was actively engaged as a trusted Royalist agent, and held frequent friendly communication with his uncle, although differing with him in matters of religion.

From a petition of Daniel O'Neill to the House of Lords, early in 1641, we learn that his grandfather and father owned all the Upper Claneboyes and Great Ardes, in the province of Ulster, and served the Crown of England in war against some of their own kindred.

Con O'Neill, father of Daniel, had, it was alleged, through "undue courses," been induced to transfer these lands, to the extent of sixty-six thousand acres, to James Hamilton and Sir Hugh Montgomery for the sum of sixty pounds, with a yearly rent of one hundred and sixty pounds.

Daniel spent much of his time in Holland in the army of the Prince of Orange, and was under age when his father died. On learning the attempt to exclude him from his inheritance in Ireland he appealed to Lord Conway, at whose instance Archbishop Laud wrote on his behalf to the Viceroy Wentworth, who was also applied to in his interest by Prince Charles, Elector Palatine of the Rhine. O'Neill subsequently became major of a regiment in the English service, and was known as an "officer of name and reputation." At the rout of Lord Conway's forces by the Scotch Covenanters at Newburn, in Northumberland, in 1640,

O'Neill and Lord Wilmot, General of the horse, fell into the hands of the enemy through their troops deserting them while they were bravely endeavouring to bring them up to the charge. Daniel, under the name of "Louis Lanois," was at the same period in communication with his Ulster kinsmen, who were engaged in their projects against the Puritans. O'Neill, in 1641, laid a statement in relation to his claims on his father's estates in Ireland before the House of Lords in London, and an order was made there that the defendants should put in their answers in the next session. In June, however, Daniel O'Neill and Sir John Berkeley were charged with being concerned in persuading officers of the army to take part with the King against the Parliament, and to influence the Scotch army to stand neutral. O'Neill and Berkeley soon after left the kingdom, and in July the House of Lords dismissed the former's petition, with an intimation that he might pursue the ordinary course of justice in relation to his claims. O'Neill, after his return to England, was, in October, 1641, committed to the Gate-House prison, and in December of that year he was brought to the bar of the House of Commons. The articles impeaching him of High Treason were, at the end of the same month, read and assented to by the Commons, and delivered to the Lords. He was also charged with sending a letter to Lord Digby on board one of the King's ships at Deal, and directions were given to restrain him from speaking with any person.

After an imprisonment of fifteen weeks in the Gate-House, O'Neill was removed to the Tower, on his own petition, accompanied by Dr. Thomas Winston's certificate, "that he had been his patient, and that he conceived his being shut up close and debarred the benefit of fresh air might prove dangerous to his health or life." The Lords ordered "that O'Neill should have the same liberty there that others had that were upon the like occasions imprisoned in the same place; that he should have good usage befitting a person of his quality; and that his friends and physicians might have access unto him."

Daniel O'Neill soon afterwards applied to the Lords "that some allowance might be given him for his present maintenance, he being (by this his unhappy restraint, together with the loss of his whole estate in these Irish calamities, and the stop made of his arrears by an order from the House of Commons) deprived of all means whereby he might sustain himself."

On the 6th of May, 1642, the Lieutenant of the Tower reported to the House of Commons that O'Neill had "gotten out," and that the last time he was seen was on the previous day at one o'clock. It appeared, "that the greatest matter of suspicion for his escape fell upon Mrs. Sanders; who confessed that she had once attempted it; but, being told of the danger of it, gave it over; notwithstanding that, many circumstances still stuck on her, for being at least knowing of his escape: and that thereupon order had been given that she should put in good security for her appearance at such time as she should be required." "The manner of his escape," says the contemporary account, "is after a very diverse manner supposed and judged; some suspecting his escape to be made in the disguise of a porter's frock, whereby he did delude his keepers' apprehension; others suspecting his escape to be made over the walls, either by the help of a rope, or else by some other instrument, which the assistance of his present fears or friends did provide for him. This prisoner being for some space not seen as before in public, a great jealousy immediately possessed the keeper's breast, whereupon fearing that he might be suddenly taken with some extreme malady, which might occasion his stay in his chamber, the Lieutenant and other officers immediately went to his chamber, suspecting, and fearing him to be dead; but, upon their search, they found neither their prisoner, nor almost anything in his chamber, for between him and his boy, they had conveyed away from his bed one pair of sheets, one table-cloth, and one long towel, which did confirm their former fears of his escape. And now,

finding to be true what they before but suspected, the Lieutenant, for his own security, gave present information of his escape."

A proclamation and warrants were issued for the arrest of Daniel O'Neill, who was described in these documents as "being of a sanguine complexion, of a middle stature, light-brown hair, about the age of thirty years, little or no beard, and of late hath been sick." Warrants were also issued for the apprehension of one Dennis, Mr. Daniel O'Neill's man, lately escaped with his master out of the Tower of London, "being an Irishman of middle stature, a young man, well-set, round-faced, brown hair, clothed in a sad grey cloak and suit."

Had O'Neill been captured, his trial and execution would probably have soon followed, but, disguised as a lady, he effectually evaded pursuit.¹ He soon after became Lieutenant-General of horse to Rupert,² and although his interests with that Prince did not progress as he had expected, he succeeded in acquiring the esteem of Queen Henrietta Maria. She advocated O'Neill's claim to be admitted as Groom of the Bed-chamber to Charles I., but without success, as the King entertained prejudices against him for his enmity to the late Earl of Strafford. These objections were subsequently overcome, when Charles, by the advice of O'Neill's intimate friend, Lord Digby, decided to send him to Ireland, with the object of uniting Montrose and the well-meaning but unstable Earl of Antrim. "It was universally known," says Clarendon, "that O'Neill, whether by alliance, or friendship, or long acquaintance, had more power with the Earl of Antrim than any man; and that by the

¹ From a paper in the archives of the House of Lords, it appears that Ellis Nicholls, a gentleman of Devon, was arrested by the Vice-Admiral of Cornwall, on the supposition that he was Daniel O'Neill. Ellis, "having read to him divers times the description which the Honorable House of Parliament had made of the traiterous O'Neill, fled out of the Tower, he replies it was not made of him, albeit he confesses it nearly describes him, which he cannot help or change."—Appendix, p. 448.

² A facsimile of a letter from Daniel O'Neill to Prince Rupert, in 1642, will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

ascendant he had in his understanding, and the dexterity of his nature, in which he was superior to most men, he could persuade him very much ; and it was as notorious that the Marquis of Ormonde loved O'Neill very well, and had much esteem for him."

A special letter of recommendation of Daniel O'Neill was sent with him from Charles I. to the Marquis of Ormonde in June, 1645, in connection with his mission to obtain supplies for the King from Ireland.¹

The documents in our Appendix, in connection with Daniel O'Neill's escape from the Tower, his negotiations with his uncle Owen, his vivacious letters, and his indefatigable activity in England, Ireland, Scotland, and abroad, in the royal cause, attest to some extent the justice of Chancellor Clarendon's character of him, as being "in subtilty and understanding much superior to the whole nation of the old Irish, a great discerner of men's natures and humours, of good experience in the most active armies of that time, and of a courage very notorious."

Sir Brian O'Neill, Baronet, and Torlogh O'Neill, kinsmen of Daniel, were also confidentially engaged, both in England and Ireland, in the King's affairs. Charles I., by letter, in 1645, expressed his high opinion of Sir Brian O'Neill, who in that and the preceding year had attended on him at Oxford in connection with Irish business. Sir Brian, after his return to Ireland, was imprisoned in Dublin Castle, and officially examined in reference to the contents of intercepted letters written by him while at Oxford to his cousin, Torlogh. In these letters he mentioned that at the Court in England, in the presence of the Duchess of Buckingham, Endimion Porter, and others, he heard the Earl of Antrim say that Daniel O'Neill had brought Owen Roe O'Neill to his mind ; that they and the Lord Lieutenant had a plot, and that, therefore, if the war went on, Owen must be clapped up ; that the Irish should trust to themselves alone, and make their conditions well now or never ; that there were none but rogues at Oxford, as false as the Devil, intending nothing but the

¹ Appendix, cxvi., cxvii., pp. 655-6.

destruction of the Irish ; and that the Parliament would never come to an agreement which would take effect. "I came to Oxford," wrote Brian O'Neill, "through many difficulties and hazards, and through ways that the Devil never passed worse. I found the King very kind, but in an ill condition as to power. The Lord Lieutenant [Ormonde] is not, and never will be, a friend to the Irish. It will be impossible for the King to hold out in England, unless the Irish give him help before May-day."

Sir Brian O'Neill, on his examination in reference to these letters, excused himself on the ground that he wrote in a melancholy fit and discontented humour, with great passion, and declared that he was heartily sorry that thus some ill things fell from him.

Of the letters of Owen O'Neill the earliest we have at present is that addressed by him from Brussels, on the 18th of May, 1642, to his countryman, Luke Wadding, Guardian of the Irish Franciscan Convent at Rome. In this letter he urges Wadding to obtain aid from the Holy See for his afflicted and groaning country. In another letter from Brussels, on the 7th of the following June, O'Neill bids Wadding farewell, and apprizes him that, having decided against further delay, he, with some nobles of his kindred, is about to set out to the aid of their countrymen. His next letter is that addressed, after his arrival in Ulster, to the Scotch General, Lesley. He calls on Lesley to quit the kingdom of Ireland, to defend Scotland, his native country, and not to be accessory to the drawing of innocent blood of such as never yet annoyed him. "If you be not so advised," wrote O'Neill, "I will use my uttermost endeavours against you, and do confide in God Almighty, who knows the justice of my cause and the injustice of yours. As He gave me the victory over you, one day in Germany, as you should remember, so His same providence will be pleased to make me an instrument of lessening you by your head, fit payment of your unjust war upon this nation."

In a letter written to the English commander, Sir Robert Stewart, in June, 1643, relative to prisoners taken in the recent skirmish at Clones,

in the county of Monaghan, O'Neill assured him that he and his companions in arms considered themselves not in rebellion but as really fighting for their prince, in defence of his crown and royal prerogatives. "Therein," he added, "we shall continue and die to the last man, and do expect ere it be long that it shall be known and apparent to the world which of us are in rebellion and involved in errors all this while."¹ We find O'Neill, some time after, adjuring Colonel Chichester not to join the enemies of Charles I. in "a conspiracy and war against his sacred crown." "Sir," wrote O'Neill, "if either fear or want would induce you to comply to their designs, I promise you, upon the faith of a soldier and a cavalier, not to suffer you to be wronged if the assistance of all our party in this province [Ulster] may right you, and that sincerely you shall have to the very last man and drop of our blood, whereof you may rest assured."²

On the internal position of the English garrisons between the Scots and the Irish in Ulster, at this period, some light is thrown by the letter from Robert Thornton, Mayor of Londondery, to the Viceroy, Ormonde, in 1643, in which he wrote as follows :

"It hath ben God's will that since the beginning of these troubles I haue had the government of this city as Maior therof. I confesse my inability and unfittness, yet I take God to wittnes, I have endeavored, according to my best skill and knowledge, to do his Majestie faithfull service, and with the expence of the remaines of my ruined estate to preserve this place and the people gathered hether for their safety. I must ingenuously confess unto your Lordship that, with as little shew of partiality as I might possibly, I have had a careful eye uppon my poore despised countrymen, the English, and gladly would I encourage them to ride out this storm, in hope to renew this Plantacion, though their daily discouragements are many and great, of which I want not my full share, yet will I not cease to do my duty to God, my King, and country, come life

¹ Appendix, p. 790.

² Appendix, lxxxvii. p. 581.

or death, depending on His providence. Much malice hath fallen on me for opposing those that tore our Book of Common Prayer. Libels were thrown out to affright us if we used it againe. Whereupon, having four score English men of my company, I caused the most of them to attend me to church armed with long bills, and set them on formes before the Reader's seat to see if any durst be so bold to tear the book (as they threatned) before my face. As I went to the church some were heard to say, ther goes the Mayor and his English dogs. All this and much more I have past over, and neuer yet complaind to the State; the times were to troublesome. Yet I went on, and kept good quarter with the collonells, as they will witness, and vpon all seruices we of this garrison did joyn with them good parties of able men."¹

The correspondence, to the end of 1648, between Owen O'Neill and the Marquis of Ormonde, Viceroy for Ireland, now likewise published for the first time in our Appendix, extends to more than fifty letters.

In 1643, Ormonde appealed as follows to Owen O'Neill, in reference to some alleged infringements in Ulster of the Cessation of arms: "I must," he wrote, "desire that you, being chief in command of the forces of your party in the north, will take special notice of the former particulars, and give a timely redress thereunto, that this Cessation may prove a happy beginning to a blessed peace and settlement of this poor kingdom, and not a breaking up of the former wounds it received, which by his Majesty are now bound up and in a way of healing. Believe me, now is the time for you, and such as have power and command, to shew your love and affection to your country, which is miserably rent and torn before your eyes, and not to do, or suffer anything to be done which may occasion the taking up of arms again, for no man who loveth his country will desire to see it made the seat of intestine discord and war, which hath been already almost the destruction of this now miserable kingdom."

¹ Appendix, p. 792.

Throughout these letters to Ormonde, O'Neill professes personal attachment to him, desires to act under his command, and promises to serve him till death in all matters within the limits of his power, redounding to the good of his King, country, and nation.

A new impulse was given to the Ulster party by the support derived from the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, who arrived in Ireland in October, 1645. To him the Anglo-Irish seemed anxious chiefly to secure their own interests, and determined to oppose any movements which might interfere with the possessions they held under the Crown of England. On the other hand, he found that the old Irish of Ulster and Connacht mainly desired to see their religion and liberties restored, and to secure for themselves either their ancestral possessions or equivalent lands to be taken from the King's enemies. Rinuccini described Owen O'Neill as taciturn, cautious, phlegmatic, an adept in concealing his feelings, hating the Ormonde faction, devoted to religion, but secretly entertaining profound schemes of personal ambition. Temporary reconciliations between the Leinster General, Preston, Owen O'Neill, and Sir Phelim were effected by the Nuncio, who also contributed towards the payment of the Ulster army from the funds which had been entrusted to him.

The documents from the Portuguese archives¹ seem to demonstrate that the so-called "pernicious book," entitled "Disputatio Apologetica de jure regni Hiberniæ, authore C. M. Hiberno," issued in 1645, was printed at Lisbon—not at Frankfort, as stated on the title page. One of the most remarkable features of this production was the author's strong exhortations to his Irish fellow countrymen to restore the monarchy of Ireland by the election of a king of their own race with a native executive and judiciary. His eulogy on Owen O'Neill was apparently intended to influence the Irish to elect him to the kingship. The "Aphorismical" writer refers to the antiquity of O'Neill's "regal claim, which no other nation under the cope of heaven can brag of so long continuance in

¹ Appendix, cxxv., clxxxviii., pp. 667, 739.

actual possession, for hard upon three thousand years ;" adding that "all the best sort of antiquarists and historiographers held him for blood no less than royal." The apprehensions as to the extent of O'Neill's ambition in this direction were subsequently augmented when Massari, Dean of Fermo, brought to him from Rome the sword which had belonged to his renowned uncle, Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tirone, who had so long successfully contended with England. Rinuccini tells us that O'Neill's opponents fabricated such malignant fictions on this gift that nothing else was talked of throughout the kingdom. "They state everywhere," adds Rinuccini, "that the sword is the emblem of royalty, and that at some future time His Holiness will send the crown." On the other hand, some of O'Neill's party surmised that Ormonde laboured obliquely for the destruction of Charles I., with a view to secure the kingship of Ireland for himself, through the aid of the lords and others in his interest.

Owen O'Neill, in a letter to Daniel, in March, 1645-6, deprecated those who would make distinctions between septs of the Irish, and expressed his confidence in the promises conveyed to him by his nephew from Ormonde, "for whose government," he added, "all the Irish pray." He reminded Daniel that there were many poor gentlemen in Ulster waiting for custodiams of the lands there which then belonged to the enemy.

Of O'Neill's victory at Benburb, in 1646, four accounts will be found in the present volume in addition to that in the "Aphorismical" narrative. The author of the latter refers, in connection with his interesting description of the battle, to "prime authors, eye-witnesses of that day," and observes that there were "the very best pike-men in the world on both sides, breast to breast." It has not hitherto been noted that, as stated in the "Aphorismical Discovery," General Monro, who commanded at Benburb against O'Neill's forces, was himself descended from the Ulster sept of O'Cahan or O'Kane.

O'Neill has been censured for not having followed up his success at Benburb by further action. We find, however, that in the ensuing

month, O'Neill having had a "long discourse" with his nephew, by which he understood that Ormonde was favourably inclined towards him, wrote to the latter: "I make no question nor any doubt that your Excellency will cast some of your favors upon me, when your Excellency findeth fit opportunity, for all my hopes and confidence are imposed in your Excellency before all men. My Lord, I do intreat your Excellency to hold that opinion of me, that in this kingdom there is not one man that wisheth your Excellency's prosperity, and that hath a more willing mind to have the happiness of your commands than myself. I believe your Excellency partly knoweth that my affection to your Excellency was like to be my destruction since my coming to this kingdom."

O'Neill shortly afterwards wrote as follows to Ormonde, in reference to the Peace of 1646, and the overtures which the Viceroy had made to him through Daniel O'Neill: "No man in the world shall with more cheerfulness receive the Peace and your command than myself. My Lord, I find by my nephew and from other friends that this declaration is little expected, and that it is I that countenance a party against the peace of the kingdom: for your Excellency's satisfaction, give me leave to protest to you that my coming into this kingdom was not to disturb it, but to help to give it such a peace as would be for the honor and satisfaction of his Majesty and the nation, and that no man living can say I have done anything contrary to this resolution since my coming to this kingdom. My Lord, I am not ignorant of the many undeserved enemies I have in this kingdom, but I am confident God, your Excellency's justice, and my own integrity will protect me, and make me one day appear not undeserving of those favors which, I understand from my nephew, your Excellency intends me. I shall, according to your Excellency's command, take such course wherein no wrong shall be done, or violence offered, by those that receive my command, in any of their quarters, and if any

be done, I will do what lies in me to see it redressed, as far as [my] power may extend."¹

In a letter early in August, 1646, Owen O'Neill mentioned to his nephew that he was suspected of "partiality with the Marquis of Ormonde," and stated that the army then under his command—exclusive of his own troop of horse and regiment of foot—consisted of seventeen troops of horse with eight regiments of foot, numbering nine or ten thousand, and that he was most anxious to chase all the "Round-heads" out of Ulster.

The action of the Assembly at Waterford, and of the Nuncio and the people of Limerick, demonstrated the popular determination not to accept the terms of the Peace, then supposed by Ormonde to have been virtually concluded. The herald sent from the Viceroy to Limerick was not permitted to make the proclamation, and the Mayor was, with violence, superseded by the populace, who transferred his insignia of office to a citizen selected by themselves.²

Towards the close of the same month, Daniel O'Neill was authorized by Ormonde to let his uncle, General Owen O'Neill, know that his Excellency was ready to confirm him in all the commands he then held, to give him the custody of lands of the enemy in Oneilland, and of Lord Caulfeild's estate, with all other advantages he could reasonably pretend to. In return, O'Neill was to agree heartily to contribute his power and best assistance to the King's service, and to the securing and maintaining of the Peace recently concluded. Daniel, however, found, on conference, that his uncle was indisposed to the Peace, and he suggested, that "as a man of his humor was not to be trusted," it was not unlikely he would think the taking of the city and Castle of Dublin a feasible matter. Notwithstanding his own high reputation for penetration and astuteness, Daniel O'Neill acknowledged that he was virtually foiled in his efforts to

¹ Appendix, cl., p. 696.

² Appendix, cli., p. 697.

fathom the intentions of "that subtle man," his uncle. He, however, intimated to Ormonde that, so far as he could understand, a grievance of his countrymen in Ulster was that no arrangements had been made for the repeal of the Acts which had taken away their estates. Their requests, he added, were that all the adherents in Ulster to the Parliament should be declared enemies, and unpardonable, unless they came in to the Lord Lieutenant within a fixed time; and that estates so forfeited should be disposed of to those who should be judged by the Viceroy to have merited them, by their services to King and country. The Ulstermen also considered that they were entitled to participate in the distribution of places of honour, trust, and profit, under the Crown.

In October, 1646, Ormonde was informed by a "good hand" that Owen O'Neill's army consisted of eight thousand foot, one half of whom were armed with muskets; that eight thousand more, of Ulster families, unarmed, accompanied them; that the cavalry were seventeen or eighteen troops, not above two of which were armed with pistols, and none with defensive arms; that the horses were very bad, and the men ill-appointed, carrying, for the most part, half-pikes or lances; and that O'Neill had no pioneers, and but little ammunition. According to Rinuccini, "the common people of Ulster and parts of Connacht, accustomed to suffering and hardened to the cold of this northern climate, had few wants and fewer wishes, not caring for bread, and living on vegetables and butter; their drink," he added, "is milk, and as a great treat usquebaugh; nevertheless they have shoes, some few utensils, and a woollen mantle which covers them, but are more careful of their swords and muskets than of their own bodies; they rarely touch money, and as rarely quarrel about it." The "keraghts," "creaghts," or "kerriaghts," frequently mentioned in connection with the Irish army of Ulster, consisted of several homeless families, who wandered from place to place with their herds and flocks, maintaining themselves and contributing to the victualling of the army. The Ulstermen were reputed to be the best of

the Irish foot-soldiers. Occasionally severe and unsparing in exacting contributions from hostile districts, they were regarded with apprehension both in Leinster and Munster.

“O’Neill and his Ulstermen,” observed the Nuncio, “are the objects of the special hatred of the more malignant, the first on account of the rejection of the Ormonde Peace ; the latter because they favor the clergy, and are the irreconcilable enemies of the English.”

In January, 1646-7, while Charles I. was in the hands of the Scots, Owen O’Neill received a royal letter commanding him to set at liberty Hugh, Viscount Montgomery, who had been taken by his forces at the battle of Benburb, in the preceding June, and confined in the Castle of Loch Uachtair, pending an arrangement for his exchange for the Earl of Westmeath or other prisoners captured from the Ulster Party.¹ By letter of 28th February, O’Neill “most humbly” besought the King to excuse him for not complying with the command of his Majesty, to whom he declared himself a most loyal and obedient subject. “Most dread Sovereign,” he wrote, “be pleased to understand that the Lord Viscount Montgomery hath sided these two years past and more with the Parliament rebels of England, in open hostility against your Majesty, and especially against this nation of Ireland ; and therein hath been more eager and active than any of his party, he being Commander-in-Chief of all the Horse of his party in the province of Ulster here.” O’Neill also mentioned that the Scots adhering to the Parliament had, contrary to capitulation, treacherously executed and put to death, after quarter given, Colonel Manus O’Cahan, and several commanders, with many hundred others of inferior rank ; and that the Scots had refused to enlarge the Marquis of Antrim, though frequently applied to by the King and by the Queen of France, who sent “a special gentleman of her own” to Scotland on this mission. “I am confident,” added O’Neill, “were your Majesty informed of these particulars and of the power of the Scots, whose language your Highness

¹ Appendix, clxxvi., p. 721.

seems now to utter, and that you were in that free condition you ought to be, your Majesty would never have been drawn to press me unto the enlargement of so notorious a rebel and so profest an enemy to all this nation." Montgomery was subsequently released in exchange for the Earl of Westmeath.

In a letter to Donogh Mac Carthy, Viscount Muskerry, early in 1648, Owen O'Neill made the following statement as to his own views and principles: "I do protest, swear, and vow before Almighty God, that I never harboured the least thought of ambition in any thing yet, but that which I assuredly thought and imagined to redound to the freedom, preservation, and liberty, of my King, country, religion, and nation, and that, during the remainder of my days, no private interest of my own, neither love, hatred, inducement, nor suggestion of any will persuade me to the contrary."

The details in the "Aphorismical Discovery," supplemented by the documents in our Appendix, throw new light on the circumstances which, in 1648, brought Owen O'Neill, Rinuccini, Bishop Emer Mac Mahon, and their adherents into conflict with the majority then ruling the councils of the Confederates. A manifesto on these subjects was issued by General Owen O'Neill and the rest of the commanders of the Ulster forces, at Athlone, on the 17th of June, 1648. In this, after proclaiming their loyalty to Charles I., and their strict adherence to the Confederate oath of association, they assert that they had not been guilty of the least act of disloyalty, and conjure all faithful subjects to join with them against the Parliamentary Rebels and Factionists. They further denounce Ormonde as wholly disposed to betray the kingdom to the Parliament, and reference is made to the "horrid treasons" committed by him in delivering over to them Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Dundalk, and all other garrisons in his quarters. The Declaration ends with "God save the King."

The Supreme Council of the Confederates, in August, 1648, issued a

Declaration to the effect that persons adhering to Owen O'Neill should be out of their protection. They accused him of combining with Michael Jones, Colonel in Leinster for the Parliament, and with Henry Jones, Protestant Bishop of Clogher, in contriving to destroy the quarters of the Confederates, and to possess themselves of their forts and strongholds. In September, the officers of the Leinster Confederate army appealed to Michael Jones not to join or comply with O'Neill, but to confer with them, as, they assured him, by joining with "so false and perfidious a man," he would certainly hasten his own end or destruction. In the same month, the General Assembly published another Declaration, denouncing the "pernicious designs, visibly horrid and infamous actions" of Owen O'Neill and Emer MacMahon, Bishop of Clogher, under the patronage of the Lord Nuncio. The Assembly declared the designs of O'Neill and his adherents "so traitorous and pernicious, as to be altogether inconsistent with hope or expectation of their returning to their former loyalty or obedience, or their submission to, or embracing of any government, but one of their own framing, and that they had resolved to allow his Majesty no other interest than such as should be arbitrary at the discretion of their faction."

On the 30th of September, 1648, a proclamation was issued by the General Assembly of the Confederates, in which they accused O'Neill of breach of trust in his employment as General and Governor of the province of Ulster. They alleged that he had given his troops liberty to pillage and plunder the King's subjects in Leinster, Munster, and Connacht; that, in pursuance of his wicked and traitorous designs, he had shaken off obedience to the government established by the Confederates; would not admit any address to be made to him, but burned the Council's letters, threatened to hang their messengers, and refused to agree to any manner of accommodation other than such as would prove destructive to religion, King, and country. It was decreed by the Assembly that Owen O'Neill should be declared a traitor and rebel against the King, the fundamental

laws of the land, a common disturber of the peace, tranquillity, and quiet of the kingdom, and a manifest opposer of the established government of the Confederates, contrary to his oath. The Assembly strictly charged and enjoined Generals and Governors of provinces, Magistrates, High Sheriffs, Governors of garrisons or forts, holds and castles, commanders, and other officers, civil and martial, and all his Majesty's faithful subjects, as well within liberties and corporate towns as without, under the command of the Confederates, to proceed against and destroy Owen O'Neill, as an enemy and traitor, on pain of being dealt with themselves in case of their wilful neglect, as culpable of treason and capital offences.

On the same day, the General Assembly, by another proclamation, announced that they had taken seriously into consideration, that Owen Mac Art O'Neill, late Generall of Ulster, and Emer, Lord Bishop of Clogher, being traiterously disaffected to his Majesty's interest, and the quiet of this land, had, contrary to faith, loyalty, and the oath of association, opposed themselves to the government of the Confederates, proposing to themselves, under a feigned and popular pretence of propagating religion, to invest them, or one of them, or some other domestic or foreigner, even in the regal government of the land. To "countenance and compass such their ungodly and disloyal designs," it was declared that they had "by specious fictions seduced, mislead, and persuaded divers innocent natives to take arms, and enter into actual rebellion and hostility against his Majesty, and the Confederates; and to lead blindfold the abused multitude, they from time to time with great industry concealed from, or misrepresented the benign and indulgent intentions" of the Supreme Council of the Confederates. To "rescue and set at liberty the understanding of persons restrained by the skill of these incendiaries," the General Assembly offered pardon to all who, before the 20th of October, should come in, lay down their arms, and submit, those not

complying within that period were to be deemed "artful and obstinate rebels and traitors."

After Ormonde's return to Ireland as Viceroy, Owen O'Neil assured him by letter, on the 13th of October, 1648, that he heartily rejoiced at his safe arrival in the kingdom, with good conditions, as he heard, from King Charles to the nation. Therein, wrote O'Neill, "I hope that I will not be forgotten, for I most confidently assure your Excellency that none shall be found in the kingdom more obedient and dutiful to his Majesty and consequently to your Excellency."

Later in the same month, Daniel O'Neill was despatched to his uncle as a confidential agent from Ormonde. He brought a letter in which Ormonde wrote that, observing that O'Neill with his army and adherents had separated themselves from the Confederates, he desired to know whether they would submit to such conditions as might be made in the treaty then in progress between the Viceroy and the Confederate Assembly. And, if not, wrote Ormonde, I desire "to know your reasons to the contrary, as also what your desires are, to the end that if they be such as consist with his Majesty's honor and interest, I may endeavour to give you satisfaction." Owen O'Neill replied, by his nephew, that his difference with the Confederates was occasioned by his obligation to defend the Pope's Nuncio, and the clergy who adhered to him, and himself, from the violence and indiscretion of some of the Council at Kilkenny. He added as follows: "As for the treaty which your Excellency hath begun with the Assembly, if it end with the satisfaction of the clergy in point of religion, and of the rest of the Assembly in what concerns the common interest of the nation, and the safety and advantage of the poor provinces which intrusted me with their arms, I shall with much joy and gladness submit to the conclusion of it; for these are the ends which made me quit the good condition I was in abroad, and with a great deal of trouble to myself, and expense of my fortune, stay here.

I must confess," wrote O'Neill, "though I never doubted of your performing whatever your Excellency once promised, I have, notwithstanding feared the interest and power of some of your friends, that are my declared enemies, but these jealousies my nephew, Mr. Daniel O'Neill, hath removed from me by the many assurances he gives me of your Excellency's noble and generous resolution as to my own particular, and my friends' fortunes. I have unto my nephew remitted what I should have further assured unto your Excellency to give him credit."

Differences of opinion prevailed among Ormonde's advisers as to "the commodity or discommodity" of coming to an agreement with Owen O'Neill. On this subject a paper was drawn up by Sir Thomas Nugent, who suggested that by providing posts for the chief officers of the Ulster army, they might "leave Owen O'Neill a Platonical man, bare of plume and feathers." "I must say," adds Nugent, "that O'Neill is constant where he professeth, though the cause be never so ill, and that, if he did agree to submit, good use might be made of his experience, and his projects soon avoided or counterpoised."

Father Francis Nugent was, about this time, dispatched to the Continent with a letter, dated 20th of February, 1648-9, addressed to Charles II. and the Queen, signed by Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, Owen O'Neill, and General Richard Ferrall.¹ In this they stated that they had given the bearer full power and authority to deal with their Majesties in all things that concerned them and the country, and that he would state their reasons for not joining in the late Peace, and inform them on all other points. Three days after the date of this letter, Rinuccini departed from Ireland, notwithstanding the earnest expostulations of Owen O'Neill and his associates, who implored him to remain.

Through Daniel O'Neill, negotiations were at the same time in progress between Ormonde, Owen O'Neill, and the Irish leaders in Ulster. Owen O'Neill, in reference to a Viceregal safe-conduct brought to him by his

¹ Appendix, ccxvii, p. 772.

nephew, wrote, "there is nothing in the world I am more ambitious of than to have the honor to wait upon your Excellency, but at the present I have my health so ill, that I cannot without the hazard of my life undertake any journey these fourteen days, which my doctor hath made appear to my nephew. . . . I have appointed the meeting of the whole gentry of our province or party within eight days, where I doubt not I shall procure their consents to these propositions, if it be so that your Excellency will be so favorable as to grant these; upon notice thereof from my nephew, we shall send some instantly to sign them in our names." In another letter to Ormonde, on the 24th of March, he asserted that the obstacles in connection with the proposed arrangement proceeded from some of the Commissioners in Trust. "Their aversion and malice to me and my party are," he wrote, "such as that they will study and devise all the ways they can invent to hinder any settlement or union betwixt your Excellency and us; yet I hope it shall not lie in the power of any ambitious persons so to do, when your Excellency understands the pregnant reasons the province hath for their proposals, their lives, and all they have in the world merely depending on that point." O'Neill notified that he had issued a summons for a Committee appointed by the Provincial meeting, that Commissioners from them would meet the persons coming from his Excellency, and that he wished a most happy conclusion to the negotiation. He further assured Ormonde that "none breathing had a more passionate desire under his Excellency's command faithfully to serve for his religion, King, and country."

To this period we have, in our Appendix, carried on the series of original documents illustrative of the "Aphorismical" narrative in the present volume. The author, it is to be remembered, tells us that the form in which his work was cast obliged him occasionally to treat of composite transactions under general or approximate date-headings.

We find no evidence or indications that the existence or nature of the correspondence of Owen O'Neill, here brought to light, had come within

the cognizance of the "Aphorismical" writer, who depicted Ormonde as specially suspicious of the Ulster General, and faltering in his own loyalty to Charles I., Henrietta Maria, and their family.

In addition to the matters already noticed, we have included several letters and original documents in our Appendix in connection with personages who, as it will be seen, gravely influenced the public affairs of these countries, and for whose history many authentic materials are now published for the first time. These, with documents for the illustration of the other volumes of this work, have been aggregated, by much labour, from various and distant sources, including the Archives of the House of Lords, the State Paper and Public Record Offices, the British Museum, the papers of Chancellor Clarendon, Bishop Tanner, and Thomas Carte, in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the MSS. of the Franciscans and Bollandists at Brussels, the collections of the Marquis of Ormonde, of the Earls of Rosse and Granard, and of the Royal Irish Academy, and Trinity College, Dublin. The documents have been carefully collated in passing through the press, their original orthography has been preserved, and references given to the repositories in which they are at present preserved.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

*Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin,
3 November, 1879.*

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

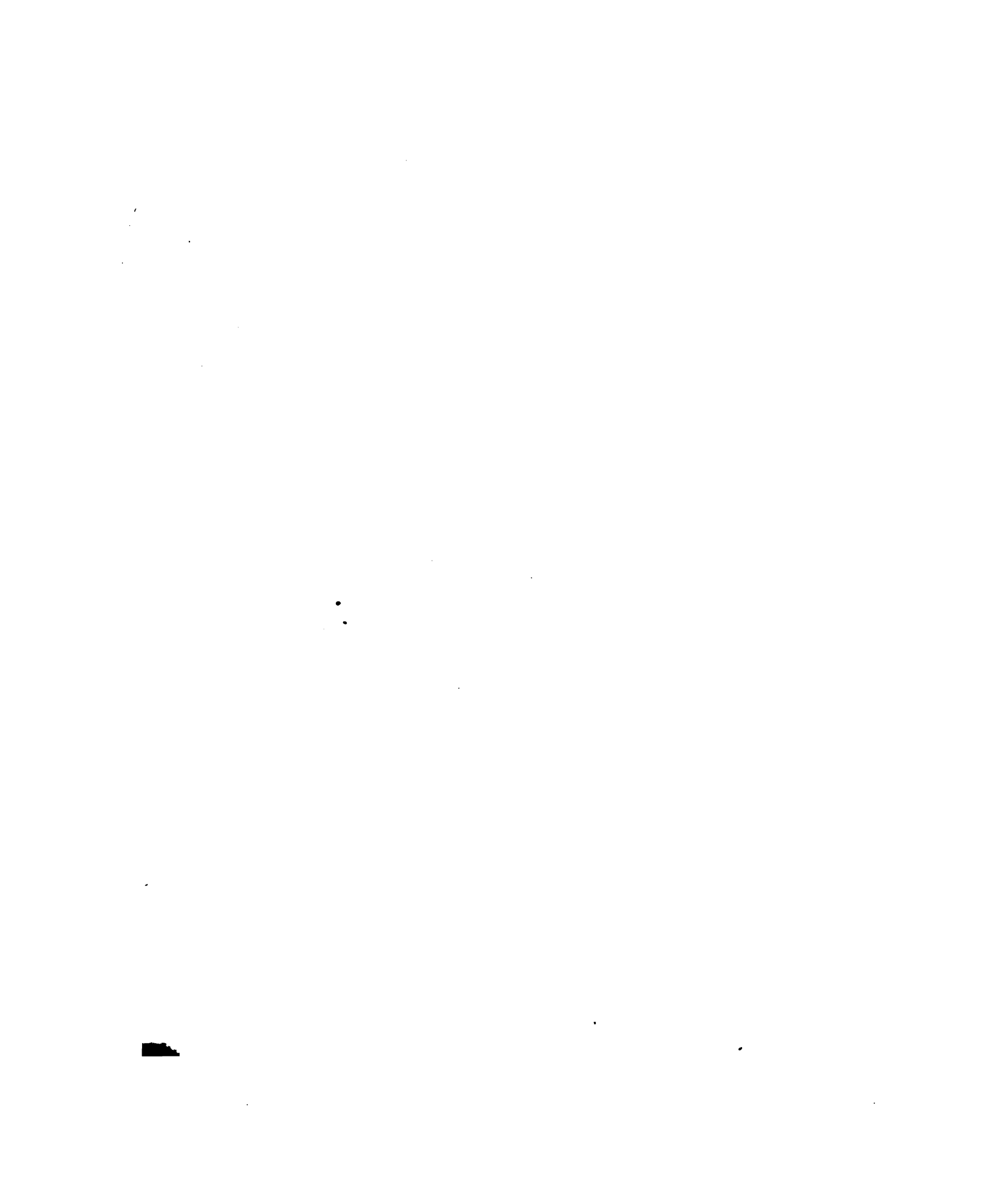
VOL. I.

NO.	PAGE
I. Portrait of Don Eugenio O'Neill.—Owen Roe O'Neill, Commandant of Arras for King Philip IV., 1640, General of the Irish army of Ulster, 1642-1649. From an original Dutch painting	I
II. Portrait of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tirone.—“Vgo, Conte di Tirone, Generale Ibernese.” From “La Spada D'Orione stellata nel cielo di Marte cioè il valor militare de più celebri guerrieri de' nostri secoli Da Primo Damaschino,” 1680.	330
III. Page of manuscript of “Aphorismical Discovery.”—Original in Library of Trinity College, Dublin	9
IV. Letter of Sir Con Magennis, from Newry, 25th October, 1641. Original in Public Record Office, Dublin	364
V. Letter, written at Louvain, 1642, by John Colgan, Editor of “Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ,” to Luke Wadding, Guardian of the Irish Franciscan Convent, Rome. Original in Archives of Franciscan Order, Dublin	407
VI. Letter, written at Brussels, 1642, by Don Eugenio [Owen] O'Neill to Luke Wadding, Editor of “Annales Minorum,” Guardian of the Irish Franciscan Convent, Rome. Original in Archives of Franciscan Order, Dublin	449
VII. Gaelic letter, dated Louvain, 16th September, 1642, from Rose O'Docharty, wife of Owen Roe O'Neill. Original in Archives of Franciscan Order, Dublin	523
VIII. Letter from Daniel O'Neill to Prince Rupert, 1642. Original in possession of the Editor	789

APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY

OF

TREASONABLE FACTION.



CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Epistle Dedicatorie to Don Eugenius Oneale	1
Ireland compared with Colchos	”
Ancient attempts upon Ireland	”
Meilds or Miletus, King of Spain	2
Eremon, son of Miletus	”
The Oneylls descend from Eremon	”
The Danes attack Ireland	”
Battle of Clontarf	”
King O’Mellaghlin, of the race of the Oneylls	”
Pope Adrian IV. and Henry II., King of England	”
Entrance of the English into Ireland	3
Claim of King of England not condescended to by the Oneylls	”
Henry VIII. styles himself King of Ireland	4
The Oneylls wage war with England	”
Shane Oneyll, chief of the family	”
Con Oneyll, heir-apparent to Shane	”
Ferdinand Oneyll created Baron of Dungannon	5
His son and heir, Hugh Oneyll, bred at Court	”
Earl of Desmond in arms against the Queen	”
Hugh Oneyll created Earl of Tyrone, in exchange of the fatal name of Oneyll	”
Conflicts between him and the Queen’s forces	”
Tyrone and Tyrconnell [withdraw] to Rome	6
Sir Charles O’Dochardy began commotions in Ireland	”
Tyrone’s sons, Henry, Brian, and Shean	”
Brian Oneyll executed	”
Shean Oneyll survives his father and brother, and is nominated Earl of Tyrone	”
Tyrone and Tyrconnell slain in Spain	”
Tyrone’s only son, Hugh Oneyll, of the age of nine years in 1641	”
Owen Oneyll, Colonel in Flanders, cousin-german to the late Earl of Tyrone	”
Owen Oneyll nominated chief Commander for the expedition to Ireland, 1641	7
His companions and Captains, Con Oneyll, Hugh Oneyll, Brain Roe Oneyll, his son Henry Roe Oneyll, Daniel O’Kahan, Brian Mac Phelim Birne, Owen O’Dochardie, Gerald Fitz Gerald, etc.	”

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
They arrive in Ireland about the latter end of July, 1642	7
Justice of Oneylls cause	8
Equity of his warfare	"
Antiquity of his regal claim	"
His ancestors in actual possession for nearly three thousand years	"
Epitome of the merits of Don Eugenius Oneyll	"
To the reader	9

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

1641.	1.	Condition of Ireland	11
	2.	Parliaments in England and Ireland	"
	„	Proposed repeal of Poyning's Act	"
	3.	Letters of grace from Charles I.	"
	4.	The English Ministers of State in Dublin	12
	5.	Treachery of Patrick Darcy	"
	6.	The grounds of this war	"
	7.	The plot discovered	"
	8.	Sir Phelim O'Neill takes Charlemont	"
	9.	Cruelties of Sir Charles Coote	13

CHAPTER II.

	10.	Projected destruction of monarchy and Irish nation	14
	11.	The grounde of the Irish warre	"
	„	The advantages possessed by the State at Dublin	"
	„	Intentions of the Governor	"
	12.	Oath of association of Irish Royalists	15
	„	Engagement at Gillam, near Drogheda	"
	13.	Sir Phelim O'Neyll, Generall	"
	„	The Brians [O'Briens] rise in arms in Clare	"
	14.	Dominick Fanning, Mayor of Limbricke, obtains control of the Castle	"
	„	Proceedings of Castleconnel, Oliver Stephens, Daniel Carty, O'Connor Kerry, and the O'Sulleavans	"
	15.	The Lord of Montgerrot (Mountgarret) raises men in Leinster	"
	„	Kevanaghs and Byrnes take forts in Wexford and Wicklow	16
	16.	Sir Morgan and Dermott Kevanagh raise regiments	"
	17.	Art Molloy, Colonel of the Molloyes, in Ferkalle	"

CONTENTS.

[3]

	SEC.		PAGE
1641.	17.	Captain Smith and his comrades killed	16
	18.	Castles taken by the Dempsies	"
	19.	Bernaby Dempsie takes arms against Puritans	17
	"	Stratagems against Roundheads in Meath, Kildare, and Dublin	"
	20.	All Westmeath in arms	"
	"	Arms given by the State at Dublin	"
	21.	Puritans of Offaly opposed by Captain Bernaby Geoghegan	"
	"	Teige Conor, alias <i>Tadg an t-slaotín</i>	"
	"	Digby, Captain of Horse, slain	18
	22.	Duyns in arms in Queen's county	"
	23.	Parties in Kildare county in arms for the Irish	"
	24.	Oliver Dungans prey	"
	25.	Mc Daniells of Sleave Roe take Naasse	19
	26.	Mac Thomas takes Castledermott for the Irish	"
	27.	Ferralls clear the county of Longford	"
	28.	Inactivity of Sir James Dillon	"
	"	Thomas Dillon deceived	"
	29.	He is appointed Colonell by Sir Phelim O'Neill	20
	"	Sir Phelim's letters to Sir James Dillon	"
	30.	Con O'Rourke and Antony Brapson in arms in Connaught	"

CHAPTER III.

	31.	Drogheda leager raised	20
	32.	Killsallchan skirmish—five hundred Parliamentarians killed	21
	33.	Ormonde General in Ireland for the King	"
	"	The Irish deceived by him	"

CHAPTER IV.

	34.	Ormonde's follower and physician, Gerrott Fennell	22
	35.	Patrick Dorchy [Darcy], counsel to Ormonde	"
	36.	Dillons, Taaffs, and Moores	"
	"	Lord Forbish's exactions from Galway	"
	"	Clanricard for the English Parliament	"
	37.	The Ulstermen's actions	23
	"	English and Scots quit Ulster	"
	"	Monroe sent as Commander to Ireland by Leslie	"
	"	Seizes Carrickfergus and expels the English	"

CHAPTER V.

	SEC.		PAGE
1641.	38.	Hugh Mc Phelim Bryne [Byrne], Captain from the Low-Countries	23
	"	Robert Harpold mans Shruell Castle for the Irish	"
	"	Walter Bagnall takes Laughlin Bridge	"
	"	Cowardliness of English in the begininge	24
	39.	Sir Simon Harquett [Harcourt] leagers Carrigmoynan	"
	"	Brave deffendants	"
	40.	The treacherie of this Commander	"
	"	The enemie's maxeme	"
	"	Sir Simon slain with his Commanders, and five hundred men	"
	41.	Monroe master of Antrim and Down	25
	"	Sir Phelim's difficulties and courage; wisdom of Ulstermen	"
	42.	Royalists pursued by Sir Robert Steward	26
	43.	James Fleming of Cabragh how well behaued	"
	"	Four hundred men lost in attack on his Castle	"
	44.	Siege of Linche's Castle, near Trim	"
	"	Bernaby Mc Donough Geoghegan, Commander in the Castle	"
	"	Brave deffendants	"
	"	Five hundred men and twelve officers killed	27
	"	Quarter not complied with	"
	"	All the deffendants hanged	"
	45.	Siege of Blagall Castle in Kildare	"
	"	A stout blackamoor	"
	"	Stronge faith	"
	"	The Moor killed, with seven score and twenty	"
	"	Francis FitzGerald, a Franciscan frier	28
	46.	Geysell siedege	"
	"	Viscount Clanmaliry builded ordinance	"
	"	Geysell leagered	"
	"	Teige Conor	"
	47.	Greenfield beaten by Teige Conor	"
	"	How Geysell was deserted	"

CHAPTER VI.

	48.	Dearth of amunition prejudicious to Royalists	29
	"	Huigh Mc Phelim commander of Linster	"
	"	The non-sense of Montgerrott	"
	49.	The disobedience of the Irish	30
	"	Treasonable conceite of Montgerrott	"
	"	Ignorant seatinge of soldiers	"

CONTENTS.

[5]

	SEC.		PAGE
1641.	50-1.	Cnocaterife battle	30
	"	Dermott Keuanagh slaine	"
	"	Gerrott FitzGerald killed	31
	52.	Duttchesse of Bughingham, wife of Earl of Antrim	"
	"	Earls of Antrim and Castlehauen	"
	"	Castlehauen carried prisoner to Dublin	"

CHAPTER VII.

53.	Garrison of Phillipstowne hanged by Coote after quarter	32
"	Sir Charles Coote shot at Trim	"
54.	Not known how killed, unlesse by a miracle	"
"	Sir Charles Cootes epitaph	"
55.	Fr. Francis Sulleuan sent to Spaine as agent for Irish nation	"
56.	Reddshanks arrive in Ulster for the Irish	33
"	Siege of Cullraghan [Coleraine]	"
"	Antrims mistake	"
"	Antrim taken prisoner by Monroe	"
57.	The Irish Lords of Ulster in noe posture of service	34
"	Gentry of Ulster dispersed	"
58-9.	Sir Phelim O'Neylles endeauors against Puritans	"
"	Sir Phelim stiled himself Earl of Tyrone	"
"	The cause of his disrespecte	"
"	Congregation at Armagh	"
60.	Opposed by Thomas Deaz [Dease] Bishop of Meath	35
"	He is excommunicated	"
"	The old Earl of Westmeath	"
"	The disunion of the Nugents	"
61.	Earl of Westmeath absolved	36
62.	Young Westmeath, Viscount Dillon, and Viscount Taaff in England	"

CHAPTER VIII.

1642.	63.	Irish affairs declined for want of government	36
	"	Convocation of Prelates at Kilkenny	37
	"	The clergies sense of grounds for the war	"
	"	Model of government prescribed	"
	"	The first national Congregation	"
	64.	Viscount Clanmorish, of the Bourkes, joins the Irish Confederacy	"
	"	Patrick Dorchy swears the oath publickly	"

	SEC.		PAGE
1642.	65.	Service in Connacht impeded by death of Clanmorishe ...	37
	66.	The enemy in Munster preserved by Baron of Insichuyn [Inchiquin]	38
	"	Barry appointed General of Munster	"
	"	Purcell, his Lieutenant-General	"
	"	The contestation of Oliver Stephens and his mother	"
	67.	The foolerie of the mother	"
	"	Bravery of Stephens	"
	"	Liscarroll skirmishe	"
	"	Insichuyn taken prisoner by Stephens	"
	"	Stephens acts and death at Liscarroll	39
	"	Inchiquin rescued	"
	"	General Barry not in request	"

CHAPTER IX.

	68.	Election of Supreme Council	39
	"	Observations on those chosen Supreme Councillors	"
	69.	Dr. Fennell's letter in cypher to Ormonde	40
	"	The foolerie of the Irish	"
	70.	Why Castlhauen did relinquish the English	"
	71.	Hugh Byrne appointed by the Council Lieutenant-General of Leinster	41
	72.	The Council reform militia and institute standing army	"
	"	Colonels and Captains appointed	"
	73.	Daniel O'Kahan arrives in Kilkenny from Spain	"
	"	His speech to Sir Phelim Roe [O'Neill]	"
	"	Sir Phelim renounces the title of Tyrone	"
	74.	Generall Owen O'Neills frigate arrives at Wexford from Dunkerk	42

CHAPTER X.

	75.	Skirmish with Tyrconnell enemy under Sir Robert Steward ...	42
	"	The Ulstermen reduced to a poore condition by English and Scots	43
	76.	Owen O'Neill lands, in July, at Logh Sullie, in Tyrconnell ...	"
	"	The Ulstermen choose Owen O'Neill as General of that province	"
	77.	Owen O'Neills Lieutenant-General, Daniel O'Kahan, a brave linguiste	"
	78.	Daniel Kahans valor	44
	79.	General Leyslys opinion and feare	"
	80.	Owen O'Neill detects Leyslys stratagem	"
	81.	ONeyll's letter to Leysly	45
	"	Leysly goes for Scotland	"
	82.	Colonells of Ulster appointed by Owen O'Neill	"

CONTENTS.

[7]

CHAPTER XI.

	SEC.		PAGE
1642.	83.	The Supreme Councils doubts as to appointing Owen O'Neill Generalissimus of all Ireland	45
	"	Arrival of Colonel Thomas Preston at Wexford	46
	"	Preston appointed Generall of Leinster for the Confederates	"
	84.	Chancellor Bowltons opinion of the Irish	"
	85.	Garrisons yielded to General Preston	"
	86.	Prestons first treasonable faction	47
	87.	Clunarde skirmish	"
	"	Edward Tuitte killed	"
	"	Captain Bernaby Geoghegans opinion	48
	"	Complaints in Kilkenny against General Preston	"

CHAPTER XII.

88.	General Owen O'Neill commands a march to Cluneise [Clones] in Monaghan	48
89.	Cluneise skirmish	49
"	Hugh O'Neill taken prisoner	"
90.	Frigate obtained from King of Spain by Fr. Francis Sulleuan	"
91.	Major Richard Ferrall arrives in Ireland from Germany	50
"	He is made Governor of County Leitrim by Supreme Council	"
"	Colonel John Bourke arrives at Kilkenny from Germany	"
92.	Measures taken by General Owen O'Neill	"

CHAPTER XIII.

93.	Lieutenant-General Daniel O'Kahan in action	51
94.	He is murdered after quarter	52
95.	Captain Kiran FitzPatrick, arraigned in Kilkenny and executed	"
96.	Deaths of Viscount Gormanstown and the Baron of Slane	"
"	Thomas Fleming, a Franciscan friar and religious warrior	"

CHAPTER XIV.

97.	General Owen O'Neill at Kilkenny	53
"	Sir Phelim O'Neill marries General Preston's daughter	"
98.	Captain Don Antonio and Captain Deoran	54
99.	Gerald Cron FitzGerald, Ensign for Owen O'Neill in the Low- Countries	"

	SEC.		PAGE
1642.	99.	He is appointed Captain of Horse and makes incursions on Kildare	54
	"	Opinion that he could not be killed with shot	"
100.		Owen O'Neill nominates Con Mac Cormack O'Neill as his Lieutenant-General, and Shane O'Kahan as his Major ...	55

CHAPTER XV.

101.		Services in Connacht and at Athlone	55
102.		Don Diego Preston, Mac Thomas, Roger Moore, and other Commanders, rendezvous at Kilbeggan	"
	"	Christopher Gawly killed	56
	"	Sir James Dillon plays the double hand	"
103.		Brian Ferrall, Lieutenant-Colonel for the county of Longford ...	"
104.		Roconnell skirmish	57
105.		Andreue Tuite taken prisoner and escapes	"
106.		The losse at Roconnell	"
107.		Captain Brian arrived from Germany	"
	"	He joins the Confederates	"
	"	He is followed by David Shorne, a German	58
108.		Convent of Bethelam, in Lough By, plundered by Roundheads ...	"
	"	Roundheads slaughtered	"
109.		Conflict with a young gentleman of the Dillons	"
110.		The President of Connacht quits Athlone	59
	"	A seeming treason	"

CHAPTER XVI.

111.		Ormonde and Lord Lyell march towards Munster	60
112.		Timolin quarter	"
113.		Arthur Fox bravely behaved himself	61
114.		The Siege of Rosse	"
115.		The battle of Ballibegg	"
116.		A sound advice of Hugh Mc Phelim Byrne	"
117.		What Thomas Preston [did] in this action	62
	"	Thomas escaped	"
	"	Sir Morgan Kevanagh killed	"
	"	Colonel Cullin prisoner	"
118.		Prestonian treachery	63
119.		Camp near Burrish, county of Catarlogh	"
120.		Defence of Rosse	"

CONTENTS

[9]

CHAPTER XVII.

	misc.				PAGE
1643.		Treason between Montgerrott and Preston	...	...	64
	121.	Ballinakill taken by Preston	...	...	"
	122.	Cloghlia skirmish in Monster	...	...	65
	123.	Agents for his Majestie	...	...	"
	124.	Sir Robert Thalbot	...	...	66
	125.	Sir Gerrot Moore fostered Sheane O'Neyll	...	...	67
	126.	Mellefonte, a Monesterie of S. Bernard's order	...	...	"

CHAPTER XVIII.

	127.	Commissioners for the first Cessation with Ormonde	...	...	67
	128.	Timolin and Rathuel won by Mac Thomas	...	...	68
	129.	Castlehaven's treasonable mercie	...	...	"
	"	Ballilinan taken from English and Scottish garrison	...	...	"
	"	Burrosse, Commander of Dullarstown	...	...	69
	130.	Capt. FitzGerald's courage	...	...	"
	131.	Dullarstown taken	...	...	"
	132.	Castlehaven, patricidivs	...	...	70

CHAPTER XIX.

	133.	General Owen O'Neill at Portlester	...	...	71
	134.	Portlester skirmish	...	...	"
	135.	Brave courage of comon souldiers	...	...	"
	137.	Owen O'Neyll's speeche	...	...	72
	138.	General Owen O'Neill's merits	...	...	"
	139.	Manistereuin, an Abbey of S. Bernard	...	...	"

CHAPTER XX.

	140.	First Cessation concluded 15. Septembris, 1643	...	...	73
	"	Parliament of England deceived by false libells of successes against Irish	...	...	74
	141.	Commissioners grant money to Ormonde and garrison of the Naasse	...	...	"
	"	Ormonde's tricks	...	...	"
	142.	Exchange of prisoners	...	...	"
	"	Colonell Cullin cheated by the Councell	...	...	"
	"	How Daniell Oge Kevanagh was by the Councell abused	...	...	"
	143.	The Councells proceedinge in dividinge quarters	...	...	75
	144.	Garrisons taken by Father Thomas Fleming	...	...	"
	145.	Costllagh, Taafe, Walter Dungan, and Dillon	...	...	76

CHAPTER XXI.

	SEC.		PAGE
1643.	146.	Pöor condition of Irish nation	76
	147.	The infusion of Clanricarde, Tomond, Costlellagh, and Taaffe, in Ormonde's behalfe	77
	"	Those Peeres will not sweare the oathe of alleageance to the King	"
	148.	Injustice to ancient Irish	"
	149.	Scarampo arrived	78
	"	A wise man	"
	"	Edmond Dempsie consecrated [Bishop of Laghlin]	"
	"	[Emer Mc Mahon consecrated Bishop of] Cloghar	"
	150.	Assembly ordains model of Government	"
	151.	Bellings, agent for a Nuncio, sent to Rome [1644]	"
	152.	Bellings character	79
	153.	The diversitie of motives	"
	154.	A strange passadge : to name it treason is too lowe a stile	80
	155.	Redshanks go to Scotlande [1644]	"
	156.	Observations on dates of transactions in 1643 and 1644	81

CHAPTER XXII.

1644.	157.	The Councell debate on the war and Commanders	81
	"	Resolution	"
	"	Castlehaven sent to Ulster	"
	"	His character	82
	158.	Clanricarde and Coote, cousins	"
	"	Galway Fort, an Ancient Monastery of S. Augustine	"
	159.	A brave and faithfull subject, Clanricarde	"
	"	Clanricarde and Ormonde	"
	"	Colonell Bourke disbanded	"
	160.	A brave armie	"
	"	A tipplinge Commander	83
	"	Fyana skirmish	"
	161.	Captain FitzGerald escaped	"
	162.	Fyana burned	"
	163.	Preparations in Westmeath and King's county	"
	164.	General Owen O'Neill and Castlehaven	84
	165.	General O'Neill's advice	"
	166.	Castlehaven at Blackwater	"
	167.	Blackfoord skirmish	85

CONTENTS.

[11]

CHAPTER XXIII.

	ENC.		PAGE
1644.	168.	General O'Neill marches to Muneaghan	86
	"	Captain David [Shorne], the German, taken prisoner	"
	169.	General O'Neill's advice to Castlehaven	"
	"	True intelligence and honorable advice	"
	170.	Treason of Castlehaven, Leinster zeudo-General	87
	171.	Castlehaven flies to Cavan	"
	172.	General O'Neill left alone	"
	173.	Henry and Brian Roe O'Neill pursue the enemy	"
	174.	Castlehaven given thirty thousand pounds for expedition	88
	"	Loss of moytie of army by Castlehaven	"
	175.	Castlehaven proved traytor	"

CHAPTER XXIV.

176.	Affront given to Earl of Antrim by Supreme Council	89
"	He goes to France and Flanders	"
177.	Bravery of the Irish Scots in Scotland	"
"	Edenborough skirmish	"

CHAPTER XXV.

178.	Bellings arrives in Ireland	90
"	Johannes Baptista Rinuccini, Prince and Archbishop of Firmo, Nuncio for Ireland, arrives in Paris	"
"	Belling's tragedy	"
179.	The Queen's enticing speech	"
"	The effect of faction	91
180.	Rinuccini resolves to send Spindola as precursor to Ireland	"
181.	Spindola came to Kilkenny	"
"	The Queen of England advises the Nuncio to return to Rome	"
182.	Death of Spindola	"

CHAPTER XXVI.

183.	Ormonde created Marquess, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland	92
"	The King's Commission to treat with Confederate Catholics	"
184.	Fiction, collusion, and treachery, against the King	"
185.	The King's Commission to Clamorgan [Glamorgan]	"
186.	Taaffe, Generall in Conaght, and how he behaved	93

[12]

CONTENTS.

	SEC.					PAGE
1644.	186.	An impudent treason	...	...	...	93
	187.	Taafe disbanded	...	...	...	"
	"	Archbishop [Quelly] of Tuam, General	...	...	...	94
	"	Impious resolution	...	...	...	"
	188.	Treason of Sir James Dillon	...	...	...	"
	"	[Archbishop] Quelly executed at Sligo	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XXVII.

189.	Castlehaven, General for Munster, under Supreme Council	...	95
190.	Actions of Insichuynne	...	"
191.	Christopher Bryan taken prisoner, and died in Kilkenny	...	96
"	Thought to have been poisoned	...	"
192.	Castlehaven's treacherie	...	"
193.	Two Generalls, by faction of one party, at once in Munster, Preston and Castlehaven	...	"
194.	First treason of Captain Ffennell for Caperquinn	...	97

CHAPTER XXVIII.

195.	The Nuncio arrives in Ireland	...	98
196.	Digby comes to Dublin from the Isle of Man	...	99
"	His treason	...	"
197.	Digby, godfather to one of Ormonde's brood, though traitor	...	"
"	Ormonde's Mercuries, Taafe and Costellagh	...	"
198.	Peace concluded with Clanmorgan	...	"
199.	Clanmorgan imprisoned at Dublin	...	100
200.	Clanmorgan's peace rejected	...	101
201.	Brian Mac Gillacoinny, Provincial of the Franciscans	...	"

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

1645.	202.	Old Laurence Esmond, Governor of Duncanan	...	102
	"	Siege of Duncanan	...	"
	203.	Captain Laurence Lorcan	...	103
	204.	Duncanan surrendered	...	"
	"	Oliver Darcy, afterwards Bishop of Dromore	...	"
	"	Ormonde's loyalty	...	104
	205.	Captain Thomas Roche made Governor of Duncanan	...	"

CONTENTS.

[13]

CHAPTER II.

1645.	^{SEC.} 206.	Clanmorgan's wife, daughter of Earl of Tomond	...	...	104
	207.	Colonel Adams, Governor of Bonrattie	...	...	105
	"	The first stringe of Ormonde's bow against Clanmorgan	...	"	"
	208.	The second stringe, whereby many loyalists are deceived	...	"	"
	209.	Three armies commanded to the field	...	...	106
	210.	Richard Ferrall is by Owen O'Neill made Colonell, and see is Captain Lewes Moore	...	...	"
	211.	Muskries partiality	...	...	107
	212.	Lieutenant-Colonel Bernaby Geoghegan killed	...	...	"
	213.	He is interred at Limerick	...	...	108

CHAPTER III.

214.	General Preston in Conaght	...	...	...	108
"	He leagers Roscommon	...	...	...	"
215.	Roscommon skirmish	...	...	...	109
216.	Garrison surrenders	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER IV.

1646.	217.	Owen Oneyll in the North	...	...	110
	"	Army of General Montroe [Monroe]	...	...	"
	218.	Logan army under Sir Robert Stewarde	...	...	"
	"	Deliberation of General Neylle	...	...	"
	219.	Emulation betwen Montroe and Sir Robert Stewarde	...	...	111
	220-21.	General Neyll's oration at Benborbe	...	...	"

CHAPTER V.

222.	Montgomery and Monroe, Generals at Benborbe	...	...	113
223.	The battle of Benborbe	...	...	114
224.	Combat between Henry Roe Oneyll and General Montroe's son	...	...	"
225.	Loss and gain at Benborbe	...	...	115
226.	Slaughter at Benborbe	...	...	116
227.	Ormonde and Montroe	...	...	117
"	A brave summ to Ormonde	...	...	"
"	Loyal Ormonde	...	...	"
228.	Colonel Roger Maguire and Phelim McTuhill Oneylle	...	...	"
229.	Fa. Boetius Egan sent with colors taken at Benborbe to Nuncio	...	...	118

CHAPTER VI.

	SEC.					PAGE
1646.	230.	Colloguing Digby	...	...	...	118
	231.	Thomas Tyrrell, the lawyer	...	...	...	119
	"	A malicious barrister	...	...	...	"
	232.	Geffry Browne, a venomous viper	...	...	...	120
	233.	Commissioners to Ormonde from Supreme Council	...	...	...	"
	234.	Treaty with Ormonde	...	...	...	"
	"	Walter Butler, Knight Baronet	...	...	...	121
	"	Montgerrott	...	...	...	"
	"	Sir Edward Butler created Lord of Galmoy	...	...	...	"
	235.	Captain Art Geoghegan killed	...	...	...	"
	236.	Muskrie's crastinations	...	...	...	"
	"	Bonratty surrendered	...	...	...	"
	237.	Mallarny taken by Insichuyne	...	...	...	122

CHAPTER VII.

	238.	Three victorious armies in the field	...	...	...	123
	"	Prestons volubility	...	...	...	"
	239.	Sir James Dillon's facility	...	...	...	124
	240.	Ormonde marched to Kilkenny	...	...	...	"
	"	The Clergie's decrees	...	...	...	"
	"	Browne's contumacy	...	...	...	"
	"	Mac Thomas and the Leinster foot	...	...	...	"
	"	Fidelity of Browne and Charles Kavanagh	...	...	...	"
	241.	General Owen O'Neill marching	...	...	...	"
	"	Ormonde at Kilkenny	...	...	...	125
	"	Gallantry of Mac Thomas	...	...	...	"
	"	Thibott Butler's irreligious resolution	...	...	...	"
	242.	Ormonde's flight	...	...	...	"
	"	The sudaine change of affaires	...	...	...	"
	"	Preston's intended treachery	...	...	...	126

CHAPTER VIII.

	243.	Athlone surprised by Thibott Gawly	...	...	...	126
	244.	Malice of George Dillon	...	...	...	127
	245.	Colonel Butler's behaviour	...	...	...	"
	"	Kilkenny Castle taken	...	...	...	"

CONTENTS.

[15]

CHAPTER IX.

	SEC.				PAGE
1646.	246.	Ormonde's peace rejected	...	...	128
	"	A new Supreme Council	...	...	"
	"	Preston newly sworn	...	...	"
	247.	General Owen O'Neill in Leyse	...	...	"
	"	Sir John Pigott's alliance with the O'Neills	...	...	129
	248.	The Vlster courage	...	...	"
	"	Bryan Dwyne saved	...	...	"
	"	Pigott slain	...	...	"
	"	Disert taken	...	...	"
	249.	Cause of Preston's delays	...	...	"
	250.	A blind man might see through Preston's glass	...	...	130
	251.	Sir James Dillon's treacherous revolt	...	...	"
	"	Preston's malapert juggling	...	...	"

CHAPTER X.

	252.	Preston's relapses	...	...	131
	253.	Clanricarde's engagement	...	...	"
	"	Such as did not sign this engagement	...	...	"
	"	The fetch of Ormonde and both English and Irish factionists	...	...	132
	254.	The Nuncio and Council stole away	...	...	"
	"	Preston's treason	...	...	"
	255.	His flexibility and volubility	...	...	"
	"	Clanricarde's character	...	...	133
	256.	Queries against Preston	...	...	"
	"	His character	...	...	"
	257.	His poor shift	...	...	"
	258.	His wavering	...	...	134
	259.	General Neyll's prevention	...	...	"
	"	Preston's second engagement to Ormonde	...	...	"
	260.	Sir James Dillon's stratageme failed	...	...	135
	261.	Ormonde and his peeres plott interrupted	...	...	"

CHAPTER XI.

	262.	Costllagh's designe to become Catholick	...	...	136
	"	He is reconciled to Holy Church	...	...	"
	"	His scope in this reconciliation	...	...	"
	263.	The reach of General Owen O'Neills wit	...	...	137
	"	Colonel Fox in Athlone	...	...	"

CONTENTS.

	1646.	misc.				PAGE
	263.		The posture of the Vlster army	...	...	137
	"		The refraction of Galway county reduced	...	...	"
	264.		Where Ormonde and his peeres were on Christmas	...	...	"
	"		Ormonde's flight	...	...	138
	265.		Henry Roe's courage	...	...	"
	"		Sir Theophilus Johns [Jones], prisoner, and others	...	...	"

CHAPTER XII.

1646-7.	266.		Andrew Boy Tuite's restraint...	...	...	139
	"		Tuite sent to the Council	...	...	"
	"		The injustice of the Council	...	...	"

CHAPTER XIII.

	267.		The proportion of the Irish armies	...	...	140
	"		The treacherous Council newly assumed to their former dignitie	...	...	"
	268.		The loyallest in all Monster nominate Clanmorgan General	...	...	"
	"		Leutenant-General Butler's censeritie	...	...	141
	269.		Muskry's devillish plott	...	...	"
	"		His false intimation	...	...	"
	"		Muskry, zeudo-generall	...	...	"
	270.		Muskry's character	...	...	142
	271.		Devices of the Council against General O'Neill	...	...	"

CHAPTER XIV.

	272.		Ormonde's character	...	...	143
	273.		His grandfather, Thomas Butler, Viscount Durlise	...	...	144
	274.		Ormonde, bred in the bosome of Canterbury	...	...	"
	"		His promotion by Charles I.	...	...	145

CHAPTER XV.

	275.		Ormonde and his traine of peeres, disloyally against his Majestie	...	...	145
	"		Their ends	...	...	"
	276.		Ormonde's motion to the Parliament	...	...	146
	"		Dublin given to the Parliament	...	...	"
	"		Ormonde's conditions	...	...	"

CONTENTS.

[17]

	SEC.					PAGE
1646-7.	276.	Ormonde goes for England	...	...	...	146
	277.	His collusion	...	...	...	"
	"	His treacherous excuse	...	...	...	"
	"	Objections	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XVI.

278.	Digby's design in France	...	...	...	147
"	Castlehaven and Taaffe in Kilkenny	...	...	...	"
"	Clanricarde's collusion	...	...	...	148

CHAPTER XVII.

279.	The Councill's couenant with Owen O'Neyll	...	...	...	148
"	Sir Richard Blake, factionier	...	...	...	149
"	Richard Fferrall, Leutenant-Generall	...	...	...	"
"	Huigh O'Neyll, Major-Generall	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XVIII.

280.	Preston's tergiversations	...	...	...	149
"	His known treachery	...	...	...	"
281.	An abbey of S. Bernard's order	...	...	...	150
"	The behaviour of Preston's camp	...	...	...	"
"	His needless garrisons	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XIX.

282.	Colonell Johns [Jones] advantage and noble proceedings	...	...	...	150
"	Mercenarie auxiliaries	...	...	...	151
283.	The Supream Councell's obiecte	...	...	...	"
"	Reformed Colonells recrutinge	...	...	...	"
"	Foolerie of Antrim and Montrose	...	...	...	"
"	The Councell's known partialitie	...	...	...	"
284.	The composure of the Vister armie	...	...	...	"
"	Owen O'Neyll's works in Corsliaue	...	...	...	152
"	The Provinciall Councell's collusion	...	...	...	"
"	Sir Luke Dillon's crafte	...	...	...	"
285.	The spies deceived by General Neyll	...	...	...	"
"	General Neyll's partie in Sligo	...	...	...	"
"	Their valour and behaviour	...	...	...	"

CONTENTS.

	ENC.				PAGE
1646-7.	285.	The enemie followed	...	...	152
	286.	The Vlster army turned from Sligo	...	...	153
	"	The Commissioners' character	...	...	"
	287.	Alexander McColla M ^c Donnell in Clonmell	...	...	"
	"	Taaffe Generall in Monster	...	...	"
	"	Clangarye's regiment	...	...	"

CHAPTER XX.

288.	Preston's character	...	...	...	153
"	His nigardnesse	...	...	...	"
"	True intelligence from Barnwall of Kilbrew	...	...	...	154
"	Owen O'Neyll's intelligence and offer	...	...	...	"
"	Why did not Preston expect this relife?	...	...	...	"
"	His ill managing of affaires	...	...	...	"
"	His bootlesse garrisons	...	...	...	"
289.	His small deuotion	...	...	...	"
"	The priests perswation	...	...	...	"
"	The enemie discouered	...	...	...	155
290.	Costllagh now commander	...	...	...	"
"	Thibott Buttler for his demeritts honored	...	...	...	"
"	The posture of Preston's field	...	...	...	"
"	How foolishe you see	...	...	...	"
291.	The redd-shankes in a poore case	...	...	...	"
"	The Irish horse in distresse	...	...	...	156
"	The battle of Lincehill	...	...	...	"
292.	Flight of Preston and his new Commanders'	...	...	...	"
"	Cruell quarter	...	...	...	"
"	Prisoners	...	...	...	"
"	Charles Geoghegan	...	...	...	"
"	Barnwall punished for his censeritie	...	...	...	"
"	Inhumanitie of Preston and Cuncell	...	...	...	157
293.	How often was Preston deceaued?	...	...	...	"
"	An armie of sheepe lead by a lion is better than an armie of lions lead by a sheepe	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XXI.

294.	The waueringe intention of the Cuncell	...	...	...	158
"	Theire resolution	...	...	...	"
"	Bishop of Ferns and Patrick Dorchy, sent as agents to General Neyll in Connacht	...	...	...	"
295.	Owen O'Neyll's comendations	...	...	...	"

CONTENTS.

[19]

	SEC.				PAGE
1646-7.	295.	He marches to Kilbegan, in Westmeath	...	...	158
	"	The Councell neuer comply [with their] promise	...	...	"
	"	Comisioners breed mutinie	...	...	"
	"	How soone they breake faithe	...	...	159
	"	Alexander McDaniell	...	...	"
	"	The Ulster army four weekes in Kilbegan	...	...	"
	"	A tedious marche to relieue Clonmell	...	...	"
	"	Insichuyne's feare of Generall Neyll	...	...	"
	"	Insichuyne raises siege of Clonmell	...	...	"
	"	Generall Neyll at Castle Jordan	...	...	"

CHAPTER XXII.

296.	Muskry's actions	...	...	...	159
"	No seruice don by him	...	...	...	"
"	Taaffe now Generall	...	...	...	160

CHAPTER XXIII.

297.	Johns and his mercenaries in the field against Owen O'Neylle	...	...	...	160
298.	Generall Neyll's reasonable requeste	...	...	...	"
"	The impietie of the Councell	...	...	...	"
"	His sounde notions not yelded unto	...	...	...	161
299.	Treacherie of Gouvernors	...	...	...	"
"	Generall Neyll's obedience	...	...	...	"
"	The Councell's intentions	...	...	...	"
"	The Generall's stratageme	...	...	...	"
300.	Generall's reliefe	...	...	...	"
"	Periured captains	...	...	...	162
"	Athboy taken or surrendered	...	...	...	"
"	How durst those Captains surrender it?	...	...	...	"
"	The grounds of their treason	...	...	...	"
"	Generall Neyll readie to marche to their reliefe	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XXIV.

301.	The contestation of Johns and his auxiliaries	...	...	...	163
"	Theire sense of Owen O'Neylle	...	...	...	"
302.	The Councell's intende	...	...	...	"
"	Generall Neylle marchinge to Dublin by orders	...	...	...	"

CHAPTER XVII.

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	360.	The brave title borne by the Supream Councill	203
	"	Theire bloudie covenant	"
	"	Prevented by the clergie	"
	361.	The Councill's illusion	"
	"	The grounds of the clergie for their diffidence	"
	362.	Noe satisfaction that a Commetee accompany the Leinster and Munster armies	204
	"	Proved in Richard Bellings' acts with Taaffe	"
	363.	Barristers, druggists, and poets, members of the Council	"
	"	Gerrott Fennell sent by the Council to advise Taaffe	"
	"	Inocent bloude, shed at Cnocnanos, Ballibegg, and Lincehill, cryeth for vengeance	"
	364.	The Vlster armie the only supporte, under God, of Ireland	"
	"	Refractorie members	205
	"	Clanricarde, a Presbyterian instrument, apointed Generall of Conaght by the Councill	"
	"	A strange passage	"
	"	Twenty thousand pounds spent by the Nuncio, and wherefore The Councill's condition not observable	"
	365.	Objections against the Councill's answer	"
	"	Strange proceedings	"
	"	Theire nonsense	"
	"	Injustice of the Councill to General O'Neyll and the Ulster army	206
	"	Preston and Castlehaven, traytors	"
	366.	The Councill's illusion herin	"
	"	Poore Ireland, where such councillors [are]	"
	367.	The Prelates taught to be wary of Preston and Taaffe	"
	"	The Councill perjured in their declaration	207
	"	Maigne assured to Insichuynes	"
	368.	The best nobilitie and prelats of Monster discountenanced and secluded from any government	"
	"	Strange, and why?	"
	"	What sort of people were employed by the Councill	"
	"	The Councill's answer is to gyre the clergy	"
	"	What this Councill be	"
	"	The clergie's motiues for issuinge their censures	"

CHAPTER XVIII.

	369.	The Catholicke Generall marches to Kilbigan	208
	"	Intention of the Dillons towards Owen O'Neyll	"

CONTENTS.

[27]

CHAPTER XIX.

	SEC.		PAGES
1648.	370.	Preston's diabolical intent fayled	209
	"	The Nuncio escaped	"
	"	Preston's blacke designe against the Nuncio	"
	371.	The inhumanitye of Preston towards the innocent	"
	"	Whoe are Preston's enemies?	210
	"	God's threats against him	"
	"	Preston will apeale from God	"
	"	The inequality of both these armies	"

CHAPTER XX.

372.	Treashery of Ambassadors	210
"	Ormonde and his complyces at Paris	"
373.	Dr. Tyrrell's letter from Paris	"
"	Testimony of the Archbishop of Dublin to this intelligence	211
374.	Another letter sent from Paris unto My Lord Nuncio	"
"	This proves all our former surmishe of those men	"
375.	The Councell and adherents, factionists, traytors, and Presbyterians	212
"	The Council's knavery discovered	"
"	The Nuncio and Clergy have sufficient ground for censure	"
376.	Letter to the Catholicke Generall from Major Mortimer, an intimate cavallier with Ormonde and all the Courte of France	"

CHAPTER XXI.

377.	The callefication of the author of former intelligence	213
"	Ormonde could not choose but proue bad for adheringe unto perverse men	"
378.	Queries against the Council and Agents	214
"	Ormonde the sole cause of the King's miseries	"
"	The foolerie of the Prince and Queene of England	"
"	My Lord German's [Jermyn's] bribe, and how worked	"
"	Advice to the clergie	"
"	How the refractorie clergie will be reputed	"
"	Ormonde the heathenish God of those Philisthines	"
"	Foolery or treachery of the Agents	"
379.	The clergie's decree against chaplins of Preston and Taaffe, 4. June, 1648	215

CHAPTER XXII.

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	380.	The clergie's ventication against the Councell	216
	"	Whoe signed the declaration, and theire scope	"
	381.	How this malignant party taxed the Nuncio and clergie	"
	"	Ireland overwhelmed by them with calamity, distraction, and oppression	217
	382.	Eighteen Bishops signed both declaration and dellegation	"
	"	The end of the Cessation	"
	"	What it should be	218
	"	The Supream Councell, a mixture of spirituall and temporall... ..	"
	383.	Practices used by malignant party	"
	"	The Canon Lawe prescribes the subordination	"
	384.	The malignant party will worke iniquitie, but not that it be reuealed	219
	"	False traytors	"
	385.	Subsidies from clergie unjustly transferred to Insichuayne—like the Deuill's donation to Christ	"
	"	The treachery of the Councell	"
	386.	The Cessation not concluded by authoritie	"
	"	The concluders of the Cessation were periurers, therefore incapable of power	220
	"	Noe Supream Councell then extante	"
	"	These reasons to be embraced as good diuinitie	"
	387.	The proclamation of the malignant party not to be feared	"
	388.	The effecte of their apeale to the Sea Apostolicke	"
	389.	Apostolls and their nature	"
	"	My Lord Nuncio gives a confirmatur of the former excom- munication	221
	390.	The malignitie of the Cessation	"
	"	Preston now stronge, but against his foes weake	"
	"	Deuillish methamorphosios	"
	391.	Imitators of Henry VIII.	"
	392.	The Supreme Councell's heretical oathe	222
	"	And worste comentarie	"
	"	Names of those that signed to the oathe	"

CHAPTER XXIII.

	393.	The Councell is cause of all the distemper	223
	394.	What the oathe of association imports	224
	"	It is contrarie to this last now sworne	"
	"	Obiections against the Councell's oathe	"
	"	The contraryties of those proceedings	"
	"	The incompatibilitie of complying with both	"

CHAPTER XXIV.

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	395.	The Councell void of shame	225
	"	What the Councell is qualified with	"
	"	Theire exemplaire, Henry VIII.	"

CHAPTER XXV.

396.	To frame a religious oathe, expounde and comute the same, are acts of ecclesiasticks, but our lay Councell do assume the same to themselues	226
"	Clanmaliry, Mac Thomas, Sir Walter Dungan, Sir Thomas Esmond, and Shanky, ministers of this diabolicall oathe	"
397.	The validitie of the Excommunication	"
"	The ignorant behauior of the Councell and its diuines	"
"	The true Canon Lawe	227
398.	True and sound reason	"
"	The Council threaten a greater persecution than that of Queene Elizabeth	"
399.	The malignity and iniquity of the Councell in this acte	"

CHAPTER XXVI.

400.	Owen O'Neyll's men lesse by two-thirds then Preston's	228
"	Humanitie of Owen O'Neyll	"
"	Owen O'Daghardie's courage	"
"	He caries away eighty horse	"
"	Contumacie of Fr. Dominick Dillon	"
"	Owen O'Neyll's declaration	"
"	The Nuncio went to Galway	"
401.	All was attempted by Owen O'Neyll to reduce the Prestonian army to a right understanding	229
"	He sends Roger Maguire and Lewis Moore to Lowe Linster	"
"	Bryan Mc Phelim and Charles Keuanagh did adhere unto Owen Oneyll	"
402.	Diego Preston is sent to Loe Linster	"
"	Ballikelly treacherously taken	"
"	The Vlstermen hindered to kill their enemies	"
"	Diego Preston put to flight	"
403.	Gallantry of Phelim Mc Tuhill O'Neyll	230
"	John Coghlán's mischievous intent against Owen Oneyll	"

CHAPTER XXVII.

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	404.	Clanricarde's armie in Conaght against Owen Oneyll ...	230
	"	Dermott O'Bryan, a reall Confederate and loyal subject, dies ...	"
	405.	Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall, how used by Clanricarde and Taaffe	231
	"	His engagement to behaue himself neuter for twenty-one days	"
	"	He goes to the countie of Longford	"
	"	Clanricarde's intention	"

CHAPTER XXVIII.

406.	The new confederacie of Owen O'Neyll in Conaght ...	231
"	He marches with a small armie to Conaght ...	232
"	Clanricarde and Taaffe feare Owen O'Neyll, though farr off ...	"
407.	The composure and strength of the Conaght armie ...	"
"	The Conaght armie distracted	"
"	Pension to Colonel John Bourke for infrinching his oathe and covenant	"
408.	Clanricarde's claim to Aghananuire, and how he did loose the possession	233
"	Aghananuire now is the bribe of perjury	"
"	Unconstant and waueringe Conaghtmen	"
409.	Preston leagers Athlone	"
"	The inhumanitie of Preston's armie	"
"	Sir James Dillon's ungodly proclamation	"
"	The good and bad fryers	"
"	The good banished, and the bad continued	"
410.	Genealogie of Sir James Dillon	234
"	Qualis arbor, talis fructus	"

CHAPTER XXIX.

411.	Purcell and his redd-coates, with Clanricarde, leager Athlone ...	234
"	Terence Coghlan and Captain Kelly employed as agents or explorators to Owen Oneyll	235
"	Opinion of them	"
412.	Redd-coates putt to chase from Conaght tower at Athlone ...	"
"	Captain Gawly, upon a safe conducte, came to Clanricarde's campe	"
"	How malitiously used	"
"	Clanricarde's treacherie by meanes of Purcell, or rather proper invention	"

CONTENTS.

[31]

	SEC.			PAGE
1648.	412.	Gawly's reasonable speech unto Clanricarde	... ..	235
	413.	Clanricarde's dishonourable excuse	... ..	"
	"	His treacherous deuce	... ..	"
	"	His offer of composition to Captain Gawly	... ..	"
	"	Unchristian information	... ..	"
	"	Clanricarde's coacted conditions for Athlone thriue	... ..	236
	"	Athlone yelded	... ..	"
	414.	An armie sent to Balimore	... ..	"
	"	The oathe of the factionists there	... ..	"
	"	Captain Brimingham and Captain Daly in Athlone	... ..	"
	"	Clanricarde takes Motanaheny from Donogh O'Conor	... ..	"
	"	The inhumanitie of Clanricarde	... ..	"
	415.	His impious and dishonourable actions to Hugh O'Conor and O'Conor Roe	... ..	"
	"	The cruelties of Clanricarde	... ..	237

CHAPTER XXX.

416.	Hereticall proceedings of the Councill	... ..	237
"	The Nuncio's Dean and Fr. Paule Kinge remitted to custodie	... ..	238
"	Peter Walshe's extraction	... ..	"
417.	Thomas Mac Kyernan, Provincial of the Franciscans, comitted by Colonel Richarde Bourke	... ..	"
"	His sufferings in Athlone caused by his apostat friars, Patricke Plunkett and James Caron	... ..	"
418.	Enlargement of Lord Montgomry, prisoner to Owen O'Neyll	... ..	"
"	The covenant and morgage of Athy	... ..	239
"	Earl of Westmeath liberated	... ..	"
419.	Now, against all lawes, Diego Preston leagers Athy	... ..	"
"	Generall Neyll's oven in Athy, its force	... ..	"
"	Wise underminers	... ..	"
"	How they thriued	... ..	"
"	The assailants acted as fools or slaues	... ..	"

CHAPTER XXXI.

420.	A poast sent for General O'Neyll	... ..	240
"	The Generall goes to Balimore	... ..	"
"	The apostats doe flye	... ..	"
"	The Generall's souldierlike opinion	... ..	"
"	The Censurists fly in seuerall wayes	... ..	"
"	Colonel of horse of Insichuynes taken prisoner	... ..	241
421.	How Clanmalirie behaed himself	... ..	"
"	Offenders pardoned at request of ladie of Clanmalirie	... ..	"

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	422.	Clanmalirie and Bernaby Dempsie cross the Berowe ...	241
	"	How the armie passed the river	"
	423.	Diego Preston's cowardize, fear, and forgettfullnesse ...	242
	"	Sheane O'Hagan's noble behaiour	"
	424.	Letter to Colonel Johns, fraught with treason and faction, knaury and periurie	"
	425.	An exposition of this letter	243
	"	Custom of nations as to natives of kingdoms	"
	"	Statutes contrary to Irishmen, or those so reputed ...	"
	426.	The Fitz Gerald's genealogy from Florence	"
	"	Owen O'Neyll more English then those	244
	427.	Dungan's extraction	"
	428.	The descent and progenitors of those subscribinge unto this instrument against the Generall	"
	"	Sir Robert Talbot—how made gentleman	245
	429.	Treacherie and periurie of this crew	"
	"	Their false intimation	"
	"	How the Vlstermen were deceaued	"
	430.	Roger Maguire and Colonel Lewis Moore come to Athy ...	246
	"	Ingratuitie of Thomas Ouenton [Hovenden]	"
	"	The Generall's tender care of these Ouentons	"
	431.	Huigh Oneyll commanded to take Ballilehan	"
	"	The Castle won	247
	"	A riche place	"
	"	Oventon committed prisoner	"
	"	To feare a friende brought all this mischief	247

CHAPTER XXXII.

	432.	Generall Owen O'Neyll easie to be satisfied	247
	"	Richard Buttler's oathe	"
	"	How easie a matter was it to dislodge Preston	248
	"	They had not the courage to expecte the numbering of his armie	"
	"	Theire falsitie in this and in the former	"
	433.	This pusilanimitie is Excommunication fruite	"
	"	A gifte of immortal bodies, or supernaturall operation ...	"
	"	Prestonian inuention to defeate poore men of their owne ...	"
	434.	Thirty Prestonian horse inciullie behaue themselues	"
	"	Bryan Roe not pleased, and why?	249
	"	Railers taken prisoners	"
	"	The Generall's fatherlie care of them	"
	"	Are dismissed with horse and armes	"
	435.	The ciuilitie of this campe	"
	"	Mr. Sweetman's intimation to the Author	"

CONTENTS.

[33]

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	435.	The impious principle of Preston	249
	436.	Insichuyne's Commissioner, Richard Buttler, taken prisoner ...	"
	"	Noe opposition from Insichuyne, though the factionists gaued out the contrarie	250
	437.	Clanricarde's intente towards my Lord Nuncio	"
	"	Three thousand pounds from the towne of Galway	"
	"	The false gassetts and periurous attestations of the factionists	"
	"	Generall's true intimation, contrarie unto the former	"
	"	His enemies are ouercome by proper sensualitie and other brutall passions	"

CHAPTER XXXIII.

438.	Preston tooke sanctuarie; if the lawe were obserued as in Catholicke contries, that would not doe, he beinge a traytor	251
"	Preston's power ever in distruction of poore men	"
"	The condition of the poore friers of Stradbally Leyse	"
"	Cruelty of Preston's troopers	252
"	A bloudie and cruell tiger	"
"	Fr. Paule wounded by this antichristian Jew	"
439.	Faire words but abominable deeds	"
"	False promiser and worse compliance	"
"	The Vlster souldiers' feare of beinge excommunicated	"
"	The temeritie of another	"
"	God's just judgment against this man, who desperatly died	"
440.	Conference of Colonell Walle and Fr. Paule for the admittance of souldiers to his Abby	253
"	Preston's impious order against the imunitie of Holy Church	"
"	The fryers' quarter swears, but not complied with	"
441.	Periurie as comon with the factionists as to eate breade	"
"	How Preston's troopers behaved in the Abbey	"
"	This is all the abomination that the Turke could doe in such an occasion	"
"	Lieutenant-Colonell Synott, a braue instrument of periurie	"
"	The miracle, and God's indignation	254
442.	Preston's offer unto Catherine Tyrrell, Doctor Shiell's wife, to surrender her castle—rejected	"
"	Second time attempted—rejected	"
"	The third time attempted—rejected	"
"	Fourthly attempted by a letter	"
"	Rejected by a braue resolution	255
"	The crueltie and inhumanitie of Preston	"
"	More than a woman's courage	"
"	Poore sickbrained Preston	"

	REC.		PAGE
1648.	443.	Captain Hagan's courage at the Castle of Athy	255
	"	The breache	"
	"	What Captain Hagan did acte against the enemie	"
	"	A dispatche sent for a relife	256
	444.	The ordinance against the Monesterie	"
	"	A crosse planted in the steeple by Fr. Thomas Brimingham	"
	"	What Preston does with the crosse	"
	"	How well Preston improved in religion	"
	"	His opinion of the crosse	"
	"	Lord of Costllagh become gunner	"
	"	His joy for killinge fryers and breakinge the crosse	"
	"	The Prior's attestation to the Author touchinge this pointe	"
	445.	The accesse of Puritants to Preston	257
	"	Cosbye's misinformation	"
	"	Preston's order against the fryers	"
	"	The fryers' compliance therto	"
	"	A petition to Preston by Fr. James Geoghegan	"
	446.	Cosby's quarter at the surrender of Stradbally to Colonell Lewes Moore, in Oct. 1646	"
	"	Adam Loftus, solicitor for the quarter, a brother-in-lawe to Cosbye	258
	"	Generall Oneyll's donation to the fryers	"
	447.	The simplicitie of people	"
	"	Preston's behavior towards the fryer	"
	"	Dillon's verditt against the fryer	"
	"	His non-sense in religion discovered	259
	"	Extrauagant proceedings of Preston and Dillon	"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

448.	Preston goes against S. Dominicke and S. Francis	259
"	The relife is sent for to Reban	260
"	To borowe time, a parley is had	"
"	Preston's colusion	"
"	His desire to drinke fryers bloude	"
"	The Jewish behavior of Fr. John Barnwall and Fr. John Dormer	"
"	Theire blasphemies	"
449.	The poore posture of the defendants [in the Monastery]	"
"	A miracle	"
"	The souldiers answeare	261
"	S. Dominicke was the fryer	"
450.	Phelim Mc Tuhill's undaunted marche	"
"	Horse and foote putt to flight	"
"	Captain Hagan's courage	"
"	Braue Prestonians	"
"	Not worthy sanctuarie	"

CONTENTS.

[35]

	ENC.		PAGE
1648.	450.	Seven score killed, prisoners and their spoils taken by a handfull	261
	451.	Nenagh taken	262
	"	Falkland forte taken, and how	"
	"	John Coghlan's cowardize	"
	452.	Birr taken	"
	"	The garrison of Stradbally stole away	"
	"	Generall O'Neyll's proclamation	"
	"	Flight of Preston	"
	"	Major Doghardy's speeche to Preston and his partie	263
	"	Tongue-tyed, daztardly cowards	"
	453.	How Preston used Huigh Sheill	"
	"	The Generall's letter unto Preston	"
	"	Preston's continuinge treacherie	"
	"	An unindifferent exchange of prisoners	264

CHAPTER XXXV.

454.	A runinge armie indeede	264
"	Richard Buttler's treachery	"
"	Insichuyne's cruell and bloudie quarter	"
455.	Message to Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall	265
"	The Generall's suspicion of him	"
"	His delaies, the cause of noe service	"
"	Clanricarde arrives at Streamstown	"
456.	Linster and Monster forces marched to Birr	"
"	The siedege of Falklande forte	"
"	Lord Dillon, Sir John Dungan, and Morishe Fitz Gerald, prisoners	"
"	Captain Lisagh Ferrall taxed for my Lord Dillon's escape	"
457.	Clanricarde's accustomed treacherie	266
"	Maguire, a foolish Captain, disobedient and treacherous	"
"	Falkland forte yelded	"
"	The iniquitie of the times did not giue a way for punishments	"
458.	The enemies feares	"
"	The skirmish	"
"	A madd courage of drunken sotts	"
"	But they are victors	267
"	They desearuedly miscaried; Lewes Moore and Con Oneylle, wounded	"

CHAPTER XXXVI.

459.	The comon souldiers offer to beate the enemies horse and parte of the foote	267
"	All the armie except three was for battle	"

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	443.	Captain Hagan's courage at the Castle of Athy	255
	"	The breache	"
	"	What Captain Hagan did acte against the enemie	"
	"	A dispatche sent for a relife	256
	444.	The ordinance against the Monesterie	"
	"	A crosse planted in the steeple by Fr. Thomas Brimingham	"
	"	What Preston does with the crosse	"
	"	How well Preston improved in religion	"
	"	His opinion of the crosse	"
	"	Lord of Costllagh become gunner	"
	"	His joy for killinge fryers and breakinge the crosse	"
	"	The Prior's attestation to the Author touchinge this pointe	"
	445.	The accesse of Puritants to Preston	257
	"	Cosbye's misinformation	"
	"	Preston's order against the fryers	"
	"	The fryers' compliance therto	"
	"	A petition to Preston by Fr. James Geoghegan	"
	446.	Cosby's quarter at the surrender of Stradbally to Colonell Lewes Moore, in Oct. 1646	"
	"	Adam Loftus, solicitor for the quarter, a brother-in-lawe to Cosbye	258
	"	Generall Oneyll's donation to the fryers	"
	447.	The simplicities of people	"
	"	Preston's behavior towards the fryer	"
	"	Dillon's verditt against the fryer	"
	"	His non-sense in religion discouered	259
	"	Extraugant proceedings of Preston and Dillon	"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

	448.	Preston goes against S. Dominicke and S. Francis	259
	"	The relife is sent for to Reban	260
	"	To borowe time, a parley is had	"
	"	Preston's colusion	"
	"	His desire to drinke fryers bloude	"
	"	The Jewish behavior of Fr. John Barnwall and Fr. John Dormer Theire blasphemies	"
	449.	The poore posture of the defendants [in the Monastery]	"
	"	A miracle	"
	"	The souldiers answeare	261
	"	S. Dominicke was the fryer	"
	450.	Phelim Mc Tuhill's undaunted marche	"
	"	Horse and foote putt to flight	"
	"	Captain Hagan's courage	"
	"	Braue Prestonians	"
	"	Not worthy sanctuarie	"

CONTENTS.

[35]

1648.	SEC.		PAGE
	450.	Seven score killed, prisoners and their spoils taken by a handfull	261
	451.	Nenagh taken	262
	"	Falkland forte taken, and how	"
	"	John Coghlan's cowardize	"
	452.	Birr taken	"
	"	The garrison of Stradbally stole away	"
	"	General O'Neyll's proclamation	"
	"	Flight of Preston	"
	"	Major Doghardy's speech to Preston and his party	263
	"	Tongue-tyed, dastardly cowards	"
	453.	How Preston used Huigh Sheill	"
	"	The General's letter unto Preston	"
	"	Preston's continuing treachery	"
	"	An unindifferent exchange of prisoners	264

CHAPTER XXXV.

	454.	A running army indeed	264
	"	Richard Buttler's treachery	"
	"	Insichuine's cruel and bloody quarter	"
	455.	Message to Lieutenant-General Ferrall	265
	"	The General's suspicion of him	"
	"	His delays, the cause of no service	"
	"	Clanricarde arrives at Streamstown	"
	456.	Linster and Munster forces marched to Birr	"
	"	The siege of Falkland forte	"
	"	Lord Dillon, Sir John Dungan, and Morishe Fitz Gerald, prisoners	"
	"	Captain Lisagh Ferrall taxed for my Lord Dillon's escape	"
	457.	Clanricarde's accustomed treachery	266
	"	Maguire, a foolish Captain, disobedient and treacherous	"
	"	Falkland forte yielded	"
	"	The iniquity of the times did not give a way for punishments	"
	458.	The enemy's fears	"
	"	The skirmish	"
	"	A mad courage of drunken sots	"
	"	But they are victors	267
	"	They deservingly miscarried; Lewes Moore and Con Oneyll, wounded	"

CHAPTER XXXVI.

	459.	The common soldiers offer to beat the enemy's horse and part of the foot	267
	"	All the army except three was for battle	"



	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	443.	Captain Hagan's courage at the Castle of Athy	255
	"	The breache	"
	"	What Captain Hagan did acte against the enemie	"
	"	A dispatche sent for a relife	256
	444.	The ordinance against the Monesterie	"
	"	A crosse planted in the steeple by Fr. Thomas Brimingham	"
	"	What Preston does with the crosse	"
	"	How well Preston improved in religion	"
	"	His opinion of the crosse	"
	"	Lord of Costllagh become gunner	"
	"	His joy for killinge fryers and breakinge the crosse	"
	"	The Prior's attestation to the Author touchinge this pointe	"
	445.	The accesse of Puritants to Preston	257
	"	Cosbye's misinformation	"
	"	Preston's order against the fryers	"
	"	The fryers' compliance therto	"
	"	A petition to Preston by Fr. James Geoghegan	"
	446.	Cosby's quarter at the surrender of Stradbally to Colonell Lewes Moore, in Oct. 1646	"
	"	Adam Loftus, solicitor for the quarter, a brother-in-lawe to Cosbye	258
	"	Generall Oneyll's donation to the fryers	"
	447.	The simplicities of people	"
	"	Preston's behavior towards the fryer	"
	"	Dillon's verditt against the fryer	"
	"	His non-sense in religion discouered	259
	"	Extrauagant proceedings of Preston and Dillon	"

CHAPTER XXXIV.

448.	Preston goes against S. Dominicke and S. Francis	259
"	The relife is sent for to Reban	260
"	To borowe time, a parley is had	"
"	Preston's colusion	"
"	His desire to drinke fryers bloude	"
"	The Jewish behavior of Fr. John Barnwall and Fr. John Dormer	"
"	Theire blasphemies	"
449.	The poore posture of the defendants [in the Monastery]	"
"	A miracle	"
"	The souldiers answeare	261
"	S. Dominicke was the fryer	"
450.	Phelim Mc Tuhill's undaunted marche	"
"	Horse and foote putt to flight	"
"	Captain Hagan's courage	"
"	Braue Prestonians	"
"	Not worthy sanctuarie	"

CONTENTS.

[35]

1648.	SEC.		PAGE
	450.	Seven score killed, prisoners and their spoils taken by a handfull	261
	451.	Nenagh taken	262
	"	Falkland forte taken, and how	"
	"	John Coghlan's cowardize	"
	452.	Birr taken	"
	"	The garrison of Stradbally stole away	"
	"	General O'Neyll's proclamation	"
	"	Flight of Preston	"
	"	Major Doghardy's speech to Preston and his party	263
	"	Tongue-tyed, dastardly cowards	"
	453.	How Preston used Huigh Sheill	"
	"	The General's letter unto Preston	"
	"	Preston's continuing treachery	"
	"	An unindifferent exchange of prisoners	264

CHAPTER XXXV.

	454.	A running army indeed	264
	"	Richard Buttler's treachery	"
	"	Insichuyne's cruel and bloody quarter	"
	455.	Message to Lieutenant-General Ferrall	265
	"	The General's suspicion of him	"
	"	His delays, the cause of no service	"
	"	Clanricarde arrives at Streamstown	"
	456.	Linster and Munster forces marched to Birr	"
	"	The siege of Falkland forte	"
	"	Lord Dillon, Sir John Dungan, and Morishe Fitz Gerald, prisoners	"
	"	Captain Lisagh Ferrall taxed for my Lord Dillon's escape	"
	457.	Clanricarde's accustomed treachery	266
	"	Maguire, a foolish Captain, disobedient and treacherous	"
	"	Falkland forte yielded	"
	"	The iniquity of the times did not give a way for punishments	"
	458.	The enemy's fears	"
	"	The skirmish	"
	"	A mad courage of drunken sots	"
	"	But they are victors	267
	"	They deservingly miscaried; Lewes Moore and Con Oneylle, wounded	"

CHAPTER XXXVI.

	459.	The common soldiers offer to beat the enemy's horse and part of the foot	267
	"	All the army except three was for battle	"



	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	460.	The Councell of Warr's motiues for battle	268
	461-2.	The Generall's speeche	"
	463.	The Catholicke armie dislodged	269
	"	Insichuynes proceedings in Kilkenny	"
	"	Owen O'Neyll at Kilbegan, Crowe, and Baskneagh	"

CHAPTER XXXVII.

464.	Owen O'Neyll offended by the Dillons, and how	270
"	The Provinciall [Thomas Makyernan] enlarged	"
465.	The composition	271
"	Faghny Ferrall's plainesse	"
"	The Generall proved prophet	"

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

466.	The Cessation's continuance	271
"	Peter Walsh, apostat fryer	272
"	The Queres by Walsh were fathered upon the Bishope of Ossory	"
"	Queres against the author's quere	"
467.	Our case, as Confederate Catholics of Ireland	273
"	Stronge instruments for religion	"
"	The continuance of Catholicke religion in Ireland	"
468.	The Queries intended to disparage that braue nation	"
"	The poore extraction of this Walsh	"
"	Poore beggers won by baites	"
469.	Walsh's letter, which fell into the Author's hands	274
470.	A comentarie upon the former letter	"
"	Walsh's hereticall and erroneous doctrine	275
471.	It is against the Gospell	"
"	What nunns were obedient to Superiors	"
"	Publican and Pharesey	276
"	The upright clergie are denounced as sinfull	"
472.	Rosse Geoghegan, Bishop of Kildare, formerly persecuted by Peter Walsh	"
"	Peruse this against Walsh and his party	"
"	Walshe's diuines	277
473.	A discription of those diuines:	"
"	Peter Walsh, John Dormer, Antony Sweetman, James Delamare, Thomas Thalbott, Dr. Thalbott, Paule Synot, Symon Wafer, Bonaventura and Lodowicke Fitz Gerald, Thomas Babe	278
"	Thomas Fitz Gerald's daughters	"
"	Detractinge rhymes by Thomas Deaz, Bishope of Meathe,	"

CONTENTS.

[37]

	SEC.		PAGE
1648.	473.	Oliuer Deaz and the clergie of Meath, except Daniell O'Mollhan, were refractorie	278
	"	A disgrace to any man of worth to signe with this rabble ...	279

CHAPTER XXXIX.

474.	Roger Maguire marched to Jamestowne	279
"	Carradrumruiske besieged	"
"	A manly assaulte	280
"	Roger Maguire killed	"
"	His omission in relation to his office of Commander	"
475.	The forwardnesse of the assayllants	"
"	Their consternations and lamentations	"
"	How tender of their promise	"
"	Obsearue the indicible humanitie of those	"
"	Roger Maguire interred in Cauan	281
476.	Colonel Sheane O'Kenedy	"
"	Donogh O'Conor's deceite	"
"	Laghlin O'Donnellan's humanitie	"
"	Colonell Kenedy goes to Upper Ormond	"
"	Captain Teig Ruairk's treacherie	"

CHAPTER XL.

477.	Ormonde verie busie in France	282
"	His brazen foreheade	"
"	Deceitfull intimation of Ormonde	"
"	His contrarie oathes for Puritants, Protestants, and Catholicks	"
478.	The royall esteeme of the Councell towards Ormonde	283
"	The zeudo-Councell's colusion	"
"	The metamorphosios of the gouernment by Ormonde and his red-coates	"
479.	The Assembly summoned by noe power, and therefore noe Assembly	"
"	The madnesse of this zeudo-Councell	"
"	The Supreame Councell is onely a truncke	284
480.	The Anti-Assembly behaue like subjectes to Ormonde	"
"	The pouertie of Ormonde	"
"	The faction intend to make Ormonde kinge	"
481.	The articles granted by Ormonde in his new peace	285
"	Worse than the oath of Supreamacie	"
482.	A smoothe knave and cycphant	"
"	The alteration of religion in Kilkenny	286
"	Treason of the Guardians of Iniscortie and Newwrosse in obeying their Superiors	"

CONTENTS.

	PAGE	PAGE
1648. 483.	Warrant of the Councill, or rather of the Assembly, against these fryers	286
„	Excommunications incurred by the Councill, 1642-3 ...	287
484.	Acte of Waterforde Congregation against the rejected peace, 1646	„
485.	Acts which are forbidden under pain of censure	288
„	The Excommunications of Bulla Censæ Domini and Canons are against the Councill	„
486.	The Nuncio and his Congregation are only publishers of former laws	289
„	The Assembly and Councill are inuolued in the said Canons ...	„
„	Edmond Reyly, Vicar-General of Dublin, deposed, and Lawrence Archbold appointed by the Councill Assembly, etc. ...	„
„	Core, Dathan, and Abyron swallowed, and Lucifer whirled from heaven, are paternes of the Councill	290

CHAPTER XLI.

487.	Peace concluded with Ormonde and Insichuyne	290
„	Each had his particular end	291
„	The Council are now named Commissioners Intrusted ...	„
„	The change of names is here from good to worste ...	„
„	Theire consonancie with the Parliament	„
488.	Names of the Commissioners intrusted by Ormonde ...	„

CHAPTER XLII.

489.	The Assembly in their articles made no mention of the Regulars	292
490.	Greate Ormonde's gyringe grannte to Regulars [17. Jan. 1648-9]	„
„	Insichuyne's engagement as addition to the former ...	293
„	The Regulars are confined onely unto theire monesterie walls	„
„	Was the like passage ever seen?	„

CHAPTER XLII[A].

491.	Nine Puritant Colonells newly become of Ormonde's party to advance Holy Religion	294
492.	What the lawes are for	„
„	All equitie banished by Ormonde	295
„	A braue royaliste	„
„	Some of Ormonde's acts the same as those which were the chiefe articles for the beheading of the Earl of Strafford ...	„

CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

NO.		PAGE
I.	O'Neill genealogy, from the tenth century	297
II.	A.D. 1567.—Ulster Chroniclers' account of Shane O'Neill	299
III.	A.D. 1569.—Extract from "Act [xi. Elizabeth. Sess. 3. cap. 1] for the Attainder of Shane O'Neile, and the extinguishment of the name of O'Neile, and the entitling of the Queen's Majestie, her heyers and successours, to the country of Tyrone, and to other countries and territories in Ulster"	302
IV.	A.D. 1596.—Edmund Spenser's views on Ulster	304
V.	A.D. 1607.—Ulster Chroniclers' account of departure from Ireland of Hugh O'Neill and Rury O'Donel	308
VI.	A.D. 1608.—Ulster Chroniclers' account of the deaths, at Rome, of Rury and Cathbar O'Donel, and Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon	309
VII.	A.D. 1608-9.—Epitaphs in Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, at Rome, on Roderic O'Donel, Earl of Tyrconnell, Cathbar O'Donel, and Hugh O'Donel	310
VIII.	A.D. 1609.—Epitaph in Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, at Rome, on Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon, son of Hugh, Earl of Tyrone	311
IX.	A.D. 1609.—Elegy on O'Neills and O'Donels: English version, by James Clarence Mangan, of Gaelic poem addressed to Nuala, sister of Hugh and Roderic O'Donel, by Eoghan Mac an Bhaird [Ward], their hereditary bard	312
X. I.	A.D. 1610.—Thomas Blenerhasset on Ulster Plantation: A Direction for the Plantation in Vlster. Contayning in it, sixe principall thinges, viz :— 1. The securing of that wilde cuntrye to the Crowne of England.	

No.		PAGE
x.	2. The withdrawing of all the charge of the garrison and men of warre.	
	3. The rewarding of the olde Seruitors to their good content.	
	4. The meanes how to increase the reuenuie to the Crowne, with a yearly very great somme.	
	5. How to establish the puritie of religion there.	
	6. And how the Undertakers may with securitie be inriched ...	317
„ 2.	A.D. 1618-19.—Account of lands appointed to Thomas, Edward, and Francis Blenerhasset, in the county of Fermanagh ...	326
XI.	A.D. 1614.—An Act [xi. of James I.] for the Attainder of Hugh, late Earl of Tyrone; Rory, late Earl of Tyrconnell; Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, knight, and others ...	328
XII.	A.D. 1616.—Ulster Chroniclers' account of the death of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, at Rome ...	331
XIII.	Names and Muster-Roll of "Undertakers" in Ulster: Chief tenants, the quantities of land they held, and the number of armed men mustered by them:	
	County of Cavan ...	332
	„ „ Armagh ...	„
	„ „ Fermanagh ...	333
	„ „ Tyrone ...	„
	„ „ Londonderry ...	334
	„ „ Antrim ...	335
	„ „ Donegall ...	„
	„ „ Down ...	336
	„ „ Monaghan ...	337
	The total of euery particular county within the Province of Ulster ...	„
XIV.	A Discourse concerninge the Settlement of the Natiues in the Province of Ulster ...	338
XV.	1627-8.—Grants from Charles I. to Sir Brian Maguire:	
„ 1.	Royal Letter directing payment of pension to Sir Brian Maguire; with Commission for him to raise and command a company of horse and foot for the King's service; and authorising his creation as a Peer of Ireland, with title of Baron of Enniskillen, in the county of Fermanagh, 1627-8 ...	342
„ 2.	Patent of creation for Brian Maguire as Baron of Enniskillen, 1627-8	344
„ 3.	Sir Brian Maguire surrenders to Charles I. the territory called Fermanagh, or "Maguire's Country," in Ulster, 1628 ...	346

CONTENTS OF APPENDIX.

[41]

NO.		PAGE
xvi.	1631.—Lands in Ulster resumed by Charles I., because the "Undertakers" had set them to the Irish: A grant, to Sir William Stewart and Sir Henrie Tichborne, of all rents and profitts to certain lands in Ulster	348
xvii.	1640. Aug. 9.—Articles for Surrender of Arras, between the Generals of Louis XIII. and Owen O'Neill, Commander of the Town for Philip IV., King of Spain: Articles accordés par les Generaux de l'armée du Roy, à Eugenio Oneil, Mestre de camp d'un regiment Irlandois pour le service de sa Majesté Catholique, et Commandant les gens de guerre dans Arras	352
xviii.	1641.—Statements by Owen O'Connolly	353
xix.	„ Statement ascribed to Hugh Mac Mahon: The examination of Hughe Oge Mac Mahonn, of Connagh, in the county of Monaghan, Esquire, aged 35 yeares or thereabouts, taken before the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Councill, 23 October, 1641	355
xx.	1641.—Owen O'Connolly: Proceedings in House of Commons, London	„
xxi.	1641.—Relation by Owen O'Connolly: A treu relation of the treacherous designe of the Irish in Ireland on the Castle of Dublin, at the beginnige of the Rebellion there, and of the particular passages in the discouerie of that plott, and of what I heard of theire intention there anent halfe a ycare before from the said Capt. Hugh Oge Mc Maughon, that did discouer the plott to mee	357
xxii.	1641. Oct. 23.—Remonstrance of Catholics of Ireland: The Generall Remonstrance or Declaration of the Catholikes of Ireland, received of George Wentworth, 28. Decemb: 1641, who received it from the rebels when he was prisoner with them ...	360
xxiii. I, 2.	1641. Oct. 23.—Letters from Henry Leslie, Bishop of Down, to Viscount Montgomery, of Ards, in Ulster ...	362
xxiv.	„ „ 24.—Proclamation by Sir Phelim O'Neill	363
xxv.	„ „ „ Viscount Montgomery to Charles I.	„
xxvi.	„ „ 25.—Con Magennis to Commanders in county of Down ...	364
xxvii. I.	„ Nov. 6.—Remonstrance from county of Cavan to Lords Justices and Council at Dublin: The humble remonstrance made by the Gentry and Commonaltie of the countie of Cavan, of theire grievances common with other parts of this kingdome of Ireland	„
VOL. I.		g

NO.		PAGE
XXVII. 2.	1641. Nov. 10.—Answer from Lords Justices at Dublin to preceding Remonstrance	365
XXVIII.	“ “ “ O’Farralls of Longford to Viscount Dillon of Costello Gallen : A copy of a letter directed to the Lord Viscount [Dillon] of Costilough from the Rebels of the county of Longford in Ireland, which he presented to the State in their behalf	367
XXIX.	1641. Nov. 10.—Names of native Irish in arms in Ulster : The names of the chieftains and septs of the meer Irish, who have taken arms in Ireland, and rebelled against his Majesty, and the Crown of England, in the province of Ulster	369
XXX.	1641. Nov. 16.—Order for Conference with Irish in arms	370
XXXI.	“ “ 22.—Torlogh O’Neill to Sir Robert Knight	371
XXXII.	“ “ 23.—Sir Phelim O’Neill to Sir William Hamilton	372
XXXIII.	“ Dec. 27.—Irish protection for Lady Forbes and Scots	“
XXXIV.	1641-2. Jan. 28.—Commission from Torlogh O’Neill	373
XXXV.	1641.—Remonstrance of Ulster Protestants against Bishops : The humble petition of the Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, etc., part of the province of Ulster, in the kingdome of Ireland, as it was humbly presented to the Right Honourable assembly of knights, citizens, burgesses in this present Parliament, and accepted of that Honourable House	374
XXXVI.	1641-2. Feb. 2—4.—Earl of Clanricarde and the Irish of Connacht	379
XXXVII.	“ Demands of Irish	382
XXXVIII.	“ Feb. 8.—Proclamation by Lords Justices and Council at Dublin against Traitors and Rebels	383
XXXIX.	“ “ 10.—SIR PHELM O’NEILL :	
“ 1.	The true demands of the Rebels in Ireland. Declaring the causes of their taking up armes. Sent into England by Sir Phelom O Neale, their Generall: To the Honorable and High Court of Parliament. Ulster, February 10. 1641-2	393
“ 2, 3.	Proceedings in Parliament at London, 7-8. March, 1641-2	395
XI.	1641-2. Feb. 12.—Examination of Henry Cartan, Quarter-Master of Colonel Owen O’Neill’s Regiment in Flanders : The examination of Henry Cartan taken before Sir Gerrard Lowther, Knight, Cheife Justice of his Majestie’s Court of Comon Pleas, and Sir Robert Meredith, Knight, Chancellour of his Majestie’s Court of Exchequer, of his Majestie’s Privie Councell of the Kingdome of Ireland, by direction of the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Councell, xij ^o . Febr., 1641[-2]	396

APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY

OF

TREASONABLE FACTION.



DON EUGENIO O'NEILL.



J. A. Burt. Lith.

OWEN ROE O'NEILL,

COMMANDANT OF ARRAS FOR KING PHILIP IV, 1640,
GENERAL OF THE IRISH ARMY OF ULSTER, 1642-1649.

From an original Dutch painting.

EPISTLE DEDICATORIE
TO
DON EUGENIUS ONEALE.

SIR,

Plutarchus, writeth that Alexander the greate addressinge himself for the warrs of Assia against that mightie and warrlicke prince Antiochus, bountifully bestowed all his treasure, jewells, and other his houshold goods, in his kingdome of Macedonia: Beinge questioned by Dorchas his minion what should be his proper viaticum, to defray, as well the meanes of his armie, as other accidentall charges and accessories incident to soe dangerous and tedious a jorney: answered to that onely, *spes*, nothinge, said he, but *hope* I shall not want. The goulden fleece, by ancient authors severally expounded, what it was. Suydas doe hould it to be the chymicke booke, instructinge the fabrication of artificiaall gould or philosopher stone; others, an instrument whearby the mynes of gould, pearle and silver were both discovered, and easily perfected: others, otherwise (as observable by the authors in the margen noted) however it might be, was in greate esteeme, and high repute with Colchus kinge of Aeta, that an enchaunted dragon and severall monstrous captaines and armies (whom fame did tearme firie bulls) did garde and deffende the same, against all foraigne invasion, to the exceedinge preiudice of all adventurers. All men desirous of honor, must trie their fortune, in the recooper therof, but none escaped; but was either killed or taken prisoner, by the strenght and valour of the keepers. Greece, the nurse of science and chivalrie (beinge hereof certified) apointed Jason of Thessaly generall, inlistninge severall couragious princes, and warrlicke champons under his comaunde for such a brave expedition, as Hercules, Castor, Pollux, Dioscuri, Idas, Telamon, Pareclimenes, Nauplius, Augeas, Orpheus, and many other honorable personages, whoe arrivinge to Aeta, fought for the price, with the keepers, had the slaughter of them all, caried away Medea the kings onely daughter an enchauntresse, and the goulden fleece, to their native country with honor and riches.

This Aeta betokineth the kingdome of Ireland, enjoyinge the goulden fleece, a most delicate, temperat and fruitfull soile, aboundinge with plentifull store of all kinde of myne whearof foraigne and neighbouringe nations as Frenche, Brittons, Wailshe, Normans blacke and white, Dutch and Brittish weare most earnest for its recooper, made severall couragious attempts upon it, but ever with losse, by the

Plut de
fortitud.
Alexand.
fol. 342.

Suydas.
Strabo. l. 10
de Colcho.
Apollonius.
lib. 3. de
mirab.
Aetæ regni.

warrlicke opposition of Meilds of Spaines descent, then kings of that region, and specially by the progenie of Eremon (a son of the said Meilds, or Miletus from whom the Oneylls west and north are descended.) The Normans and whom they now call Danes made heade against this kingdome, as more obstinate and better seaferinge men, others courage already abated, arrived hither like a deluge, used all inhumanitie, in severall battles with the nation, had still the soyle, untill at length that memorable and bloudie battle of Clontarfe, whearin was killed Brian Borowe OKenedie, with both the armies, unto onely five or six men, and though by this battle the nation was cleere of foraigners, being distracted, rent and devided amonge themselves, accordinge our Saviour's prediction, "omne regnum in se divisum desolabitur," was by entestine broyles brought to destruction; for after the said battle, OMellaghlin of the Oneylls intred possession of his owne kingdome and seate of Taragh, (beinge in the sense of many ancient authors of them times) formerly by the said Brian Borowe, wrongfully deposed, notwithstanding the opposition of Morogh son and heire unto the said Brian; The warrlike and warie enemye the Danes obsearvinge the distemper and distraction of the Irish nation, thought to take hould of such an offered oportunitie, their verie kinge, by name Turgetius, addressinge himself with a wonderfull flete and mightie armie, arrived into Ireland, assisted by the distraction of the natives as aforesaide, easily and soone became conquerours of the whole nation, and brought it soe farr under subiection, that, there was never a cottage, in all Ireland, whearin was not one or two of his souldiers cessed, usinge all crueltie and inhumanitie, never hearde off, as well . . .,* ecclesiasticke, as laytie, untill he divine distincte his owne tironie ministringe fuell to . . .,* his daies, the then titularie kinge O Mellaghlin of the Neylls aforesaid banish . . .,* and destroyed the whole multitude of Danes with their kinge as the curious reader may see in the antiquarists of thim times, Dr. Keatinge in his Irish monuments, Connall Geoghegan in his Englishe annualls and innumerable others. In the meane while Morogh M^c Brian (or his successor accordinge some authors) makinge challenge unto royaltie, though not thrivinge, havinge in his possession the crowne of Ireland, stole away, tooke shippinge, caried the same alonge to the pope of Rome, (as if powerfull) makinge donation therof to his holinesse, who enroulinge this kingdome, in pursuance of the said donation with that holy and honorable denomination of St. Peters patrimonie, notwithstandinge left its managinge to the former kings and their posteritie, as lawfull successors of that diademe, onely kept the crowne to himself and researved a kinde of chiefree, a peny onely in every familie or smoke in all the kingdome, which he called by the name of Peter peny. This continued soe duringe the revolution of many ages, and in the succession of many popes, untill destinie or divine providence soe ordaininge, an Englishman under the name of Adrian the 4th did sitt in the apostolicall chaire, to indeere himself to his contry and quondam soveraigne the kinge of England (if I be not deceaved), then Henry the seconde bestowed on him that Peter peny in Ireland as chiefry (as beinge the Catholicke kinge next neighbour unto the Irish to keepe them in amitie together, and cause justice to be

Doctor
Keatinge.
Connall
Geoghegan,
etc.

In Bibli-
oteka
Vatican,
Rome.

ministred amonge themselves. This was all ye popes donation and all that he could graunte and this verie same with this provisoe to continue unto him and into his successors, as longe onely as they continue obedient to the sea of Rome, and upon their fayler herin to quitt all right and challenge in vertue of this donation to the kingdome or Irish nation. Not longe after this, there hapned some distemper amonge the kings of Ireland and specially betweene Dermott OMorochoe kinge of Linster, and Rorie OConor, kinge of Conaght whose occasion I referre to the antiquarists of that nation. The kinge of Linster not able to withstande the other and his adherents, went for England desiringe Henrie the seconde (then kinge therof) as an indifferent judge (as was thought) to send an armie with him to recover his owne from his said antagonist. That nation populous, warrlicke and politicke, most desirous to have such an occasion offered wherin they might trie their fortune in the goulden mynes of distracted Irelande soe longe wished for, and soe often faylinge. Now invited by foolerie, division and faction, was sure of thriving, not as mercenarie auxiliaries (as was suggested) but as conquerours; his requeste was graunted, onely such voluntiers, as weare pleased to be inlisted under the name of mercenaries, and all the prisoners in restraunte then in England: to give them both libertie and armes, for that expedition. Dermott now arrivinge to Ireland, with the matter of 500, all base and mecanicall men, beside foure or five their chiefe comaunders, Stephens, Morish FitzGerald, Delagroz etc. Those by the distraction of the nation, easily gott footing in the countie of Wexforde: and by policie and baize invitinge every daie the joininge of other members unto them, some by cessation of armes, others choosinge them arbitrators in matters of high concearnment, some offeringe themselves confederats and associats to the kinge of England: others puttinge their estates, (if by any challenged) unto their hands, untill unto either side doomed, some maryinge their daughters and kindswomen unto them, others that weare hitherto enemye to Dermott and his cause, seeinge him now, as in favor with the crowne of Englande, embraced his side and became of his partie: By this strategeme and division of the natione by the dayly supplies sent from England under the vizarde of honestie, indifferencie and umperage, soone became masters of the province of Linster, and other parts of Ireland, not by any force of armes (as they give out that it was a conquered nation, but what was won, was by the policie and crafte of the one, and lost by the simplicitie and disunion of the other, onely the Neylls never condescended to any such bargaine. By these intrusive pretences the kinge of Englande intituled himself lord of Ireland, which continued (though not without opposition) to his posteritie for the succession of many kings, untill the time of Henry the 8, the rather it was somewhat wincked at, and forborne by many of the Irish, for, that notwithstanding the sway of the English in Ireland duringe that time, that religion was not altered, but both nations of one and the same belife, most observant to the sea of Rome. But Henry the eight growinge discontente with the apostolicall sea, for not disanullinge the lawfull matrimonie between him and his queene Catherine of Spaine, and by that unlawfull devource to enable him to mary An Bullin, his owne reputed daughter. The holy sea refusinge to condescende to such ungodly acte, not warrantable by either divine, or

the queene) which was truly and really a misinformation. Many such tricks weare used betweene her majestie and the state of Ireland tendinge to his destruction, as observable in the chronicle of Finish Morison, secretarie of state in England and Ireland, how ever his men wearie of the warr and tasinge now of the securitie of peace, beinge in continuall danger, fled away went to Rome himself and Tyrconell. Next yeare after, havinge pregnant hopes of great supplies to turne unto Irelande, caused Sir Charles ODochardy, chiefe of that name to begin a oomotion in Ireland, whoe held out that yeare; but he and his supplies faylinge was soone abated. This Tyron had left two of his sones in Ireland Brian and Shean (for his eldest son Henry Oneyll, a very hopfull warrior was colonell in Flanders, under the Catholicke majestie) now destitute of all meanes to turne unto Irelande, did send for those two boyes, and cominge through England, Brian was discovered, taken and executed in London, but Shane, beinge about 9 years of age, escaped, and survivinge his brother Henrie, and father, was nominated colonell in his place, and earle of Tyron. Upon intimation of the foyle of ODochardy, and the exile of those Catholicke champions, on the 7th yeare of Kinge James his raigne peace was concluded, and continued the fiteene yeares remaine of his kingdome and 17 of his son Charles, which is 32 yeares. Religion all this while ecclipsed unto the yeare of 1641 the nation sensible of its slaverie in both spirituall and temporall affaires, acquainted Sheane Oneyll chiefe of that name, and earl of Tyron, residinge then in Spaine, of their intended designe for vendication of Catholicke religion, and the libertie of the Irish nation. This brave man, desirous of such oportunitie (of all Catholicke princes in high esteeme, of his foes most feared, in the courte of Spaine minion, sence a little boy, bred in the onely martiall academie of Europe), addressinge himself for such a jorney, but alas fatall destinie or rather divine providence soe ordaininge, the kingdome of Catalonia in Spaine rebellinge against the Catholicke majestie, their naturall and lawfull kinge, invitinge the kinge of France to their assisstance, Tyron must goe to oppose that rebellion, where both he and Tyrconell were killed, to the exceedinge greefe of all Spaine, and the noe smale discouragment of the Irish nation, leavinge onely one boy, by name Huigh Oneyll fruit of his loynes behinde him, thin of the age of 9 yeares, beinge soe tender, was noe fitt subjecte for such a taske.

The Irish therefore did send intelligence to Owen Oneyll, cossen german to the late Tyron, residinge then colonell in Flanders, under the comaunde of Philippe the 4th kinge of Spaine, one of the verie best comaunders to us knowen, bred in that nurserie of armes at leaste 30 yeares, ever against the antigonists of religion fightinge, as Danes, Bohemians, Swealanders, Frizlanders, Hollanders, Swishers, Hugonetts &c. against either provinge victorious, to all fatall and of eache these nations feared, acquaintinge his master the Catholicke kinge with his contrimens intentions, his determination by him aproved, certified the pope therof, as not degeneratinge from his prediccors principles, whoe never since religion was planted in Ireland, waged warr with any without the sense and aprobaton of the holy sea, nor ever made peace, religion beinge not the first pointe desired therein, his determination by his holinesse aproved, as to him most gratfull and allsoe required

Finish Morison in his chronicle. 1607.

16[08]

1609.

32.
1641.

him under paine of his high indignation to address himself for that Catholicke, honorable, just, and lawfull warr did appointe him chiefe comannder for that holy expedition. Comanndinge alsoe all Catholicks of Irelande, under the penaltie of high censures to aide and asiste him therin (as his Holynesse hade don to his uncle Huigh Oneyll, above mentioned) by an Apostolicke breve.

Havinge therefore received his orders, and his Holynesse benediction with many promises of future supplies and as another Jason of Thesaly, Generall for the recoper of the goulden fleece, soe you for Catholicke religion unto the kingdome of Ireland destined with severall brave warriors and prime captains out of that Vulcanian forge and martiall theater Flanders; as Con Oneyll, Huigh Oneyll, Brian Roe Oneyll, Henry Roe Oneyll, your owne son, a Cide in chivalrie, Daniell O Kahan, a Hector in armes, Brian M^o Phelim Birne, Owen O Docharde, Gerald Crone Fitz Geralde and severall others of couragious repute, inlisted themselves under your banners and though otherwise verie riche, like another Alexander etc., cared not for wealthe, havinge soe stronge hopes in the Divine Providence that he should not wante, what already acquired left behinde, *spes* onely your tickett for this holy warr.

Arrivinge now into Ireland, about the later end of July 1642, founde the natives in a verie desperat condition against three severall nations, Irish, English and Scottish, the next sumer after their comotione, but by your sage applications soone resumed their lost courage, received their faintinge spirittes and recovered their slydinge and groaninge hopes, used all possible meanes of unitinge all the Catholicks of the whole kingdome, as well recent as ancient Irish and leaste any jealousie should be conceived that your intentions weare otherwise (as imediatly flowinge from that master-peyce of sceptre-claiminge Oneylle) then their former oathe of association did importe for the propagation of holy religion, defence of his majesties just prerogatives and libertie of the Irish nation, you swaired, confirmed and ratified the same in publicke assemblie, the prime and chiefe objecte of your intentions (like another Machabeyan Jude) the restauration of religion. 1 Mach. 4.
1 Mach. 5.

But the sones of Bean destined for the reproofe and scandall of you, faithfull Israelitte, ever lay in waite of misconstruinge your godly actions unto a reprobate sense whoe weare those that beared the rule of others, sittinge unworthly in the chair of justice, the then Supream Councell, I meane, whose intentions never swarved from ungodly Alcimus, the faithlesse Zymon of the tribe of Benjamin, covetous and sacrilegious Jason, treacherous and periurous Menelaus, betrayer of God's church and contrie, shewed themselves antagonists of your Machabeyan familie and yourself, their present Machabæus and onely champion, whose holy intentions never altered from your exemplare, as your actions did amply give testimonie, whose lesse care and sollicitude (as holy writte doe averr) have beene for wives, children, flesh, bloude and temporall substance, and your greatest and principallest dilligence was for the church restoratione and holynesse preservation, as wittnesse your quarters in garrison townes of the Queenes countie, "*erat pro uxoribus, filiis, pro fratribus et cognatis minor sollicitudo, maximus vero et primus pro sanctitate, timor erat templi.*" 1 Mach. 7.
1 Mach. 3.
2 Mach. 15.

And as the yonge Machabeus fightinge for God's cause, received, as he thought

Ibidem. in a dreame, by the hands of Jeremias, the holy prophett, a goulden sworde, in the deliverie wherof said, "accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo, in quo deiciēs adversarios populi mei Israel." Soe did you, type presentative of that Machabeus, receive, not by a dreame, or vision, and by the hands of the prophett but verily and realy by the hands of Gods superintendent, and vicegerente in this sublunall Jerusalem, a costly sworde, as a gift imediatly from the visible steerer of Peters navie, this, Sir, is the justice of your cause, the equitie of your warfare and the antiquitie of your regall claime, which noe other nation under the cope of heaven, that we knowe, can bragge of so longe continuance in actuall possession, as your predecessors, hearde upon 3000 yeares, except 99 yeares, which is betweene the stilinge Henry the 8 kinge of Ireland, and the begininge of the now war 1641, as above mentioned, and that same not without claime, to sett out your encomies to the world's viewe by such an unpolished pen (as mine is) were rather a timeritie in me then any way suiteinge to your greatnesse, and worth.

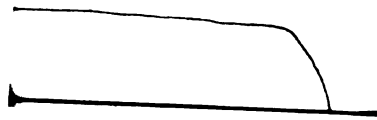
All the best sort of antiquarists and historiographers doe hould you for bloude noe lesse then royall, in behaviour a prince, in armes Mars, in bounty Alexander, in wisdom Salomon, in faithfullnesse David, in learninge Euclides, and in languages *Gaolglas*,* in sayinge onely Don Eugenius Oneyll is praise enough, as comprehendinge all the former epitomes, live then in heaven, the earth beinge not worthy of such a masterpeece, to gett your journall, a crowne of glory for your religious intentions, which is the dayly desire of, Sir

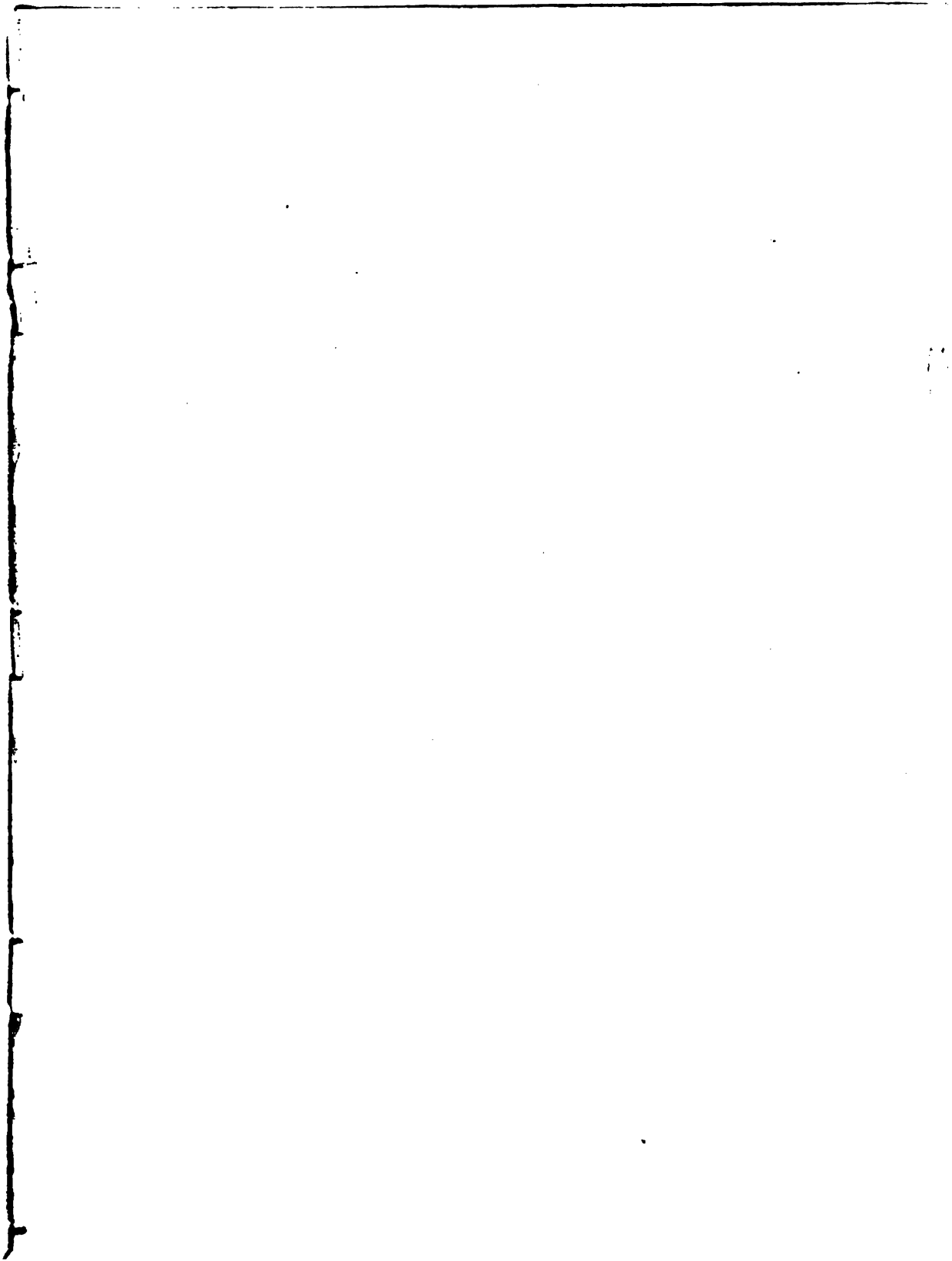
Your most humble and faithfull servant.

P. S.

* *Gaolglas*.—According to the native Irish legends, the Gaelic language was first reduced to system, in remote times, by Gaodhel or Gaodhal, surnamed *glas*, son of Niall and Scota.—"History of Ireland," by Geoffrey Keating; and "Grammar of the Irish Language," by John O'Donovan, Dublin, 1845, xxix.

ERY."





TO THE READER.

SIR,

I never yett durste hazarde my shorte scantlinge of knowledge to be tried by the just standarte of your judgment, nor putt those fewegraines of mine upon the indifferent scales of your censures, as beinge conscious to myself how much they are wantinge, both in weight and measure; I have severall times disclaimed the publication of this Discoverie (though sure I was) posteritie would reepe some benefitt by it, beinge now earnestly solicited by pregnant witts that I should take it in hand, not for any abilitie I had, but as an eye-witness of all the storie, Seneca. "plus valet oculus testis quam auriti decem." I must confesse my whole scope is onely the discoverie of faction, and not a whole historie of all the proceedings of this warr, not that I want knowledge of the passadges, but as alienat from my beinge of sworde carier, doe reserue the same to its genuine authors of better abilitie and leasure. An ardent desire I have to make him live still in your memories, in whose greate hopes while he breathed all well affected Catholicks lived, this dulled my sense against other tender impressions and violent driven me either upon the rocke of your just reprove, or unto the armes of your good favour: I know not yett whether be mine the hazarde, soe his be the prayse. Knowe, sir, I am indifferent betweene both ancient and recent Irish hearin concerned, as my purest bloude equally flowinge through their channells these 300 yeares, beinge soe intimate unto both, "sed magis amica veritas:" if any thinge I seeme to transgresse the true limitts of a historian, or shewe meself somewhat bitter, rather inclinige to the one side then unto another, it is not the want of affection to either but the obligation of a publicke scrivner warranteth to tell truth, and passion the other, lett hitt where it may. I would to God all were not true, though bounde in conscience to a recantation and publicke satisfaction to the lesse: take it therefore as true as the author is a man, the argument is generall, the publicke minister may meete with his experience, the souldier with his practice, the phisitian with his aphorismes, the schollar with his readinge, and every of these in his owne element paralell both the aphorisme, example, and authoritie, the methode is not soe vulgar, for though books of civill discourse be full of axioms, philosophers of prooffe and historians of instances, yett shall ye hardly meete them all combined in one couplement to invite your curious pallat. I have fetched from farr and neere those sweete druggs from the shoppes of those exceedinge apothecaries to give a relish beyonde its nature to those abominable viands, treason, and faction, leaste the poyson therof without such simples would cause a deadly vomitt. What else is to be observed your judgment may descearne wherunto I shall subscribe and your favor accepte, whereupon I rely.

Yours as his owne,

P. S.

C

FIRST BOOKE OF APHORISMICALL DISCOVERY OF
TREASONABLE FACTION.

1641.

FIRST CHAPTER.

IN naturall bodies, the longer they subsiste in perfecte health, the more dangerous is the disease, when it cometh, and the longer in curinge, as havinge none of those humors spent which by distemper give foment and force to the aproachinge maladie, soe it is in bodies politicke when warr once seizeth upon a countrie, riche in the plenties of a longe peace, and full with the surfetts of a continuall ease, it never leaves purginge those superfluities till all be wasted and consumed.

Gal
apoptheo.
1.

In the yeare of grace, 1641, and in the month of October 21, the kingdome of Ireland, one of the best ilandes in Europe stooode in fairer tearmes of hapinesse and prosperitie then ever it had don these 500 yeares paste (beinge the time that the nation began to decline); she had enioyed the sweete fruits of a longe peace, full of people and riches, but comaunded by forraigners, and the maiestie of religion ecclipsed. In this verie yeare there was a parliament already sittinge in both the kingdomes, England and Irelande. The custome was that noe acte conceived in the parliament of Irelande would be of any force or validitie unlesse confirmed by the kinge and parliament of England. Some favourable winde blasted in the parliament of Ireland that the Irish Catholicks did overvoted the Englishe and Protestant government whereby came to passe that some acts weare conceived in favor of the nation, against the former, and for their future avayle, in pursuance of the said use and custome (as aforesaid introduced). Agents weare dispatched for England to have the parliament putt out of the fyle of records the acte whearby the said custome was introduced, which was called Poynings acte. At that verie time, it hapned that the kinge and parliament of England weare at some odds. The parliament cuttinge him shorte of his royall prerogatives, and duringe their sittinge to manadge all, which beinge an apologie to disenthroane royaltie, was soe understoode by his majestie, though not able to oppose it without open warr, the covenant of both houses of nobles and comons beinge soe strongly knitt together. The agents of Ireland observinge this obstruction addressed themselves to his majestie like lovinge and loyall subiects, shewed their comission, whoe graunted them by his prerogative power all they desired therein. Being dispatched from thence loaden with his majesties royall graces, the effecte of their mission, and enforced of the parliament's intended rebellion as well against the crowne as against all Catholicks of the three kingdomes. Arrivinge safe to Dublin shewed their letters of grace, signed and sealed by his majestie, to be inacted in the parliament of Irelande, without any dependencie of England. But Sir William Parsons, master of the warde, and Sir John Burlasie, master of the ordinance,

2.

Poynings
acte.
3.

His ma-
jestie's
graunte

4.

4. **The ministers of state in Dublin.** then lords justices, (soe apointed after the death of Christopher Wandesford, late lord deputie), asisted by Sir Richard Bowlton, lord chancellor, and Sir Gerrott Lowther, chiefe justice of the comon place, both empeached of high treason, and in the same parliament araigned, would prolonge the inactinge therof, desiringe to prorogue the parliament unto the 21 of October followinge, this beinge on Trinitie tearme (the yeare above mentioned), hopinge thereby to receave their influence from the parliament of England, destructive to all the former grauntes of his majestie. But overvoted herin expected an emptie house, havinge the wished oportunitie, caused a haltinge barister, a perfidious member to his nation, by name Patrick Darcy, but more truely Dorchy, a Galway man, to move this proroguinge, which was easily graunted by those onely that there then resided, whoe still solicited the same. Thus the parliament was dissolved, and the king's letters tooke noe effect. By this and many other circumstances ye lords justices and councill's intent was fully knowen to be the same with the parliament of England; and withall that it was blazed abroad by the best note of Protestants, that all Ireland by that time twelmonth must either goe to churche, be executed, or indure banishment or exile: this beinge notified to certaine prime Irish members of that parliament, as well by the intimation of the fore-mentioned agents of England and others, as by their owne observations they begin to be warie, and to looke about them for the securinge of their religion, his majestie's prerogatives and proper lives and fortunes, comunicatinge their said jealousies reciprocally eache to other, the matter was resolved to be left in the brest of a selecte number of men which have beene seventy-eight persons, all sworne to secrecie, to eache his towne or forte apointed, to secure the same for his majesties interest (of whom was my lord of Ormond though then a Protestant), my lord of Iniskillin, Sir Phelim Oneylle, Sir James Dillon, &c.,) and this in one and the same hower in all Irelande. The castle of Dublin was Iniskillins taske, expectinge in the verie citty the peremptorie time for that service accompanied with severall others. Butt, alas, unconstant fortune, grudginge as it weare, at soe greate hapinesse of both kinge and Irish nation, a drunken sott, that beared my lord of Iniskillin companie, discovered the plott. The gates of Dublin, upon notice herof weare shutt, Iniskillin with severall others taken prisoners, comitted to the castle and soone after, to endeere themselves to the ministers of that rebellious assembly, was sent unto the parliament of England (though the king's majestie was by this time retired to the countrie for the saftie of his royall person), others the abettors and aiders of Iniskillin, missinge this their prime game, the castle of Dublin, made an escape and went to ye north of Ireland. Upon intimation of that discoverie all others of the covenant discouraged gave ground and dissembled to have any hande in the busines, onely Sir Phelim Oneylle, nothinge dismayed tooke Charlemont and severall other hoults and townes for his majestie's use. The brute whearof cominge to the eares of the rest of the kingdome natives, beinge waveringe, knowinge not what best to doe, judginge the revolution of the Northeren people, rather inative in them then of any settled grounde. Whearfore the nobilitie, gentrie and others whom most it concerned of Meath, expectinge the due time of the cominge in of parliament (accordinge its foresaid proroguinge) to
5. **Patrick Darcy or Dorchy's treachery.**
6. **The grounds of this warr.**
7. **The plott discovered.**
8.

shewe their loyall dutie, purposed to appeare there, some the first day, some the 1641.
 second and some third, &c., as the maner still have beene. But Mr. Kinge of
 Clontarfe apered the very first daie (as beinge within two miles to the cittie)
 was fourthwith apprehended and comitted to the castle, and a partie of horse
 under the comaunde of Sir Charles Coote, goinge to the said King's house,
 plundered, pilladged and demolished the same, to the noe smale admiration of
 all the kingdome, beinge as inocent a man as the contrie could affoorde, and never
 havinge any hand in this comotion or other such in his life. When such crueltie 9
 and inhumanitie came to the hearinge of the rest of those members of the house of
 parliament as weare willinge, in due obedience to his majestie, to apeare there,
 were not litle afrighted, least to be dealt with, as the said gentleman was. Some
 would not apeare unlesse secured by ye counsell's safe conducte, which was
 denied, others confidinge too much in their proper loyaltie, as Dunsany and
 others, apered, but presently weare comitted to safe custodie. The nobilitie
 of Meathe denied as aforesaid of a safe conducte, did expostulate, by their
 letters, with the state of such heard dealinge with subiects, never yett noted of
 any refraction, settinge fourth their unfained obedience. But the more those
 humbled themselves, the more exasperat and peremptorie was the councill and
 state of Dublin who comaunded that bloude sucker, Sir Charles Coote, with
 troupes of horse, to rush unto the contrie, and specially to the countie of
 Wickloe, to massacre all the Birnes there, people that stirred neither hand or
 foote, or was privie to any those proceedings (except Huigh McPhelim O'Birne,
 whoe upon the failinge of Dublin castle escaped and went to the north) not-
 withstandinge killed all that came in their way, both man, woman and child,
 nay would murder the women in their verie travell, where one of his troupers
 caried on the pointe of his speare the head of a litle babe, which he cutt off
 in the verie instant of his delivery, and killed the poor mother, which Coote
 obsearvinge, said that he was mightie pleased with many such frolicks.

THE SECOND CHAPTER.

THOUGH the generall good of the colleagues make the frame of all confederations, 10.
 yett particular intreeste is the fundation whereupon they are built: And as this Livi. lib. 6.
 continueth sounde or weake in any one of the complices, soe standeth or falleth
 that great buildinge, for one state combines with another in one and the same
 action, and concurs to the one and the same generall end, noe longer then it is
 for its proper good; the practice runs often thus, the rule stands otherwise,

"Cura quid expediat prius est quam quid sit honestum.
 At reditus jam quisque suos amat, et sibi quid sit
 Utile, sollicitis supputat articulis."

Ovid de
 Ponto, l. 2.

There have beene 8,000 men of warr in his majestie's paie in Ireland before those
 comotions, as against the Scotts whoe weare in armes against his majestie, but were
 disbanded by the state of Dublin, receavinge their order for that purpose from
 the parliament of England. By this time, the king, absentinge himself from the

1641. parliament (as above mentioned) by severall meetinges and overtures could not worke the parliament's reconciliation in soe much that he was compelled to issue his royall proclamations declaringe them traytors and rebells against the crowne, which was most publicke and generally knowen in all Europe, notwithstandinge the state of Dublin did combine with the parliament, as most inclined to its principles, the distruction of both Catholic religion, monarchie, and Irish natione, and desired there now confederats to send them some men of warr whose motion was acceptable and gratfull, for their owne particular end, did send an armie under the comaunde of Sir Symon Harkett. This was abruinge, none or verie few in all Ireland strivinge against the state but Sir Phelim Oneyll in the northe, others behavinge themselves neuters, others in all submissive maner shewinge their alleageance, and not avayleinge, must whether they will or noe breake out unto open hostilitie. The nobilitie of Meath obsearvinge in what a poore takinge they were exposed, must either tender their necks unto the mercilesse doome of their kinge's enemye, or joine with Sir Phelim Oneyll. Of these two evils, as they thought, they choose this last, beinge the leaste. They writte unto him that he should come to their rescue. Pursuant to the request of those noblmen and peeres, Sir Phelim caused the Reyllies and MacMahons to marche towards Drohedae and leager the same, sendinge by them, unto the said nobilitie, and others whom it may concerne, the grounds of his raisinge in armes, which was the mantaininge the holy religion, defence of his majestie's prerogatives and vendication of the free libertie of the Irish nation, the mecre destruction and extirpation wherof was actually intended by both states, England and Ireland, desiringe the foresaid remitted gentrye to insinuat this much unto the nobilitie of Meath, and out of this intimation at Sir Phelim's arrivall unto the seidge of Drohedae, by unanimouse consent, framed an oathe, importinge the same, wherupon jointly did petition the councill table of Dublin, settinge fourth their jealousies, greevances, and the cause of their comotion, desiringe better understandinge betweene them, by the benefitt of a free Parliament, and an Acte of oblivion conceaved in what was past. But all this to noe purpose, for the state of Dublin obsearvinge their proper advantage, havinge men of warr enough at home and abroade to comaunde, their magazine with plentie of armes and amunition, the kings exchequer not emptie, their brotheren, the parliament of England rich enough, and most willinge to undergoe any charges to suppress this nation (beinge now the onely bulwarke of his majestie), and with all seeinge the Irish after the fruits of a longe peace not able to endure the hardnesse of warr, beinge naked without armes, amunition, storehouse, kinge or prince to asiste or second them, nay, nor any militarie comaunder to directe or manadge their affaires. By these advantadges they weare more then sure to make an end soone of this taske, to bringe to passe their former willfull intent, which is, the extirpation of both religion and nation, and consequently the supression of his majestie's royaltie in Irelande.
11. The grounds of the Irish warr.
- The advantage of the state.
12. The Irish, by this result, discontented penninge and swearinge the oathe of association of defendinge their religion, king's just prerogatives, and the libertie of a free borne nation, to their uttermost powers and the hazarde of both life and

best fortunes, which oath being in it self most lawfull, was sworne by all the nobilitie, gentry, and others, neere Drogheda, convened to that purpose, vovete, et reddite, domino deo vestro. The state of Dublin enformed of the assembly of the Irish neere Drogheda, leaste any thinge should be attempted upon the towne (in regard they have beene in the former treatie with the state, they acted nothinge to their prejudice all the while) they sent 500 well trained foote with a troupe or two of horse, with their commanders and officers, to the further strenghtninge of the towne of Drogheda, but the Irish though then naked as aforesaid, havinge notice herof, mett them in their march at the bridge of Gillam, fell upon them soe courageously, that never a one of the foote escaped with life, the horse saved themselves by Icarian flight, arrivinge to Drogheda, gave a poore accounte of the miscariadge of their comrades, by this they began to feare and suspecte the Irish, whoe gott well by this daie service, the armes and amunition of these 500 which was noe smale encouragement for the souldiers and commanders to begin with such a service without loosinge one man.

1641.
The oath.

500 killed
by ye
Irish.

The said oathe soe sworne, by comon consent did choose and nominat Sir Phelim Oneyll generall, and did send allsoe the said oathe to the respective provinces, whoe observinge the lawfullnesse therof could not choose but embrace it, hereby cominge to severall heads in eache province, the Brians in the countie of Clare (notwithstandinge the crubbinge of the earle of Tomond to the contrary) obsearvinge the cause of comotion in the whole kingdome to be one, and the oathe sworne by the Irish now in armes to be just and lawfull, thought it a blemishe in their honors not to be conformable therto in defence of religion, kinge and kingdome joininge hereby hands together, whither Tomond would or not, tooke all the forts and castles that belonged to Protestants or Puritants in all the countie, which of both was unknowen in those daies, for all of them in generall flocked to the Parliament partie. Dominicke Faninge, mayor of Limbricke, raised in armes, in pursuance of the said oathe, cleered the whole citty of Protestants, and did leager the forte, gott the same at the end of eight weekes by an undermine, and by the ordinance therof, gott all the castles of the whole countie, by the assistance of my lord of Castleconnell, one of the Bourks, a new and younge reconciled Catholicke and Oliver Stephens a brave gentlman, whoe was killed at the skirmishe of Lisscarroll, in the countie of Corke as hereafter. Daniell Carty, and O'Conor Kierie in the countie of Kierie and the O'Sullevans raised in armes, did many good service in that countie, cleered all the countie of rounde heads, takinge many hoults and castles. This Daniell and the O'Sullevans tooke the brave castle of Traly by 15 weekes' siedege and demolished the same, tooke the impregnable castle of Maigne and severall others. In Monster were many good Catholicks, that dwelte in the very hearte of the countrie, though willinge to engage themselves in such a busines, could not doe it without eminent danger. My lord of Montgerrott raisinge men in Linster, to relive those, marched to Monster, which easily he had compassed, by the onely shewe of 5,000 naked men. The Protestants of them parts seeinge that multitudine, deserted their proper places and went to stronge garrisons, wherby all the countrie in a maner was left naked for the Irish. Montgerrot leavinge the gape open for the said Catholicks,

13.
Sir Phelim
Oneyll
generall.

The Brians
raised.

14.
Mayor of
Limbricke.

Castleconnell
Oliver
Stephens.
Daniell
Carty.
O'Conor
Keyry.
O'Sulle-
van.

15.

Montger-
rott.

1641. brought them under the shower with the rest of their countermen, returns himself to Leinster, and assured Kilkeny, Waterford, Clonmell, Cashell, Carignasurie and other castles and forts in the countie of Kilkeny. Luke Birnc in the countie of Wickloe, kept a siedege to the castle of Carnowe 12 weekes and tooke it at length upon quarter of their lives. Many other castles and forts did the Birns and Kevanaghs take in the counties of Wexforde and Wickloe. The Kevanaghs gott Wexford towne and Newrosse. These two counties weare made cleere by those two families, except Duncanan, comaunded by Laurence lord Esmonde, whoe in the begininge of those comotions was thought would never forsake his majestie, gettinge all his beinge from the crowne of England, but seeinge the parliament stronge in both England and Irelande against the kinge discovered himselfe totally for that covenant.
16. Sir Morgan Kevanagh. Sir Morgan Kevanagh and Dermott McDowlin Kevanagh made up two regiments of foote and brought to the Irish obedience all the countie of Catharlagh, except the castle of Catharlaghe to which they laid siedege, but not thriving, marched away after burneing the towne, demolished severall castles and hoults in Leyse in the Queene's countie, caringe awaie from thence great preyes and pilladge, turned to the countie of Wexforde. The Molloyes raised in armes, Art Molloy their colonell in Ferkalle, such of the English Protestant undertakers that resided there, deserted their habitation, went to Dublin, but some of those round-heads gathered into Birr, and others made themselves stronge in an iland called Insilagheurhye that yeare was too frostie and though the Molloyes were very able men and dayly acted good service against the garrisons of Birr, those round heads that weare in this ilande were too bould, in disparagement of the said Molloyes, all the whole crue that resided there excepte the women, came from the iland into the continent, to take the ayre and sporte themselves, timelic in the morning on Saincte Stephens day with one captain Smith their leader, a preumptorie companion, but unawares they obsarved the Irish standinge in a bodie not farr off, they must either fight or yeld, they choose to fight, but weare all killed. Some that ran upon the ice (the froste beinge soe greate) was followed by the Irish, and there killed, the Irish following their victorie, went alonge upon the ice to the forte (which was kept onely by the women) was yelded, this service have the Molloyes don that morninge, and lost but one man, but sure, was worth all their victorie that day
17. Molloyes. One Irish killed. Captain Smith and his comrades killed.
18. Dempsies raised. Rorie O'Molloy's son a hopfull younge man. The Dempsies raised in armes, Bernaby Dempsie of Cnocard Ogurra and Henrie Dempsie brother to the lord of Clannalirie (the lord himselfe wincked at the matter in the begininge). This Henry, upon the spoyle of some borderinge Puritants, gott some armes, and then begins to plunder and pilladge all the English Protestants that came in his way, tooke the possession of the castle of Lea (belonginge unto the earle of Kildare though then in the hands of another Protestant) not by force but other civill way, he waited now and then upon the garrison of Manister Euyne, he brought those that kept the castle of Clunbrocke under the Irish obedience, though after beinge poore and waveringe people forsooke him and became of the English partie severall times, he gave enough to doe to the foresaid garrison of Manisterevin, my lord chauncellour's house, though in former time a monesterie of S. Bernard's order.
- Abby of St. Bernarl.

Bernaby McLisagh Dempsie dwellinge in Leyse, as aforesaid, in the Queenes countie, where there was none of any note except Puritants, as soone as they heard of the parliament of Englands proceedinges against his majestie, they weare of the verie first that shewed themselves for that covenant, they expected noe orders from the state of Dublin, as beinge privie to their bretheren's intentions wherefore, as soone as the verie blast of that north east winde blowed, the puritants of Leyse made all their houses garrisons, did putt themselves in warrlicke abilement to anoy the Irish, specially all Catholicks to whom they bore an inveterat hatred, noe other refuge had this gentlman that lived then in those vipers bosome then to run the same score that his countrimen did, to take armes, and rather defensive then offensive, untill he sawe his said neighbours to spitt out their venome against such of his profession as came under their lurche, and specially against himself, for they burned his house, castle, hagard, and all that was deere unto him they caried away. Then, thoughe late, he began to pay them to his abilitie in the same coine, and his sone and heire a young boy was most forward in this busines, full of mettle, but soone after was killed upon great odds.

1641.
19.
Bernaby
Dempsie.

All Westmeath raised in armes. The state of Dublin havinge some confidence in the recent Irish that they gave severall of them armes and asiste them against the ancient, pursuant to this trust the state did give armes and amunition to the undernamed in the countie of Westmeathe, viz.—to Robert Nugent of Carrollstowne, Walter Nugent of Rathaspicke, Andrewe Tuite, Edwarde Tuite, Oliver Dalton, Richard Dalton, Sir James Dillon, Sir Thomas Nugent, Thomas Dillon McThalbott and others, those with the anexed here—Thomas Tyrrell, Edward Tyrrell, Barnaby Geoghegan with his brother Art, Thomas Geoghegan Charles Mellaghlin, Awly Gawly and his son Redmond, every of these respectively had the matter of a 200 men, but in regard their countie was cleere of garrisons before those comotions they used defensive warr onely, and those that received the said armes from the state as aforesaid, were the verie first that shewed themselves against the state pursuant to the former oath. Captain Bernaby Geoghegan deffendinge the roade of Keissauenan, least Sir John Gifford and the rest of the Puritants of Offaly would fall upon that parte of the countie of Westmeath. Those Puritants ofoesaid cominge one night to Richard Willferton, a gentleman dwellinge in the King's countie, plundered his house, tooke himself and father Robert Geoghegan and fa. John Fitzgerald, priests founde in his house, prisoners, in the morninge divided themselves in two parties, the one was sent with the prisoners and spoile, the other to drawe away the preye, which was to passe through a great bogg, noe other way to be had. Their arrivall thither that night was notified unto captain Bernaby by his proper spie, wherupon he sent worde unto captain Teige Conor, a younge slipp of a boy (but a sower peece of flesh for the garrison of Geysell) to come timely in the morninge into a peremptorie place, and there to expecte further intelligence; captain Bernaby himself marched with his men to the place appointed, observed the enemye and its division as aforesaid, but missinge captain Conor, nothinge discouraged made alsoe two divisions of his men, the one comaunded, under the leadinge of his lieutenant his brother Art, that he should rescue the prey, and he with the other moitie did follow the prisoners and

20.
Westmeath
in armes.
The state
gave armes
unto those.

21.
Bernaby
Geoghegan.

Teige
Conor
alias
Cairis
an
Cairis.

1641. pilladge, which don the leutenant marched wheare he sawe the prey. Captain Diggby a captain of horse of the enemye partie apointed for the saftie of the prey, obsearvinge what the leutenant intended, thought to come betweene the leutenant and the bogg, the prey not yet arrivinge to champion grounde, the leutenant couragiously faced and charged the enemye horse, that captain Diggby by the verie first shott, was tumbled deade to the grounde ; the rest of the horse seeinge theire chieftaine deade, turned tail and whippes me away, but theire fortune was to come the verie same way that captain Conor marched with his company, whoe killed there some of the horse, tooke leutenant Moore prisoner. Bernaby by this overtooke the prisoners, rescued them, and killed seven or eight of the enemy, the rest tooke themselves to places of saftie, the leutenant rescued the prey, did kill five or six and the captain. Thus was this peece of service don by these three younge warriors in one morninge.

Captain
Diggby
slaine.

21. The Duynes raised in armes, Edward Duynes and Daniell Duynes. This Daniell proved a good servitor in those beginings, by a stratageme tooke Ballenasagarte, alias Castle Cuffe, belonginge to Sir Charles Coote, in the Queenes countie; he caused six or eight oxen to be yoked, and to drawe a greate blocke, a peece of timber half burnte, and drawinge neere home, sent sumons unto the garrison to surrender the castle upon quarter of theire lives, before he planted his ordinance, for if once planted he would use noe mercie towards them, but the extremitie of the lawe of armes, whereupon they yelded the castle and was glad to be soe handsomly reede of that danger; he sent them accordinge covenant, naked as they were to Birr, where Sidly Coote was governor. Duynes had Sir Charles his brave house, all the furniture, houshold stuff and armes, which was a greate bootie in those daies, the arms and amunition that was gott there, puttinge those things in saftie demolished the house.

21.
Duynes in
armes.

23. In the countie of Kildare were severall pettie parties in armes for the Irish, some adheringe unto one father Wailshe, a carmelite frier, a son to Wailsh of Ballinamona, with his three or four brothers; another partie adhered unto captain Gouldinge amountinge to four score, another to captain Fitzgerald. In Meath was severall other parties, Finglasse, Dowlin Birne, father Roen, a priest, and others those respectivly in the begininge of those comotions, by many wittie and fine stratagemes did plague the rounde heads wheare ever they travayled in the counties of Meath, Kildare and Dublin, unlesse in great bodies of armies.

23.
Kildare
county.

24. The state of Dublin havinge some confidence in the ancient Englishe (as no. 20 touched) or rather to diswade them to joine with the ancient Irish, gave armes unto severall of them in the counties of Meath and Kildare, did nominat them captains and gave power to raise men, and apointed the captains for the state in the countie of Kildare, head garrisons. Morish Fitzgerald of Allon, Pierce Fitzgerald, or McThomas, and yonge Nicholas White, were the three captains nominated by the state of Dublin in the countie of Kildare, the Naasse was apointed garrison for the first, Castle Dermott for the seconde, and Leyply for the third. But obsearve one Oliver Dungan then a yonge slippe, came by night with six or seven in his companie to the courte of garde of this captain White's companie, takes the leutenant, seized on the men and armes, did sweare to putt them all to the

Oliver
Dungan's
prey.

sworde, unlesse they fourthwith marche with him, as with their captain, to the Catholicke campe (the Irish campe at Drohedae then was soe called) whose in a full bodie obeyed, and marched with this new captain to Drohedae aforesaid, where he was wellcome and appointed captain of that company. 1641.

The McDaniells of Sleeve Roe was every daie bickeringe with that new garrison of the Naasse untill at length they besieged the castle of the Naasse, where the defendant were compelled either to loose their lives or armes, and upon their choice, the McDaniells were putt in possession of the armes, and carryinge the same away, the disarmed besought them humbly to receive themselves with their armes, and that they would sweare fealtie, which beinge granted they marched together to their places of saftie, and demolished both town and castle. 25. The McDaniell prey.

The third captain for the state in the countie of Kildare McThomas, resident in Castldermott, all this while, was verie warie leaste any such should hapen unto him, as longe as he thought the state of Dublin to be currant for his majestie, was a reall servitor; but now informed of their treacherie, and obsearvinge the oath that was taken by the Catholicks of Ireland, beinge of one and the same religion himself, could not choose but adhere unto them, and intringe possession of the castle of Castldermott (which untill this way resolved was not in his hands) left a stronge garrison there, and caried a company of foote to his majestie's service, the Irish campe neere Drohedae, his arrivall was much desired, and congratulated, by Sir Phelim was appointed colonell. 26. MacThomas.

The Fferralls cleared the countie of Longford from garrisons and enemies, as for the countie of Westmeath there was none to be gained there, but Kilbegan, which was deserted by my lord Lamparte, (this have beene in ancient time an abby of moncks of St. Bernard's order,) beinge soe deserted, Fox of Monteragan, by orders from Sir James Dillon, then governor, and colonell of the countie of Westmeath aforesaid, did burne and demolish the same. 27. Fferralls in armes.

Sir James Dillon, though sworne to the covenant (as no. 6 touched) and receiveinge armes from the state of Dublin, did stirr neither hand or foote on either side. But Thomas Dillon M'Thalbott havinge received armes (as above mentioned) from the state, was verie earnest in the Irish behalfe, did trouble the towne and garrison of Athlone, hindred the markett thereof, pilladged all the rounde heads, thither resortinge, wherby greatly annoyed the garrison. The lord president there residinge, and receiveinge his commaunds from Dublin, Sir James Dillon resorted now and then at his pleasure to Athlone, and conferred with my lord president verie often and serious. The lord president complained to him of the harde usage of the said Thomas Dillon towards his lordship's desiringe a truce or cessation of armes betweene them untill better understandinge were conceived promisinge by his honor to keepe the same inviolable on his parte. Sir James pleased herewith promised to compose the business accordingly, cominge home to his house, he sent for the said Thomas Dillon his cossen, relatinge unto him succinctly what passed betweene him and my lord president, desiringe him by all meanes to be observant therof, in regard, he passed his worde to that effecte, and did undertake the said Thomas would receive noe prejudice therby. The gentelman condescended upon this securitie, disbanded his men, laied up in his 28. Sir James Dillon. Thomas Dillon de- ceaved.

1641. house his armes and went himself to a grange of his to passe ye time for a while. Sir James certifies my lord president of all the passadge, whoe next morninge, unmindefull of his engagement and promise, did send a troupe and a foote company to the said Thomas Dillons house, verie well enformed the same to be without defence, tooke all the armes, amunition, and houshold stufte thereof, burned his brave house and faire hagard, nay turned all the towne to ashes: Whoe shall trust any of these, though sworne as this nobleman was. fy, fy.

29. Thomas Dillon appointed colonell by Sir Phelim Oneyll. Sir Phelim's letters to Sir James Dillon. Thomas Dillon havinge noe other remedie, but addressed himself to Sir James Dillon, to know from him what satisfaction can be given in such a fowle deceite, havinge had noe satisfactorie answeare, addressed himself for jorney to Sir Phelim Oneyll residinge neere Drohedae, generall of ye Irish Catholicks, arrivinge thither, makinge his moane unto the generall, whoe gave him faire language, and a letter to Sir James Dillon, importinge onely a heape of acknowledgment of thanks for the good relation he hearde of his reall proceedings, sutable to his former covenant for the Catholicke confederacie (which was cleane contrarie), I never hoped otherwise at your hands, then noble and censere dealinge and that you may acte the more honorable, I doe by these appointe you colonell of foote, which I desire may be out of hand in posture of service for any other future employment you may expecte, his uttermost endeavours wil be to searve you sir whoe is your humble servant. When Sir James perused this letter he made use of the power given him therein, and made upp men with as great expedition, but proved still ambadexter in all occasions offered, but was brought in netly by Sir Phelim in the said letter.

The Con- aughtmen. 30. The Keyllies, Madans and Conors of Conaght acted nothinge remarkable that wee knowe in the begininge of those comotions. Con O Ruairke was not idle in the countie of Letrim and Slygoe, and soe was Anthony Brapson of Bellanalsoe, a recent Catholicke, newly reconciled who behaved himself verie well in the begininge of those comotions, against Athlone, Rosscoman and others to his no smale comendation.

THE THIRD CHAPTER.

31. Drogheda leager raised. SIR Phelim Oneyll beinge informed, by severall poasts, how well the oathe worked in the respective provinces, that all Ireland was now in combustion, havinge spent some monthes neere Drohedae, did conceive more behoofull for the furtherance of the service to rayse that siedge, and every one to betake himself to their respective provinces, and raise in them as many as they were able, and to make stronge armies to oppose the enemie in the field. With this result he went for the north, with his northeren men, the rest to the severall poasts. Huigh Birne and Mac Thomas with 1,500 men naked as they were, went to Kilsalchan. The parliamentaries came out of Dublin 4,000 musketires, 500 horse, 500 peekmen, and Sir Charles Coote comaunder in chiefe, and severall other cavalliers, whoe newly came from Englande, promisinge themselves upon the first sight to anihilat all that poore naked crue of Irish rebells (as they tearmed them), but by their good leave they lost their 500 men and severall of their very best comaunders,

of whom was one Rochford the peremptoriest of all the rest, and the second in comaunde, lost great store of their armes there, upon their returne all their wagons and carts they founde in the countrie, full of the dead officers corps and wounded men, the howlings and outcries which the citty did ecchoe did notifie, and alsoe true intelligence came to the Irish out of the citty, as aforesaid, and though the Irish had the honor of the day, and the field, loosinge not six men, in all single souldiers, that day, they diserted the place, as not for them to any purpose and went to raise men in severall other poastes.

1641.
Kilsallchan
skirmish—
500 killed.

In the begininge of those jealousies betweene kinge and parliament, havinge better hopes of the Irish fealtie in the now extremitie of his affaires then of either his other subiects, his majestie did apointe my lord of Ormond generall for his royall armies in Ireland. Sir Phelim Oneyll and the rest of the Irish confederats herof certified, was verie glad, as already sworne to their covenant, and alsoe now publickly sworne for his majestie's service, was verie confident of his coniunction with them, pursuant to those motives, severall addresses were dispatched unto him settinge fourth their grounds and motives for insurrection, their oathe of association in his majestie's behalf, and puttinge him in minde of his former covenant (as above mentioned) who intertained them with the hopffullest language that any man could devise, beinge enformed likewise that the state of Dublin was totally for the parliament of England, their letters too and fro dayly poastinge, assured them of his owne intentions towards their said principles. But the state of Dublin was not idle all this while, but by dayly poasts solicited the arrivall of Ormond to Dublin, whoe intertained both with full assurance to either partie, but most of all unto the Irish, whoe were as confident of him as of any man in Ireland in soe much that by a peremptorie day he promised to be in the field on their side, but that day drawinge on, he stole away with his onely troupe of horse to Dublin, leavinge his wife and children behinde to the mercie of the Irish: thus Ormond deceived the Irish in the verie embrion of their affaires, unmindfull of his sworne covenant and ungratfull to his royall majestie, promotinge him to that honorable degree of honor, if the Irish weare versant in the ensuinge lesson they might keepe Ormond from breaking his covenant with them.

33-
Ormond
generall
for his
majestie.

Ormond
cheated
the Irish.

CHAPTER IV.

It is then sure trustinge, when wee take from a man all meanes of breakinge, for the proverbe saith, that a true man can scarce hould his fingers, if he finde a chest open: As therefore it is a staine to the honor of a prince, not to keepe his worde and covenant, soe it is noe lesse blemishe to the wisdome of a state in time of just suspecte, not to prevent and stope the meanes of breakinge it, or not to take pledges of the discontented and suspected subiecte, as well in such jealousie times as formerly in cases of lesse danger.

34-
Aug. in
Sueton. l.
5, Sil. lib.
32.

Seneca
epist. 3.

“Nec cito credideris quantum cito credere lædat.”

If the Irish confederats did assure Ormond, as he was addressinge himself for that journey, in disarminge him and his troupe, or keepinge his children, as pledges

1641. of his compliance, they might cause him in those jealousie times to prove more honest then he did, for though sworne to their covenant, and by his proper addresses assuringe them of his loyaltie, they might lawfully suspecte him by inferences of former and mature actions, but have don nothinge in this behalf that might compell his compliance and their securitie, nay my lord of Montgerrott, his great uncle, gave way to the countesse of Ormond and her children to followe him unto Dublin with their goods by sea from Waterford, leavinge behinde them in Kilkenny a kind of a politician, a doctor of phisicke for Ormond's house, Gerrott Fennell, his former follower and phisitian.
- Gerrott Fennell.
35. Ormond now arrivinge unto Dublin, Patricke Darcy (but more truly Dorchy) residinge there expectinge his landlord, master and client my lord of Ormond (in regard that he was still his counsell gave him £50 per annum and had a long lease on Newstone in the countie of Catarlagh) butt he expected my lord in Dublin, for he durst not go to the countrie, all the true hearted Irish beinge mightie offended with him for his unnaturall and unconscionable motion for the proroguinge of the last parliament (as no. 5 touched), was sure of intertainment in Dublin, his client in that height of honor, but within few daies after his lordships arrivall thither gave Dorchy a passe to goe to Galway his owne native towne, to work division there, or bringe all to Ormond's partie (though this man gave out yt he stole away) it was not true but as formerly.
- Dorchy apie for Ormond.
36. The Conaght men (except those that denied any dependencie from Clanricard) did not raise in armes for neither Maddens, Keyllys, Conors or many others there did not acte anything considerable that wee knowe, as for the Dillons, Taaffs, and Moores they must, whether right or wronge, be temporizers and semistats-men. Taaffe and Moore went to England whether they sided with his majestie against the parliament, vel contra I am not confident off. Clanricard did crubb all the well affected there to raise in armes, and specially his own name and followers, and though Catholicke and an Irishman, was vnder boord (at leaste) against the Catholicks and for the parliament, though verie well perswaded that his majestie was forced to take armes against the parliament and issued his royall proclamation against them as rebells against his crowne, and that his brother the earle of Essex was actually generall for the parliament forces against the kinge, his brothers-in-law and his freinds in England searued the parliament, and S. Albons his own estate there in their hands, to indeere himself, therefore to the parliament he sent for my lord Forbish, one of the parliament partie, hauinge in the coasts of Ireland a fleet of 20 or 30 saile to come to Galway and its countie, to force them to obey the state of Dublin, whoe arriuinge accordingly, Clanricard and he hauinge some conference and priuat meetings, the fruite whereof that the countie and towne of Galway must pay Forbish £1,500 and 200 beefes, and after receauinge this sume and burninge two villadges neere the shore away he went. This loyall peere, did send amunition to the English garrisons about him, and specially to Birr, Athlone, Falklandforte, Roscoman, to the forte of Galway, and severall others knowinge verie well they were members of the parliament of England and consequently against the kinge.
- Dillon, Taaffs, and Moores.
- Clanricard's behaviour.
- The lord Forbish.
- Clanricard for the parliament.
37. As Sir Phelim Oneyll and the rest of the Ulstermen departed from Drogheda

aforesaid, the chiefe of every familie with their proper parties went to their severall counties and was not idle there, for Sir Phelim, and the Oneylls tooke Charlemont, Montjoy, Dunganan, Ardmagh, Dundalke and severall other hoults and garrisons, whereby in a shorte time cleered almost the counties of Tyron, Ardmagh, Dune, and the countie of Lowthe. Colonell Roger Maguire, brother to my lord of Iniskillin, did cleere of enemie the countie of Fermanagh, except Iniskillin. Sir Con Maginse tooke the forte and castle of the Neurie and Caringfoorde. Colla McBrian O Mahon tooke Muneaghan, and Carrigmachuirierush and thereby cleered the countie of Muneaghan. The Reylyls tooke Cruaghan, Cauan, Therbert, and severall others, and cleered the countie of Cauan. All the English and Scotts in those severall counties residinge refusinge to sweare alleageance to his majestie, beinge onely desired of them adhered vnto their bretheren the rounde heads went in troupes, disarmed, to Dublin, others to England, others conueyed themselves to stronge hoults and garrisons, and others to Scotland desiringe their countrimen and alliance to asiste them against the Irish, whoe thriued soe farr in Scotland that they came for Ireland in great multitud, and Montroe sent by generall Leysslye as chief comaunder for this expedition, arriuinge to Ireland, the impregnable castle and forte of Carrigfergus, then in the hands of the English, beinge not assured of their constancie (though then of one and the same partie), took it by a stratageme to secure himself, trusted them out and caused them by that acte to looke unto themselves more narrowly and place themselves in other newe forts, and would admitte noe English in Carrigfergus.

1641.
The Ulster-
men's
actions.

How the
English
and Scotts
of Ulster.

Montroe
come to
Ireland.

CHAPTER V.

38.

THE topicke place in nature, that wheare the cause fayleth, the effecte alsoe dieth; hath likewise his place in martiall affaires, for, wheare men are couragious, not out of true resolution, but out of some conceite of the enemies weaknesse or wants; they loose that spiritt and animositie when they finde things contrarie to those former impressions, "sublata causa, tollitur effectus."

Arles' Top.
Curt. l. 4.
Tacit an. 3.

Huigh McPhelim Birne, a captain of the Lowe countries, a little before those comotions had a patent of a foote colonell from the Spanish ambassador in England, leauinge Kilsalchan, as above mentioned, made a forte of earth in the meare of the two counties Dublin and Wickloe, wheare he mightie anoyed the cittie of Dublin, beinge ten miles onely distant, waited still his oportunitie, when any armie did issue thence, would shewe himself now and then upon S. Stephens greene, usinge some actes of hostilitie, burne some of the suburbes other times, soe that seuerall times he recalled home those armies to defend their proper doores. Robert Harpold in the Queenes countie did make up a troupe and maned his owne casshell of Shruell, for the Irish, within two miles to Katarlogh, soe did Walter Bagnall, make a troupe and tooke Laghlin bridge; Edward Buttler of Tulloe mad up men and James Birne, all those proued verie curagious and earnest in those primer times, and soe did all the Irish severally in the respectiue prouinces, that

Hugh
McPhelim
Byrne.

Robert
Harpold.
Walter
Bagnall.

1641. I am confident a 100 English would not face ten Irish in those beginings, for God did fight for them then, hauinge as they had, religion their onely obiecte of warfarre, and allsoe the English was mightie discouraged seeinge the multitude of Irish in eache prouince, and how they thriued, that, they thought strange where weare soe manie all this while, and perswaded themselves, that they rose from purgatorie, (which untill then they neuer beleueed) in soe much that verie many of the rankest Protestants, nay of their chiefe ministers was verie earnest for reconcilement to holy churche, and beinge receaued, shewed extraordinarie deuotion.

The cowardliness of the English in the beginings and why.

39. But the Irish growinge somewhat remisse, in their former principles, partly in conceauinge the weaknesse and cowardize of the enemye, the most parte of the kingdome now in their owne hands, confidinge too much in their multiplicite and former progresse and prosperitie of affaires, and allsoe amunition growinge verie scante, keepinge now considerable bodie of an armie for those respects and for want of pay, (pillage and plunder now at its declination) but euerie partie or familie offeringe to defende his own which the warie enemye obsearuinge, hereby encouraged, began to rouze himself, and sally from Dublin in warrlicke posture to enlarge their quarter there, neere home first, the Irish hauinge some castles there at their nose. The first man that issued from Dublin in this posure was Sir Simon Harkett (spoken off, No. 10), with 1500 men of warr seuerall braue caualliers, two or three peeces of ordinance, promisinge himself a full conquest of all Ireland within fewe monthes, directed his course towards Carrigmoynam a pettie castle within seven or eight miles to Dublin, wherein were onely fifteen men keepinge the same for the Irish. Sir Simon leaguers the same three daies and soe many nights with many assaults and batteries, to the noe smale comendation of the couragious deffendants the assaylant not thriuinge with either assaulte or batterie, began to undermine the castle, in pursuance whereof, assayinge a litle base courte, beinge the onely rubb in their way, of sett purpose were not opposed, possessinge themselves now of the base courte, as full of men as euer could hould, began their mine, all beinge don to their owne wish, three ferkins of powder were thither brought to place there, to giue fire and then adiewe castle. The deffendants obsearuinge all now accomplished, onely to giue fire, hauinge great neede of amunition, rushed out like a thunderboulte, killed all that was in the basecourte, their comrades in the campe not able to helpe them, caried into the castle the three ferkins, to their noe smale encouragement, and enemies grieffe. When Sir Symon sawe what passed, was amazed at the bouldnesse of those rebells (as they tearmed them), caused a parley to be sounded, they offered the deffendants a faire quarter, to marche away armed, with bagg and bagadge, wherevnto they condescended, one by the deffendants apointed, and allowed by Sir Symon, to see the quarter signed accordinge capitulation, as soone as this partie soe apointed and admitted apeered before Sir Symon straight, comaunded to hange him, beinge a maxem amonge them that they are not obliged by any lawe to keepe touhce or observe promise to the Irish nation, this partie against the lawe of nations soe executed, the rest of the deffendants obsearuinge how faithlesse their aduersaries were, they sweare to fight it out vnto the last man, begininge verie couragious to acte the same, Sir Symon seeinge their animositie, and assumed new courage, roared like a lion, or a furious

Sir Simon Harquett did leager castle of Moy, Carrigmoynam.

Brave deffendants

40.

The treacherie of this commander.

The enemy's maxeme.

bull, and the more to encourage his men to aduance, did cugell, kanuasse and exhorte his souldiers to the assaulte, discovered himself verie actiue and busie more then ordinarie, whereby the warie deffendants seeinge him now exposed more publicke, knowe him, by his deportment, shooted at him with earnest leuell, and not scotts-free for presently he was tumbled to the earth deadly wounded with his last farewell to the world, with onely God's sownes in his mouthe, this braue comaunder (that in one monthe would conquer all Ireland) with 18 more of his prime comaunders and 500 men did the enemie loose there, and the deffendants as long as one graine of amunition leasted did defende the place, which beinge spent, stole away by a posterne doore in spite of all the enemie, loosinge onely two whereof he that was hanged against the lawe of armes and nations was one.

1641.

Sir Symon,
18 com-
aunders
and 500
slaine.

Sir Phelim Oneyll in the north of Ireland verie busie against both English, Scotts and Irish, colonell Montroe generall there for both English and Scott. This Montroe (as no. 37 touched) a souldier of fortune, by birth a Scottsman, but descended of the O'Kahans of the north, an ould beaten souldier, trained in Germanie and Sweland, enformed by his banished patriotts that the Irish raised in armes in the behalfe of their religion and kinge, banished all such English and Scottish nation, as did not adhere vnto them on the behalf of his majestie at leaste, thought it a fitt occasion to raise his fortune by addressinge himself for jorney to Ireland; gathered a considerable armie of both exiles and other mercenarie forces, arriued to Carrigfergus surprisinge the same as aforesaid, wherby was master of the counties of Antrim and Dune, which was noe smale encouragment for him and his adherents, as a presage of future better aduancement, the rest of the English and Scotts of the north came to him, as to an oracle, apointed him chiefe comaunder, independent of either kinge or parliament, but receaued all his orders from the couenantiers of Scotland. Sir Phelim and his partie was in a poore takinge now against soe many enemies, hauinge neither kinge or prince to asiste them, or martiall comaunder to manage their affaires, or armes and amunition but verie scante, notwithstandinge confidinge in the justice of their cause, and spurred on by their inatiue courage, noble and warlike humour seuerall times gave Montroe to vnderstand, he must fight for the victorie before he triumphes. Many hott skirmishes they had on both sides, the aduantage doubtfull, one daie declininge one way, another day to another, but, for want of meanes, and discipline distracted, as aforesaid, and the wary enemie keepinge still the bodie of an armie and good order, the Catholicke affaires was dayly growinge tepide and remisse, soe that verie often they gaue ground, now and then, though the enemie did many times loose more men then they.

41.

Carrigfer-
gus sur-
prised.

Sir Phelim's
courage.

Great and exceedinge penurious was amunition with the Irish, though in many places to their exceedinge cost and charges was made or attempted at leaste, but with smale perfection, this penurie was generall in all the four provinces amonge the royallists (for soe wee will call the Catholicke confederats hearafter), neither armes or ordinance had they, to preuent future distruction in the north. Sir Phelim and his northeren people demolished all the forts and castles that they tooke from the enemie, except Charlemont, nay his owne verie house, soe that

42.

1641. the enimie had verie fewe garrisons to looke after in the north, but still in two
seuerall bodies, one dependinge of Carrigfergus, and another from the Lagan,
vnder the comaunde of Sir Robert Stewarde, followed still the royallists where-
euer they hearde of their beinge. In Linster weare castles plentie enough (and
were not as wise as the Ulstermen in this behalfe), but amunition as aforesaid
verie scarce, wherby the enimie encouraged, vpon those surmishes, to drawe out
from Dublin in maine bodies, with all warrlicke ingines to leager and storme
castles, to loose men was nothinge out of their way, for such heapes came to
the state of Dublin from the parliament of England, they alsoe grounded on a
false maxeme, that in case they promised, nay swaere a quarter to the royallists,
they were not obliged to comply with, which doctrine was of late inuented by
some ungodly and antediuiines of Parliament ministells. Beinge now to marche,
enformed of some good seruices that one James Fleminge of Cabragh haue
don against the adioyninge garrisons, thither they marched, besiedged his castle,
plantinge their ordinance battered the same for three daies and three nights,
secondinge the same with verie hott assaults, he killed 400 of their men, kept
them out in spite of all their maine force, as long as amunition leasted, in
steede of which, did vse scaldinge water and beere, all faylinge, in the deade of
the night salied with his men, broke vpon a quarter of the enimie campe, killed
some, away he went, with the losse onely of two men duringe the siedge, and left
his battered and vseless castle to be deffended by two women that had not the
courage to accompany himself, whoe next morninge gott quarter and yekled the
castle as it was, but seeinge how they weare deluded, and what they lost, you
may suspecte how they thought of the busines.
43. James Fleminge of Cabragh how well behaued himself. 400 men lost.
44. Lynce hill sledge. Bernaby McDonough Geoghegan, comaunder in ye castle. Brave deffendants.
- From hence the enimie marched to Linche his castle, neere Trim, where
weare 50 men well resolued, though tyron souldiers, their comaunder was one
Bernaby Geoghegan, son to Donogh Geoghegan of Ballynagreine in the baronie
of Moycashell, a leutenant of foote, for captain Thomas McArt Geoghegan of
Castltowne, in the same baronie, the enimie arriuinge thither, desiringe by the
interprott of a trumpeter the surrender of that castle, beinge denied they leager
the same, mounte their artillerie, five daies and soe many nights they kept
continuall batterie, and verie couragious and manly assaultes, but all in vaine,
as long as a graine of amunition, beere or scaldinge water leasted they would
neuer yeld, but all those now faylinge, and hauinge nothinge wherby to defende
themselves and the castle, other then their swords, and some stones they picked
out of the castle walle, the assaylants weare glad to heare them moue for quarter,
or admitte soe much vrbantie, as to speake onely of it, the verie enimie did
preuent their motion for it, for in the campe, by the noise of a drum it was
moued vnto the deffendants, they seeinge in what posture they weare, some
weare of opinion they should accept of a quarter, others that it weare more
honorable to fight it out to the last man to auenge themselves of those perfidious
round heads, whoe would neuer obserue quarter vnto them, of this resulte was
the leutenant; but the mistress of the house, the very best souldier that wee
knowe of her sex in Ireland, vehemently aduised them to take quarter, whervnto
they agreed, their quarter signed by the mayor, officers and comaunders, and

published in the campe, which was, their liues saued, their armes, to themselves, as much as they could carie on their backs for baggage, to marche away in a bodie with drum beaten, and matche lighted, the leutenant wished them to carie nothinge but their armes, alleadinge such not to be soe honorable as cumbersome, whoe was obeyed; but before the deffendants went out vnto the campe, the enemie caused an inuentorie to be made of the deade in that siede, the sum haue bene 500 men, 10 or 12 officers, and many wounded, the comaunders were to run madd for the quarter granted, this their choller they dissembled vntill the deffendants arriued vnto the campe, and cominge before the chiefe comaunder, comanded a sett of musketires about them, weare disarmed, they pleaded their quarter, that will not auayle, the leutenant and all the rest his souldiers were there executed, the gentlewoman onely was saued, she cryinge out aloude that the rest was as inocent as shee, and that they had as good a quarter as shee, nay better, as better desearuinge it, and by the lawe of nations were free, if willinge, said she, to spill inocent bloude, spill mine and spare those inocent soules, when all failed, shee tooke the leutenant in her armes, and tould she must perish by him or he saued, but all her pleadings would not doe. See, reader, how perfidious those men be, and how well those other defended their castle, and how tyrannically were executed.

1641.

500 men
and 12
officers
killed.
Quarter
non com-
plied with.
All the
deffendants
hanged.

About this time the enemie did leager a castle in the countie of Kildare, called Blagall, wherin were the matter of 30 yongmen well resolved, though neuer vntill then experimented in that art, the enemie was 1,500 men, with artillerie and other ingines for warr, amonge the rest was a blackamoore, an ould beaten souldier, and (as was thought) was either possessed by a deuill or a witch, for he would aduance soe farr in sight of the deffendants, that he neuer desired the benefitt of any shelter from the bullett, the deffendants aimed at him, as their butt, receauinge many in his bodie, not soe much hurt receaued, as once to stumble, nor did he shew the least motion of cowardize or feare, or gaue an ince of grounde, rather recouered, cryinge out vpon the deffendants, that the poore dastardly folke did spend their labour in vaine, that he cared not for their shott, and accusinge his owne partie of timorous and imbecilitie, for not aduancing and follow him; the deffendants did spend a great quantitie of their amunition and shott against this onely man, but all in vaine, which obserued by a yongeman, spoke to his comrade, that they should make crosses on their bulletts, and aime at that blackamoore together, and I vndertake said this yongman, if we hitt this rogue, his charmes or black art will litle auayle him against the crosse, the other condescended, and promised to hitt him at leaste, both charginge and aiminge, as aforesaid, they both killed and tumbled him presently starke deade to the grounde, to the great greefe of the assayllants, and vnspeakable joy of the deffendants, night drawinge on, the enemie gaue out, they receaued orders to marche home to the Naasse, fillinge (accordinge custome) their karts and wagons with deade and wounded men; of deade was founde 7 score and 20, with the blackamoore, and seuerall officers and comaunders, and many wounded, onely with this bootie marched away, the deffendants remaininge victors in their castle, lost neuer a man, but the generall calamitie of amunition troubled them, and fearinge the enemie returne next morninge, burned their castle, and marched away to other

45.
Blagall
siege.

A stout
blacka-
moore.

Stronge
faithe.

The Moore
killed

with 7 score
and 20.

1641. places of service. The comaunder of this party was a yonge man of the FitzGerald, a son of the landlord of that verie towne, by name Francis, a Franciscan frier, though noe priest.
- Francis
FitzGerald
a Francis-
can frier.
46. Captain Bernaby Dempsie laied siedge vnto Geyszell castle, which indured for a fortnight or vpwads, and made a great wooden ingine, vnder whose shelter he might vndermine the same, which was called a hogg; he killed some of the defendants, did cutt them shorte of water and fuell, burned all their turfe in their verie doore, notwithstanding by ignorance and vnskillfullnesse in that arte, raised the siedge and went away.
- Geyszell
siedge.
- Viscount
Clanmaliry
builded
ordiance.
Did leager
Geyszell.
- Lewes, lord viscounte of Clanmaliry, chiefe of that familie of Dempsies, caused two peeccs of ordinance to be moulded, a field peece and a batterer, those perfected, he begins now to acte somethinge, for thither vnto did acte nothinge since those comotions, did lay siedge vnto the foresaid castle of Geyszell, plantinge his ordinance, discharged, but in vaine, for by the verie first shot this peece brok, vnfit for any future service, all the hurte don to the castle, a peece of a chymney blowen off, whoe seeinge his gun soe well thriued, (which by its artificer was industriously contriued, beinge an Englishman, as may be coniectured), he caries the same away and raiseth the siedge, leauinge the defendants to themselves, but soone after caused the peece to be renewed and returnes to Geyszell again, and ye second was broken, and thriued as formerly, which caused my lord to marche away with his leauinge theemie garrison to themselves, or to Teige Conors deuotion, whoe thithervnto pestered them, sometimes by twentie men, other times by ten, nay six, by fine and witty stratagemes to their mightie preiudice, whoe now feelinge the want of reliefe, not by the iniurie of the former siedges, but by Teige Conor's dayly incursions. Sir John Gifford, their onely benefactor for such a purpose, now for a quarter of a year resident in Dublin, the waies soe dangerous durst not venture his return home all the while, whereby Geyszell garrison was compelled to sue mayor Greinefield gouernor of Trim to come to their reliefe, whoe furthwith addressed himself for that jorney, with a competent number of horse and foote, and coming as farr as Phillipstowne, within three miles to Geyszell, this Teige Conor herof enformed, gatheringe as many men as he could for that expedition, marched vnto a passadge neere Phillipstowne aforesaid, plaied so well on theemie that with the losse of many of his men compelled him to turne backe, in a disordered way, and leaste he should conceaue any hopes to send the said reliefe to Geyszell, all his amunition was blowen vpp, either by the dexter industrie of the fightinge Irish, or by an accidentall destinie at home; Sir John Gifford, returninge from Dublin, certified of both the want of his associats, as of the foyle of Greenefield, from his house of Castle Jordan writtes a letter to one Mrs. Jane Itchingham, sister vnto the ladie of Clanmalirie, and his owne cossen, that she should gett the people of the said garrison a quarter of their lives and armes, with a conuoy as farr as Phillipstowne (where he would receave them, and the castle, with all therein mouable, to be at her disposall). In pursuance herof the gentlwoman spoke to her brother in lawe the lord of Clanmalirie, shewing him the said letter with its intimation, desiringe his lordship to take the same to his serious consideration, and acte accordinge its contents, which was don punctually, and thus the garrison of Geyszell deserted the place, rather by Teige Conors industrious behauiour then by compulsion of any siedge.
- Teige
Conor.
47. Lewes, lord viscounte of Clanmaliry, chiefe of that familie of Dempsies, caused two peeccs of ordinance to be moulded, a field peece and a batterer, those perfected, he begins now to acte somethinge, for thither vnto did acte nothinge since those comotions, did lay siedge vnto the foresaid castle of Geyszell, plantinge his ordinance, discharged, but in vaine, for by the verie first shot this peece brok, vnfit for any future service, all the hurte don to the castle, a peece of a chymney blowen off, whoe seeinge his gun soe well thriued, (which by its artificer was industriously contriued, beinge an Englishman, as may be coniectured), he caries the same away and raiseth the siedge, leauinge the defendants to themselves, but soone after caused the peece to be renewed and returnes to Geyszell again, and ye second was broken, and thriued as formerly, which caused my lord to marche away with his leauinge theemie garrison to themselves, or to Teige Conors deuotion, whoe thithervnto pestered them, sometimes by twentie men, other times by ten, nay six, by fine and witty stratagemes to their mightie preiudice, whoe now feelinge the want of reliefe, not by the iniurie of the former siedges, but by Teige Conor's dayly incursions. Sir John Gifford, their onely benefactor for such a purpose, now for a quarter of a year resident in Dublin, the waies soe dangerous durst not venture his return home all the while, whereby Geyszell garrison was compelled to sue mayor Greinefield gouernor of Trim to come to their reliefe, whoe furthwith addressed himself for that jorney, with a competent number of horse and foote, and coming as farr as Phillipstowne, within three miles to Geyszell, this Teige Conor herof enformed, gatheringe as many men as he could for that expedition, marched vnto a passadge neere Phillipstowne aforesaid, plaied so well on theemie that with the losse of many of his men compelled him to turne backe, in a disordered way, and leaste he should conceaue any hopes to send the said reliefe to Geyszell, all his amunition was blowen vpp, either by the dexter industrie of the fightinge Irish, or by an accidentall destinie at home; Sir John Gifford, returninge from Dublin, certified of both the want of his associats, as of the foyle of Greenefield, from his house of Castle Jordan writtes a letter to one Mrs. Jane Itchingham, sister vnto the ladie of Clanmalirie, and his owne cossen, that she should gett the people of the said garrison a quarter of their lives and armes, with a conuoy as farr as Phillipstowne (where he would receave them, and the castle, with all therein mouable, to be at her disposall). In pursuance herof the gentlwoman spoke to her brother in lawe the lord of Clanmalirie, shewing him the said letter with its intimation, desiringe his lordship to take the same to his serious consideration, and acte accordinge its contents, which was don punctually, and thus the garrison of Geyszell deserted the place, rather by Teige Conors industrious behauiour then by compulsion of any siedge.
- Greenfield
beaten by
Teige
Conor.
- How
Geyszell
was
deserted.

CHAPTER VI.

IN moralitie it is a greater vice to comitte a wickednesse then to omitt the doinge of a vertuous acte ; soe in martiall gournment it is worse for the souldier to doe what he is forbidden in his owne campe, then not to do what he is comaunded upon the enemye, for this onely bereaves him of some faire aduantage ; but that layes himself open to all ambush and defeate.

48.

Thucyd.
lib. 3.Vegetius,
lib. 9.

“ Velle, vereri, obedire, boni militis munia.”

A generall dearth of amunition was in every mans mouth, it was more preiudicious vnto the royallists for their present service, then the want of breade, its wants and scarcitie soe publickly knowne, the enemye was thereby encouraged not to be onely content with the storminge of castles, but to issue now vpon those surmishes to the field, which they durst not hertofore salute afarr off, marched now to the Queenes countie, from whence Sir Charles Coote went to Birr, to secure the same for his son Sidly Coote, gouernor thereof, returninge backe to Leyse did secure the passadges of the Barrowe ; in the interim. Huigh McPhelim nominated chiefe comaunder of the confederat Catholicks of Linster, my lord Montgerrott and MacThomas, colonell of foote, caused an armie to be gathered vnto a bodie from Monster. My lord of Ikery, one of the Buttlers, with some Monster forces, came to asiste those to Linster, such forces of Westmeath, as thought to come thither arriuinge into the Barrowe could not passe it ouer, in regard it was secured for the enemye (as aforesaid), beinge the better apointed of all that prouince, the Irish gathered neere the Barrow, a greate multitude of men, one moytie at leaste vnarmed, however verie glade to encounter with the enemye soe farr from Dublin, were sure neuer to suffer them enioy the sight therof. The enemye on the other side seeinge the multitude of the Irish was mightie fearfull least to be circumuented, and that they would come between them and Dublin, makinge the best hast they could to passe over the Barrowe least the Irish should hinder their passage, which they did. The enemye was comaunded by the earle of Ormond and Sir Charles Coote, they carried field peeces, braue troupes of horse they were, and all necessaries for a field. The Irish comaunders in consultation what to doe Huigh McPhelim and MacThomas weare of opinion not to giue a field at all vpon such odds, seeinge the rawnesse of their men, their scarcitie of amunition, their nakednesse, and not trained to such actions, but the lords Montgerrott and Ikerie were of a contrarie sense ; the comonaltie embraced this last opinion as proceedinge from the pallats of lords without either obedience or respecte to those that weare both souldiers and chief comaunders, adhered vnto the senselesse doome of those, as ignorant of martiall discipline, as the most tyronizinge of them all : Huigh Birne and MacThomas preuidinge what consequence was to followe such premises, desired to have the fittinge of the field, seeinge of necessitie it must be given, which allsoe was denied. The enemye all this while kept on a verie good

Want of
amuni-
tion.Huigh
McPhelim,
commander
of Linster.The non-
sense of
Mont-
gerrott.

49.

pace, untill he was betweene the Irish and Dublin, if routed to be neere their

1641. garrisons that way to the Naase. The royallists were sure they would not abide them or their multitude, as sure as death, if they saw them in any good posture they would not), with this conceite they marched in a disordered maner to overtake the enemy, the warie enemy observinge, as well by their marche, as by the relation of their scouts, that they were onely a rabble of disarmed freshwater souldiers, without armes, amunition or souldier commauder but Montgerrott, Ormond's great vnckle, whoe without difficultie, choosed to be looser himself in that game then his nephewe not to be victor in this his first action, the Monstermen contested about the enemy spoiles alleadinge they would not share with the Leinstermen for they alone without their helpe, weare able to beate that enemy; but those did reckon before their hostasse, and triumph before the victorie, vpon consideration wherof, the enemy by advice made halte, vpon the side of a hillocke, in a faire great plaine by name Cnocaterife, in the countie of Kildare, mounted his field pieces, did putt his men in battle array. The Irish coming now to the topp of the same hill as aforesaid, MacThomas with his regiment went and placed himself the other side of the enemy, not be commaunde, but beyonde, as not pleased with the managinge of affaires at present, a sett of musketires now commaunded in that place without sconce, shelter or defence, either behinde, before, or in flanke from horse or foote, to play on the enemy, beinge not in posture of an armie bodie, in battle array, or any either horse or foote assigned to second or relieue them, that one would thinke them rather exposed to slaughter, or giue grounde, then for seruice to aduance or gaine any foote. The enemy did send a braue partie of musketires against those, with a braue resolution and vndaunted spiritt by euery stepp gaininge grounde, aduancinge to the verie brest of the Irish musketires, seconded by a selecte and choice troupe of horse (but the Irish commauder, good Montgerrott, neuer sent one to relieue his or seconde them) at whose sight the Irish musketires soe engaged showed heels, and left their post to the enemy, all the rest their comrads, as if combined, seeinge them fly, did the like, though farr from present danger, whom the enemy horse onely followed, made such hauocke of them, verie fewe withstandinge, if not for two troupes of horse, Walter Bagnall and Robert Harpold of the Irish partie, and the boggs beinge neere, likly verie fewe escaped, onely MacThomas his owne towne within a sinale mile to him, marched easily homwards with his regiment, without preiudice; but such of the Irish as fought, was noe Monsterman but Linster, Dermott McDowlin Keuanagh, and Huigh McPhelim's brother, a braue gentleman, were both, fightinge very manly, killed in the same place. Dermott's head was cut off, and caried to Dublin, placed on Newgate tower. Of this gentleman was a prophecie (which I heard meself tell 12 yeares before his death) that he should be killed in that same plaine in a battle betweene English and Irish, himself knowinge this of longe, departinge his proper home to this fatall jorney made his last will and testament and tould his wife and friends, that if those armics mette in Cnocaterife aforesaid, he should be killed there for certaine, pursuant therunto made a general confession and receaued the holy sacrament of euchariste, and by noe meanes could be perswaded to decline or absent himself that day, but fought brauely, auenged himself, and complied with the said prophecie. A gentlman of the FitzGerald

The disobedience of the Irish.

Treasonable conceite of Montgerrott.

Ignorant seatinge.

50.

Cnocaterife battle.

Dermott Keuanagh slaine.

Gerrott McWilliam of Castlowe was there killed, a hopfull yong man, an excellent scholler, an exceeding good antiquariste in both Latin, English and Irish, a traoueller, a courtier, and a braue horsman. The Irish lost that day many of their best men, all their bagg and baggage ; and which is more their courage, honor and the field, and noe meruayle, as beinge veric rawe, naked, without amunition or comaunder, all this, with the former circumstances, are the fruits of disobedience in martiall men, that vpon a groundlesse surmishe of the enemie cowardiz, they would not obey those that weare better, and by higher power in comaunde apointed : though the Irish were losers as aforesaid, it was truely giuen out that the enemie lost as many men as they : howeuer he did not (and with reason) much care for such losse, as hauinge soe honorable a beginninge. This peece of seruice soe embouldned that humane-bloudsucker, Sir Charles Coote (whoe gaue his opinion once in the councill table in Dublin, before those comotions, that all the Irish women should be deprived of their papps, and the men gelded, to render the one incapable of future generation, and the other of nurishing) from thence victorious, the enemie marched to the earle of Castlehaven's house, two miles from the said field, wheare was at present the earle of Antrim, and the Dutchesse of Bughingham his wife : this Castlehaven was an English Catholike, and at this time neuter. Sir Charles Coote bragginge too much of that daies seruice, Ormond and both the other earles silent, but the dutchesse took vpon her to answere him, as both English and better acquainted with his good genius, tould him what he was, a poore mecanicall fellow, raised by blind fortune, as enformer and promoter, against all that is iust and godly, beinge chiefe instrument of the shedinge of many innocent bloude, and of the comencement of the now distempers ; that the Irish was more loyall to the crowne of England ; very bad language she gaue him, to this tune, next morninge they marched to Dublin, carying Castlhaven with them in the nature of a prisoner, leauinge all his goods untouched ; but Antrim and his ladie departed thence, the one to the north, and the other to Wexford, of whome hereafter.

1641.
Gerrott
FitzGerald
killed.

52.

Dutchesse
of Bughing-
ham.
Antrim and
Castlhaven

Castlhaven
to Dublin
caried.

CHAPTER VII.

As in nature so in government, nothinge is permanent that is violent. It is therefore heard to see a tirantould, for though for a time he uphold his state by force and policie, yett in the end, diuine iustice confoundes his practices and infatuats his counsells, to his owne ruyne and overthrowe, for as in that mortall warr betweene the great elephant and poysonfull dragon, this one, with his tayle enclaspeth that other, in makinge him fall, and he in his fall bursteth himself, and crusheth that other in peeces ; soe when ambition and envie meete as combattance in the hearte of a man he needes noe outwarde force to assayle him, for the venemous taile of his envie entangleth the winged feete of his ambition makinge him fall, and in the fall to burst with his owne weight.

Arles phil,
lib. 2.

Auson.
fol. 92.

Plin. nat.
hist., lib. 8.

“ Nullum violentum est perpetuum.”

1641.
53.
Phillipstowne
quarter.

After this defeate, Sir Charles Coote, "adhuc spirans minas et cædes in discipulos Domini," not knowinge to hould either hand, foote, or tongue from causinge the effusion of inocent bloude, marchinge from Dublin towards Phillipstowne, wheare was a garrison for the Irish, did send sumons wherupon, by the generall extenuitie of amunition, came to parley and capitulat for quarter, it beinge granted of both life and armes, bagg and bagage; 15 was the number of the deffendants, theire quarter perfected, signed, and remitted, cominge fourth weare all hanged by Sir Charles his direction, excepte one man that overran all the enemie; this tiranicall minister, contemner of all lawes to the disparagment of all humanitie executinge those, demolished the castle, and returnes to Meath, as thinkinge of Trim not yett maned by either side. At this verie time the Irish bethought to garrison Trim, pursuant therto all Westmeath forces and the Reyllies from the countie of Cavan marched thither, those had some inklinge that Coote was thither comeinge, though makinge the best speede they could; Sir Charles Coote arrived firste and had the towne without one blowe; the weather beinge somewhat cold, wherof Sir Charles complained, and comaunded a fire to be made (he lodged in Mr. Laurence Hamons house), fuell verie scarce there; his son Ricc Coote, (qualis arbor, talis fructus) hitted vpon a great ancient portraiture, or image of Our Blessed Lady engraven in wood, kept with great veneration in the same house since the suppression of holy church in Henry the 8 his time, which younge Coote caused to be cutt and cloven in sunder, to make fire therof for his father against his comeinge in. Butt God Allmight, the righteous judge, did not prolonge the punishment of this impietie, for as soone as Sir Charles thought to enioy the benefitt of that transformed-diuine fire, worde came to him that the Irish alreadie intred the towne; startinge fourth, trompett sounded, and drum beaten, all ran to the alarum, beinge verie late in the eveninge. Sir Charles was shott or otherwise wounded, and makinge as much examination in this behalf as reasonable I might, could never learne how or by whom was he soe wounded, how ever, it beinge mortall, was conuoyed to his lodginge deade. Some weare killed on both sides, but the enemie remained within the towne; but next day Sir Charles, his corps, and another noblman's, as they gave out was my lord Digby, were caried to Dublin, where he was be moaned by all the parliamentaries, and interred with the ensuinge epitaph:—

An image
of Our
Lady made
fire by
Coote.

54.

Not known
how killed
unlesse by a
miracle.

Sir Charles
Coote's
epitaph.

"England's honour, Scotland's wonder, Ireland's terror, here lies vnder."

55.
Fr. Francis
Sulleuan
agent for
Spaine.

A generall joy was conceaued in all loyall and royallist brest for the death of this tirant, as beinge generally hated of all well or humanly affected; see how he payed for his firinge that night, sure he gaue an account in hell of it, for thither he receaued his tickett that night: this is the end of this tirant.

In the verie comencement of those comotions father Francis Sulleuan, a Franciscan frier, from his owne name, and other members in the countie of Corke, and by comande of his owne order, went to present vnto his Catholicke majestic the present affaires of Ireland, desiringe in the name of the nation his royall helpinge hande. He spent some time there in this suite, at lenght gott for the confederat Catholicks from his saide Catholicke majestic £3,000 in plate, silver coine, 4 demie

canons, his owne for eache prouince, 2,500 musketts with their addresses, 300 1641.
barrells of powder, matche, bullett, and pickes, accordingly, which weare of mightie
concernment in the kingdome at present, but beinge retarded I will in due place
make mention of and how disposed.

A warrlicke partie of reddshanks of the MacDaniells, Colla Ketaghs sons, 56.
enformed of the affaires of Ireland arrived vnto Ulster and adhered vnto Sir Phelim
Oneyll, wheare they verie often excellent well behaued themselves, but they both **Reddshanks**
courageous and considerable, as hauinge the matter of 800 men well apointed **in Ulster**
with musketts, swords, pickes, bowes and arrowes, arriuinge at some beseeminge **for the**
comaunde more then ordinarie to such a partie, as to be second or 3 in the **Irish.**
field, not grannted by Sir Phelim, rather esteeminge and placinge them in the
predicament of mere mercenaries, therewith offended, parted his presence, and
quitted his comaunde (though not the Irish partie), went to the countie of Antrim
to the north, in the verie hearte of their enemies builded a forte of earth for their
saftie, gaue well to doe to the adjoininge garrison to their preiudice, Dunluise
beinge then for the earle of Antrim whoe still played on Cullraghan, a stronge **Cullraghan**
Puritant garrison, by a stratageme, killed one day of the townsmen 500 and odd **siege.**
men ; they suffered noe reliefe to goe to the deffendants in seven or eight weekes,
vntill horseflesh was within the towne of great estimation, for that they weare
necessitated to parley, and therby sworne to surrender the towne on a peremp-
torie day, without further tergiuersation, the prefixed time at hande. It had been
the Irish his hearde fate that the earle of Antrim arriued to the campe before **Antrim's**
the towne, his lordship was newly come from Linster (as no. 52 mentioned), whose **mistake.**
arriual was mightie desired by all the Irish Ulstermen, and specially by those
reddshanks, his owne cossens, flesh and bloude, as conceaued to be of great con-
cernment for the furtherance of affaires in that prouince (but deceaved, as exitus
acta probant), the first thing he did, was to interpose his authoritie, giuinge a rubb
vnto the surrender of the towne according couenant to either Irish or Scott, pro-
misinge to bringe both defendant and assaylant to a friendly atonment to acte
nothing against other, vntill his lordships were certified of his majestie's resulte
therein, both agreeing thereto, he reliued the towne with plentie of meale, butter,
and flesh ; which don the campe dispersed, the townsmen fortifyinge themselues,
neither obsearued oath or couenant, or respected their chiefe benefactor Antrim.
The earle went to Dunluise, thinkinge to continue there vntill further intelligence,
as neuter ; but noe sooner did Monroe heare of the raiseinge of siedge, the reliuinge
of the towne, and of Antrim's beinge in Dunluise aforesaid, then directed his
course thither, with a partie of horse and foot, arriuing thither, desiring intrance,
was fourthwith admitted ; he seised on the earle's bodie, plunders all the house, **Antrim**
left a garrison of his owne there, and the earle in the nature of a prisoner for **prisoner**
some fewe weekes, and after caried his lordship to Carrigfergus, where he was **by Montroo.**
close prisoner, vntill by the charitable industrie of a kindswoman of his owne,
made a narrow escape, but lost all his goods, all his land now possessed of the
emie, and lost all this and the felise progresse of the Irish in Ulster brought to
its ebbing, by that oversighted-seeming-mercie of Cullraghan.

It was a greate hinderance to the royall service in the north, that all the Irish 57-

1641. lords of Ulster were in noe posture of service. My lord of Antrim, as you see, lost all his owne without a blowe. Iniskillin comitted prisoner to the parliament of England, sworne enemie to the crowne. Iueagh very yonge, a member rather of the state of Dublin then any way confederat of the Irish, as beinge in his minoritie bred in the courte of warde, the rest of the gentrie of Vlster, not able to keepe in a bodie, as alreadie mentioned, but dispersed. The Reyllies did offer to defende their owne countie of Cauan, many bickeringes betweene them, and the enemie that way, wheare they very often had the best, had the killinge of many of their enemies, and specially Meylds Reylly McEdmonde, captain of horse, gave the enemie many a good foyle vpon greate inequalitye, rather favored by fortune and valor, then any indifferencie. Colla M'Brian Mahon did the like in his countie of Muneaghan, on the borders of the countie of Lowth, Dundalke, and others.

How the
Irish Lords
of Ulster
were.
Scattered
forces.

58. Sir Phelim Oneylle, as much as in him laye, kept such of the counties of Ardmagh and Tyron together as he could, and allsoe the dispersed parties of the counties of Dune, Tyrconell, Antrim, and Fermanagh, as a runinge armie, applyinge himself to that place wheare he sawe more neede, and stronger enemie, he did garrison Charlemont, Montjoy, and Dungenan, he tooke some of the boates belonginge to the English Puritants of Massariny upon Loghneagh, wheare these Puritants had many such vessells, as well to keepe the fishinge of that lough (which is infinitt) as allsoe to play when their men of war feried by the said boats to the counties of Tyron and Ardmagh, and specially on Montjoy, but by the suprisinge of those vessells, Sir Phelim was now master of that narrowe sea, and thereby mightie relived his men, beinge in exceedinge scarcitie of provision, was maintained for a prettie time by the benefitt of the saide lough, and would longer, believe continue, and better thrive, but inflated with some odd conceite of his owne actions, and perswadinge himself that nominatinge himself earle of Tyron all the province would both obey and adhere vnto him, pursuant thereto, stilled himself with that honorable creation, and caused the same to be infused unto the eares of both domesticke and foraigners, but in his conceite was farr deceaved, for he was now in the mouth of all people, charactered with that ugly denomination of an ambitious intruder, havinge noe colour of seeminge justice to warant the said intrusion, either by father or mother (livinge as many as then did) wherupon many of those that alreadie followed him now forsooke him, and such others as hitherunto absented themselves from vntinge vnto him, though now and then assisted him in his extremitie, would not now salute him afarr off, this was the begining of Sir Phelim's downfall.

Sir Phelim
Oneylle's
endeauors.

Sir Phelim
stilled
himself
Tyron.

The cause
of his
disrespecte.

Congrega-
tion of
Ardmagh.

In the begininge of those comotions the clergie of the province of Ardmagh (as ever yett more zealous for religion, as true inheritors of St. Patricke) did send sumons vnto the respective prelates, and others of that province whom it concerned, to apeere in Cavan for houldinge a congregation. Thomas Deaz bishope of Meath as member of that province received his particular sumons, but would not apeere, seuerall sumons to that tenor were legally exhibitted, but disobeyinge, would neither by himself, attorney or proctor apeere, the congregation herof sensible, notwithstandinge did goe forward in their busines, ratifyinge and

confirminge the justice of this warr, accordinge the groundes, motives and reasons 1641.
 above mentioned, no. 18, and prescribinge rules to the militia and others whom it
 concerned, how to behave themselves towards all such as did adhere vnto his
 majestie, notwithstandinge theire religion, to embrace and accept of them, swearinge
 fealtie to the Catholicks and alleageance to his majestie, this with many other such
 things they have comaunded vnder the penaltie of high censures to be duly
 observed by all Catholicks of that province: and beside the laudable instructions
 for the comon good, the vnion between the Catholicks was the prime obiecte of
 this congregation: And though all heere acted, was both godly, reasonable and 60.
 loyall, neverthesse, this bishop Diaz not onely did oppose it viribus et posse,
 but allsoe comaunded his flocke not to yeld any obedience therto, vpon intimation
 herof to the said clergie, canonically, charitably and brotherly admonished to apeere
 and shewe cause for such vntowarde proceedings, recent and extrauagant doctrine
 to the perishinge of many souls, but he persisted still in his contumacie; the congrega-
 tion dispairinge the reduction of this prelate, did their censures of excomunica-
 tion ipso facto against him issue if within 9 daies from the publication therof, he did
 not apeere before the lord primat to shewe cause, or recant, Induratum est cor Thome
 he would doe neither, but rather perswaded all others not onely his owne flocke, but
 others to follow this recent dogmatiste, and specialy the earle of Westmeath, beinge
 thithervnto the onely champion in Ireland for religion, was now deluded by this
 poore prelate dwellinge in his house, this brave noblman was verie sickly and
 ould, and not able to doe any busines abroade, and for those respects was easilie
 induced to this vngodly scene, notwithstandinge if not for the surmishes and
 erroneous infusions of this degenerat pastor, he would joine and vnite his owne
 name the Nugents to the rest of the gentry of that countie, for the defence of
 religion, kinge and countie, whereof he was ever verie tender, by which disunion
 the Nugents were shamfully devided in severall parties or vandos, the baron of
 Deluin heire aparent of this ould earle, and married to Sir Thomas Nugent's
 daughter, was goen for England, Sir Thomas himself was tepide, neither hott or
 cold. Robert Nugent more generous then venturous, Andrewe more wise than
 potent, others more loyall than hardie, others neither fish or flesh, soe that by the
 meanes of this prelate, in crubbinge the earle, all the service of that brave familie
 of the Nugents (otherwise a brave suporte for the now affaires) did marr, not onely
 in his particular honor, and temporalty but allsoe was like to run a desperat and
 bemoaninge course in the behalf of his soule, after actinge soe many heroicke and
 vnparalled deedes in the behalf of holy religion and native soyle at home and
 abroade, that his mate, in the vndergoinge of verie difficultie, if not desperat in
 pursuance of the said ends, was not to be had, "non est inuentus similis illi," but
 was amused by this zeudoprelate.

Thomas
 Deis
 excom-
 municated.

The dis-
 vnion of the
 Nugents,
 why.

The Divine Providence verie tender of this subiecte, soe well desearuinge of 61.
 his church moved my lord primat of Ireland, Huigh Reyly, a godly and vpright
 prelate, to send one fr James Nugent a yonge monke of St. Bernard's order to
 the earle, to insinuat vnto him, in what a dangerous plight his lordship was in,
 adheringe vnto the bishope, himself alreadie excommunicated, "cæcus cæcum ducens,
 ambo in foveam cadent," and his lordship's noe lesse, what would he expecte but the

1641. compliance of our Sauours sentence, expoundinge vnto his lordship all the particulars thereof the verie bishope in place the monke toulde his lordship the cause of his cominge, his dellegation from my lord primat, to absolve his lordship, if penitent and desired it, promisinge a recantion in what passed, and amendment for the future ; his lordship was verie attentive vnto this discourse, and perswaded of the veritie thereof grewe mightie angry and offended with the seducinge prelate whoe to colour his owne actions, said that his lordship should not be soe sinsible of it as not of that consequence as the monk did painte it, whereupon the earle enraged, with the feruor of true zeale, answered the prelat, auoyd Sathan, trouble me noe more, lett me adhere vnto my mother the holy church, whoe euer yett cherished me and I scarued her, that now in my droopinge days I should become a prodigall child, euer obedient vnto her, in my flourishinge and blossominge yeares. Father, said he to the monke, for God's sake reconcile me presently to my mother and gett a whipe and absolve me after the maner of an excommunicated person, as I am, which was don incontinently ; the earle thus reconciled with mighty comforte, but because the bishop would not imitat that good example, would never admitte him afterwards. The heire aparent of this earle married as aforesaid, with Sir Thomas Nugent's daughter, soe was viscount Dillon and viscount Taaffe, of tender yeares was now in England, soe was viscount Dillon and viscount Taaffe, of whose partie I doe not know, but yonge Westmeath was not of capacitie to serve any, and withall was in walls the matter of 14 weeks in a kinde of restraints, that he was not admitted to come for Ireland, wherby is auerred he served neither partie in Englande. The ould age of Westmeath, the minoritie and absence of his said heire, and the publicke and priuat workinge of the said prelate, did minister fuell vnto the distraction of that noble familie, and consequently of the raisinge of Sir James Dillon to the government of that countie wherof they are most sensible vnto this verie day.
- Ould Westmeath absolved.
62. Westmeath, Dillon, and Taaff in England.

CHAPTER VIII.

1642. Plin. 9, paneg. Tacit. an., l. 4. Lucane, lib. 7.
- NOE causes are warrantable for the vndertakinge of a warr, if justice be not one of the quorum : for the justice of the action is the cape of good hope, by which men sayle to the assured harbour of saftie, and fortunat ilands of victorie and glorie : wherefore of all encouragments to men of warr, non ought to be more forcible then the equitie of the cause : because just actions, besides the ordinarie, endeauour and helpe of man, are often advanced by fauour of the heauens.

“ Causa iubet superos melior sperare secundos.”

63. Why the Irish declined.
- In all the kingdome our affaires mightie declined, for neither ciuill or martiall government was extant, but eueryone runinge a particular score, which caused confusion, and noe service, this amunition and armes wantinge, by God's speciall prouidence weare conserued. The clergie (and specially my lord primat, and his prouince of Ardmagh) thereof sensible, issued theire seuerall addresses to the respective metropolitants desiringe the conuocation of all the prelats both secular

and regular in Kilkeny vpon a peremptorie day, for the settling of affaires, it beinge 1642. agreed vpon, but in regard of many rubbs and obstacles in the wayes, was retarded vntill May day next followinge the comotion, beinge 1642 wheare apeeringe, the first thinge they conceaued was a confirmation of the grounds of this warr, aprouing the same, not onely just and lawfull, but godly, prescribinge rules and directories, accordinge the prescription of great diuines and Catholicke authors, for both defensive and waginge therof, accordinge the diuersitie of motiues vnder-taken, no. 1 noted, there did prescribe a modle of gouernment, a countie counsell to be chosen in euerie countie, a prouinciall in euery prouince, and another counsell to be indifferently choosen, by the whole kingdome, to that purpose assemble in Kilkeny aforesaid, and this counsell to be called supreame, from which all other, the foresaid counsell should deriue their power, to be lawfull to apeale from those unto the supreame, as de inferiori ad superius, all things tendinge to civill and martiall government was pened downe by the clergie conuened as aforesaid, issuinge their summons to all the kingdome for an assembly of both ecclesiasticke and laytie, for the most parte dispersed, leauinge their dellegats in this their first nationall congregation, expectinge the cominge in of the assembly, which will not soe peremptorily meete, wherefore in the interim wee will treat of other affaires.

The
clergie
sense.

Wee made mention, no. 36, that Clanricard did crubb all Conaght almost, and specially his owne name, but now my lord of Clanmorish, obsearuinge verie well the grounds of the warr, the church decree in that particular ratifyinge and confirminge it as lawfull and just, and comaundinge all Catholickes vpon paine of heauie censures to joine in vnion and confederacie, to mantaine and defende the contents in their oath of association. This noble peere Catholickly more then with a serious consideration obsearued those principles pursuant thereto, maugre all the opposition of Clanricard to the contrarie, raised in armes, and before he acted any thinge interd the towne of Galway to ensure the same, for the confederats, least Clanricard would beguile the ould people there, for the yonger sorte was for the cause in agitation; Clanmorish there caused the mayor and aldermen to conuocate all the towne to the towlsheer, conuened together, made a compendious and materiall speeche before them conducinge to the association of Catholicke vnion, whoe soe farr preuayled that he and the rest there did sweare the said oath, amonge the rest that was there swearinge that oath was Patrick Dorchy or Darcy, mentioned no. 35; this Dorchy did sweare this oath there publickly, as free and as willinge as any there, though not as true as any. Within two daies after this heroicke acte, this noble peere marched to the field, tooke foure or fiue castles from the enemie perforce. Such of them as did not in time sue for quarter, was putt to the sworde and all this in one day, such was his zeale, but soone after tooke a sicknesse, wherof in a shorte space died, to the noe small greefe of all the Catholicks of Ireland and to the mightie impedinge service for the future, in Conaght. Patrick Dorchy, as long as this noble warrior liued did continue his loyaltie, which was a shorte time, beinge deade left the towne (as not to liue with such as were well intended) went to live in the countrie, under the wings of Clanricard, wheare he was welcome, for they both vnderstoode one another, and was priuy to all Clanricards dealinges.

4

Viscount
Clanmorish
of ye
Bourkes in
armes.

Periuringe
Dorchy.

65.

Clanmo-
rish deade.

1642.
66.

One Barry,
generall of
Monster,
not reall.

The contes-
tation of
Oliver
Stephens
and his
mother.

67.

The
foolerie
of the
mother.

Brave
Stephens.

Liscarroll
skirmishe.

Insichuyn
prisoner.

Monster was in a brave posture at this time, the enimie was there stickinge to one moytie of the countie of Corke, and if not for the Baron of Insichuyn, an Irishman of the Brians, the enimie likly would have never a foote there. This province did prevente other provinces, had choosen a generall, one Barry, an ould souldier, but a greate friende of the English, his lieutenant-general was one Purcell of Crowe; there was noe garrison now to be taken neere theire homes but what was on the sea coasts, as Corke, Yoghill, Kinsale, and Bandonbridge, and fewe others in the inlande, they gather theire armi vnto a bodie, a brave armie it was, accordinge exterior judgment, they intende to march with greate ordinance to the forsaid enimie quarters, many brave cavaliers were there amonge the reste, the best and more notable for his heroicke acts, was Oliver Stephen, colonell of foote, and captain of the very best troupe there. The armie marchinge towards Liscarroll in the countie of Corke, this noble warriour takinge his leave of his mother and wife, givinge his mother the paper wherein his last will and testament was contained. Kneelinge downe, made first a protestation before all the circumstants, that his onely cause of comotion was for religion, and that he desired nothinge else in this world other then to see the splendor thereof; and after this intimation prayed humbly his mothers benediction, whoe answered, though he never deseerved otherwise, that she would not imparte the same vnto him, other then vpon condition, he would spare the life of Insichuyn in case he had the vper hand on him (this Insichuyn was her nephewe, her brothers sone). The obedient childe answered that it was a hearde condition for him to obsearve, goinge vnto a field, against an enimie, to vse soe much humanitie towards his foe, in case they came to handie blowes, if he were soe tyed to spare him, and not to drawe his bloude, that twentie to one in such a case, but would perish by it himself and desired vehemently his mother not to endanger his proper life to save another. Noe reason would perswade her to the contrarie, nay nor the earnest entreaties of many qualified persons that stooode by, tellinge she was farr misled in such a petition. Nothinge would satisfie her other then the complianse of her owne womanishe principle. When the noble gentlman sawe how bootlesse it was to contest with a woman, beinge not capable, of the consequence thence followinge, or of reason, though pregnant to perswade the same, promised to comply with her desire. Receavinge her benediction he went away tellinge her that likly by that herby she would never see him again, desiringe her to make much of his litle ones. Arrivinge therefore to Liscarroll aforesaid, the enimie apeered, pitched both their camps in sight of others. Four or 5 severall times he broke vpon the enimie horse, and followed them vnto the very bodie of theire armie, which when Insichuyn obsearved, commander then in chief for the enimie (though falsly gave out that he was for the kinge, would not joine with the Irish, though sworn for his majestie), and a cossen german to this noble Stephens, went with a competent number of horse to recover his parties lost honor, Stephens espiinge him advancinge on bouldly fange his men, they fearinge the verie name of this Stephens easily putt them to route, and pursued them soe neere, that he tooke Insichuyn in his armes, tellinge him he was his prisoner. His followers seeinge theire chieftaine lord and master leade prisoner, followed him, and specially a foster brother of Insichuyn whom Stephens knewe, whoe was hooded downe, with his helmet,

and bodie armed, himself a very tall man, nothing from his sadle vp of his bodie naked, onely his eyes which Insichuyns foster brother obsearvinge layed his pistle unawares on the gentlman's eyelight, and shott him through his heade, Oliver obsearvinge the touch powder takinge fire, aimed with his sworde, then drawen in his hand at the fellowe, hitted him soe right on his heade, cleave him downe to the verie shoulders, they together fell downe starke deade, wherby the Irish of **Monster** not onely the day but theire courage lost for ever after, this gentleman beinge theire onely champion. Insichuynes thus rescued, followed his good fortune; Stephens dead, all the Irish shewed their heeles, the enemy followinge slaughteringe every mother's childe that came in theire way. The Irish lost the field, artilerie, bagg and bagage, nay theire lives and honors, for they were two for one of the enemy that day. The engagement of that vntowarde woman was a stronge motive to all this mischiefe, specially of his death, though we may be acertaind to be noe death but chaunce of life, for seaven severall times that day, he did confesse, and once receive the holy euchariste. Generall Barry was never after in request, but very ill spoken off by all men, that he betrayed that armie the same day; however, he continued after in Limbricke, more like a cuntry boore then martiall generall.

1642.

Stephens
acte and
deathe.Oliver
Stephens
killed at
Liscarroll

CHAPTER IX.

68.

Now lett us turne to speake of the kingdome, receauinge the clergie sumons for an assembly in Kilkeny (as no. 63 mentioned) wherof every one was exceedinge glad (except such as enioyed churche livings or lands whoe wringinge theire countenances with the only consideration of the clergie greatnesse) arriuinge to Kilkeny after some overtures of affaires, sittinge assemblywise, which resembles a parliament, weare very rawe in the busines, accordinge the clergie directorie, they in the first place did electe a supreame councill to continue vntill the next sittinge of an assembly, but alas, I feare me, they had some other ends, in the now choice of the extant then what was intended by either clergie or first motors of those comotions, for in this very first pointe, in choosinge those men for the supreame incumbencie, was discouered Ormond's faction. Butt vnderstandinge witts, did the lesse care, that in theire opinion, Ormond would neuer be against either kinge or nation, as beinge too farr interested therein himself, but such weare farr deceaued as hereafter to the distruction of both, and our greefe will apeere. Richard Buttler, lord viscount Montgerrott, great vncler vnto Ormond, was choosen by the assembly lord president of the newe elected supreame councill. Patrick Dorchy spoken of (no. 65) Ormonds councill, Clanricards minion, and one that soe ill desearued of the royallists, was now choosen supreame councillor. Richard Bellings, a son in lawe to Montgerrott, a roote banke, by his affinitie at Ormond's becke was choosen supreame councillor. Gerrott Ffennell, a doctor of phisicke, himself and his prediccursors, vsinge that art to the Buttler familie since they came to Ireland, was now choosen supreame councillor. My lord viscount Muskry, by nickname Donough anchuille, of the Cartys, married to Ormond's

1642. sister, and vntill this present assembly with him in Dublin, and in the countrie
The to and fro, was now nominated supreame councillor. One George Comin, a farmer,
supreme and a seruant to Ormond, supreame councillor ; Nicholas Plunkett lawyer, Euire
councill and Maginiz, then bishope of Dune, after Cloghar, Terlagh Oneylle, and two more from
elected and Conaght supreame councillors, twell in all, three from every province, the first six
what they is totally for Ormond, his owne creatures, what side or partie soever he be off, and
be. thoughte swore to the Irish confederacie, will doe nothinge without passing through
the channells of his pleasure, as hereafter more at large.
69. This doctor Ffennell, obseruinge all the proceedings and intent of the clergie, in
theire modle of government, and issuinge theire sumons for an assembly to
nominat a supreame councill, writts a letter in ciphers to Ormond to Dublin
wherein he described the posture and intent of the Irish partie, as lively as they
were really (as was surmished), McThomas a vigilant servitor, then for the cause
in agitation mett the bearer of the said letter, as guiltie with the aportation of
that peece of paper, directed to an enemye, was deprived thereof, himself dismissed,
as knowinge by his relation, from whom, and vnto whom directed, openinge it
could read never a worde therin, notwithstandinge kept it vntill this assembly
(as neere hand) where meetinge manie prime cavalliers his friends, and vnder-
standinge witts, shewed the said letter, but none was founde that could open the
keye of its misteries. Ignorant what best to doe, some in a merry moode saide that
it should be comented by the verie author, or by none. It was resolved to send for
the doctor that he may disclose those secretts in a friendly way ; it beinge don the
doctor like himself did reade the same as he pleased, all to noe purpose, or sense,
and withall tould them that non alive could open its keye except Ormond, his
lady, and meselfe, by this very acte, by some there extante was esteemed a poli-
tickeman and worthy to be a supreame councillor, the voices were suborned to
The make the game sure for Ormond. This man worthy of severe punishment for actinge
foolerie of the Irish. such a dangerous peece of tragicomicall scene, was promoted to the highest
dignitie they could, thereby encouraginge others and himself for the future to doe
the like, the faction in this proved abortive, and treason in imbrione.
70. The earle of Castlhaven in restraunte in Dublin (as no. 52 touched) onformed
how the Irish behaved themselves in Kilkeny, that his friends beared great sway
there, the Buttlers left Dublin, and arrived at Kilkeny, presented himself before
viscount Montgerrott, and his son and heire Edmund Roe Buttler. This Edmund
was formerly married to a sister of the extant Castlehaven. By those Buttlers it
was publickly given out that he made an escape from Dublin, as then knowinge
how both parties were inclined, the state for the parliament, and the Irish for his
majestie, and this was blazed abroade, to be the onely motive of Castlehavens
Why cominge to adhere vnto the Irish, this surmishe notwithstandinge, we have had
Castl- from verie authenticke hands, that the foresaid Castlehaven was sent by Ormond,
hauen did from Dublin, a verie fitt instrument to drawe and work privat vnderstandinge
relinquish the betweene Ormond and his kindred and friends abroade. This I conceive to be
English. more true, as his actions, will in the sequell of this storie, give large testimonies.
71. In this assembly colonell Huigh Birne (whom the recent English called
Huigh Hoborne) was appointed leutenant generall of Linster, subiecte onely to the
Birne,

councill obeysance, in regarde of his now office, he was lieutenant-generall in all Ireland, as apointed for a runinge armie consisting of 4,000 foote and 400 horse, indifferently deducted from the standinge armies of the respective provinces, he was going verie serious about this business, but the councill did never put him in any such posture, agreeable to theire said engagement, the most he had was 1,500 foote and a 100 horse, runinge here and there, without actinge any thinge worthy relation, either for want of compliance or munition, onely the very fame of a runinge armie did much good, for the enemie dust not see bouldly venture, as would doe, if any such weare not.

1642.
Lieutenant-
generall
for a
runinga.
armie.

The supreme councill havinge received power from the assembly and instructions from the congregation aforesaid (the assembly prorogued), thought now to reforme the militia, issuinge to this effecte, theire sumons that all commaunders of Linster should by a peremptorie day apeere in Kilkeny to be enroled accordinge their respective offices. Vpon intimation herof, every one flocked thither, to be inlisted or disbanded; six regiments of foote was the standinge armie to consiste, and 600 horse. Edmund Buttler had a regiment, Sir James Dillon, Sir Morgan Kevanagh, colonel Cullin, Anthony Preston, the sixt was in the name of the supream councill, vntil they had a generall, for they then expected either Owen Oneyll or Thomas Preston for generall, to whom was that regiment reserved. The commaunde of the horse was given John Buttler, Montgerrots brother. Many colonells were now cashired, Roger Moore, Florence Fitz Patrick, Art Molloy, Art Kevanagh, Awly MaGawly, Luke Birne, Luke Tuhill, Walter Nugent, Richard Dalton, Henry Dempsie, Hobert Fox, Thomas Tyrrell ould captain Tyrrells son, Daniell Duayne, John O'Carroll, John Coghlan; MacThomas and Lewes Moore—those two are onely now captains of horse, but Lewes was not of the standinge armie. All the former did assume vnto themselves respectively the name of colonel; now neither colonells or captains, nay not see muche as a corporal, those that shewed themselves most censere, and acted better from the begininge of those comotions, vpon their owne charges were now cashired, and those that acted nothinge, weare either neuters or antagonists, are now promoted, and honoured, very soone they discover what they are.

72.
Reforma-
tion and
institution
of
colonells.

At this very time did that brave gentlman, Daniel O'Kahan, a Hector in armes, arrive to Kilkeny from Spaine, as a precursor of Owen Oneyll, whom he thought to be alreadye in the kingdome, made noe great stay, but tooke his jorney for the north, his native province, beinge at present in great distresse, hearinge that Sir Phelim Oneyll did style himself with the title of earl of Tyron, was madd angrie; arrivinge wheare he was, gave him a round checke for his too, too exorbitant presumption, in stilinge himself by that honorable denomination, nothinge sutable to his beinge, advised him roughly to admitt none such for the future, otherwise he would disclaime in all his actions, as proceedinge from an intrudinge tyrant wherby Sir Phelim forbade by a publicke instrument all and singular his followers and wellwishers not to call him thence forwarde by the name of Tyron: O'Kahan then joined with him and gave life vnto their droopinge affaires, gathered many men, and now and then, he alone did acte heroycke deedes, if not the want of amunition and that Sir Phelim (beinge by nature hott and desperat)

Faction see
soone.

73.

Daniell
O'Kahan's
speech to
Sir Phelim
Roe.

1642. would not be verie glad by this brave warrior, would farr better behave themselves, to the enemie preiudice, however, what life remained, vnder God, depended of him onely, for the enemie feared him more then all the rest.

74. All the witt and dexteritie of this assumed supreame colonell in apointinge comaunders and armies to be well trained and in areadinesse was not of force to acte anythinge prayse worthy, for the scarcitie of amunition was such that a pounce of powder would cost one of silver, and hapie was he reputed that could gett a considerable quantitie thereof vpon that score, halfe their men weare naked, their abilements for horse soe poore and scarce that they weare not to apeere against armed men, they weare in their dumbs, knowing not what best to doe. But our gracious God (able to helpe when he pleaseth) seeinge now the extreame exigence of the Catholicks, did unexpectedly comforte them, for a poaste coming from Wexford to Kilkenny with joyfull tidings that a frigatt landed there loaden with amunition, sent by Owen Oneyll from Dunkerke, as a gift to the kingdome. Whether these newes weare pleasinge vnto the Irish or noe (considering their present state) I leave to your consideration. All the comaunders and others by orders of the councell addressinge themselves thither, such a desire had every one to satisfie his sight with the viewe of the said frigat, and his necessitie with what it contained, that in heapes they ran thither from all parts in Ireland, that the name of Wexford was more comon now than Dublin, and its roads more frequented. Bernaby Geoghegan, the first inlisted captain in Sir James Dillon's regiment, whose lieutenant and insigne were Art and Mathew Geoghegan, went thither, to carie amunition for the said regiment, the joy of this relife was unspeakable, and the encouragment thereby aucted in the soulderie was indescribable.

Owen
Oneyll's
frigat
arrived.

CHAPTER X.

75. THE north of Ireland, too farr from this relife, was now bleedinge, but Sir Phelim gathered a great bodie of men, if armed and well managed, 8,000 by relation, and in his owne idea was sure to beate Tyrconnell enemie under the comaunde of Sir Robert Steward, thither arrivinge disorderedly, fought with the enemie more bould then venturous, and scarce did they sooner shewe their face unto the enemie then their heels, leavinge the field in a routinge maner, the enemie horse killed some in their flight, for the foote could never kill any of them, their dexteritie in runinge in such an occasion was such, that Sir Phelim was wont to say, if his men broke on the enemie they would suffer none to escape with life, but broken upon they are sure not to be killed, they run so well, this custom was verie difficulte to be alienated from those men, as producinge by soe many acts an habitt of it bleedinge, as aforesaid under the force of two warrlicke nations the English and Scotts, noe celeritie in runinge, noe stande in a field, naked, as they weare, noe shelter of mountaine, bogg or woode was now of force to defende them from the enemie crueltie, soe eager and earnest was he huntinge them out, like deeres, and other sauge beastes, that thousands of the poore Irishe

Tyrcon-
nells
skirmish.

starved in woods, boggs, dens, and caves; to goe from thence to some other province they durst not venter it alone, least to miscarie, havinge noe leader to conducte them anywhere else they are utterlie undon, noe life or courage now remaineth, the enemie as stronge as inhumaine, killinge without mercie or remorse all man, woman, and child, that came in his way, this crueltie was partly by the comaunde of generall Leysly the terror of England, whoe was now come to Ireland, thought to bring under his obedience all Ireland, as well Parliamentaries as Royallists.

1642.

The Ulstermen in a poore condition.

But God Allmightie (" qui consolatur humiles, consolatus est illos Deus ") by his divine providence hindered the fatall designe of this puritant, for Owen Oneyll by this time, his master in the art militarie about the last of July, 1642, landed in Ireland at Logh Sullie in Tyrconnell, cominge by sea from Dunkercke, by Denmarke, gave a wheele about Scotland, takinge in his way two prises, landed as aforesaid, with many comaunders, ould beaten souldiers of his owne regiment in Flanders, for his securitie, duringe his aboade there did man Castle na dua, he sent worde unto Sir Phelim Oneyll of his arrivall, and that he should marche unto him, with as many as he could; though those newes were most pleasinge unto all the well affected royallists, the ebbinge fate of the northeren people was such, that they were not able to make any considerable bodie for the present; however, Sir Phelim with as many as he could gather poasted thither. Owen cominge to the countrie, all flocked about him, choosed him presently generall of that province, they conceave themselves now renewed, they make upp the matter of 1,500 foote, eight or nine troupes, a poore partie for such a brave man, and against soe stronge an enemie, but each man reputes himself now two, their courage soe improved was by his onely sight. This newes was soone spred in all the kingdome, and cominge to the eares of Leysly would not beleveve it. Owen Oneyll allsoe enformed of Leyslys beinge in the kingdome, would by noe meanes give credence therto. Havinge had intelligence that Montroe was to marche with the bodie of an armie from Carrigfergus towards Dundalke the recent generall of Ulster did intend to give him a rubb, though slenderly accompanied, therefore crossed the ways through the mountaines towards the Newry, to take some straight passage to hinder its joininge with the parliamentaries of Linster (though enemies in the diversitie of intentions, yett friends in odium sectii, which is the extirpation of holy religion and ancient Irish), but his marche soe tedious, coulde not bringe his foote as soone as he thought, accordinge to appointment, wherefore he comaunded that ever famous chavallier, Daniell O'Kahan, his now lieutenant-generall with three score horse to crosse the waies, and keepe the enemie in action, untill his approche with the foote, and the remaine of the horse; away poasted Kahan in all haste untill he arrived to the high roade, sawe the enemie armie marchinge towards him, though at present distant off, goinge leasurely in his way towards the enemie, was espied by him, made halte, in his way was a pretty lane, with quicksett of reasonable growth, wheare he left in ambush one moytie of his horse, with an undaunted spiritt roade on untill he was within a shott unto the enemie, then makinge his couiures, desired a parley, which was graunted, the man was a

76.

Owen Oneyll appointed generall.

77.

A brave linguiste.

1642. every of these in its true fonte, began to shew what he was, that he was a stranger, and would be acertaind whether any the foresaid nations were there what language he spoke. Such as was acquainted therewith of the armie startinge aside, answered him, questioninge, what they were? whoe their generall? whom did they searve? and whether bounde, to whom particularly they gave satisfaction, onely concealed generall Leysly. All his aime was to borow time, that his
78. owne generall might come to the place apointed. His text now almost spent, he tells them that he and 29 more his comrads, would willingly chaunce pistles with soe many more of the armie, to sporte themselves a litle, and would esteeme it as a favour; his motion was embraced, the combattants picked out, to it they goe, 15 of the 30 were left either deade or deadly wounded in the field, the rest went in, into the bodie of their armie: this sett number, with the same men of Daniell Kahan went three severall times to skirmish, and sped noe better then the first 30, neither Kahan or any of his wounded, some of the armie in greate furie for the death of their friends and comrads, and for the generall afronte received, asked him what he was? he tould that his name and surname was known by Daniell O'Kahan, many there havinge a brave reporte of this man in the lowe countries, but with much adoe, the whole armie was kept from him, by the chiefe comaunders, when he obsearved their growing distemper, setts spurrs to his horse, and away he went, which his comrads, poastinge in all hast to his
79. generall, to give him an accounte of the whole storie. Beinge now late in the eveninge, the enemie pitched his campe, thought to continue there that night. Butt Leysly (whom they concealed all that interim) beinge there, suspected some stratageme, by the behaviour of that partie of horse, that they would never adventure what they did, unless backed by some armie, and this neere hande, and did further suspecte, by the rumor he hearde of Owen Oneylls cominge to the kingdome, that he should be the man, these surmishes he imparted to the rest of the comaunders, alleadinge to be fully acquainted with Owen Oneyll and his stratagemes of warr, and adviced them, in the darke of the night to marche backe againe to Carrickfergus to delude the Irish generall. In pursuance of this advice they marched about 10 a clocke at night.
80. When Kahan arrived to his partie, tellinge what hapened, and wheare thought he, the enemie did lodge that night, all marched in all haste, untill they came to the verie place wheare Kahan and the enemie had the skirmish, the generall did send explorators, to finde the campe or posture thereof, for he was sure they did not marche soe untimely, but findinge no tracte forward, they went to the same place wheare Kahan left them, there they found by all good tokens, that they lodged there, but raised from thence, and their tracte was easily knowne to goe backe, the generall herof informed, inspected the rumor of Leyslies arrivall to be true, for none other, said he would use that thricke. Scarce did Aurora shew her face to the earth, when the generall comaunded O'Kahan with a choice troupe of horse, to follow the enemie, and keepe the reare in action untill the armie approached. Eight or 9 miles he went and did not overtake the enemie, but was within a mile to him, and durst not, with reasone followe further, for they went to Drumore Iueagh in the countie of Dune, where he had a stronge garrison then,

Daniell
Kahan's
valor.

Leyalys
opinion and
feare.

Owen
Oneyll
knew
Leyaly to
be the
author.

and consequently secure, but learned for certaine by some he mette in the way that Leysly was the generall of that armie. Returninge with this true intelligence to his generall chaunced theire course and turned unto the countie of Armagh from whence generall Neyll writtes a letter to generall Leysly to this effecte:

“Sir, I shall be verie glade to knowe, by your proper addresse, whether you came to Ireland to searve his majestie or in the behalf of the parliament of England, for if his majestie, you neede not harbour any jealousie towards me, wee are brothers of the self same action. If for the parliament you may be sure I am your enemye, but if for neither, I cannott conceave upon what pretence or grounde, for nothinge that ever belonged unto you, or any your predicesors, is held from you in this kingdome. Wherefore I would charitably advise you to abandon the kingdome and defend your owne native cuntry, and not to be accessorie to the drawinge of the inocent bloude of such as never yett anoyed you. As for my partie, you may be confident, if you be not advised as aforesaid, I will use my uttermost endeavours against you (though unwillinge), and doe confide in God Almighty (who knowes the justice of my cause, and the injustice of yours, as he gave me the victorie over you one day in Germanie, as you should remember yourself, if you doe not too-too much halte) his Divine Providence will be pleased to make me an instrument of lessninge you by your heade, a fitt payment of your uniust warr upon this nation, soe wishinge you as will deserve, yours if you please, OWEN ONEYLL.”

1642.

81.

Owen
Oneyll's
letter to
Leyaly.

As soon as Leysly received this letter, made himself readie for jorney went to Scotland, and never after returned to Ireland. Now he sent sumons vnto all the gentry to apeere; vpon their aparance he apointed colonells, Sir Phelim Oneyll, Roger Maguire, colonell Kahan, John by name, Alexander M'Daniell, Antrim's brother Phillipe M'Huigh Reyly, Colla M'Brian Mahon, Tirlagh Oneyll M'Henry and his owne regiment. Seuerall captains of horse, Henry roe Oneyll his owne sone, Brian roe Oneyll his nephewe, Owen O'Dogharty, Meylles Reyly and seuerall others. Such colonells as had not their men extant were dismissed to their severall homes to reclute, himself still in the field vpon passadges and straights, beinge not of power to oppose any considerable partie of the enemye, though feared his verie name, wheare wee leave him reclutinge his men, as aforesaid, and return to Linster.

Leyaly
goen for
Scotland.
82.

Colonells
of Ulster.

CHAPTER XI.

WEE left both supreme councell and militia in Linster much comforted by the arrival of Owen Oneylls frigate, as no. 74 touched, and now seeinge by particular addresses his owne safe landinge in Ulster, were mightie joyfull, but the councell were dubious of his greatnesse, in case he was apointed by them generalissimus of all Ireland, as beinge sure, whether they will or noe, he must be generall for the Ulster province. At least, they could not choose (as they then thought) but nominat him generall of Linster, as havinge none other on whom they would cast that honor, as worthy as he. Betweene hope and dispaire of his conformitie, to

83.

The
supreme
councells
suspicion of
Owen
Oneyll.

1642. their behavior, they were thus tossed, but before they adhered to any settled resolution, a poaste apeared in Kilkeny from Wexford, that colonell Thomas Preston, his wife and children landed there ; it is inexpressible what jolitie the councell conceaved at the intimation herof. Now Owen Oneyll was discarded out of this packe, and notwithstandinge his former bountie in sendinge the said frigat, would wish him no neerer than Grand Cayro, and began to singe merie notes of thriuinge, and a non-plus-ultra-confidence of triumphinge victorie by the arrivall of this Prestonian blade, though did not bringe worth six pence for their auayle other then his owne persone and nuptiall daughters. However their indicible consolation was such that the very lord president of the supreame councell, my lord Montgerrott, three score and 10 yeares ould at least, went in person to congratulate this warriors arrivall ; conferringe therefore betweene themselves, Montgerrott assured him to be generall of Linster, he noe lesse covetous then ambitious, lefte his traine there, onely his son D. Diego whoe kept still with himself, accompanied Montgerrott to Kilkeny, where presently a more then honorable convoy was sent for his wife and daughters arrivinge were served with dayly invitations, feasts and banquetts with the varietie as well of pallatinticinge-dishes, as of gratulatorie poems, civill and martiall representations of comedies and stage playes, with mightie content, he was baptised by the name of generall of Linster for the confederat Catholickes, promisinge to make up an armie for him, consistinge of 6,000 foote and 600 horse. Some daies they spent in this triumphinge meriment, not once callinge to minde the bleedinge woundes of Ulster bearinge on its shoulders the blunt of all the power of bloudie Mars in Ireland
84. If the Irish did complaine hitherto of the want of a comaunder, government, and amunition, now satisfied, as havinge all, they should be contented ; the English, such as were best acquainted with the Irish, never feared untill now, they observed the modle of government pened by the clergie (if putt in execution) of mightie concearnment for the coniunction and vnion of the nation, the want of which the onely motive of their everlastinge distruction, their brave comaunders now cominge home from the forge of martiall discipline, their apointinge of generalls in the respective provinces, their now plentie of amunition, their civill government in bringinge money for the militarie pay, vnto the comon purse ; all this obsearved by the ould chancelour Bowlton was reported to have said that the Irish now in good earnest began to warr, and therefore must looke to ourselves ; truely he was in the right, if their owne ambition, invie, and faction at home, did not give a rubb to those fairre beginings. Souldiers were now mustered, regiments in a thrice recluted, all things acted with selfwillingnesse and jolitie, the passadges from Westmeath to Kilkeny, from the north and Conaght thither very dangerous, though Leyse they could not passe, for the multitude of enemie garrisons there. Birr, Cnocnamise and Burrish stronge garrisons were noe lesse troublesome goinge that upper and thwarte jorney (wherfore generall Preston addressed himself to quitt some of those perillous passadges, havinge noe ordinance but a culluerine and a short one that came from Waterford, yett did batter prettie well ; thus hee marched to Burrish in Ossorie in the Queen's countie, which was vpon quarter
1642. Preston arrived.
- Preston chosen generall.
- Bowlton's opinion of the Irish.
85. Generall Preston

surrendered; from thence he marched to Birr, then in the hands of Sidly Coote, could Cootes son, leageringe the same, planted his ordinance, began allsoe his mines; at the end of five dayes at the most the castle was yelded vpon quarter of liues and swords; a verie riche place it was for the generall, whoe neither to souldier, comaunder, or deffendant gave a fardinge; the deffendants were conuoyed by Castlehaven to Athy, from thence they went to Dublin. Birr thus taken, the generall did send sumons to Castlsteward, whoe was governor of Falklandfort, alias Benchore in Macoghlan's countrie, whervpon yelded vpon quarter. Raghrae Castle was given up by such as kept it, to Terence Coghlan; John Coghlan, grand-child to Macoghlan, was assured to have that Falklandforte from the generall, as in his owne land, of his proper inheritance, but deceaued, for it was given to Sir James Dillon, and Raghra was given to Terence Coghlan, Cnocnamiase, another garrison in Ely O'Carroll, was deserted, and by the natives demolished.

1642.
marched to
take
garrisons.

Garrisons
yelded.

Generall Prestone by that service gave a free passage from Conaght, and other places towards Kilkenny, returned home, with a glorious smile in his countenance, receaved as became a conquerour, refreshinge himself a fewe daies, marched to the field, towards Ofally in the Kings countie, to take garrisons there (whoe had farre better fortune in those matters then in the field of pitchbattle), a brave armie he had of horse and foote, three or 4 pettie garrisons yelded, wherof Edenderie was one; leauinge captaine Gouldinge, he sent sumons to Castle Jordan, Sir John Giffords house the onely encendarie of them partes. Sir Luke FitzGerald of Ticroghan, one of the Irish partie, conferrs with the generall about the matter, betweene both was concluded that Sir Luke should applie himself to Sir John, and know his resulte, which was complied with. Vpon Sir Luke's returne from his saide ambashie, he became suertie to the generall of Sir Johns conformitie to the royalists (the Irish soe tearmed); the generall therby satisfied, left Castle Jordan, and all that thereto belonged vntouched, which was thought verie strange of all censere, well affected, and voide of faction this engagement was never complied with, nor generall or Sir Luke questioned for it.

86.

Preston's
first
reasonable-
faction.

The enemies informed of the Irish generall's proceedings in Ofally marched thither from Dublin, with 1,500 men; generall Preston havinge true notice therof, never prevented the same untill they came to Clunarde, which was a narrow passadge (which he might easily hould for his owne securitie, if souldier or willinge to thrive) thither now he comaunds five or six troupes for the most parte voluntiers, the enemies already in possession therof fell vpon those Prestonians soe eager that verie fewe of them escaped, amonge the rest that there miscaried, was Edward Tuitte, voluntiere, and then high sheriffe of the countie of Westmeath; the enemies followinge his victorie, came to Ofally, recovered all the garrisons there won by generall Prestone and specially Edenderie, stronger and better maned then any the rest) without a blowe, by whose surrender captain Gouldinge (though thithervnto good seruitor) was by many now esteemed a younge temporizer. The generall with his armie retired to Kissauanan, on the border of the countie of Westmeath, where Captain Bernaby Geoghegan kept his post (as above mentioned), and made there his halfe moones and redouts, and kept it verie sure since the begininge of those comotions, from all enemies, the generall conceauinge himself and his armie

87.

Cluncourie
skirmish.

Edward
Tuitte
killed.

1642.
 Captain
 Bernaby
 Geoghe-
 gans
 opinion.

not safe there if the enemy did approche, intended to retire with his armie to the hearte of the countie of Westmeath, or to Fferkall, a parcell of the Kings countie, full of boggs and woods. Captain Geoghegan that kept the said post, tould the generall in doeinge soe, would leaue a gape for the distruction of the foresaid two counties, and not onely encourage the enemy, but discourage his owne, desired he would be pleased to give him but a 100 men and would with them and his owne companie, vndertake the defence of that passadge against the enemy. The generall vnderstandinge the vye, spoken nothinge and for shame sake, continued, the enemy settlinge his recovered garrisons, retired to Dublin, and generall Preston with a smale armie, returned to Kilkeny, his armie scattered for want of meanes, the kingdome payinge it punctually (as was truly said), many complaints were exhibitted in Kilkeny against this new generall, among the rest, was alleadged that thirtie thousand beefes he spent in that expedition, a shorte time, and havinge daylie meanes for his armie, and himself, not actinge worth six pence of any auaylable service, noe punishment was implied, onely for a time was out of fauor. Lett us now leave the prouince of Linster, its souldiers discontented, the generall not pleased, and the supreamc councill winckinge at the matter, and returne to Owen Oneyll.

CHAPTER XII.

88. AS there is noe condition of life, be it neuer soe hapie, but it hath his crosse, to
 Dionia. l. ix. showe us that perfect felicitie, is to be expected elswheare, soe is there noe prince
 Plant. Mos. liuinge, be he neuer soe wise, but he sometimes erreth, for, it is of necessittie, that
 Plutarc. he proues himself to be but man. "Nulla vita sua cruce caret, vt nihil peccemus
 Fabius. in rebus magnis, maius," e.g. "penes homines."

Lett us now turne to generall Neylle whom we left in Ulster recluting his men, had receaued intelligence that the enemy marched towards him in a greate bodie of an armie to the countie of Muncaghan, wheare he was at instant, he dispatched his addresses to the seuerall counties, and respectiue colonells, comaundinge their presente marche, with as many men as they then had, without further delay, settinge aside all excuses, and directe their course towards Cluneise. Some obeyed and others did not, and specially the Reyllies were wantinge, the verie best partie of the Ulster forces. The enemy marched to the same place, beinge in consultation what to doe, those that least knewe of busines of that graine, would peremptorily perswade the generall to fight; he was of another opinion (as knowinge cunctation to be stickler of a wise commaunder and axe to fire and hott resolutions), but consideringe this to be the verie prime of his actions in Irelande to give distaste vnto the souldiers in the comencement of his seruice, would proude dangerous, and noe lesse to comply betweene these extreames, he called a councill of warr, their opinions severally desired, all his ould captains were of the generall's resulte, but overvoted by the bisonos, alleadginge in fauor of his owne reasons was not satisfactorie, though upon verie good grunde, now in courtesie, or obligation (as he will haue it, he must fight). Whearfore comaunded a partie

89.

of horse to make good the passadge of a foorde, where the enemie had to passe. 1642.
 Keepinge the enemie from off that foorde the generall had his intente. But O fate,
 the enemie obsearuinge the horse addressinge themselues for the defence of the
 said foorde, aduanced on couragiously to be masters of the passadge, fightinge Cluniese
 manly on both sides, all the horse of the Irish generall for the most parte reliued skirmise.
 from time to time the former, though fewe they were, in respecte of the enemie
 multitud, and though valiant and couragious behaued themselues, overloaden
 with the multitude, did not give grounde, neuer experimentinge base flight (beinge
 for the most parte the ould comaunders of Flanders) but fought it out, almost to
 the last man, those braue men perishinge in sight of the generall, not able to relieue
 them, was an intollerable greefe, sure, if some of those that waited on himself did
 permitt, he would goe in person, either to liue or die with them, as he vowed, the
 foord now won, the passadge cleere (though cost the enemie to deere) the rest of
 the Irish fled away, leauinge the poore generall onely with 5 horse, his son and 4
 more, foure enemie troupes followed him, they all as shrift as their horse could
 run the generall espied after him, one onely horse, the rest a good distance behinde,
 aduicinge his son to drawe on turned himself on that enemie horse, passed him
 through with a brase of bulletts, then followed he his owne, the next cutt was for
 his sone Henry, whoe turninge in the like maner on a single horse, fell him deade
 to the grounde; 5 or 6 did the generall and his son kill of the pursuinge enemie
 successiely: two or 3 miles they followed in this pastime, at lenght the enemie
 turned backe, and left those poore men wandringe in mountaines and boggs that
 night. The Irish lost this day of gentlemen of qualitie and ould comaunders, hard
 vpon seauen score and odd men, that it was thought that Vlster would neuer
 recouer the losse of that day. Captain Huigh Oneyll M^cArte oge, was taken Huigh
 prisoner then, and continued for two whole yeares in restraints. The generall Oneyll
 was verie pensive for the losse of soe many brave men, though well knewe the chaunce taken
 and varietie of warr affaires, purposed thence forwarde not to giue field (though prisoner.
 this was none) vpon any man's biddinge, other then vpon aduantage. Is not a poore
 thinge that this braue warrior, a wise, sage, and politicke comaunder, would against
 his owne dictamen, did [*sic.*] conforme himself to bisonos and braine sik people,
 strangers unto the consequence that might followe soe rash a resolution) at length
 how wise soever to proue himself a man, erred?

In the No. 87 I left the Supream Councell with seuerall petitions in hand exhibited 90.
 against Generall Preston, and himself not pleased, God allmightie the gratiouse
 father of mercie to comforte their conceaued greefe, did send a poaste informinge
 that a frigatt came from the Catholicke kinge loaden with armes and amunition, Francis
 the fruite of fr. Francis Sulleuan's suite in the Catholicke courte, as No. 55 Sulleuan.
 mentioned, though they did falsly father it upon one fr. James Thalbot an
 Augustine unoculus yonge frier, but, beinge Thalbot, and the other an ancient
 Irish, must cede him in heroycke actions. This frigatt landed at Dungaruan
 in the countie of Waterforde, with 4 demy canons, for eache prouince his owne,
 4,000 musketts, greate store of amunition, and £3,000 in mony. This newes was
 most pleasinge vnto all the Irish (great morters for bumbes, came in that frigatt,

1642. and other ingines for warr), though colonells and others gott nothinge of those things that weare sent for the furtherance of this holy warr gratis, without payinge for it at the highest rate; nay, every countie must buy armes for the proportion of souldiers thereto belonginge, all the monies receaued and gott this way goen to y^e exchequer, but why? none beside the councell could tell, in the division of those armes they bewrayed some strangnesse towards the ancient Irish, for they would not afourde any one of them one single muskett, to keepe his castle, or imploy it in seruice, but to seuerall of the recent Irish they bestowed great sumes, though for noe martiall use.

91.
Richard
Ferrall.

About this time arrived vnto Ireland Richard Ferrall from Germanie maijor of a regiment, tenderinge his seruice to the Supreame Councell (though he came like a braue warrior, seuerall others of that arte cominge in his companie at his charges) was not apointed in any posture of service by the councell, only to give such a man some seeminge satisfaction, made him gouernor of the countie of Letrim in Conaght, beinge allwast by the dayly incursions of Sir Fredericke Hamelton a Scotts man in the same countie resident in Dathry Maglanchy, the councell would not give this gallant gentleman the gouernment of his owne naturall countie, the countie of Longford inhabitted, but left it and the countie of Westmeath to Sir James Dillon, against their owne modle of gouernment (as beinge a martiall man) to the noe smale prejudice of both kingdome seruice and counties affaires. Another braue warrior arrived to Kilkeny from Germany John Bourke alias sean an tPárláiste colonell, reputed in foraigne countries a very experte souldier and of great importance in his owne province of Conaght, if inuested with power to acte there accordinge his talent in that arte of warr. All Conaght was quite destroyed betweene Clanricard, Ranalagh and yonge Sir Charles Cootte, notwithstandinge the Councell would give him noe comaunde, nor to any that they thought loyall, or true as hereafter.

John
Bourke.

92.

After the defeate of Cloneise aforesaid, the generall verie pensiue, obsearuinge how ill it stood with ye keraghts to be dayly in the sight of a stronge enemy, sent them worde, as many of them as was pleased to adhere vnto him, whearever in the province they then inhabitted, to drawe by degrees towards the counties of Muneaghan and Cauan, and there would receaue further orders. He sent allsoe directions to all the clergie, as well secular as regular, residinge in the respectiue counties alreadie vnder the enemy, to deserte their habitations, and followe their benefactors the keraghts, and searue them in this exigente, as behoueth, which they had punctually don. Those things don, and leauinge his lieutenant generall Daniell OKahan with a partie to waite on the keraghts he intended to goe to Linster himself to salute the Supreame Councell, and gett some of the armes for his prouince that was sent, as afore mentioned, for the furtheringe of this holy warr, whom we leaue in his jorney for Kilkeny, and speake of lieutenant-generall Daniell OKahan.

CHAPTER XIII.

1642.

Of all the elements fire is the quickest and noblest nature, and of all creatures those are the brauest, and most warrlike, which are by nature of swift, couragious, and fire disposition, as the lion, the horse, the eagle, the dolphin, rather than the hugest, and strongest, as the elephant, the camell, the ox, and y^e whale, soe of the actions of men, those of courage and braue resolution, are the noblest, because they often preuayle, even where counsell, wisdome, force, and all other meanes doe faile.

93.
Plinius.Nat
Hist. 1. 8.
Tacit. . .
Adag.
Eras.

This nobl-quick-fire-spiritt-OKahan, could not be idle, but still in action, though with few seconds, verie often gaue hisemie to vnderstande, to his exceeding preiudice, that he was not only hisemie, but a braue warrior, whom he mightie feared, his vntirable, and all-season-vnseason-ble attempts depriued theemie from any quiet rest, or slumberinge quiet in soe much that he durst not in loose companies or troupes apeere, other then in greate bodies, the Irish gathered together as many as they could for that instant, hearinge of theemie aproache towards them, the lieutenant generall leauinge his campe, went with a goodly troupe of horse, to spie as well the posture, as scoute theemie himself, as not trustinge any bodie that day with that office, that incumbencie of such consequence, noelesse then the saftie of any armie, if well effected, the warieemie receauinge true intelligence by their spie that OKahan his bloudie [*sic.*] was scoute for the Irish that daie, did place an ambushe in three seuerall places wheare of necessitie he must passe, digginge seuerall pitts in the earth, leauinge armed men there, coueringe them over with boughs of trees to shelter the same, theemie scoute receauinge orders, the Irish scoute apeeringe to dissemble a retreat to the bodie of their proper armie, which was rather a forlorne hope then a scoute for the multitude, OKahan had choice horse, by degrees after him. Theemie obsearvinge his aproache, mindfull of their said orders, made a stande untill within a pistle shott unto him, then sett spurs to their steeds, away in all haste they ran and galloped, and though before was a fained flight, now beinge soe hottly pursued, must doe it in good earnest. OKahan and his men made havocke of them. The aduerseremie seeinge their troupes soe roughly handled was assured all the whole Irish campe came unawares vpon them, which caused them, vpon OKahan advance towards them to quitt grounde in a disordered way, but such of the scoute as overlived, and the spie enforminge the truth, vpon intimation herof the comaunders rallyinge their scattered forces vnto a bodie facinge OKahan and his men, with maine force in the fronte, and the forementioned ambushe in the reare, such of the Irish horse as obsearved the drift, saved themselves the best they could by the swiftnesse of their horse, leauinge this generous champion OKahan soe farr engaged (as his custom in such occasions was), that he could neither followe them (if soe desired) or comaunde them to a stande, theemie soe ticke flocked about him, now overlodged with the multitud in spite of fortune and allemie crueltie, his strong arme and vulcanian blade died in Scottish bloude, soe well pleaded his quarter, that every one, and specially such of better note, of the

94.

1642. enemie, turned cryer demulginge by publick oathe a quarter for Daniell OKahan lieutenant-generall for the Irish forces in Vlster, beinge authentickly assured, he yelded, now disarmed was comaunde to ride behinde a captain of horse. They thought now all their labour well undertaken, and their losse not considerable (though indeede verie greate) as hauinge OKahan their prisoner, whoe was the onely in all Vlster, (except the Generall they most feared) turninge home verie merry and joyfull, (havinge this chiefe, never looked for any other bootie, in their way, one of their comaunders passinge by OKahan, ridinge as aforesaid, shott him through with a braze of bullets; how vnhumane and cruell it was I leaue to the tender consideration of any pagan himself, and the doome of soe execrable a faite to the all-seeinge-diuine-righteous judge, thus that Hectorean cavallier Daniell OKahan, the chiefe of the noble familie, and lieutenant-generall of Vlster, was killed against the lawes of arme and nation, his owne inatiue, and frie, and warrlicke spiritt, ministringe fuell therto, by whose death the enemie was encouraged, and the Irish (as now without a leader) reduced to a verie desperat condition.
- Daniell
O'Kahan
murthered.
95. At this veriytime one Kiran FitzPaticke, a captain of foote, native of Gortnaklehie, in the Queen's countie, in foraigne countries brought up, a gallant gentleman, was araigned in Kilkeny, as sendinge some intelligence vnto the enemie, which I doe not beleive, but sure he deseared death, accordinge the lawes of the kingdome, as hauinge a gentlewoman (Wm. Archbold of Timolins daughter, by name Jane, was after married to Oliver Dungan) rauished of a great portion £1,500; if they did execut this gentleman for this facte, as subjecte to the rigor of the lawe in that behalfe, their action might be warrantable, but vpon a false suggestion that neuer appeared to be true was extravagant, sure if the councell would for such a busines punish euer one guiltie therof, as they did this gentleman, neuer a day would they be without such execution, and as sure as death would in a shorte time make an end of the verie Supreame Councell vpon that score, for if any, but blowe winde backwarde, would next day apcere with that singhing character in Dublin, and that in verse, for all the intelligence went thither in poetrie, as a dilcaminge [*sic.*] author said that y^e poets of the Supreame Councell were not sworne to secrecie but in proas, and not in myter or verse, this beinge soe publicke, was not too too peremptorie, that the councell should cause this gentleman to be executed, vpon soe sandie a grounde, never questioninge such as are publickely charactered with that staine; however this gentleman suffered for it.
- Richard
Bellinge,
poet.
Fitz-
patricke
executed.
96. At this time died in Kilkeny the two best peeres of Linster, for witt and loyalltie, Viscount Gormanstowne, by surname Preston, a nephewe to this generall Preston, but nothinge like, the other was Lord Baron of Slane, both yonge and reasonable; this last was married to a sister of the now Earle of Antrim, mother vnto yonge Westmeath, they were mightie griued in generall of all men, their behaiour since these comotions obserued with all censeritie noted. This Slane had an vncl, Thomas Fleminge, a Franciscan frier, whoe was elder then this man's father, but chanced his terrestriall inheritance for another in heauen, intringe religion, bequeathed the same to his yonger brother, vpon intimation of the revolution of affaires in Ireland, from Louaine arriued vnto Kilkeny, beinge a

great diuine, and such a man, was in great requeste, attendinge, with his said nephewe, the publicke good, resortinge now and then to his brother in lawe the viscount Clanmorish, spoken off no. 64, whoe was prime occasion of his raisinge in armes, but now deade, did onely continue in Kilkeny, advicinge and exhortinge such of the Councell as he sawe refractorie in the truste inposed one them, in publicke and priuat, but obsearvinge his dilligence not preuayleinge, and allsoe these lords, his nephewe and cossen deade, betooke himself to the countie of Lowth wheare his patrimonie for the most parte is, all that county then full of enemye garrisons, makinge vp the matter of six or seven score men well armed, by witty and fine stratagemes, gott twelve garrison in that countie per force, maugre all enemye opposition, he spared noe labour or toyle both daie and night, either in their sleepe, march, or otherwise, wheare and when the enemye least suspected, this religious warrior did come vpon them to their mightie preiudice, either takinge by assaulte, or demolishinge by fire their garrisons, with the losse of their proper liues. 1642.

CHAPTER XIV.

THANKFULLNESSE is accounted a heauie burden, reuenge a sweet refreshinge, hince is it that men naturally are more prone to reuenge a wronge then requite a good turne, especially the inuious, whoe like the toade in the fable swelleth to be as bigg as the oxe, though he burste in swellinge, and with a spitfull eye, like that of the basiliske hurteth the obiecte vpon which it fixeth, for such men cannot endure the prosperitie of others (especially such as weare some times their enemye) though the recorde of that former reuenge hath sence beene cancelled with the accumulacione of many benefitts. 97.

Bod. l. 5.
De Repub.
Tacit. Hist.
4 li.
Plaut.
Persa.
Lucian'

“Si sapis, integro, vina reconde cado.”

Generall Neyle arriuinge to Kilkeny (was not hartily wellcome) about the begininge of 9 ber vpwards of 3 months in Ireland before he saluted personally the Councell. His owne fellowe souldier, now general Preston, did beare him an inueterat hatred and ancient grudge, though he vnderstoode it exceedinge well, smuthered all and dissembled. Sir Phelim ONeyll, allsoe puffed with emulation, not of vertue but greatnesse, with this warrior, now onely Colonell insteede of beinge Generall in Vlster, and onely Sir Phelim insteede of beinge earle of Tyron, wherof he wrongfully stiled himself, consideringe the disposition of the supreme councell, and Generall Prestone towards Owen ONeyll without the priuitie of any his friends to indeere himself that way then a single man, married in Kilkeny Generall Preston's daughter, a Dutch borne, with the onely portion of some fewe armes, and hopes to foment the said jealousies for the future.

Generall Neyll gott then in Kilkeny the matter of a 1,000 musketts with other 98. abiliments for foote souldiers, and amunition, did send the same to Vlster, himself stayinge there, obsearuinge how matters weare caried, and sweared the oath of

1642.

association or confederacie, as they tearmed it, would to God euerie one weare as observant of it as he, here then he bestowed the frigate he sent with amunition (as above mentioned) for the kingdome service, the same allsoe whearin he came himself he did imploye in the same service. At his cominge from Dunckerke he caused a Dutchman by name Don Antonio, to come to Ireland to searue the kingdome as a seaferinge man or man-of-warr, and that he would furnish him with those two frigatts, very fitt for such a purpose, payinge out of euerie price what he and the Councell did agree for, to enioye himself the remainder for his souldiers and mariners, pursuant herunto, Captain Antonio arrived, and with him one Captain Deoran, an Irishman by birth, but brede in Flanders since a childe, whoe thrived most venturous in this theire imployment most beneficiall to the kingdome. All the armes, amunition, and artillerie they wanted, would carie vnto theire verie doores for mony, and what proportion of the prices came or acrued to the kingdome, was of such a quantitie, as did defraye all such debte, which was of mightie concearnment for the kingdome affaires. By the accesse of those dayly prices, and the multiplicitic of buyers for Wexford, was now famous, and plentifulle, and though Owen ONeylle was the onely author and prime patron of this soe beneficiall a trafficke, I never heard that he euer gott by it as much as thanks.

99. In Generall Neylls company came from Flander Gerald cron FitzGerald, in the Low countries insigne for Owen ONeyll, now arrivinge to his owne native countrie, the countie of Kildare, was captain of horse, a strong, valiant, and a forward man, all the castles of the countie of Kildare was possessed of enemie garrisons, except verie fewe, this captain pestered them with ambushes, dayly incursions, and other wittie (though dangerous militarie stratagemes to the enemies, exceedinge losse and prejudice every day with some prey or other, riche booties, and prisoners, it was given out by the enemie, that he could not be killed with shott, which I thinke noe lesse, as havinge the prooffe therof one day. The captain layinge in waite one morninge of a prey belonginge to the garrison of Elistowne, the prey within a parke, and the enemie musketiers in posture of service upon a high ditche on the inside of the parke, betweene the prey and troupe, they all sawe the prey, but not the musketiers; the captain obsearvinge one of them, presently mounted, without more adoe, galloped away, his custome ever have beene, at the becke of charge to run foremost himself, and crie aloude unto his troupe with this worde, Sa, Sa, but in this instant omitted the same, or any other used to advance. The horsemen makinge themselves readie, mervayled at the sudaine behaviour of theire captain, followed, but one of the enemie musketiers, havinge his in rest, obsearvinge the captain cominge to the verie ditche wheare he laye, intendinge to spurr his horse over unto him, pointinge at his brest, did easily hitt him with a brase of bulletts, wherby presently tumbled both horse and captain to the grounde, though the horse made the best speede they could to rescue him though confident to be either deade or deadly wounded, before any of them arrived he was remounted, and settinge spurrs to his horse lepped over the ditche and knocked the verie same musketire to death, and five more of the eleven, ten in all weare killed, and one onely escaped, caried away the prey to Castl Dermott, 11 or 12 mile, full of garrisons in his way, but none offered to rescue the prey, he received

the bulletts in his brest, onely with a coate of buffe, wherin apeered two litle 1642.
 scarrs, as if two coales of fire were layed upon it, and soone taken away, which
 I sawe meself to be as formerly, wherby was confirmed the opinion above men-
 tioned. He never armed himself with brest plate or other prooffe onely his coate
 of buffe, and caried still about him *three agnus dei's* incasked in silver boxes—one
 hunge at his brest, another at his shoulder, and the third at his right arme. He
 had such confidence in the divine vertue of those holy things that he would not
 trouble himself to weare any armour, those, he saide, surer then any how steelie
 soever, which was true for true beleivers.

General ONeyll, is now wearie of beinge courter in Kilkenny, and idle, intends 100.
 now to turne to his owne Vlster province, to reclute his armie, after the death of
 leutenant-general Kahan, were dispersed, arrivinge thither, the keraghts gathered
 about him, as above mentioned; he nominated his owne nephewe, Con
 MacCormacke ONeyll, his leutenant-generall, and Shean OKahan his majior.

CHAPTER XV.

IN treason the concealment is as capitall as the practice; here are noe accessories, 101
 all are in like predicament of offence, and danger of lawe; for he desearves as ill
 of the state, that will not reveale a publicke mischiefe, and prevent it, as he that
 intendeth, and practiseth it; wherfore noe punishment for such can by lawe be
 too sudaine, or too cruell, though (vnlesse the delay doe much endanger the state)
 it ought ever be such, as the lawe in like cases ordaineth.

Valer. 1. 9.
 Ciccr. Catil.

“Qui dubitat vlcisci, improbos plures facit.”

Seneca.
 Suasor.

In Conaght was noe great service don against the enemie, but some thinge that
 was don by Con ORourke, Anthony Brabson, one Edmund Kelly of (*blank*)
 neere Athlone, Dowaltagh blinde, and others, all distracted, if united, might doe
 som what more remarkable, this notwithstandinge the enemie in that prouince
 was dayly growinge weake, in soe much that they could not longe subsiste without
 present reliefe, the State of Dublin herof certified (hauinge receaued by that verie
 season some supplie of men from England), mustered vnto a bodie six thousand
 foote, and 300 horse, intendinge to marche vnder the conducte of Ormond to the
 said reliefe of Athlone and Conaght. All this was notified unto the supreame councill.
 generall Preston desired to make himself readie to oppose the said enemie projecte,
 but he, unwillinge to hazard his owne person, beinge not pleased in minde (as
 above touched) answered, that he was not complied with, and vpon any mans
 bidinge would not goe to the field vtill he had such an armie, as by the councill
 was promised him, thus excused himself for that expedition, but apointed his son
 Don Diego chiefe comaunder for him. Orders were sent Sir James Dillon, governor
 of the counties Westmeath and Longford, that he should have the forces therof in
 a readinesse. Don Diego, MacThomas, Roger Moore, and many other comaunders 102.
 and voluntiers had their randozvouz neere Kilbegan. The enemie armie arrived to

1642.

Athlone, without once saluting him with a false alarm, reliev'd all the garrisons there abouts with men and amunition Sir James Dillon for his particular was in cessation all this while with the enemie. He sent his orders to y^e inhabitants of the baronie of Clunlunan to send 3 score barrells of oathes to Mayor Greenfield to Athlone, for the enemie horse, otherwise they would burne all the baronie. This was duely don, notwithstandinge that the poore men lost both oathes and garrans that caried it. The enemie cominge vnawares vpon the said gentrie and inhabitants, burned and destroyed all, and killed seuerall there, amonge the rest killed Christopher Gawly, which was not without the privat workinge of Sir James, as was publickly thought. Sir James continued still all this interim in his owne house, within two miles to Athlone, faininge himself sicke; the Irish left to his charge to acquaint them from time to time, all intelligence from the enemie, as well of the posure and strenght of him, as when and by what way he intended to marche, which he might easily persolve, his march beinge for certaine to Dublin, had but two roads, either to Kilbegan, to Tyrrells pace, or to Ballimore for Mollingare way, this noble knight played the double hand, for he gave what intelligence he had from the Irish partie to the enemie, and assured the Irish of proper fealtie.

103.

The enemie now refreshed and reliev'd their garrisons, leavinge in all 4,000 men, as wee had from a prime hand, address'd himself for jorney to Dublin in number 2,000 foote and 200 horse, as was given out, the Irish all the while receavinge severall letters from Sir James Dillon, of the marchinge of the enemie, now to Tyrrells-pace, presently to Mollingare, wherby not knowinge what best to doe, dubious of any settled resolution, either to continue in Tyrrells pace, or to passe to Roconnell, some times by night did marche forward (to delude the enemie, as their false intelligence adviced), and the same morninge turninge backe the same way againe by a conter-maunding-poste vntill they weared out their foote, ytired and starved both horse men, their intelligence-giver not sendinge any true or well grounded resolution, or cominge himself to that or other passadge to hinder the enemie, or forwarde the service as was desired; excusinge himself by some sudaine indisposure; disablinge his attendants according comaunde, he sent orders to his lieutenant-colonell for the countie of Longford, Brian Fferrall, to marche with his regiment towards Mollingare, to be in such a place such a day in a bogg in bodie. The Irish now late ascertained of the enemie marche towards Mollingare, thither (starvelinge and weak as they were) marched in all hast, arrived to Roconnell, left a garrison with their colours in the castle, placed some musketiers here and there in places of advantage, but places of more concernment were left open for the enemie. Sir James Dillon's men right opposite unto the continent stode vpon a bogg to noe purpose comaunded to drawe neere the rest of the armie, would not obey, their speciall orders from their proper colonell beinge to the contrary.

104.

The warie enemie now drawinge towards them observed the posture of the Irish armie, and free passadge left open for himself, to the further securinge of the passadge, he placed a 100 musketiers in the verie brim of the bogg betweene Sir James Dillon's partie and the rest of their comrads, 3 or 4 troupes of the

Irish horse, commaunded by Captain Brian, came to drawe the enemie muskietiers 1642.
 on wheare the horse might come betweene them and the bogg; this valerous
 captain givinge wheele about to bringe his partie by degrees to the intended
 service, was shott by the enemie, presently killed, and caried by his proper horse
 a distance off, fell downe deede. When the rest his comrads sawe what hapened, 1642.
 retired from the enemie, whoe advancinge both horse and foote, verie fewe of the
 Irish opposinge, forsooke the field in a routinge maner, everie one to save himself,
 except such as were placed in the trenches, not knowinge what hapened, behaved
 themselves exceedinge well, as long as amunition leasted, and after made good the
 place with verie stones. The priest Roen, No. 23, spoken off, was a brave souldier
 commaundinge in one of these sconces, but liftinge up gazinge about him, sawe
 onely the enemie in the field, certifiinge the rest therof, began to shewe a good
 paire of heels. Sir James Dillon's partie remaininge as aforesaid in the bogg
 without either danger or actinge any thinge. As soone as they sawe the Irish
 flyinge, ran away from their said place of saftie, in a disorderinge rout, which
 some of the enemie horse obsearvinge followed, a great way about, and over-
 takinge them in that non-souldierlike-posture, killed them without mercie for the
 space of 4 or 5 miles, that verie fewe of that regiment escaped, turned to Roconell
 where the rest of their armie was, after ceasinge on the castle wheare the
 amunition and colours have beene, and in good time have the enemie gained this
 munition, as havinge never a graine of his owne, for in the fight with those of the
 sconces, their amunition by an accidentall fire was blowen upp, which was
 thought to prove ominous, Andrew boy Tuite was taken prisoner by some enemie 105.
 horse in the route, beinge disarmed, was left to the keepinge of one horse, the rest
 followed the route, the prisoner havinge a pockett pistle, trustinge his hand to
 his pockett, tryinge if he could open it with that onely hande, but beinge not of
 that abilitie, his keeper obsearvinge some extraordinarie motion by him to be
 attempted, asked him whether he had askine, if soe to deliver it, answered that
 he had a meddog, and by and by takinge the pistle out, pointed therwith at the
 trouper's brest, verily perswadinge himself it to be a skine, retired with his horse
 a litle, left houldinge Tuits raines, whoe seeinge himself at libertie and well
 mounted, setts spurrs aworkinge, and away he galloped to his owne castle.

Roconell
skirmish.

The Irish lost in this vnhapie skirmish the honor of the place, their armes and 106.
 amunition, 25 colours, many gentlemen killed, Captain Brian, Adam Cusacke
 (whoe was married to Andrewe Nugent of Dunore's daughter), Conacke McRosse
 Fferrall, and severall others. Anthony Preston, the Generall's son, and a colonell
 then, and others taken prisoner, and caried to Dublin, thus did the newe commaunde
 of Jouen Preston speede in this expedition, and the clandestine treacherie, and
 double intelligence of Sir James Dillon thrive well knowen for such into the Councell
 but not punished, which of both more guiltie, or punishable I leave to the verditte
 of our former aphorisme.

The losse at
Roconell.

Captain Brian here mentioned, was an Irishman borne, but a newe comer from 107.
 Germany, where he proved a good souldier, a Protestant he was by profession, in
 good esteeme with the State of Dublin, was commaunded with a troupe of horse to
 Drohedae, enformed of the grounds of the Irish comotion, thought himself degenerat

1644. from a reall patriott if not adhered unto them, determined to departe, but not able to bringe his troupe alonge, imparted his intentions to one David Shorne, a Germaine, his hiered servant from thence, vpon resolution therof, escaped, and came to the Irish, where he was reconciled to the church, apointed captain of horse, and the foresaid David his lieutenant promisinge future good service, this beinge the verie first, where he was killed, he was beheaded by the enemye, caried to Dublin, David aforesaid his lieutenant was now asumed captain in his place.

David
Shorne
Capt.
108.

Those men left by the enemye in Athlone, as aforesaid were by orders comaunded to severall garrisons in Dillon's countrie; there have beene in them parts anuke of lough Ry where some nuns of St. Clare thitherunto did inhabitt, vpon intimation that those enemye forces aproached the countrie, deserted their said habitation, and retired themselves unto an iland of the said lough. Their flight soe sudaine and unexpected, that the most parte of their houshold stuffe, nay their verie habitts for feare to be surprisid left behinde. The Round-heads issuinge to the countrie, ranginge the matter of 4 score, went to Bethlem (the place wheare those nuns did dwell was soe called) demolished the house, caried away what they founde in it, and hittinge on some of the habitts, some of the rogues, did weare those wifes in a gyringe maner, tellinge their comrads that he was a poore nun. Away they went to their garrisons, as they thought, but against God's divine providence, there is noe wisdom. One Captain Charles Mellaghlin of Sir James Dillon's regiment, and Oliver boy FitzGerald with the matter of 4 score men in their company, lay in ambush before those Round-heads, seeinge their fitt oportunitie, started to them, slaughtered them all there, neither had they the courage to stricke one blowe in proper defence. None did the Irish loose but one, and this was killed by his owne comrads, reputinge him of the enemye, as havinge a brave coate of buffe on, for cominge to the fiede none of their partie had any such ware, in the comencement of the skirmishe; this souldier killed the owner of that buffe, exoneratinge the dead thereof, did mushell it on himself, and cost him noe lesse then his life, though by a frendly hande, thinkinge him to be a foe. See how those were payed, for plunderinge the nunrie, and for gyringe the holy weede.

109. Any of those founde abroad in the countrie, by the verie countrie peysants were knocked to death, wherby their garrisons grewe weake and discouraged, which caused them to burne some of their garrisons, and deserte others, and for the most parte convoyed themselves to Athlone, and others thought to steale away for Dublin; 24 musketires of those joininge together were assured to have noe stoppage or rubb in their way for Dublin, as havinge none at their cominge from thence, marched on. A yonge gentleman of the Dillons passinge by chance the way, obsearved soe many of the enemye to passe by, havinge onely one man with him, spurred on, and went unto a taverne that was neere hand, callinge, whoc was there, was answered that some countrie neighbours were there tipplinge, callinge them fourth, presently obeyed, they were six or seven lustie fellows that formerly tilled the grounde. If any courage you have, said he, such a service is offered; follow me and seeinge you now naked in doinge the service, if you deserve

it, I will give each of you a muskett. In the interim carie with you such as you 1642.
finde at hande, and knocke downe such of the enemie as comes under your reache.
The peysants, by reason of theire former occupation somewhat more couragious
and forward then ordinarie, intringe the house founde there flailles, Irish spades,
and oter such traishe. Those with the feminean sex there found followed the
yonge gentleman, they never questioned the enemie, but embraced the occasion
by the foretopp as knowinge it to be slipperly, advanced. The enemie partie had
onely one match lighted, the carier discharged against the yong gentleman,
missinge him, knocked him to death, and rushing amonge the rest, the tyron
peysants followinge verie close, did second still theire captain's blowe, the women
were not idle, the ascendinge vapour of theire liquor, caused them to be some
what bloudie. As many as they founde tumblinge (though strivinge to gett upon
his legges) did dash out his braines with stones, and though theire sculls mortered
to powder, never thought them dead enough ; 23 were killed there and one escaped ;
and was not knowen how this yonge warrior did this peece of service, with such
abetters, neere Baskny in Dillon's countrie, had all theire armes for his labour, the
rest of the bootie, with the interringe of theire corps he left to his hiered
soldiers.

By reason of the multitude in Athlone, the scarcitie of meate grewe to that 110.
height that all the souldiers there died apace of famene, and countrie disease, in soe
much that within a shorte time, not onely in Athlone, but else[w]heare, very fewe
of that 4,000 that were come to them parts for relife, did now enjoy theire owne,
which caused my lord of Ranalagh, Lord President of Conaght, to send unto the
state informinge of his disabilitie to live there, and desired a passe to send his
gentlewomen and luggage thither before him. It beinge granted, he sued Sir 111.
James Dillon to protecte and convoy those unto Trim, wherein Sir James showed
himself not onely courteous and honorable but sencere and earnest, for he went in
person to safeguard them to Athboy and conferred there with such of the English,
Greynfelde and others, as came thither to receive them, with courtly familiaritie,
intrest and trust, to the noe smale admiration of many, and thought verily, as he
assumed yt power unto himself without dependencie of any other whomsoever,
that he would be thereof impeached by the Supream Councell, as guiltie of a
seeminge treason, but never a worde was spoken unto him of it, nay nor the least
shewe of distaste—quid dicemus ad hoc ? A seeminge
treason.

CHAPTER XVI.

IN the active parte of militarie service, the captain's greatest virtue is to apre-
hende a present occasion of advantage, and to take it : soe on the passive side the
evasion from a sudaine and eminent danger is much more noble then a forethought
of prevention, for in this is onely matter of judgment, but in that is the life of
action and execution. 111.
Livi. l. 28.
Cicer. de
Fin.
Aris. Pol. 2.

“ Ducis propria est, et unica virtus, prudentia.”

1642. Ormond and his enemies, encouraged by this defeat, and the other of General Preston's party, at Clonarde, no. 87 touched, that he had given a foil to both father and son, though God did fight for the Irish, killing his men of war by famine, and native disease, had great hopes now to force a passage towards Munster to join with Inchiquin, and so jointly to overrun all Ireland, which in his idea was an easy matter, as that never a party of any the respective provinces of Ireland was of ability to face the enemy to any great purpose in an open field, this solid and sure foundation laid, commanded an army to be mustered and called to the field as private as he could, with all the appliances to take towns or forts, as artillery, bombs, wagons, and other engines, and their chief aim was at New Ross, in the county of Wexford. Ormond and my Lord Lyell marched in this equipage, as cautious as could be, not so much as heard of until they arrived to Timolin in the county of Kildare, belonging to William Archbold (though in ancient times a nunery). Several of the gentry and inhabitants of the bordering neighbours retired thither, for their own proper safety's defence, then any way to offend, the enemy thither arriving, did besiege the same, planting their ordnance, began to batter the same without intermission for 24 hours, interim the Irish defendants sounded for parley from the castle (beside whom were others of the same party in an old almost ruined steeple extant in the ruins of the said nunery temple). The parley was for each of those parties, and so embraced by the enemy, quarter agreed for, signed by Ormond and Lyell, pursuant thereto; those of the castle, as chiefs, coming fourth first, were all put to the sword and slaughtered, without either mercy or observance of any law, the steeple defendants assured of their quarter, as comprehended in that of the castle party were ready to come forth, when, observing how inhumanly their comrades were dealt with, would not trust to the former capitulation without further security, it being denied, the enemy began their batteries afresh against the said steeple. The defendants behaved themselves most courageous, but the work, an ancient withered wall, was easily sunk down by the ordinance, all their pitiful cries for quarter will nothing avail, the assault followed the breach, many of the enemy perished, but all the defendants, man, woman, and child, not only such as were in castle or steeple, but in all the town, were cruelly massacred, that from thenceforth it was a common saying not to hope for better quarter at the English hands other than that of Timolin, the enemy abiding here for 3 days and so many nights all spent in this bloody action, which caused General Preston to prevent a worse consequence in sending relief to Ross, 1,500 men, and Captain Arthur Fox for governor and commander there for that expedition. Edward Jacob, a very brave man, with many others were killed there; the enemy left a garrison here, as being a thoroughfare town, and another in Rathvilly.
113. The enemy now marching from Timolin towards Ross, the worst ways for artillery and carts that could be thought of, all men were more than confident of the impossibility of passing those ways with such luggage, though never opposed, and specially with such intertainment (as in the opinion of many) they were to receive in those straits, but no rubb, either by way or otherwise had

Timolin
quarter.

they received, untill they went to Rosse, and satt before it. Some did give out from Generall Preston, that he was verie glad, as havinge them soe farr from home, that they would never turne the same way againe. The enemie, comaunded from Dublin three ships to come to Rosse that he might leager it by sea and land. The shippes arrivinge, he mountes his ordinance, began to batter, made an assayllable breache; abloudie assaulte followed, but Captain Arthur Fox and his men opposed, bravely deffended it, that in spite of all their maine force, horse and foote, turned the enemie backe from the breache and walle and reenforcing the walle, made it a defensible, the 3 ships played on the towne all the while; the women of that towne shewed themselves in that exigent, the best of their sex, that wee knewe in those later times.

1642.
Arthur
Fox
bravely
behaved
himself.

Generall Preston and my lord of Montgerrott with their brave armie approached within 2 miles to the enemie, whose informed of the multitude, and not as before naked, now well armed and havinge a wise, warrlicke warrior their comaunder, the enemie comaunders Ormond and Lyell would wish themselves (whatever became of the rest) in Duncanan 8 miles from thence, and to putt this in execution, wanted nothinge but a good and trustie guide, now must leave of batteringe the towne, as loosinge severall of their men by Fox, others discouraged in the last assaulte, and allsoe least to be invironed by both armie and garrison, hoisinge their thundringe instruments upon the unconstant wheelles of yokie beasts, marched away, not well determined (soe fearfull they were) onely turned tayle to Rosse, intendinge more then earnest aime to marche towards the mountaines, the next way to Dublin, though sure to loose their ordinance by the bargaine, Generall Preston must compell them to a stande, if he may, and consequently to a battle. Whearfore made such a disordered speede, cominge betweene the enemie and his pretended course, that with fewe of his men arrived to the same passadge the enemie was to passe, there he made a halte, that his men might come to him. Betweene him and the enemie was a badd peece of rough, marishe and boggish waie, betweene the same and the enemie was a litle foorde, wheare 3 horse at the most might come in brest deepe, there he putts himself in a bodie, a foolishe posture of fight, rather of slaughter, if ever you intende to advance; the enemie obsearvinge how the Irish generall did seate himself, had better hopes then formerly, mounted his ordinance upon a hillocke in a goodly plaine, on the mouth of a narrow lane, ex diametro oppositt unto the saide foorde, soe that none could passe the same without eminent danger of fallinge under the fumie reache of that murtheringe troncke.

114.
The Siedge
of Rosse.

115.

The
battle of
Ballibegg.

When Huigh McPhelim sawe how undiscreetly and unsouldierlike the Generall placed himself, he sent him worde, either to goe over that passadge towards the enemie, if he thought to thrive, or else to remove and give the enemie way to pass forward, that soe he might with full force meete him, upon indifferent ground, and the rather said he that all our forces are most willinge to fight; and the enemie allreadie discouraged, and wearie by their travell, famen, and occupation since they came abroad, if you left them to themselves, onely to waite on them untill they goe towards the borders of the countie of Kildare, you may be ascertained to have given him a manie foyle, and this without any proper losse, if

116.

A sound
advice of
Huigh
McPhelim.

1642. otherwise you doe, I feare me the event will prove disastrous, and men will speake verie large of our proceedings. This resulte not embraced by the Generalle Huigh did seate himself and his regiment in a bogg at the enemie flanke, to their mightie prejudice.

*117. Now drums with their clattering tunes, and trumpetts with their shrill echoes, did of the future bloudie effecte of warr proclaime battle, the Irish commanded to charge, with great courage, Sir Morgan Kevanagh, McThomas, Colonell Cullin, and Edward Buttler of Tulloe, with their 4 troupes, undervaluinge all difficultie, charged the enemie soe farre home, as in a thrice were masters of the ordinance, advancing through the battallion of the adverse armie, makinge havocke of all that came in their way, with any opposition, whoe givinge grounde, pursued untill they came unto the verie vauntgarde, thinkinge all this while to be seconded by the rest of their proper armie, but in vaine, for never aman stirred all this while (wherin the generall proved either drunke, a foole, or a traytor) except the fore mentioned now in action, when McThomas and his comrads were assured, the most parte of this daies busines to be allreadie effected, they cominge soe farr, looked about them, sawe themselves too far engaged, and invironed onely by their enemies, such as thought to free themselves by the shiftnesse of their horse, weare miscaried, the danger soe eminent, doe verie often raise the directed thoughts of many men, and specially of heroicke and noble spiritts to invent a meane to act remarkable deedes, and of others despairinge in any favourable evasion, doe run themselves vnto a precipice, wherin they finde the colision of both life and fortune. McThomas, as hitherto drowsie with the conceite of a victorie, now acknowledginge his error, as awake, saw himself girded with a girdle of heathe (as all the Irish were, that day to discearne them from the enemie) as privat, as he could unloadinge himself therof, ran formost of the enemie troupes, cryinge aloude letts followe the rogues, thereby givinge the enemie to understande that he was one of their owne partie, possessed of this suggestion untill seeinge him kill one of his owne suposed comrads, and that don spurred on towards the Irish, whoe weare by this scattered to woods and boggs, though they came not within a quarter of a mile to the field.

What
Thomas
Preston in
this action?

Thomas
escaped.

*117. If not for Huigh McPhelim and his regiment, on the enemie flanke, as afore-said, did entertaine the fight for a long time, fewe of the Irish did escape that daie. However Sir Morgan Kevanagh, a brave gentleman, indued with such genuine qualities as compiled his noble extraction, was killed here, Edward Buttler of Tulloe, a constante, pious and valerous blade, and severall other brave gentlemen, but fewe of the comon souldiers, as not apeeringe in field. Colonell Cullin, a generous, courteous liberall and bould souldier, was with others taken prisoner. The Irish lost there the field, armes, lives, and honor, and worthyly, for they confided onely in their owne strenght, in their multitude and comaunder, and not in God, whoe is the giver of victories.

Sir Morgan
Kevanagh
killed.

Col. Cullin
prisoner.

118.

It was given out by many understandinge witts that the posture of the Irish for battle that day could not be voide of treacherie, and the non-secondinge McThomas and the rest engaged did in a maner give foment unto the same, which

* Thus in MS.

whislinge in the Generall's eares (did onely for his proper calification, attest, to have proceeded from my lord of Montgerrotte, as better acquainted with everie stepp there, earnestly persuaded him to pitch his battle in y^e fatall place, all this noe satisfaction to such a losse, nor doe it any way cleere Preston from the tainte of the former staine, for beside Montgerrott, there were others there, as intimate everie jott of that grounde as he, why did not he call a councill of war for such a busines of soe transcendent a concearnment, for the execution of one single souldier, he would call such a councill, but for the exposinge of all the whole armie unto slaughter, he will doe it se solo, without admittinge the sense of any other onely of a poore dotinge ould man, that gave another field before the present to Ormonde, or why did not the Generall embrace, or examen, by a councill the wise and sage resulte of his Lieutenant-Generall Huigh Birne aforementioned? Nothinge had he don but what he should not, and omitted to do what he should have done, and though this at present is rather reputed a mistake then treason, this weede being not now nipped, will in future time come to that height that all the bys, ifs, and butts in Ireland will not be of force to give it the least shadowe for shelter, the supream Councill was hereof enformed, but never examined the parties concerned, if, but to give some seeminge satisfaction unto the publicke, least to bride any distemper or jealousie in verie loyall breasts, non such but wincked at all, are such men inocent?

1642.

Prestonian
treachery.

The Irish broken upon, as aforesaid, every mother's child went to his proper home; the enimie marched forward to Dublin, the same way they came, one 100 men of any courage would hinder their passage, or cause them pay deere for it, but noe interruption was given, which have beene the least that the enimie thought, encamping himself neere Burrish in the countie of Catarlogh, two lostie yonge clownes of Mortagh oge Kevanagh of Garankill, came by night to the enimie campe, founde them all asleepe, as weake and as drowsie as any could be, as havinge noe men to acte anythinge against those Puritants at such a dead posture, stole away as many of their armes as they could shelter for the present, and then carried away all their oxen and brought them to places of saftie, whereby next morninge were compelled to cause their troupes to goe a foote, and their horse caried the ordinance, which have beene the cause they lost too many of their men in their marche to Dublin, Ormond and Lyell leavinge behinde their armie and bagage exposed to all hazarde, their temeritie (though victors in the field) soe farr workinge, posted away in all haste to Dublin.

119.

The shippes above mentioned, in the bay of Rosse, a gun was comaunded from Kilkeny and plantad at Rosse baracke, vnknown unto the said shippes, plaid on them soe fierce, that he shunke one and the other two yelded; thus the enimie did speede in this expedition for Rosse, lost their shippes, oxen and one moitie of their men, and such of their horse as lived, not serviceable for a longe time, though had the honor of the fiede, were brought by that jorney to utter destruction. Such is the fruite of infedelitie, crueltie and inhumanitie; were it not for the former treacherie of the Irish Generall and Councillor Montgerrott none of them would escape death in the same field. Who behaved himself well in this busines was Captain Arthure Fox, governor and chiefe comaunder in Rosse, but for his fidelitie and valor had noe preferment from either Generall or Supream

120.

1642. Councell, he was called from thence soone after, beinge not in any repute with the councell (as smellinge his loyalltie and good affection to the cause) he tooke his leave and went to the north, where he served for a while under the comaunde of Colla McBrian Mahon in the countie of Muneaghan in the garrison of Carrigmaghirirush, the enemie leageringe the same, was forced to yeld vpon honorable quarter, for which some of the northeren comaunders were offended, alleadginge he did not comply with the dutie of a gallant souldier therein: the former skirmish was on S. Patrick's daie, March 17, 1642. Finis this yeare.

S. Patrick's
day, March
17.

CHAPTER XVII.

40.

131. THERE is nothinge so dangerous in a state or campe as contempt of the Prince or Generall, there is nothinge breeds it more in the subjecte or souldier than remissnesse and lenitie, for he that suffereth one mischief passe unpunished inviteth another, which bringeth the comaunde unto discredit, and the service unto dispaire; wherefore, as in men of greate ranke, it is less blam-worthy to be overstately and imperious then over-familiar and base; soe in men of greate office, it is a lesse faulte to be over rigorous then not to punishe offenders at all.

Lip. Pol.
l. 5.
Appian.

Austeri duces, suis faciles, hostibus sunt utiles.
Gaudet tamen esse timori,
Tam magno populis, et se non mallet amari.

Lucan. lib.
3, de Cæs.

Because the busines of the late suggestion of treason, betweene Montgerrott and Preston was not punished or called in question by the supreame councell doubtlesse will bringe their authoritie unto discredit; and because Preston did not punish his souldiers, as forsaking their colours, will bring the comon service unto dispaire, for austere comaunders are most profittable unto their owne, but easie and familiar, not punishinge offenders at all, are onely proficuous for the enemie.

132. After that defeate of Rosse, and that Generall Preston arrived to Kilkeny, Montgarrett moved to take the garrison of Ballinakill in Leise out of the way, it being 20 mile from Kilkeny and within two miles to one of Montgarrott's houses Bellaragad, he will not reste untill this be out of the way. Preston condescended, but was soe tedious addressinge himself for that piece of service, that it beinge notified in Dublin Colonell Monke marched (to relieve the same with men and amunition) with 500 foote and 4 troupes; within 2 miles to the said garrison he chaunced upon some of the Irish horse and foote, in number verily more then he. They had a skirmish, the Irishe were putt to flight, some losse they had, but not considerable, relivinge the towne, turned the same way to Dublin. Now, all things readie for the Generall for the takinge of yett that garrison, thither he marched, sate before it, thinkinge to have it upon sumons, was farr deceaved, givinge an assaulte, he was manly opposed, found the deffendants verie dexter in that arte, lost many of his men, beinge not yett trained for such busines, he sent

Ballinakill
taken by
Preston.

for the ordinance that landed at Dungarvan, as havinge now the benefitt of the 1643.
emie oxen to drawe it; while he expected the ordinance and bumbs, he
undermined the castle, but to noe purpose, for the deffendants did countermine,
very fitt instruments for that purpose, as beinge those that laboured in the silver
mine in Ireland thitherunto, wherby the General was disapointed of his intent;
but the ordinance and bumbs arrivinge, some hurte they did, the women within
verie fearfull, as not accustomed to such pastimes cried out with everie shott, to
the exceedinge comferte of the assayllants and mightie disgust of the defendants.
Now, at the end of 7 or 8 weeks they yelded vpon honorable quarter, and
marched to Dublin. The Irish lost there a 100 men at leaste, which won, the
General turned to Kilkeny, mightie offended, for half the number promised him
by the Councill was not now extant.

Some dispatches came from Monster to the Supreame Councill, that the emie 123.
was stronge in that province, and alreadie in the field, and though the Irish was
many arithmetically, that it was feared by the well affected, theire phisicall
operation did not corresponde thereto the induction in cleere language was to
desire the councill may be pleased to send thither a competent number of horse,
wherby (if timely arrived) they hoped to be able to give the peremptorie emie
a dangerous rubb, for foote, and well apointed too, they had sufficient. Upon con-
sideration had of this busines, and its consequence, Castlehaven was apointed
chiefe comaunder for that expedition with the Linster horse; all the horse was
called unto Kilkeny, and from thence comaunded to Monster, under the shelter
of this recent Generall of the Confederats; and though made the best speede
they could, both the Monster forces were in campania before one another,
readie to fight, but the emie by a proper addresse enformed of the Lenster
forces aproache, wherupon fearinge the Linster horse, with all celeritie, mounted
his ordinance, committinge his saftie to a timely flight, rather then to a cowardly
stande, Castlehaven to be charactered with that noble and ever famous title,
warrior more venterous than souldierlike (as havinge his troopes, by theire longe
and dayly marches tyred), followed the retired emie (and though flyinge, the
Monstermen had not the courage to followe him) and by extraordinarie speede
overtooke the reare, broke on them, killed and drowned a 1,000 of his men, tooke
the ordinance, the demy canon that the Irish lost at Liscarroll (No. 67, touched)
this pretty good service was don at Cloghlia, and Castlehaven was therby, by
the factionists, in mightie repute.

Cloghlia
skirmish
in Monster.

The last assembly did authorize the Supreame Councill to sende and nominat 124.
agents unto his majestie; the elected agents for that purpose were the Earle of
Antrim, Muskry, Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Robert Thalbot, Dermott O'Brian, and
others to the number of 4 more, to conclude with his Majestie some conditions
behooufull for the nation, against the tirany of the ministers of State in Ireland,
desiringe a repeale of some statute lawes in practice in this kingdome, to the
high prejudice of any freeborne nation, in regarde allsoe that his Majestie was
severally enformed by the state of Dublin, that the Irish did intende nothinge
lesse, then his Majestie advancinge service, though many of the Irish have beene
asistant in the royall armie in England then, by both service and loyaltie known

Agents
for his
Majestie.

* In margin, in more recent hand: "4 June. But 600."

1643. to be such, notwithstanding his Majestie was more inclined unto the misenformation of that Zeudostate and encendarie of the publicke and comon good, then to the countrie. Those agents therfore destined to render a more exacte satisfaction unto his Majestie then thitherunto he had, imploringe for the future better understandinge between his royall Majestie and the kingdome, certified thus by publicke and privat insinuations of Antrim of the realitie of proceedings, was mightie glade of their allegeance, rendringe them, in behalfe of all the Catholicks many thanks for their fidelitie, assuringe them for the future his royall graces and concessions pursuant to their now desires; but the times for the present (said he), not searvinge as actually in the field, invironed as you see, with many letts and troubles, to satisfie which, will send orders unto my Generall in Ireland (for Ormond whom here he meante was not then Lord Leutenant) and comission to agree with you to your owne desire, and that don like loyall subjects to come and assiste me, in those my troubles at home, the best language that from such, should be any way expected, he gave and dismissed them, 8 or 9 weekes absent arrivinge unto Kilkeny with onely thrivinge as formerly suggested, in expectation onely of future concessions, the kingdome was at great charges for the mission and transportation of the said agents.

125. . At the departinge of those agents in Wexford, a grave Fa. [M^cCarroll, Jesuite,*] verie intimat with one of them, callinge him aside, advised him of his duetie, to acte accordingly, for, said he, you now parte unto a foraigne countrie, to be ambassador or agent, betweene your native country and prince, such, by the lawe of nations have libertie to move and speake at pleasure, in anythinge conducinge to the furtherance of the said end, soe that you transgress not the limitts of your comission and instructions, therefore be of courage and speake bould, and specially, said he, in the behalfe of holy religion, beinge the prime motive of both your comotion and now mission, for if otherwise you doe, you may be acertaind you will leave both in your owne particular reputation and your posteritie an indellible character of infamie and reproache. This advice, soe friendly and reasonable, was answered by this agent (alreadie sworne not to sheath his sworde untill he sawe the luster of religion in Ireland, as it did shine in England in Henry the Second's time), swearinge a greate oathe that he would neither conteste with his prince, or loose himself a foote of his estate for all the mythers in Ireland; that it was indifferent for him to have masse with solemnitie in Christ or S. Patrick's church, as privatly at his bed's side. This thinke you was a fitt agent to treat of religion, before a Protestant kinge, in a strange and enemie countrie? More you shall see of him hereafter.

Sir Robert
Thalbot.

126. Generall Owen Oneyll went unto the north to reclute his armie, as No. 100 mentioned, where he and y^e enemie had many bickeringes, and in regarde Dublin and the Linster Puritant armie was now mightie weakned, famen and sicknesse occasioninge the same. Gerrott Moore, lord of Mellefonte, raised himself by others shipwrake, made up a considerable partie aiminge onely at the distruction of Owen Oneyll and his partie, thought in his owne conceite to entrappe Generall Neyll betweene himself and Monroe, this bloudie ban (whose grandfather Sir Gerrott Moore did foster the late Tyron Shean Oneyll), was noe whitt the better

* Struck out in MS.

affected towards that noble familie, and though bred and borne in Mellefonte aforesaid, in ancient time a monesterie of S. Bernard's order, was nothinge the more Catholickely given, but all his actions puritanicall, as beinge of their partie. Owen Oneyll well understandinge the fetch of this degenerat Moore, caused his keraghts, his magazine, to marche before him to Meathe, and followed himself with his militia, untill he arrived at Portlester, for in Vlster could not well subsiste, the enemie verie stronge ther, and in such quarters as he resorted unto was noe tilladge, he thought to maintaine his armie and keraghts vpon the enemie crope in Linster, and that he might from that seate (wheare at present he was) bothe defende himself, and offende the enemie, pursuant therto he writts unto the Supreame Councill, and Sir James Dillon to send him some forces, settinge fourth the danger, if not prevented, and by asistinge him with that reliefe, would make the verie enemie quarter, the seate of warr, the councill sent him none, but Sir James Dillon, did send his regiment wheare we leave him and Moore for a while, reclutinge their respective armies, and turne to the Supreame Councill.

1643.
Moore
fostered
Sheane
Oneyll, late
Tyron.
Mellefonte,
a Monesterie
of S.
Bernard's
order.

CHAPTER XVIII.

WELL governed states admitt of no alliance [*sic.*] but upon well grounded reasons, noe grounds of reason soe firme to builde such contracts upon as those that are confirmed by former examples. Noe examples soe forcible as those of our owne, and of these the later the surer; yett are wee not soe peremptorily bounde to these, but that we may loosen ourselves, and take a newe course, when the newe deliberation brings with it an aparent and demonstrative assurance of the publicke good and saftie. *Per varios casus artem experientia fecit—exemplo monstrante viam—Longum iter per precepta, breve et efficax per exempla.* The Supreame Councill was now verie busie; Generall Preston is mightie offended for not complying with him, in the posure and strenght of his armie, 6,000 foote, and 600 horse, severally promised by the Councill, upon any other termes will not apeere in field. The Councill apoints Castlhaven comaunder for the present expedition, to marche with great guns to take garrisons in the counties of Kildare and Leyse; he goeth about this busines, callinge the armie unto abodie. The Councill since the arrivall of the royall agents, is privatly workinge for a cessation betweene Ormond and themselves, [pursuant thereto*], studyinge all the devices possible how to presearve the droopinge affaires of the State of Dublin, occasioned by too much mortalitie and dearthe, pursuant thereunto, did picke out a jurie befittinge soe factious employment. My lord of Muskry, Sir Luke Dillon, John Dillon the lawyer, Sir Robert Thalbot, and others of the same broode, this beinge soe privat that very fewe (except Ormond, and they) had the least notice thereof dispatches sent him that upon such a day, the Commissioners authorized by the Supreame Councill, for treatinge and concluding either a settlement or cessation would apeere at the Naasse, wherupon he sent presently dispatches for the Earle of

127.
Plin. l. 8.
Manil. l. 1.

Senec
Epist. 6.

Commis-
sioners for
y^e first
cessation
with
Ormond.

* Struck out in MS.

1643. Clanricarde, to come fourthwith unto Dublin, the peremptorie daie at hand, the Commissioners dispatched with that power of non plus ultra, to acte what they in their discretion thought fittinge, which the verie Councell could neither graunte them so unlimited a power, or use the like themselves (as subordinat to the kingdome assembly) if not deviatinge from the grounds of naturall reason, comaunding the subordination of inferiors to superiors, and the praxis of the examples of former and present ages, notwithstandinge are soe invested and arrived nowe to the Naasse, and Dublin Commissioners in Giginstowne in my lord of Straford's house, wheare wee leave them for a while, workinge their proper confusion, the whole kingdome's disgrace and distruction, by billets exhibitted by both parties.
128. MacThomas enformed of Castlhaven's comaunde, to take garrisons, and knowinge him to be noe indifferent judge for the well affected (wherof he was one then) and fearinge some illegall proceedings by the said cessation, he therfore and Captain Gerald FitzGerald mustered men horse and foote and marched to Timolin, where was an enemye garrison, sent them sumons to yeld, and to Rathuell upon the same score, pretendinge to be the forerunner of Castlhaven's armie, and unlesse they surrender now those garrisons upon honorable quarter, that his lordship and ordinance once arrivinge would be sure of none, their answeare was that they were subjecte to the governor of Athy, and would writte unto him how the captain stode and upon his resulte would behaue themselves accordingly, and by next morninge promised to give MacThomas full account of their resolution. Mr. Veldon, the governor, obscarvinge how matters were carried, and how unlike it was that the said garrison would be relived, condescended to MacThomas his motion, wherby both the garrisons marched away with their armes, bagg and bagadge, and left the garrisons to MacThomas, all his hast in this business, least these garrisons fallinge to Castlehaven's hands, would dispose of them at his pleasure, and not to the true owner, whoe was Christopher Archbould, brother-in-lawe to MacThomas, now, are his without dependencie of Castlhaven.
129. Now the Earle of Castlehaven havinge all things in areadiness arrived to Ballinunry, where a garrison was for the enemye, cominge before the same, his sumons denied, planted his ordinance, did batter the castle, the deffendants could not keepe within doores, were per force brought from the bawon before his lordship, he pardoned all the multitude, none of his armie upon paine of death durst touch worth a penny of their goods; goods and armes was given them, and a convoy to their choice garrison. This is more mercie then the lawes of armes, and specially in a just and lawfull warr doe require. From hence he marched to Ballilinan in the Queenes countie, this garrison was kept by the Greames, English and Scottish mungrells, the best horsemen in them partes, most peremptorie and toward people, they will not yeld upon sumons, their castle battered, noe quarter graunted, but came out under my lord's mercie, which was freely obtained, with their lives and armes. Those of Athy garrison came to relive them, were beaten back to the verie streete, soe that if Castlehaven did once offer to leaguer Athy, might questionlesse have it as easie as any other, but would leave some life in his countrimen, and not banish them altogether.

43.
Timolin
and Rath-
uell won
by Mac-
Thomas.

Castle-
haven's
treasonable
mercie.

Demolishinge Ballilinan aforesaid, passeth the Berrow to the countie of Kildare, and arrived to Dullarstowne where was a plantation house, there were the matter of 20 souldiers of tiranicall behaviour, the comaunder one Burrosse, he sent out a gyringe letter to Castlehaven, publishinge a flatt defyançe, his lops upon perusall, tould the bearer he would answer them within two howers, he caused a foote comaunder to be called for, that was better acquainted with the place, to drawe a partie of musketiers about the sconces, but none was founde that shewed any willingnesse, excusinge theire ignorance of not knowinge that peece of grounde. Gerald FitzGerald, a captain of horse, spoke to my lord in his Dutch like English, that he would leade them to the verie sconces. He that will not goe where I apointe him, said he, give me leave to kill him. All that heard him laughed heartie, as well for his broken Englishe, as for his requeste; a partie was choosen out and sent by him, the captain mountinge on a white horse, did leade the musketires, without any wheeles, but went the high beaten way (as if peaceably cominge to the very house) untill he stode with his horse upon the very brim of the sconce ditch, and leavinge some there, went rounde about the same, leavinge men still wheare he thought fitt, and before he made an end there (still ahorse) he brought his owne soe farr engaged that within quarter of an hower he caused the deffendants to forsake their sconces, and flocke in unto the castle; the captain lost two of his men, and two or three more wounded, and aiminge at himself the bullett whisled at his eare, whoe answered, never be God tanke you, charginge the musketires to keepe the castle still in action, away he went to give his lordship an accounte what was don.

1643.
130.Capt. Fitz-
Gerald's
courage.

Upon this intimation, all the campe, consistinge of 1,500 foote and 8 troupes with the artillerie removed where the captain directed them to plant the ordinance; it planted, every bullett did passe through the house, wherby the deffendants, if otherwise good souldiers could doe nothinge as not seeinge anythinge, the freshe lime shaken and winded, filled the place with its smoke, and raisinge up their sight was made not capable of any light, but confidinge too much in his lordship mercie, that he would pardon them as beinge Englishmen, they used their endeavors to goe out and present themselves before his lordship, but the souldiers hittinge on some of them, cleered the doubt, dispatched them unto another world, and Captain FitzGerald previdinge what his lordship doome would be if those apered before him, kept verie good watche in person, as he killed 5 or 6 of them, as they thought to whipp away; but Burrosse the comaunder with 6 more, by some merciful creature weare brought before his lordship, whoe against his stamocke, overvoted by a councell of warr, with many petitions, and attestations exhibitted to his lordship against those bloudie tirants, ever inclined, and actinge all things conducinge to exorbitancie, misbehaviour and tirany, notwithstandinge those pregnant motives and himself Generall for the Irish, would not willingly execute them, though executable now by the lawe of armes, nolens volens were executed; their bad repute was such that their owne very partie did not much care for their miscarriage.

131.

Dullarstowne thus taken, was left in Captain Gerald FitzGerald's custodie, and the armie marched to Kildare where incampinge, his lordship did send sumons unto

132.

1643. Tully Kildare castle, Walterstowne, Munistereven, Legkagh, Elistowne, Grang-fonshjord, Rathbridie, all which yelded upon quarter of their lives and armes. Sidly Coote, then governor of Lekagh, went somewhat late a scoutinge, was mett with the Irish scoutes, taken prisoner, and carried in that nature to his lordship, whoe made verie much of him, without garde or baylle was with him all night in serious and privat conference all the while, next morninge was dismissed alone to his said garrison, the castle surrendered, the earle, by noe meanes would leave the same in the true owners hands (whoe was Morgine FitzGerald relicte of Kedagh Geoghegan) unlesse she pay him a £100 in mony and 200 barrell of wheate, but descendeing unto a certaintie of seaven score and 10 barrells of wheate, and £20 in money, and noe fardinge lesse, intringe securitie for payment herof, with much adoe gott the possession of her owne castle. The enemie was permitted to carie away or turne to his proper use, all the houshold stufte therof, which was thought verie strange of all well affected, that this widowe Geoghegan was soe rigorously dealt with, none other in all the countie soe abused, and all this was thought to proceede onely, in regarde of her late husband's surname, as beinge one of the ancient Irish (whom he abhors as the devill the crosse), his rankor and injustice, is not at a stande, yett for the name of a barrell, or any measure, is still understoode regall measure, or which is currant by statute lawe or custome, in chiefe cities and amonge seafringe men, which in Ireland is Bristowe barrell, Londonquarte, &c., this would not Castlhaven accept of the widowe (though currant in all Ireland, but must give Athy barrell, 2 wherof makes 3 Bristowe barrells. Any man of judgment may give it here, whether this now Generall of the Confederats (useinge soe unmercifully such a noble widowe, she nor any of hers never descarvinge any such inhumanitie at his hands), be conscionable, legall, indifferent, loyall, or true minded to the cause in agitation? I say noe: and noe mervayle, as beinge enformer against his owne proper father, whether right or wronge, brought him uppon the stage for buggerie, for which he lost his life, by the only information of this his owne child, our now Castlhaven. Whoe would trust this man after? but now the Irish Generall beinge his owne patricide. O brave Castlehaven, whom we leave for a while.

Castle-
haven
Patricidiv.

CHAPTER XIX.

133. CUSTOME to doe well is like the dyers scouringe, it clenseth, and purgeth the minde of vicious dregs by education. And then reason and exercise findinge a subjecte soe well prepared giveth it the tincture of vertue in graine. Such is the effecte of martiall practise and discipline in the exercise of armes, it not onely habituats and inures men to be good souldiers, but even incorporats the vertue in them and theire race, butt morall vertue for want of exercise, and through disuse cometh to loose her accustomed habitt, and turneth to the former soile of ill maners, and vice, so doth the vertue militarie.

“Adde quod ingenium longa rubigine lesum torpet, et est multo quam fuit ante minus.”

Generall Owen ONeyll within a mile to Portlester, as No. 126 touched, his horse at pleasure under the comaunde of his son Henry Roe ONeyll went within two and 3 miles to Dublin, without the least opposition, my Lord Moore, as in the foresaid No. mentioned, was recluting his armie, brought unto the field all the garrisons there abouts, had a good armie of English, Irish, and Scotts, aiminge onely (as formerly) of Owen ONeyll and his parties distruction. Our commissioners for treatie went leasurly to worke, expectinge this scene to prove tragicall on Owen's parta. Moore now drawinge towards this Catholicke generall, the most parte of Owen's armie was safe garde with the keraghts, the enemie arrivinge to Portlester, the garrison left there, accordinge orders, deserted the place, and retired to the campe; neere the Irish campe was a ruyned ould buildinge of a mill, at the verie descente of a foorde, where, of necessitie the enemie must passe cominge unto the campe. Both the armies stooode on either side of the brooke in posture of battle, by greate odds the enemie was more in number than the Irish, nothinge wanted the triall, but the passadge. Generall Neyll did man the mill with 3 score musketires and some pickmen; the foorde was defended with horse and foote, the enemie resolved, with an undaunted courage to gaine the foorde; the valiant defendants behaved themselves exceedinge well to the noe smale hurte of the enemie, killinge many of them, and the field peeces played on the bodie of the enemie armie. The Parliamentaries beaten from the foorde, they returne againe with double force, but againe beaten backe with greate losse, the third time they came with maine force, and soe bould that they came to the mill walls, and fought with both musketires and walle, and did come soe close to the walle, that they snatched the musketts out through the walle from the valiant defendants' hands. Some pickmen issued fourth out of that ruynous walle, soe well behaved themselves amonge the enemie horse, that how bould soever, those that were not tumbled presently, were verie glade to be ride of the furie of those faries and retired, the foorde, still seconded with fresh men was kept.

The Generall did send a relife unto the mill, but those that were already there, tooke it to hearte, as don in disparadgment of them, did not admitt them, but said, that they onely must have the honour of defendinge that place, and assured the Generall, either to make it good, or perish in the triall, wherwith was mightie pleased. Some of the souldiers obsearvinge 30 horse of the enemie partie to come unawares upon soe many of the Irish foote, upon a passadge, 30 pickmen castinge of their cloathes, except their shirts, went against the said 30 horse, in an open plaine field, and thirtiemusketiers followinge. Before this relife arrived, the pickmen had the best, and were angry and mightie offended for sendinge the said relife, sayinge they were man for man, as for beastes, said they, we doe not much care; some of that horse stayed ever since in that field, and the rest went away as they could.

The Generall not well pleased with his guner, for he perceaved he shooted too high, and did litle hurte, the peece was charged, the generall tooke a perspective glasse and sawe wheare my Lord Moore stooode. It beinge charged, the Generall did levell the same against Moore, gave fire, his aime was soe neere home, that he hitted him a litle above his corpise, wherupon all dismembred, presently fell

1643.

134.

Portlester
skirmish.

135.

Brave
courage of
comon
souldiers.

136.

1643. dead, the trunke of his bodie fallinge downe, and some of his members whislinge in the aire to take possession by flight in some other field, or made such speede to accompany his soule to hell to be assured for winter quarter next springe.
137. When the Puritants sawe what hapned, and not onely lost too many of their men, but alsoe their Generall, were highly discouraged, gatheringe the corps of such comaunders, and other men of note, as were killed, and the disfigured truncke of their generall's bodie, did putt them accordinge custome, in carts and wagons, and marched from the field. Some of the Irish were of opinion to followe them, but the generall would not give way therunto, alleadginge the same to be a stratageme of warr, to draw them out of their places of saftie, and havinge the honor of the day, and smale losse received, said he, it is not fitt to endaunger both, with a stronge and desperat enimie. What needes a riche man be a theefe? settle yourselves and stande upon your garde, least the enimie, whom you thinke now to fly and forsake the field would soone circumvent you, and force you to battle, he will sure (if souldier) give some wheeles, onely to obsearve your motion. This advice tooke hould, as grounded upon solid reasone, the enimie (as the Generall foretould) gave a large wheeleabout, lodged within a smale mile to the Irish that night, whoe thought verie he was to trie againe whether he could speede better. But obsearvinge the vigilant care and carefull vigilancie of his adverse Generall, durst not venture the seconde time. Wherefore next morninge the enimie dislodged, and marched away. Some Irish troupes followed in the reare, some hurte they did and gott pilladge, and returned to their campe without losse.
138. Generall Owen Oneyll was of transcendent reache, of very sounde witt, and beinge bred in the nursery of armes sence a boy, could not but be a prime master in the arte militarie, and not onely he but all the Vlstermen did make as it were a habitt of it; that this vertue is encorporated in them and their race, more then in any the natives of this kingdome that I knowe, this very skirmishe will therof render a large testimonie (if well obsearved), though we know not peremptorily what was the enimie losse, but what we know of it may enforme us morally of a great one, for about the verie ould mill was killed 155 men, at the foorde (beinge soe manly defended and soe valiantly opposed with great perseverance), were verie many killed in the field where the field pieces ever played on, and where my Lord Moore was killed, could not choose then be the death of many. After this fight y^e generall did send for the partie that was in the mill, gave every souldier of them 20s, to a lieutenant that was with them £4 and to an insigne 40s.
139. Castilhaven, whom wee left in the countie of Kildare, No. 132, gettinge all the garrisons, leavinge Monesterevin (which was in ancient time an Abby of S. Bernard's order), in Morish FitzGeralde of Allons custodie, poasted himself with 3 or 4 troupes to Meathe to Owen Oneyll's campe, but arrived a day after the faire, and soe did Sir James Dillon from Westmeath, for the service was don before they arrived. Owen Oneyll tould in meriment to Sir James Dillon that if advised by him he would forgoe the militia (as not suitinge to his humors) and would at ease at home courte ladies, for which he was a fitt instrument and not

Owen
Oneyll's
speeche.

Manister-
evin, an
Abbey of
S. Bernard.

for the other. Castlehaven returned backe without delay, and comaunded his men and ordinance to marche againe to Leise, to the Queenes countie. He passed through Omoy where was a garrison in Richard Oge FitzGerald's house; upon sumons presently yelded; the owner of y^e house was left there. From thence he marched to Kilmensie. Sir Wm. Gilbert, governor of Mariborough's house, sumons denied; mountinge the ordinance, the house was battered; they yeld all the deffendants, men and women fourthwith to marche to Mariborouh with a convoy. The Earle receaves a packett poaste hast, which was the articles of cessation, comaundinge him to retire with his ordinance to Kilkeny, and use noe acte of hostilitie towards the English garrisons, and what he wined since the date thereof to restore to its owners (whose date was the daye before). Upon the perusinge hereof he published the contents, in pursuance of which my Ladie Gilbert and her familie reintred her owne house, and what of her goods was founde amonge the souldiers was to her restored, and Castlehaven marched with his men and ordinance to Kilkeny accordinge orders, whoe was received with great joy by the Supream Councill, beinge most glad that they had obtained their intents, though in disparadgment of the poore Confederats.

1643.

CHAPTER XX.

As in matter of publicke negotiation, a prince ought to give nothinge in charge to his ambassador but what may stande with his owne honor and good of his state, soe in the maner of handlinge, he must prescribe him noe unusuall or unheard of forme, and for which he hath noe former precedent, seeme the motion propounded never soe plausible.

140.

Dionis.

l. 11.

Tacit. Ann.

lib. 15.

Deteriora sunt nova, quam vetera.

Noe sooner did the commissioners of cessation here of Owen Oneyll's victorie in Meath against my Lord Moore (as beinge the onely occasion of their crastinations, not his victorie, but his foyle was soe earnestly wished for) in all haste they conclude a dishonorable and disvantagious cessation with Ormond and his Presbyterian Parliamentaries. There is never a man of any shallowe understandinge, beinge indifferent, but will palpably judge the contrivers of this cessation to be both perjurers, infamous, disloyall, and treacherous. The state of Dublin and its partie, accordinge the intimation of prime authors of their owne, did sweare, if the Irish did hould out one month more, that all the Parliamentaries of Linster, at leaste, did deserte their proper places, beinge soe weake, and the Parliament of England, from whose liberall hand those received hitherunto, both men, money, and amunition, was now wearie of sendinge any more men, for unto this verie time was sent over three score and ten thousand men, since the beginninge of this warr, as I have received by the attestation of the chiefe Muster-master of Ormond, and of this number did swere unto me, there lived onely at the time of the said cessation 500 men in all Ireland, and the last time that the

First
cessation
concluded
15. Septem-
bris. 1643.

1643. Parliament did send men over unto this kingdome, was, as enformed that the kingdome was their owne, and wanted nothings but undertakers, that they did putt all the nation unto the sworde in severall battles, those printed libells were publicke, soe many thousands in such a field killed, comaunder such and such, which was meere fopperie and deceite, for neither field or comaunder nominated in the said libells were in rerum natura, onely to make the Parliament believe that the kingdome was already won, upon this paltrie enformation did send ten thousand under the name of undertakers, otherwise would send none (said this my author), untill England were cleere of troubles.

How false
their libell
was.

141. The enimie of Dublin had noe comaunder of any repute (except Ormond their Generall), but Sir Henry Touchborne, governor of Drohedae, more Royaliste then Parliamentarie (sufficient motive not to trust him with the managinge of any armie in the field), and two Colonels, Hum and Moncke. The Irish had Owen Oneyll's victorious armie in the field triumphinge, after the death of my Lord Moore, ranginge at pleasure in the counties of Meath and Dublin, and Castlhaven's partie, without opposition, takinge all the garrisons wherunto he marched, that the enimie durst not relive none for feare of the Vlster armie; but all now must lay downe armes in Linster, and notwithstandinge this poore condition of the State of Dublin, and the Irish in the posture aforesaid, the commissioners granted thirtie thousand pounde to Ormond and his Presbyterians and £800 to the garrison of the Naasse for condescendinge to the conclusion of the said cessation, the kingdome never knowinge why or wherfore. Some men gave out that this sum was given Ormond to send 10,000 men unto his majestie, which was the least of his thoughts, he receavinge dayly his men, money and ammunition from the Parliament that he should send those now against his said prime benefactors, fye, it is incredible (though unconstant as a weathercocke, and as chauceable as the moone), true it is, he sent as many as he could spare to sea, but note you whether bounde? to Monster to Insichuyne sworne then for the Parliament and for performance of his loyalltie that way, his son and heire was pledge in London: and sent others to Duncanan, revolted by ould Laurence Esmond, Lord of Linster-Limbricke in the countie of Wexforde from his Majestie, and had then sworne fealtie to the Parliament of England, in regard wherof did not agree to the cessation, but Ormond sends him relife. O loyall Ormonde.

Thirty
Thousand
Pounds,
and £800
to the
Naasse
garrison.

Ormond's
tricks.

142. All that the Irish gott by this bargaine was the exchance of fewe prisoners, that all prisoners should be sett at libertie on both sides, at the publication of the said cessation. I doe verily beleve and am confident of it, the Irish had three, nay six for one the enimie had. I do not remember any of note that was prisoner from the Irish in the province of Linster, but Colonell Cullin, Colonell Anthony Preston and Daniell oge Kevanagh. Anthony Preston had the benefitt herof and so had all the prisoners of the enimie partie, but Colonell Cullin must pay ransome, and soe he did at his owne charges before he was enlarged, the why? I never understoode yett. Daniell Oge Kevanagh a yonge man son and heire to Sir Morgan Kevanagh, was at schoole in Dublin in the begininge of those comotions, never actinge any the least thinge on either side, onely beinge of the ancient Irish stocke, and his father actor for his Majestie was comitted and kept in restraint all

Ye words
ye articles.

Colonell
Cullin
cheated by
the
Councill.
Daniell oge
Kevanagh
how by the
Councill
abused.

this while untill cessation, his friends thought now he should have the benefitt of the said cessatiōe to be sett at libertie, as well as other prisoners, but faylinge to come abroade such articles as were printed in Kilkeny perused, to be possessed of their contents, a provisoe was therein found (if the prisoner be a souldier, or in the field taken) to be enlarged in vertue of this cessation, which clause was not in the instrument printed in Dublin, nor in the manuscript of the commissioners, but as I am verily perswaded, was of sett purpose to keepe this onely yonge man in trouble, for there was none other, at whom they should aime, that clause or provisoe was anexed for his onely sake, £500 this yonge man must pay before he be enlarged, and withall inter recognizance to apeere at a peremptorie day, at the Parliament of Dublin, to be tried there, neither comissioners or councell spoke one word for him, or in his behalfe. O plusquam diabolicall proceedings. 1643.

For the most parte all the Linster Irish, now and then flocked to Dublin, he was reputed hapy that first went thither to salute Ormond, the wayes full of beoffes, muttōns, hoggs, turkisse, geese, capons, feasons, and all kinde of kitchin stuffe, goinge to Ormond. All the starvlinge English garrisons, now drawinge to the Irish quarters begginge and buyinge corne and all kinde of meat to the mightie impoverishinge of the countrie. Such gratuities and gifts of any thinge that abounded, went to Ormond and his Lady, that is wonder to see; all his owne rents, and renews as duely as in peace time, since those comotions, by the permittance of the Supream Councell went to him, to Dublin, though all his land was in the Irish quarters; they now doe noe lesse, though all his manors were in the Irish dividēt. Upon this cessation some of the quarters already in possession of the Irish, the Councell did suffer it to passe to the enemye quarter, the purest Round-heads and rankest Puritants of all the kingdome the Councell did abide, or rather choose for commissioners of devidinge quarters betweene themselves and Ormond, anythinge goinge to him the councell thought well bestowed. 143.

The
Councell's
proceedings
in divid-
inge
quarters.

I have made mention, No. 96, that Fa. Thomas Fleming took 12 garrisons perforce of the enemye, wherby he cleared all the countie of Lowth of enemye garrisons except onely Dundalke, but this cessation agreede upon this brave servitor must now sursease, and not only suspende his future actions, but what industriously by mightie danger, toyle, and labour this noble and religious warrior, did win by the bent of sworde, the Supream Councell did surrender to Ormond and his Presbyterian partie, not in vertue of any article of cessation, that ever we sawe, but by their owne free will and gratis, to enable him the more against the northern Irish, and least they should have that as a refuge from their stronge adversaries in the north, and with all that Ormond should have that countie as a passage to relive the Covenantiers of the north, now and then without suspition, which he dayly acted. I never reade a baser passage of both Councell and commissioners, what here concluded is neither honestum or utile, neither honorable or profitable. Such another never heard off, without any former precedent, that the weaker should give lawe, and the stronger obey, that the starvlinge and necessitated must have a bribe of £30,000 and £800 not knowen why, onely stat pro ratione voluntas. O enemies of God, King and kingdome, of truth, 144.

1643. justice and loyalltie, and freinds to all treacherie, misbelife, periurie, disloyaltie, covenantiers, puritanizme and faction, that a poore-fewe-giddyheaded-abortive-statists by there onely resulte should thus wickedly turne a whole nation topsie torvy. O poore nation, O more weake then goslings that forbeares such an inevitable fate, that to the present acte is anexed, but nothinge will be don—och, och—

145. This cessation was made and concluded the 15th of 7^{ber}, 1643, and was to continue for a whole yeare, upon notice had in England of this cessation, some of the Irish that served there (I know not whom) Costllagh, my Lord Taaffe, Walter Dangan and others, arrived to Irelande, but if they searved his majestie (as they gave out) I mervayle they forsooke him nowe, if they were anythinge tender of him, as I doe not beleeve) it is strange that they will leave there soveraigne in a weake posture in the field, before a stronge and potent enemy, and come home themselves to sitt quiet tipplinge, gaminge and workinge division and rent in his Majestie's subjectes which is an evident signed [*sic*] they were not tender of any the royall service, all the Earles of Ireland (except Antrim, whoe was viribus et posse for the Kinge, if he could worke accordinge desire) were then in Dublin, gatheringe there for that cessation, which was destructive to all royall affaires ever since in Ireland, which was the prime objecte of the respective conthrivvers. Dillon and Taaffe continued in Dublin to be both active and passive in the instructions of the state. I doe not know what religion Dillon was offe, onely was not Catholicke, Taaffe was a seeminge Catholicke, for all that, would not suffer (I doe not meane death) but the privation of an acer of gleblande for the furtherance of religion. Clanricarde was here, the prime actor of those tragedies to whom the Councell graunted a passe, well acquainted with his Presbyterian factione. All the well affected Irish were mightie offended for the concludinge of this cessation, consideringe its disadvantage, how base, treacherous and disloyall the councell proceeded betrayinge Kinge, kingdome and religion, contrarie to the faith and trust in them reposed, thought noe remedie but to call an assembly. Cum prima sedes a nemine iudicatur.

Concilium
episcopo-
rum Senues-
ense ad
Marcelli-
num
Papam.

CHAPTER XXI.

146. AN ill executer of lawes, is worse in a state then a greate breaker of them, not to punish an offence, beinge under our charge, and in our power, is to comitt it. There is noe greater offence unto the weal-publicke, and quiet therof, then a factious partakinge and deadly feude amonge the great ones; connivence therefore in a prince to winke at such factions, and slacknesse not to supresse them is dangerous. Qui non vetat peccare, cum potest, iubet.

Senec.
Philo.
Cicero.

Everie true hearted to religion, Kinge and nation was most desirous of the gatheringe of an assembly, beinge assured of some executions of both Councell and commissioners, soone after Christmasse the same yeare, the first in Kilkeny apeered, but the second, not as much as attempted or questioned, wherby those lawe

makers, are worst then lawe breakers, as partakinge in the same guilt and offence 1643.
 for not punishinge those factions and treacherous proceedings (as powerfull), is
 noe lesse then to comaunde such to be comitted, which will for the future prove
 disastrous: but is all the Assembly guiltie of this connivence of treason and
 faction punishment? noe, the clergie, ancient Irish and fewe of the recent, are
 herof inocent, but soe weake, that nothinge to the contrarie they can acte, the
 faction is soe predominant, O poore condition of Irish nation, on whom waites
 onely distruction and desolation, the fruite of rent and distraction. 2 Esdrae.
 2 et 3.

The assembly therefore cominge unto Kilkeny (as aforesaid), Clanricard, Tomond, 147.
 Costlellagh and Taaffe were the verie first that arrived thither, not to joine with
 the Irish (though all Irish themselves) but to withdrawe them privatly from his
 Majestie's obedience and adhere unto theire and Ormond's Presbyterian partie,
 this have been sufficient triall of the well affecteds loyaltie, seeinge those peeres
 their compatriotts, of greatest intrest in the kingdome, to infuse unto the peoples
 eares to forsake this and followe that way, whoe did not judge their advice to
 be sounde? their intentions recall? and to speake thus, out of their affection to
 their countrymen's saftie? or why should any one think, the person intrusted by
 his majestie to be generall of this his kingdome, Ormond, not, to be in a right or
 legall way, advantagious every whitt for his Majestie? or why should any man
 presume to judge of Ormond otherwise then loyall, beinge soe farr interested in
 the kingdome himself, the greatest landed man, now of a subjecte under the Kinge,
 of more freinds and alliance then any other his prediccursors and he havinge from
 the Crowne of England what ever is deere unto him, and withall his majestie
 keepinge such atouch with him, that nothinge is to be acted, either here or there,
 but must first passe through his channell to returne a relish of his pallat, why
 then, saye I, should any man presume to give other verditt of him then loyall?
 or suppose he weare not soe, whoe looseth more by that bargaine then himself?
 Those and other such reasons did those peers surmishe and whisper in the ears of
 the Assembly members respectively whoe, desired to take the oathe of association,
 refused, nay, which failinge, the onely oathe of alleigeance to his majestie was
 tendered unto them, in noe wise would doe it. What would any man judge of
 Clanricard and Taaffe seeminge Catholicks, Tomond and Costlellagh Puritants
 or Protestants, all Irish, neither for Kinge, countrie or religion, jointly or
 severally would sweare fealtie? if hitherto dubious of their censeritie, now
 by this refuse of alleigeance to his Majestie you may be assured of their
 obliquitie. *Optimates autem eorum non supposuerunt colla sua in opere domini
 sui.* 2 Esdrae. 3.

The
 infusion of
 Clan-
 r[icard],
 Tom[ond],
 Costl[el-
 lagh],
 Taaffe in
 Ormond's
 behalfe.

Those
 Peeres will
 not sweare
 y^e oathe of
 alleigeance.

Notwithstandinge all this those peeres did soe well thrive, that they perswaded, 148.
 both Councell, and many of the chiefe members of Assembly to their owne
 opinion and in the very next disposition to shake hands with disloyaltie, this
 scene soe cunningly acted, they tooke their waies to their severall homes. The
 castle of Catarlagh did belonge unto the Earle of Tomond, and though Puritant
 himself, and of one and the same sense with Ormond, the possession of his owne
 proper patrimonie was refused him, for nothinge else then as beinge of the
 ancient Irish, of the Brians, if Ormond and his adherents be soe neece in those

1643. affaires, with reason should any of the said extraction be jealous of him, and his proceedings, as not inclined to any faire meaninge or loyall understandinge. In time of this assembly arrived to Wexford, and from thence to Kilkeny an agent from the courte of Rome, called Scarampoe; it was thought first he was a Nuncio or Legat, but was not, but rather a precursor or explorator, sent before the Nuncio; he was a verie apt and understandinge man, and was received with honor, for then (though otherwise bad enough) had some smacke of religion. This man in a shorte time, became soe learned in the petegrees of the respective Irish families of Ireland, that it proved his witt and dilligence, and allsoe soe well obsearved all the proceedings of both ancient and recent Irish, that to an ince, he knewe whoe best and worst behaved himself in the whole kingdome, he caused some of his men, and specially a doctor of phisicke to learne both English and Irish, that with the familiaritie therof, may the better pry unto their severall actions. In this verie Assembly Edmond Dempsey, a Dominican frier, a son unto Terlagh Dempsey Viscount Clanmalyra, consecrated bishop of Laghlin, in the countie of Catarlagh. And soe was Euerus McMahon consecrated bishope of Clogher, havinge the fiat of Dune and Conor these two years past, though not consecrated untill now, cedinge the former two united for this onely of Clogher.
149. Scarampo arived.
- A wise man.
- Edmond Dempsey consecrated.
- Cloghar.
150. In this assembly they ordained a modell of government (accordinge the clergie prescription), essoynes and tearminires usually in the kingdome, they must now apointe courts of judicature, judges, and lawyers to pleade and here the causes. justices of azeises in each province, and shiriffes in everie countie, the world of clarks and attorneyes, a sett number of commissioners in everie countie, reccavers and aplotters. The exchequer was full with dayly taxations, customes, manopolie,emie lands, or custodiums, exceise and many other of that kinde, came dayly to the exchequer which was a world of money, but the most part or rather all was spent in dayly wages of the Supreame Councell, judges, clarks, and other mecanicall men, and litle or nothings went to the militiae. All their chiefe clarks, attorneyes, and judges weare the greatest knaves and chettingest rogues they could hitt upon, and newe comers from Dublin, for whose religion they cared not, soe they be obsearvant of their dutie to them and obedient to Ormond.
151. In this assembly there was a motion made to send an agent to Rome, imploringe his Holinesse may be pleased to grace this kingdome with a Legat or Nuncio. This motion was embraced, but by faction the nomination of this agent was left unto the Supreame Councell, whoe upon the dissolvinge of the Assembly did apointe Richard Bellings for that honourable journey; none other, either prelate or secular, would be admitted by that Councell, but onely this man, as beinge a tode in faction and a creature of Ormond. He was dispatched, went to Rome, where he was received with more honor then worthy off, if acquainted with him, gott riche presents from his Holinesse, and other princes and prelates, and withall the fiat of a Nuncio for Ireland, beinge the cause of his mission. Bellinge thus dispatched in Rome to his owne heart's desire (interime all things in due order for a Nuncio for jorney to be expected by Bellinge in Parise), he diverted here and there amonge princes and prelatse. Settinge fourth the povertie of the
- Bellings agent for a nuncio to Rome.

Confederats of Ireland, upon these intimations gott the matter of £30,000 ¹⁶⁴³ amonge, for the furtherance of the Catholicke warr of Ireland (as every foraigne nation tearmed it). Bellinge now with this purse of money for the publicke, with what he gott for his owne particular use, addressed his course for Parise, & meetinge there the banished Queene of England, gave her the said sume, all this by his owne acknowledgmet.

This brave agent arrivinge now into Ireland, never expectinge my Lord Nuncio ^{152.} post hast dispatched in Rome, was sure to overtake this agent in Parise accordinge covenant, and the rather he should stay for him, as onely sent to bringe him home, and his time beinge not limited, nor his means shortned, may stay, if some other projecte did not force his now dispatche for home, and though acknowledged the receipte of the former sum, and the dispursment as aforesaid, cheatinge the kingdome of soe much in that extremetie, all which extravagant to his comission and right opposit to his oathe, as councellor of the kingdome, for fidelitie, not onely was [not] punished for those cheates and knaverie, but not questioned at all. As for my parte I doe not beleeve that he ever gave a fardinge of it to the Queene, for he was never yett soe liberall nor soe well affected towards her, or her royall husbände, but left that sume to be rempartide betweene himself, Ormond, and the Councell, which gives foment that soone after he sent a boy, his son, over to France with a regiment, and gave out that £1,500 he would bestowe towards the preferringe his daughter. Whence those sums? if not this way? Beinge not worth sixpence in the comencement of this warr. If you were acquainted with this man's father (S^r Henry Bellings, Provost Marshall in peace time to hange poore people, and a perjured enformer, whence sucked the bloud of thowsand innocents in Ireland), you should not marvayle how impious soever this his broode be. What then would you expecte at the hands of a childe of such a father other then tricks, perjurie, craft, colution and treacherie?

^{Belling's character.}

^{Belling's character.}

It was moved in this assembly that the Confederat Catholicks should send an agent to his Majestie, desiringe he may be pleased to apointe them a Lord Lieutenant. ^{153.} Those that were well affected to the cause moved this, and aimed at the Earle of Antrim (beinge theire onely Earle except Fingall, a yong man nothings assuminge to himself). The councell and faction agreed to the motion, but had theire severall intents, for those were sure his Majestie would apointe Ormond, and soe all things would fall out to purpose. But the question was, who should be the man of authoritie and intreste in the kinge that would undertake this journey? None was founde with the said conditions, other then Antrim himself, to colour theire faction under some filme, the faction did insinuat unto his lordship that the kingdome was most willinge to honor his lordship the best way possible, but nothinge worthy his lordship of any employment was yett among them, but if he were pleased to goe towards his Majestie in the Assemblie's name, desiringe he may be pleased to assigne his lordship Lord Lieutenant for the Confederat Catholicks they unanimously would accept of him as such, and would obey his lordship in all things; his lordship was pleased, an instrument was drawen and perfected, authentickly tendered unto his lordship; all things readie for journey, away he went, tooke shippinge in Wexford, arrived where his Majestie was in England.

^{The diversitie of motives.}

1643. All this while the faction was assured of the King's graunte another way, but deceived as well in their graunte as opinion, for when his Majestie sawe Antrim and his ambashie was right glad of the choice, as now fully enformed of Ormond's treacherie, and perceaving how the Irish were inclined towards Antrim, bred in his owne bosome, his fellowe gamster and comrad verie often, of whose loyaltie was assured, had good hopes now of Ireland affaires. Upon those serious considerations of his Majestie (contrarie to the former thought of the factionists), did constitute and apointe Antrim Lord Leutenant of the Confederat Catholicks, his subjects of Irelande, dispatched him for Irelande with his patent and many faire instructions for the accomodation of the kingdome, with all the conditions that Antrim or any might desire, and to manage all things to the heart's desire of the Catholicks.
154. Antrim then dispatched arrived to Ireland, loaden with his Majestie's favors as aforesaid, sheweinge his Majestie's letters for, and touchinge the cause of his mission, the councill did winke at that matter, untill they certified Ormond therewith, whoe comaunded (as we had from a good hand) not to give way that a busines of that concernment should take roote, otherwise, he was quitt blowen; the matter came to that passe, that Antrim was threatened to be comitted into safe custodie, unlesse of his owne accorde he did renounce and disclaime in that honor, the nobleman to purchase his proper quiett, condescended to that motion, shewinge and sendinge the said royall instruments upon the boorde, by the Councill were all cutt to pieces. What doe you judge of this action? or what doe you think of this Councill, that durst handle the royall instruments desired by themselves, with such exorbitancie? I am confident they would noe better use his Majestie (if upon indifferent grounde they had him as the English and Scotts have don), then they have had his said letters, brave and loyall Councill sworne to mantaine and defend the King's prerogatives, and will disdainfully breake his letters of grace (in disrespekte of oath, religion, Kinge and peere, therein concerned), conducinge to the furtherance of the cause of the present warr, and Ormond's letters they honor and respecte, though knowne to be a traytor, doe you thinke those loyall subjects, noe—noe.
155. Generall Owen Oneyll, understandinge all those fetches to tende onely to the anihilatinge of the ancient Irish, wherof was noe bodie of an armie but what adhered unto him, which was the onely objecte of the Supreame Councill, and Linster Presbyterians, both which now in cession the militia that were not sent by Ormond to Insichuyne and Duncanan (as aforesaid) went to searve Montroe to the north, by his connivance, as for Scottlande they came in great troupes unto the north, for in Scottlande was none to oppose, but a small partie that my lord of Monrosse had for the kinge. The north of Ireland beinge now the onely place, and seate of warr in Ireland. To diverte somethinge of this diluge by the Generall's meanes, it was moved by Antrim, to have the Assembly consent for the Readshanks and other voluntiers to goe to Scottlande and raise men there, to diverte the covenantiers (which by the naminge parliamentaries, likly would not be graunted), this motion was condescended unto, Owen Oneyll did send men, amunition, and all necessaries with his two frigats for transportation with them, goinge to sea, had a prosperous voyage, arrived safe in Scotland, 500 was there

A strange
passadge
to name it
treason is
too lowe a
stile.

Redshanks
gone to
Scottlande.

number, but within a shorte time were 2,500 able men, and did verie good service 1643.
tooke many castles and forts, and demolished every such out of hand; they
multiplied every day, noe enemie withstoode them upon any odds.

You shall obsearve, sir, that the three former motions were made in the 156.
Assembly, held as aforesaid, 1643, but the execution, as Bellinge for Rome, Antrim
to England, and Reddshanks to Scotland were all the yeare followinge, as thinkinge
the same noe greate matter, to ensert all as formerly under the continuance of
one and the same yeare, onely that it be not carped at, as deviatinge from the
seientificall notice of the time of such actions.

CHAPTER XXII.

1644.

As in things we have, soe in those we doe, eache hath his proper triall, to prove 157.
the excellencie therof in his kinde: Gould by the test, the diamant by his
hardnesse, pearle by his water; soe, the best discoverers of men's minds are their
actions: the best director of actions, is counsaile: and the best triall of counsailes
is experience. Polyb. l. 1^o
Cicero.
Plato. Gor.

Scit bene venator cervis ubi retia tendat,
Scit bene qua frendens valle moretur aper.

Ovid.
Art. l. 1^o.

Now wee are come to this yeare of 1644, the assembly of the last is dissolved, and
against all their former intentions, of both punishinge and displacinge the
Councell, could doe neither, the faction greeue soe powerfull, nay left the verie same
in statu quo prius, if not in worst predicament for the kingdome affaires, as indued
with all the power possible (which doubtlesse will prove destructive) sittinge now
alone, soe many affaires are offered, that scarce they or wee, doe well knowe where
to comence, half a yeare is now spent of the cessation, at leaste, of Linster, they
may bouldly renewe their warr upon the other three provinces, wherin they have
this interim surceased, for feare of displeasinge great Ormonde. The question is
now debated in Councell, how to manage this warr, whom to intruste with
comandes to the respective provinces, their contestation or doubt is not to
apointe such of better experience, or least expenses, or more hopfull to thrive, but
to hitt on such, whose former actions in other such affaires discovered his minde,
to be totally conformable to their damnable principles, the affaires of Vlster de-
sired relie by proper motions and petitions it beinge now the seate of warr by the
accesse of both Linster Presbyterians and Scotland Covenantiers. Conaght allsoe
(though noe stronge enemie there openly) in a poore condition, those two provinces
addressed their greevances to the Supream Councell, this onely desired to imploy
Colonell John Bourke to comande there, that desired the Linster armie, as now
idle at home, to goe thither. All the Councell's proceedings this yeare (if well
obsearved) is a tragedie to comply with those desires, they nominat Castlhaven
(one of their owne seize) Generall for the expedition of Vlster, with full power,
not dependant either of councell of warr or other whomsoever, it was thought
that Preston or his Lieutenant-Generall Huigh McPhelim would be the comander,
or else would cast it on Owen Oneyll himself, which was not sutable to the faction

The
Councell
debate.

Resolution.

Castle-
haven to
Ulster

1644. principles, the Councill was sure any of those in comaunde for that expedition would doe very good service, which would prove ominous to theire intentions, but to give the petitioners satisfaction they comaunde the armie thither, but to comply with proper, they apointe this instrument of sedition, subornation, faction, and treachery, whom wee leave, bringinge his armie unto a bodie for a while.
- Castle-haven's character.
158. Colonell John Bourke apointed comaunder in chiefe in Conaght, whose affaires were too lowe brought by the privat workinge of Clanricarde and Coote, that none shewed his face in the field against a poore little partie of very Conaghtmen that searved under Coote's comaunde (this Coote and Clanricarde are cossen germans by theire mothers) this brave souldier by the reall asistance of the well affected of Galwaie made upp a considerable partie, and out of hand did leager the ryall forte of Galwaie, which was then by Clanricard's meanes verie stronge and pernicious to the borderinge Irish, though many rubbs hapned to hinder, as well his promotion, as the intended service, yett by his owne vigilant care, he battered and won the forte, givinge the deffendants quarter of their lives; this peece of service have Colonell John Bourke achieved to the exceedinge content of Galway men (which was Clanricard's vy upon the towne,) and to his proper honor and fame, after the forte was in his possession, rased the same levell unto the grounde. This forte in ancient time had beene a monesterie of Sainte Augustin's order.
- Clanricard and Coote cossens.
159. From thence this warrior marched to Castle Coote, and though the man was a brave souldier, was not putt in posture of service; 9 or 10 weekes he was about that castle, ordinance and other ingines, dayly promised never arrived, notwithstandinge managed the busines soe well that the deffendants starved. All both provision and amunition was spent wherby forced to yeld, in capitulation sworne to surrender the castle next morninge. Clanricarde theyre good benefactor herof informed by a proper dispatche comaunded the captain of the garde that night, one Bourke, to send in unto the deffendants what provision and amunition his lordship did send by the presente adresse which was punctually done by the Captain; the castle thus relived next morninge, insteede of surrender (accordinge oathe and covenant) the enemie bestowed the assayllants a volly of shott, in token of defiance, the reliver was knowen, and his abettor, but the comaunder somewhat weake, durst not punishe the offender. Coote and his partie were sworne for the Parliament, and this much knowen to Clanricarde, did relive him. All that the Colonell could doe was to stoppe all the passadges against any further relife. Coote's freinds obsearvinge the danger of that castle, caused the Councill to call Colonell Bourke home, and quitt him of his comaunde, which noe sooner moved then graunted. Thus Colonell Bourke for his loyaltie was displaced, such not sutable to the times. Non est conveniens luctibus ille color.
- Monestery of S. Augustine.
- A brave and faithfull subjecte Clanricarde
- Clanricarde and Ormond. Colonell Bourke disbanded.
- Ovid Trist.
160. A brave armie.
- Castlhaven now readie to marche to Vlster, with that power not plus ultra, the Generall and Lieutenant-Generall of Linster must sitt still now, as peacable men, and give way to this warrior, to prove courage in a pigmaean bodie together with his Linster forces; he had from Monster 3 foote regiments and 200 horse, Lieutenant-Generall Purcell (another ejusdem farinae) was his Lieutenant-Generall for that expedition, the bravest armie for the quantitie that could be seene, 6,500 foote and 1,400 horse. Marchinge therfore in this equipage to Westmeath received

intelligence from Generall ONeylle (resident then on the borders of Meathe) that 1644.
 the enemie marched towards Fyana, our counsell-generall undervaluinge all
 difficultie, comaunded John Buttler, Montgerrot's brother, now Generall of the
 horse of Linster, to marche in all haste to Fyana and make good that passadge.
 Buttler arrivinge thither, usinge many bravados, intringe the courte, fell to his A tiplinge
comaunder.
 ordinarie pastime, carrouzinge and peeping, havinge horse and foote enough to
 deffende the passadge, comaunded none to stande in any posture of defence, onely
 three or four troupes he comaunded to stande before the bridge on Ulster side,
 whoe not longe there when they sawe the enemie's forlorne hope neere hand. The
 Irish thought they were onelie scouts and advanced towards them. The bodie of
 the enemie armie was in a valley neere the said forlorne hope, whom the Irish
 could not then see. The enemie obsearvinge how the Irish advanced fained a Fyana
skirmish.
 retreat, to drawe them on, cominge soe farr, as they weare within a pistle shott
 to the bodie of the enemie armie, wherewith amazed, made the best use they could
 of their spurrs, though prejudicious to their steedes, whoe proved not soe shwifte
 but lost by the bargaine 30 or 40 men.

Captain Gerald FitzGerald taken prisoner, disarmed, three horse were left to keepe 161.
 him company, the rest followed the route; examininge his pocketts, tooke out his
 purse, himself beinge a tale burly man, held the same over his heade, the trouper
 contestinge whoe should have the handlinge thereof, as promisinge somethinge,
 eache called to him for it. When he sawe he could not hould them longe in suspense Capt. Fitz-
Gerald
escaped.
 in this childish tricke, he trewe it off, as farr as he was for the present able; two of
 the three followed the purse, the third man stayed with the prisoner as more
 tender of him then of his share of that bootie. The Captain obsearvinge how
 busie the two keepers were about the purse, the enemie here and there dispersed in
 action, and himself left onely to one man, havinge yett of all his armes left him a
 skine tied to his very skinn, he drewe out the same and trusts his keeper therewith,
 unto the verie hafte under the lower ribb; leavinge both keeper and skine, away
 he goeth towards the river, beinge neere hande, and his owne partie and horse one
 the other side, he swimed over in spite of the enemie horse that followed him, and
 thus this noble Captain escaped imprisonment.

Upon this begininge of affaires, Buttler and his partie deserted Fyana, a stronge 162.
 place, and all the borders beside to the enemie mercie, in a routinge maner retired
 towards Mollingar. The enemie intringe Fyana burned the same, the brave house
 of Carrollstowne and severall other places without resistance, turned all to ashes,
 as not intendinge to inter farther in the countrie or leave garrisons anywheare
 there, not that he feared Castlhaven or his brave armie (as havinge such a triall
 of him) but rather fearinge Generall Owen ONeyll, though then with a smale
 partie in respecte of Castlhaven's multitude. The enemie returned the same way
 to the north.

This evil presage of Castlhaven's future service in the north, notwithstandinge 163
 he made such preparation that promised rare things. Greate quantitie of pure
 wheat was levied in the counties of Westmeath and Kinge, to make munition
 breade for the whole armie; newe great ovens builded in Montefernan, Athlone
 and Birr, extraordinarie baekers picked out in all the kingdome for this purpose.

1644. All the cotts and boathes of the severall loghs, and Inhy comaunded for the transportation of this brede from Montefarnan to Castllogh: All the garrans of the countrie busie in the cariadge of the corne to mills and ovens and of the brede to Montefarnan aforesaid, all fallowe and tillage was by this stopped, many a man beggered, and undesearvinge men bettered by this trafficke, himself and his armie still billeted on the countie of Westmeath all the while to the exceedinge prejudice thereof.
164. This busines settled, havinge receaved intelligence that the enemye marched, towards the countie of Dune farr enough from him, he began his marche, and Generall Neyll, on the enemye side marched still foremost, untill both the armies arrived unto the countie of Ardmagh. Generall Neyll all this while was perswaded in his owne opinion, in regard that Castlehaven was noe souldier, and hapily desirous of honor, would be directed by him, and would doe nothinge without his consent, but was not all this while in conference with him, both their armies encamped. Generall Neyll tooke the paines to vissit this moderne Generall, conferringe with him, found him as farr from his former beinge, as heaven and earth, honores mutant mores, as havinge his instructions otherwise, now must acte all himself, independent of either Owen ONeyll or a councill of warr, onely what Lieutenant-Generall Purcell did surmishe, that did hould, neither did he share with Generall Neylle or his partie the meanes given by the kingdome for the expedition of Vlster, rather reputinge, them strangers in this action, then any way associats and confederats for the one and the same service.
165. All this observed by Generall Neyll, havinge his campe aparte, as not communicatinge either the profit or honor of this service, gave way to his men to scatter amonge the keraghts, as their safeguard, except the matter of 2,000 foote and 300 horse, that he kept in campania to waite on himself. Poore Castlhaven, a stranger in the countrie, and a novice in the arte, did not knowe what to doe, or how to begin, against his stamocke. In this exigent, he sent for Generall Neylle to learne what best to doe; the enemye was the matter of 20 mile off then. Generall Neyll adviced him to marche on, towards Blackwater, neere the Banna, thither he went. The Generall's aime was, that if the enemye did retire from them parts, to follow him as farr as Drumore Iueagh. The enemye enformed that the Irish marched towards them, went to Drumore aforesaid, and left a garrison there, and a mile or two from thence made halte and encamped. As soone as Castlhaven arrived to the foresaid foorde of Blackwater and sawe the situation of the place, by nature very stronge and safe, onely to defende the said foorde, by noe perswasion would marche any further, but pitched his campe there and began to worke very hearde in makinge half moone sconces, place of armes; such earnestnesse he shewed to bringe this great and needlesse worke to a finall end, as if he were to winter there, or as if he had don it for the defence of a cittie or forte of greate concernment. All the souldiers must labour and this all day longe for a fortnight or there abouts, to the noe smale admiration of Generall Neyll, whoe encessantly perswaded him to the contrarie, tellinge him that worke would doe more mischiefe unto the countrie, then profit unto him, for the furtherance of the cause in hande; nothinge will he doe but what he please.
- 166.

The enimie enformed of the childish behaviour of this Linster generall, marched towards him; some scouts tould Castlhaven the enimie was neere hande. Scarce had he the leasure to apointe some horse and foote for the defence of the foorde, when the enimie apeered. Both bravely advanced towards the foorde, and began a very hott skirmish, both the armies flockinge to gaine or defende the foorde, as the onely passadge, by the losse of many on both sides, and specially the enimie lost double number was beaten backe, wherby y^e Irish horse encouraged passed the foorde to pursue the enimie, whoe behaved themselves excellent well; Generall Neyll seeinge how the Irish horse did chase the enimie to route, adviced Castlhaven to passe the foorde with the bodie of his armie, and second that brave partie of horse, and did undertake would doe very good service, and would goe as farr as Drumore and possesse the same, a brave passadge, will ever keepe the enimie off, and your sutlers and cariage will safly come to the campe, without any danger, but never thought to be adviced by him, stayed in his sconces and did not relive the horse, as desired, whoe overswayed by the multitude, came off verie faire, though with some losse.

1644.
167.
Blackfoord
skirmish.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE sune shineth brightest through a vapour dispersed, and vertue shewes her best lustre upon an encounter. Men therefore that would stande before others in glorie, must strive to breake through the mistie clouds of all passions and perturbations, that theire vertue may shine above others in worth, such contention as this to be best, is the whetstone and spurre to courage and well desearvinge, but an emulation to be first, is the remora of all goode service.

168.
Bod. rep.
l. 4.
Livius. l. 10.
Amirat. l. 2.
Tiberius ait.
Ovid. Met.

Non pares, sed titulis et auctoritate differentes, mitterentur.

Sic ego torrentem qua nil obstabat eunti,
Lenius et modico strepitu decurrere vidi:
At quacunq; trabes obiectaque saxa tenebant;
Spumeus et fervens, et ab obice seior ibat.

The enimie knewe now by experience that he had not to deal with that brave and renowned souldier Owen ONeyll, whose worth and reputation iustly purchased in the warrs, was liklie to advance much this affaire of Vlster if comsunder of soe considerable a partie, but was to deale with this refuse of humane nature, in greater favour with the Councell then desert anon souldier, whoe proved to be such, or worste, by the omission of the former occasion rallied now his men readie to marche towards the Irish in a full bodie, herof enformed Castlhaven without more adoe, marched away towards Charlemont, leavinge his brave workes untouched in the same posture. Generall Neyll not acquainted with the Earle's intent, untill alreadie departed, whoe cominge to the same place, where encamped formerly, demolished all the workes leaste the enimie would fortifie himself there, to the future prejudice of them parts, which don marched on leasurely, with his men and keraghts, untill arrivinge within a mile to Castlhaven. The enimie

1644. marched as aforesaid, unto the foorde where Castlhaven did lodge, and findinge him not there, and the works demolished, marched forward towards the countie of Muneaghan and lodged within 5 miles to the Irish, betwixt them and their suttlers, and cariadge every day slaughteringe the shuttlers and cariadgemen, takinge others prisoners, soe that all necessaries were now stopped to come to the Irish campe, wherby the armie in generall and specially the Monstermen died apace, for meere want. Many bickerings hapned betwene these camps: the enemy had still the worste. One day Captain David, the Germane mentioned No. 107, goinge with a partie of horse to scoute, starke drunke, was taken prisoner, and lost some of his men, where he continued for a whole twelmonth, for Castlhaven would, neither by ransome or exchaunce have him enlarged, untill Generall Neyll brought him out as hereafter.
- Captain David taken prisoner.
169. Generall Neyll did send Castlhaven worde that he should remove his campe towards the reliefe of his shuttlers and neere the enemy, assuringe him he was not as stronge as was thought, and that he was more in number by odds then the enemy, and farr better appointed, if otherwise, said he you doe, you may be acertaind you will be a meane to starve your men, which would prove a worlde of pittie, though this resulte was both reasonable and behoofull, cominge from that font, will not be admitted sounde, but will continue where he endured the former extremitie. Many shuttlers and provision was in the campe, but the souldiers starved, as havinge received noe meane to buy meate, and the munition breade was now stopped, wherby in good earnest they starved, that unmercifull destroyer of armies, famen, proclaimed mortalitie in the campe; the keraghts in sight were verie well guarded by the vigilance of their proper Generall, though furnished them with beefe at 40^s. a peece: he continued here for 6 or 7 weekes, where a great number of his men died, and did noe service. Amusinge now upon the matter examininge all his shallow witt, how to steale away, as unknowen to both enemy and Owen ONeyll, but could not digest the same, without the privitie of the scientificall. Generall ONeyll, perswaded him in person, as earnest as he may, to the contrary, alleadinge to have received true intelligence from the enemy campe, that he was to marche homewards, as beinge wearie of lyinge soe longe there; and many of his men alreadie forsooke the campe, faininge some excuses and infirmities (wherof are not a fewe) as your Lordships have continued hitherto in this place (though contrarie to any sense) stay for two monthes more, and I undertake by that time the enemy will dislodge and goe home, and then your lordships without a blowe will have the honor of the field, and may follow him, or doe service in the province at pleasure. The Linster Generall answered, that he had noe provision in this interim for his starvelinge armie. I will, said Generall Neyll, bestowe 200 beefes on your campe, and 200 more will I give you upon tickett, and if this will not doe, you shall have more upon the same score. All this was verie faire and true, for the enemy was really intended, as was formerly suggested.
- True intelligence and honorable advice.
170. The Linster Zeudo-Generall was never soe earnest to departe, nor soe desirous to dislodge, as when he had those proferes (which should be the onely baite to force his embracinge of that advice, if but one sparke of honor did harbour in his never-

faithfull breste), for anythinge that proceeded from Owen ONeyll, in his idea, was either policie or some stratageme, he not capable of either. Never discoveringe his intentions to any, onely to Lieutenant-Generall Purcell, neither to horse or foote, marchants or shuttlers, about 8 o'clock in the afternoone (somer time) he comaunded the horse to come home and make readie, tellinge not why or wherefore. Everie one thought he was to marche towards y^e enemie, those that weare of any abilitie or strenght were very glade that such an occasion were offered to change that fatall place, for some other clymate, but deceaved, for as soone as the horse were readie, without the sounde of either trumpett or drum, by a crier comaunded to follow. Castlhaven, himself the foremost, did gallope away with his horse, never lookinge after, leavinge all his foote, marchants, shuttlers, sicke and weak men to their fortune, or enemie mercie; all began to halte after to the countie of Cavan, leavinge all their bagg and bagadge for the most parte behinde, thinkinge himselfe hapie (leavinge all) that could sarve himself, though pursued by none, those poore men's guide, onely the tracte of horse, but dubious whether freinde or foe.

Arrivinge now to the countie of Cavan without breathe, everyone with a starvinge countenance, like men that escaped shipwracke, or terrified with the unaccustomed sight of some extraordinarie ghoaste, or as risen from their graves, and goinge to the universall judgment. Such was their feare, their trimbling, their groanes and sighes. Their Generall made some stay for the foote cominge by odd men, that he might inter into the confines of Linster with a bodie, though not such, as he had cominge from thence, for the fourth parte of the Monster men weare miscaried, as well in the way now cominge as in the campe deade, as for the Linster men, they were more hardie to indure then these, though many of them died.

Generall Neyll never dreaminge of such a dishonorable flight untill next morninge, seeinge himself now left alone, comaunded his keraghts to marche before him towards Muneaghan, and removed himself after; but the enemie the very same night marched away, fearinge the Irish, as informed by their spie that the Irish horse was readie late that eveninge, was assured of their attempt upon their campe, pursuant to this intimation marched away (as y^e Generall did ingeniously provide as formerly) but a partie of the enemie horse, continuinge untill morninge in a straight passadge, to make good the same, if thither the Irish directed their course, to hinder their further pursuinge the armie: this horse verie curious, obsearvinge noe smoke, noise or other signe of an armie to reside in that place where formerly the Irish campe had beene, after consultation had what to doe to be better informed, marched to the same place, where they founde onely some sicke persons, and much pillage and armes, killinge the poore people, burned the campe, and caried away as much pillage and armes as they were able for the present, but left behinde a world that they could not come by.

Generall Neyll notified of the burninge of the Irish campe, callinge presently for horse, horse, as beinge assured, that the enemie was the author of that burninge, for Castlhaven durst not doe it, as not to give the leaste suspition of dislodginge, he marched towards the place, aiminge to overtake that partie, which the enemie obsearvinge, dispatched away the best he could. Henry and Brian Roe O'Neyll

1644. with some light horse followed, the enemy encumbered with the spoile could not make such speede, as for his saftie was requisitt, must either exonerat himself therof, or lye at further hazarde of life, choosinge the leaste of evils left the bootie and away he went. Some fewe of theires tired and worst horse were taken, to render an accounte for all, those prisoners taken and the pillage recovered, returned to their owne partie: thus the enemy had the honor of the fiede, though fled away the same night. Both these soe timide and fearfull that they contested in their owne idea whoe should fly first, but Castlhaven lost the honor, profitt, and his men without a blowe. Generall Neyll marched after his keraghts to the countie of Muneaghan.

174. Castlhaven now in saftie in the countie of Cavan, stayed there 3 or 4 daies, not refreshinge, but expectinge the discomforted arrivall of some of his now poore armie. Such as were able to go in a bodie went alonge with him, and too many stayed behinde, either to followe to Kilkeny, or turne to their proper homes, or to their graves, as for him their patricide-generall indifferent. All their weaknesse and infirmitie proceeded of famen, notwithstandinge the extraordinarie preparations, to the undoinge of two counties as aforesaid, that promised montaines of gould for ill managinge of affaires, not knowinge what belonged unto, nor would be adviced by the craft-master thereof, by the lustre of this his action, his vertue is now knowen, he must needs be preferred before others in glorie, but not above any in worthe, his emulation is not of vertue to breake through the mistie clouds of all passions, but to be first in preferment to shewe his activitie in the perpetratinge of horride and fatal treasons, partly is observable in the famishinge of this brave armie, for, if any way tender of the intended service, going to a wast countrie the first thinge he should be warie off, was to secure the passadges wheare his shuttlers and cariadge was to goe, and to provide that the enemy did not come betweene him and his provision, which otherwise would prove disastrous; and omittinge this, why did not he pay the militia their meanes (having received from the kingdome £30,000 for that expedition), that they may buy beefes, milke, and butter from the keraghts, but never a fardinge did he pay them but for one fortnight in twelve weekes, soe that all the profitt acruinge from this suborned Generall, was the losse of one moytie of that brave armie, noe service. £30,000 in his buggett, two counties impoverished, in takinge away all their corne, and stoppinge their tillage for the future.

A brave
Castle-
haven
Audley.

175. It is true that he did cast all the blame of this non-service upon Owen Oneyll, but wrongfully, for he would not be adviced by him (as above severally touched), but was led by his owne privat instructions, which proved the publicke distruction of the kingdome affaires, and soe did Owen Oneyll averr in Kilkeny, before the man's face, in open assembly, proved him to be a traytor, and desired redresse accordinge the lawe of armes; the matter was examined, the partie convicted, notwithstandinge was taken upp by the Councell. Some seeminge satisfaction was given Owen Oneyll, therwith not pleased, though comaunded to surcease further prosecution, severall complaintes issued against him by the souldiers and comaunders for their meanes; this was smothered, noe accounte desired in the kingdome behaf, nor he or the Councell did pay the militia; however they doe, Owen Oneyll must continue with his keraghts in Ulster, lett him sinke or swime.

Castlhaven
proved
traytor.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1644.

THE defecte of vertue is comonly much worse then the excesse, because this, though it overpasseth the golden line of mediocritie, yett it hath much in it that still relisheth of the vertue, whereas that other extreame of the defecte never comes neere it. Hence is it that the passion of feare is of such force, as by it the timorous are caried to more precipitate resolutions, through dispaire then the timerarious through inconsideration. Soe violently are they tossed in the sea of dangers, that have lost theire anchor of hope.

176.
Arles. l. 2.
L. 8.
Martial.
Diog.
Laert.

Degeneres animos timor arguit,
Timidi parcere nesciunt, et seivus agunt.

We have made mention, No. 154, of the affronte given the Earle of Antrim by the Supream Councill, and the abuse don to his Majestie in his instruments, the noble peere sensible of it, if ever of power to doe, which soe vehemently boiled in him, that he could not dissemble it, but said publickly before some of the same Councill, that he hoped in God, ere he died, would be of power in that verie towne, to cugle in publicke streete the best of them all, in this though otherwise a politician, shewed very little for the time did not seame, neither his majestie the king in any posture to enable him therto. Seeing himself, therefore, idle, without any employment, nor in requeste with his mecanicall Councill, took shipinge and went to France; but the Supream Councill was soe malitiously bent towards this peere, that they were not satisfied in being a meane to banish him out of Ireland, but must allsoe send after him a supercedeas some belyinge character or false information, to cry first, least he did begin the plantiffe, that he was like to be imprisoned there, but havinge got intelligence of the danger, went to Flanders, and petitioning the Courte of Spaine, was honorably intertaind, gott armes and amunition, and some prime men and good Catholicks bought for his lordship's use, and for the furtheringe of the Catholicke warr of Ireland, two faire frigutts, at £1,500 a peece, puttinge himselfe, armes and amunition to sea, went to Scotland, where his lordship and his freight was welcome, to his Irish partie (soe the Reddshanks and theire adherents were called), though thitherunto went bravely forwarde this reliefe did highly encourage them. Vpon notice of this brave reliefe, others did joine with them, soe that within a shorte time were 3,000 men. All the roundheads there would rather fly to the very devill, as they said, then fall unto theire hands; night was as good for theire purpose as day, in regard the cuntry was left wast; they suffered much penurie, though with godly patience indured, followinge still the enimie to their cittys Edenborough and others. One day in sight of Duneduin, 6,000 of the enimie came and apeered in the field, 2,500 was onely there extant of the Irish Scott, yett gave them a pitch battle, where those Machabeyans broke upon the enimie, had the slaughter of 3,000 of them, and the honor of the field, the rest of the enimie retired unto the citty; by this meanes, Scotland rather wanted reliefe from Ireland then able to send any. Antrim left them there, and arrived with his frigatts to Ireland, and landed in Wexforde, where he apointed some of the best sorte in that arte captains of those frigatts, which, with the two

What
might this
be? Seeke
for.

177.

Brave
Redd-
shanks.
Eden-
borough
skirmish.

1644. others of Owen Oneylls, did scoure the coastes, and brought in many rich prices, to the great advantage of the Confederats, if well managed. Antrim continued in Ireland, rather to accompany his Dutchesse then for anything else.

CHAPTER XXV.

178.

Xen. Pæd.
lib 8.
Plat. in
The.
Ovid. Ep.

PRINCES are said to have many eyes and longe armes, because their understandinge is enlightned by many, and theire power is exercised afarr off. As, therefore, nothing is more needefull to them then faithfull counsellors, and upwright executioners of their will, soe nothing is more perillous, when the partie whose service is used, directeth his counsells or actions to his owne particular advantage.

An nescis longas regibus esse manus.
Ipse decor recti, facti si præmia desint,
Non mouet, et gratis pœnitet esse probum.

Bellings'
tragedy.

Bellings as No. 152 mentioned, by his ambashie, beside what he gott particular for himself, gott the £30,000 aforesaid, accomodatinge the same to his owne desire, arrived to Ireland to give notice of his negotiation (and though gained soe much by it), will now give a rubb to hinder its execution (as not expectinge any other such quantitie), scarce was he abourde a shippe, cominge for Ireland, when the Lord Nuncio, destined by his Holinesse for Ireland, the fruite of his mission, arrived to Parise, whose name was Johanes Baptista Renuncini, Prince and Archbishop of Firma, a brave, upright Prelate, where beinge enformed by Ormond's faction (parte I believe of Bellings' haste home to acte this scene) that all Ireland was peaceable already, and made their conditions, the honorable Prelate would not believe soe dishonorable a deed, as verie earnest of his cominge to this kingdome, and he usinge all celeritie possible, that after all would prove so impudent, as to cheat both his holinesse and himself his minister; thought it allsoe impossible, that a busines of that graine, should be so soone perfected, and brought to that hopelesse issue.

179.

The
Queen's
inticinge
speeche.

In confirmation of this severall letters were founde in many hands to the same effecte, averringe the former suggestion to be true, nay severall gassetts both in printe and manuscripte apeered settinge this rotten and counterfeit warr, for true and reale, in whose hands soever hapned, were presently presented unto his lordship, as a token of their respective tender care of his service, and saftie, in soe much that the verie Queene of England, then in Paris, assevered, what his Lordship already heard out of Ireland was most true, and to give a rellish unto this venomous drugge contrarie to its nature, by the inticinge perswation of feminean pallat, said she was sorie that his Lordship was not there, at the time of composition, for she trustinge in the good reporte she hearde of him, would be satisfied with reasonable demands in temporall busines, as for spirituall, said she, I would rather further, then any way hinder, but in other matters, the Irish spoke too high, though satisfied with, for, the condition wee are in at present, will not give way to crastinations, or stande longe upon points with subjects, and specially such as are of my owne religion, as the Irish be. Is not this, think you, a stronge

faction, that the verie Queene is of it? though poore soule she did not understande herself, or the grounds of those factionists, noe lesse then her proper destruction, and the disenthroninge of all that is royall.

The multiplicite of those intimations, the varietie of subjects, the diversitie of instruments aperinge, nor the seeminge good colification of the authors suggestinge, did either alter the constant resolution of this Princely Prelate, or worke in his minde the impression of faith-givinge-belife, though somewhat waveringe in the fantasie of his memorall power. Judginge it a blemish in his honor to turne backe, (beinge the sole objecte of the factioniers,) without a proper relation from the verie nation that sent for him, nor judginge it reason conformable to envolve his person unto present fate, incident to sea-jorneyes, by pyrat and otherwise untill, as aforesaid, certified, thus, like a ship with contrarie and recent winds, tossed to and fro, though riche with sailes and stronge tackles, havinge made truce with some, continued her course of freshe, soe by his retirment ruminatinge of the former principles, resolved at lenght to send a brave noble cavallier, nephewe, to that brave warrior Spindola, whoe kept his Lordship's company, as a precursor before him to Ireland, to be enformed how disposed towards him, and this to certifie his Lordship either by a proper addresse, or by the nation resulte. Accordinge he founde occasion to acte therto sutable. This noble cavallier, dispatched in France, arrivinge to Kilkeny like himselfe, shewed the cause of his mission, and what enformations my Lord Nuncio receaved in Parise, which hindred his beinge longe agoe in Ireland, and complained of the non-compliance of the agent, to expecte his Lordship in Parise accordinge promise, whom he beleevd was the actor of those scenes. This nobleman was truly and really enformed of all the proceeds by the well affected. Interim that this noble cavallier was in his jorney and resident in Ireland, the Queene never gave over perswadinge my Lord Nuncio of the veritie of the former opinion, and therfore that he should turne backe to Rome. Paintinge those foperies with that sugeringe taste befittinge her sex, this batteric was soe frequent, stronge and inticinge, that this noble prelate, thought his victorie, of perseveringe constant, consisted onely in flight; therfore without once takinge his leave he went to Rochell, where he was verie privat, as not to be knowen unto that great assayller of his constancie. Yonge Spindola obsearvinge all things in Kilkeny unto the quicke wrote his letters unto my Lord Nuncio, how matters weare caried, and adviced his lordship to come, with as smale a traine, and as little tumult as could be, and to land in Limbricke, as then neuter, obeyinge neither Ormond or Councell. This Spindola, esteemed a politicke, wise, and sage cavallier, fell sicke, and unexpected died (and by many understandinge witts, was poysoned as was given out by the factionists), to the high greife of the zealous.

1644.
The
effect of
faction.
180.

181.
Spindola
came to
Ireland.

The Queen;
I say
nothing.
182.

Spindola
dead.

CHAPTER XXVI.

NOE man is more bounde to be true then he that is trusted, nor any more carefully by us to be tendered, then they whoe by our meanes, and for our cause, are brought in case not to helpe them selves. It is therefore a shamfull thinge in a chiefe

183.
Cicer. Offic.
lib. 2.
Silius l. 11.

1644. to give hostages for keepinge of articles capitulated : and after by willfull break-
 inge of them, to leave the liues of those pledges at discretion, and the enemie
 Ovid. de mercie—"Turpe erit in miseris veteri tibi rebus amico: Auxilium nulla parte
 Pont. 2. tulisse tuum."

His majestie was fully enformed that Ormond was totally and really for the
 Parliamente for that parte, or branche of it, the Presbyterians that beared sway
 then, but havinge the sworde in hande, and his faction soe domineeringe in all the
 whole kingdome of Ireland, with Scotts, Insichuynes, Conaght and Supreame Coun-
 cell, thought verie dangerous to proclaime him for such, or make the leaste shewe
 of diffidence, rather to amuse the man with inticinge and attractive baits, trans-
 cendent unto those that the Parliament alreadie bestowed on him. His Majestie
 therefore created him Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and knight
 of the most noble order of the Garter, thinkinge this to be sufficient motive to drawe
 him to be really for him. After those brave creations, he sent him full authoritie
 to conclude peace with the Catholick subjects of Ireland, upon any conditions, soe
 they send his majestie 10,000 men to England, this published, Commissioners were
 dispatched by the Confederat Catholicks to Dublin, to treat and conclude of peace
 and settlement, pursuant to the King's Commission; arrivinge thither, a house was
 assigned them, to lodge together.

Ormond's
 creations.
 King's
 commission.

184. Ormond grewe now to that height of honor, that he thought not it sutable to
 his greatnesse to admitte those to his presence, but spoke by writtinge, once in
 twentie-four howers. A little billett was transmitted unto them containinge onely
 one querie, which by such another time they must answeare by writtinge, like-
 wise transmitted; nine or ten weekes they spent in this childish or schoolish
 toyes, without actinge nothinge to any purpose, protracting time and spendinge
 excessive meanes. A booke apeered in printe of their proceedings wherein no-
 thinge was contained pursuant to either nation desire, or King's comaunde, onely a
 heape of such conditions as he would expecte for the ministrie, or his owne Pres-
 biterians, and others his owne partie, insupportable, and never a worde in the
 behalfe of the Irish, better then the former slaverie they were in, and nothinge at
 all assured untill his Majestie therof possessed by the Lord Lieutenant, Ormond,
 which was onely to borow time, and to trie his Majestie's patience, in sendinge soe
 often unto him to this purpose, and never actinge anythinge accordinge his royall
 desire. All his excuse in this was, that his majestie was weake in the field, and
 therefore gave him that scope (upon any conditions, etc.), for otherwise he would
 never condescende to such a proposition; for my parte, said he, I will not ground
 upon his weaknesse, nor graunte you such conditions, which otherwise would not
 be graunted. All this is fixion, colution, and treacherie, disablinge herby his
 Majestie, which is his noble aime, as hereafter will apeere, which is a shamefull
 thinge, beinge trusted in his now extreamitie, though never bestowed him such
 creations and preferments as aforesaid. Thus thrived the Irish with his Majestie's
 commission of settlement to Ormond, to be at excessive charges, without the least
 benefitt.

185. His majestie herof certified, knewe well where the poyson worked, and though
 in minde heighly discontented, could not helpe it, onely gave authoritie to a prime

* In margin, in more recent hand: "Jan. 21, 1644."

benefactor of his owne, the Earle of Clanmorgan, a sage and politicke peere, to conclude a settlement betweene his Majestie and his Catholicke subjects of Ireland, and in vertue therof to send 20,000 men over for the royall service, whose commission for this purpose is as followeth—

CAROLUS REX.

Wee reposinge speciall truste and confidence in your aproved wisdom and fidelitie, doe by these as formerly, as under our greate seale to all intents and purposes, authorize and give you power to treate and conclude with the Confederat Romane Catholicks in the Kingdome of Ireland (if upon necessitie any thinge be to be condescended unto, wherin the Lord Leutenant canot see well scurve, as not fitt for us, at this present publicly to owne), and therefore doe charge you to proceede accordinge to this our warrant, with all possible secrecie, and for whatsoever you engage yourself upon such valuable considerations, as you in your judgment thinke fitt, wee promise upon the worde of a Kinge and Christian to ratifie and performe the same that shall be graunted by you, and under your hande and seale, the said Confederat Catholicks havinge by their supplie testified their zeale to our service, and this shalbe unto you in all parts a sufficient warrant. Given at Oxford the 12 of March, 1643, subscribed.

Clanmorgan's commission.

To our trustie and welbeloved cozen, Edward Earle of Clanmorgan, &c.

Observe how Ormond was knowne by his Majestie not fitt for him, and that this peace might be verie secrett onely to conceale it from Ormond, least he give a rubb unto it (as hereafter you shall see he did); how pliable his Majestie was to graunte the Confederats good conditions. This peere arrived to Kilkeny shewing his comission; the well affected were exceedinge joyfull, but nothinge would please the faction but what came from Ormond. We leave this nobleman in Kilkeny, and speake of other occurrences.

Ormond and Clanricard movinge unto the Supream Councell the disbandinge of Colonell John Bourke, No. 159 touched, as not fitt for their ends, and presented in his place my Lord Taaffe, by whose onely motion was confirmed by the Supream Councell chiefe comaunder in Conaght, though never sworne to either Confederacie and King's alleigance, a prime member of Ormond's partie and faction, authorized by the confederats, as aforesaid, and at their charges he goeth to Conaght, where he and his enemie was one and the same partie, what townes were surrendered unto him, he left in the hands of the same deffendants swearinge obeydience unto the Lord Leutenant. Did ever man see such a transposition of affaires? Such a ridiculous scene, that is rather a dreame then any settled or reall busines, the Catholicks bestowing the comaunde and charges on Taaffe, for the service don to Ormond, enlarging the enemie quarters, by the effusione of their proper bloude and meanes, and after all charges borne, and discomodities sustained, the same enemie, as formerly in the self-same garrisons, what more palpable treacherie, or more benuminge sorcery can be invented? All the well affected cried out to this brave and faithfull Councell for redresse.

186. Taaffe, Generall in Conaght, and how he behaved.

An impudent treason.

After long consideration the Councell did recall the authoritie given Taaffe and in his place did apointe Mollaghlin Quely, Archbishope of Tuame, a brave prelate (but alas! to his slaughterhouse) the co-comaunder of Taaffe, his own vncler Sir

187. Taaffe disbanded.

1644. James Dillon, was chiefe man in this prelat's armie, a prime pillar in Ormond's buildinge (though sworne to the confederacie) takinge to hearte the displacinge his said nephewe, was soe farr caried by this passion, and soe farr engaged, in the faction that he never made scruple of his oathe to the contrary, thought now to avenge on the inocent that suposed wronge, though it fall on God's minister, marchinge therefore towards Sligo, the comaunder most desirous to doe service, in all things verie eminent and sure, onely in the practise of the arte militarie, was not soe experte, as not trained therin, left this, with pregnant reason to the arbitration of practitioners, and the doome of a councill of warr, himself zealous and godly, suspected none as not obnoxious of any guilte that he conceived.
188. The armie lyinge within 5 miles to Slygoe, as fearinge noeemie, for Sir James Dillon dayly and howerly perswaded him to be of courage, and not to feare, as havinge received intelligence of the enimie's beinge the matter of 20 mile off, and durst not venture soe farr, beinge a weake partie in respecte of ours. Sir James now and still presumed too much in his owne intelligence, many gave belife and thought it true, but were deceaved, as this prelat was now lulled asleepe by those poisoninge druggs, confidinge too much in the securitie of the place and former intimation, gave way that his campe was neither guarded by watche or scoute, (though not his fault but the under officers), which was the sole objecte of his advicer, the enimie well enformed in what a carlesse posture the Irish campe stooode, (gotte theire intelligence from the verie campe,) marched soe warie and secrett, that they were not seene, untill alreadie intringe the campe, Sir James tellinge now the Archbishoppe that the enimie was at hande and desired him to save himself the best he could, scarce uttered the last syllable of this compendious speeche, when leavinge his comaunder and campe, sent worde unto his owne men to follow him, and save themselves by flight, beinge obsearved, the enimie rushinge forward, where (likely certified where the archbishop had bene) tooke him prisoner, killed some of those that beared him company, but did little hurte to such as fled away, now assured that theire prisoner was that great prelat, they suffered all others to goe at pleasure, hanged and beheaded this eminent prelat. Such is the fruite of faction, in these our daies, as of adulterie in Herod's time, that seeinge wee haue not yett a Baptiste to beheade him, will pay it in the execrable betrayinge of a most worthy Archbishoppe, whose like in godlinesse, liberalitie and zeale was not to be had in Ireland.
- Treason of Sir James Dillon.
- Mellaghlin Quelly executed at Sligoe.

 CHAPTER XXVII.

189. Phil. Apoph. Flor. l. i. c. 5. Terent. Eun. Silins. l. 1°. WHOE putts to sea for a long jorney, and at a greate charge must resolve to hould on his course against all winds and weather, or accidents, that may offer to stopp him. Soe a Prince farr engaged in a greate action, must wrastle with all difficulties rather then quitt the interprise. Better it were to foresee the dangers at first and prevent them, or desist from the motion. But beinge once embarked, on he must, whether he win or loose, with a Cæsarian confidence at the Rubicon, and

• In margin here, in more recent hand: "17 Oct., 1645."

a Spartan resolution to goe on with the sworde, or fall on the sworde, for in this 1644.
he putts his fortunes vppon triall, but in the other is manifest shame and losse.

“ Et fractis rebus, violentior vltima virtus—ozar morir da la vida.”

Prov. Hisp.

The Supream Councill is abused, and its authoritie scandalized, countenancing and securing an abominable patricide, in the No. 175. You may observe that Castlehaven was convicted of treason, and collected for his owne proper use the £30,000 given him to defray the armie, noe accounte taken, and many complaints apering. Notwithstandinge all this and the non-service in Vlster is now by the Supream Councill authorized Generall for Monster, with both Linster and Monster forces, and £30,000 more for his armie meanes is assigned him, and all this because Ormond's minion, that the enemie there may taste of his mercie, to spend onely the confederats' money, and by his non-service there, to enable Ormond to wrest either peace or cessation from the said Confederats, his armie was recluted with traine bands; those of the Monster forces, that were not discontented, for their voyage to Vlster, were comanded to waite on him at Cashell or Clonmell. Away he marched with the bodie of 6,000 foote and 2,500 horse, from both the provinces, with great ordinance, batterers, bumbs, and all necessarie ingines, with many tents, pavillions, and waggons.

When Insichuynne was enformed by the enfluence from Dublin (if neede was to 190.
goe soe farr) of this warrior's marche towards his quarters, retired to his garrisons, did man Corke, Kinsale, Bandonbridge, and Yoghill, himself with the surplus of his armie, retired to Barry Iland, left all the countrie beside to Castlhaven's devotion, whoe marchinge through the countrie without resistance, tooke Caperkuyn, a stronge place and a brave passadge, leavinge there for governor one Ffennell, a captain of horse, a nephewe to Dr. Ffennell, the Councillor, took Lismore the Earl of Corke's house, upon demaunde all castles surrendred; not to diminishe his armie, left all such castles in the same hands as formerly they have beene, promising fealtie onely to his Majestie's government in Ireland, as not publickly to nominat the Lord Lieutenant Ormond, though soe intended. Thus bravly marched on untill arrivinge neere Yoghill encampinge there before the towne did send sumons, which was denied. Many bickerings there hapned betweene them, still the enemie provinge weaker. Before this time Insichuynne desired the Parliament to send him as many men, as for that present they might spare, about the same time that Castlhaven did sitt before Yoghill, severall companies came from the Parliament, pursuant to the former desire, landinge in Yoghill, goinge in unto the towne, the inhabitants wantinge noe such relife for that present as havinge men enough of their owne, by degrees dismissed those, as to other garrisons, but they enformed of Castlhaven's affection towards them styryng toward his lordship, enforminge that they have been of his Majestie's partie, and were severally taken prisoners by the Parliament in diverse occasions, and now sent over by the Parliament aforesaid to Insichuynne and did wishe themselves in Dublin, and humbly desired his Lordship to be pleased to further their said designe, and your Lordship disposing both mercifully and honorably of us (havinge escaped from this garrison) we hope the rest of our comrads there residinge will follow us upon the same score. Castlhaven

1644. most tender of those his contrimen, as many as came to hime of this sorte (beinge rancke puritants) he gave his passe with a straight comaunde to use them very well, and give them a through fare wherever they came, as longe as Castlehaven continued in Monster. Such heapes of these came every daie to Linster goinge to Dublin, wherby he eased Yoghill, and all other garrisons there, and enabled Ormond, as aforesaid, whoe thithervnto was very weakc.
191. This Irish armie in its march one day, tooke prisoner one Christopher Brian, a brother to Insichuayne, a noble true man, nothing like his exemplare, was noe martiall man, as being loyall to his majestie and true to his nation. Inischuayne would not give him any comaunde of any repute, betweene him and the best note in affection of the Irish was great correspondencie, being notified by his brother for such was so disrespected, as aforesaid, that he staid behinde in the contrie to live peacably, as not fearinge the Irish, for the reasons above mentioned; but knowne to be Insichuayne's brother, was taken prisoner and sent unto Kilkeny, where not soe honorably used as behooved one of his rancke; takinge the same to hearte, gott a sicknesse, and soone after died, whose sudaine death was severally thought off.
- Christopher Bryan taken prisoner and died in Kilkeny.
- yt he was poysoned.
192. Some flyinge reporte was diffused abroad that Yoghill did labour with extremitie of both amunition and provision. Castlhaven herby encouraged, caused a forte of earth to be builded at the mouth of the haven, and mounted some ordinance there; the matter of three or four shippes arrivinge to the harbour were not obsearved by the Irish untill past danger, and the towne (if any thinge it wanted) was by this relived, those fortmen excused their said omission, that such a miste hapned at that verie time, that for their lives they could neither see or heare the sayles passinge buy. The towne thus relived, he raised the siedege, ranged here and there with his armie in the cuntrye without doinge the least hurte, onely findinge his armie, neither did he goe to leager any other inland towne, which did in vaine expecte such a relife; it was blazed abroad that if he did attempt Corke would carrie it, and wininge the same did disptache the service of Monster, nor did he man any garrison or straight passage to secure himself and his armie duringe his aboade there, but spente the same dalyinge with the service in hand, much time spent, and litle or noe service don. Severall complaints apeered against him before the Councill, at lenght against the Supream Councill's stamocke, Preston was apointed Generall in steede of Castlhaven, and manage the affaires of Monster.
- Castle-haven's trescherie.
193. Generall Preston marched with a goodly partie, freshe men, horse and foote, from Kilkeny, with a supercedeas to Castlhaven to the campe, arrivinge called a councill of warr, Castlehaven (havige had true intelligence from Kilkeny how matters were caried) absented himself from the same councill, insteede of renderinge it obeysance, in all hast boasted to the Supream Councill, there made his apologie, whoe so well thrived, that presently he obtained a countermaurde of Preston's former order. Arrivinge to the campe shewed his orders of later date, and his did the Generall shew the councill of warr. Such as smelled faction adhered unto Castlhaven, and others to Preston, thus by the Councill's appointment two Generalls with unsubordinat power in one and the same armie, was in the field, neither obeyinge the other, or either said by a councill of warr. When Generall Preston sawe this catastrophe, as many as followed marched to Yoghill,
- Two Generalls by faction of one partie at once in Munster, Preston and Castle-haven.

thought at leaste Castlhaven would second his designe in any thinge conducinge to the publicke good, but was deceived for he tooke another course, and would not styre accordinge his carde, but had 6 or 7 miles still betweene both, whereby Preston was disabled for any service against a towne, tooke some turrettts from the enemie, but havinge a small partie, was forced the same againe, and retired as farr from the towne as Castlhaven, he could never bringe this suborned Generall to any atonment. Both these Generalls went up and downe the countrie without actinge any the leaste service. Thus the service of Monster, marred by the disgovernment of the Supream Councell. At lenght both were called home, their respective armies dispersed. They left three score men with Captain Pierce Brennan, in the forte of earth neere Yoghill, and noe reliefe neerer then Kilkeny, which with the rest is an odd peece of busines. Those Generalls arrivinge to Kilkeny, Castlhaven must have the preheminiencie of chiefe Generall of Linster, which was to have a garde at his house, and none other to have the like.

Noe sooner were these brave Generalls of Linster out of Monster, but Insichuyne and his partie shewed themselves in the field, and regained all the garrisons that were formerly won by the Councell Generalls without one blowe, nay Caperchuyne a stronge place, and within 4 or 5 miles to the Irish quarters, was surrendered upon summons by Captain Ffennell, and insteede of punishment, was promoted by the Councell to be major of horse. The enemie marched to the forte where Captain Pierce Brennan was neere Yoghill, being summoned to yeld upon honorable quarter with his ordinance, bagg and baggage, he refused, bids the enemie make triall of his courage. Artillerie mounted, they batter a quarter of his forte; 3 daies and soe many nights they were at it, some considerable parte of the defendants were killed, the breache seconded by an assaulte, the defendants did breake them off with greate losse. The enemie desired a parley with the comaunder, sent him a saf conducte, cessation of armes agreed upon duringe his beinge in the adverse campe and for the captain's further securitie hostages were remitted into his forte, the captain apeeringe, concluded his quarter, which was to marche to Dungarvan with his artillerie, bagg, baggage, amunition, armes, and all that was in the forte, the enemie to bestowe cariage and convoy: all this was granted. The interim that he was abroade drawinge this quarter, inventorie was made by the enemie of his deade, was above 300 and several wounded. In compliance of his quarter the captain marched awaye, arrived to Dungarvan (then for the Irish), left his ordinance there (but soone after both towne and ordinance was delivered to Insichuyne) marched to Kilkeny to give an account there of what concerned him, though played his owne part better then any other there, nay then all the whole, notwithstandinge for his good service was noted, not to promote him, but to keepe still under, gave him orders to reclute his company, but kept him off to be of the standinge armie. This was the remuneration of him that opposed couragiously the enemie, and such as did not are esteemed, honored and promoted.

1644.

194.

First
treason of
Captain
Ffenell
for Caper-
quinn.

1644.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

195. VICES are stronger in the adverb than in the adjective, and so be virtues; to do that is well, is better than to do that is good, for a man may do what is honest sometimes against his will, whereas in all virtuous actions there is a free election. That judge therefore whoe giveth sentence before both parties be heard, may judge the right, but not aright; a greater injustice it is to heare the equities of the defendant's cause and yett doome for the plaintiffe, for this man doth neither justly nor justice,

Aristoteles
Eth. 5.
Senec. Med.
Publ. Min.

Male verum examinat omnis corruptus iudex.

Wee made mentione of the Earle of Clanmorgan, No. 185, residing in Kilkeny, with his royall comission of settlement, which will not take effecte untill the arrivall of My lord Nuncio whom wee left in Rochell, but now accordinge the reall good wishes of Clanmorgan is landed in Limricke, accordinge instructions, as above mentioned, where he was received with exceedinge joy and gladnesse, makinge some stay there experimentinge the pulse of that people, reduced the cittizens to union and conformitie with the Confederat Catholicks, which was sure testimonie of his tender care and godly zeale towards the affaires of this nation. Duringe his aboade there was solicited by messengers and letters to come to Kilkeny; at length overcome by intreatie, arrivinge neere Kilkeny, a greate traine of the Councell, nobilitie and gentry went to meete him in his journey to conducte his Lordship with decorum unto the citty, with exceedinge greate joy was received with many gratulatorie poems and learned orations, everie man and woman in the exterior shewed a smile in his countenance for the safe arrivall of this princely Prelate, hopinge to be the head peece and prooffe of the Irish nation, and that he would reduce the perjured members of the Confederats to uniformitie: others were not wantinge, that interiourly bledded fearinge the faction, by his meanes to be lesse prevalent; within 3 daies after his arrivall, shewed his comission and instructions, upon perusal therof all, nemine discrepante, did aplaude, magnifie and extoll, and allsoe receive him as extraordinarie Nuncio lawfully sent by his Holinesse, and there before his Lordship did renewe the oathe of association. He brought with him a brave quantitie of gould and silver, thus accepted of the Supream Councell, sworne not to doe any thinge concerninge peace, cessation or warr, either at home or abroad without his leave and consent. He called a congregation of the clergie, to knowe their sense in the peace to be concluded with Clanmorgan. In the interim many vissitts late and earlie did Clanmorgan bestowe on him. My lord Nuncio enforced of Clanmorgan's integritie towards his religion, and greate care towards his Majestie's service, many rubbs came in the way to hinder this peace, by the Parliament partie, Ormond and his State of Dublin, and withall the verie Queene had a hand in the busines, that an English prieste stylinge himself the Queene's chaplaine, presuminge soe peremptorily that he did speake in publicke assembly against it, and Clanmorgan's authoritie would

call in question. Noe peace would please this man, unlesse passed through the channells of Ormond, these and such like agravations were most pleasinge to many pallats. 1644.

About this verie time my Lord Diggbly arrived to Dublin. This Diggbly was secretarie to his Majestie, duringe his trouble in England. His Majestie was on service in the north of England, left this his secretary in the easte with 1,500 horse, and orders to raise men there, that were willinge to asiste his Majestie, but could not unlesse by a seeminge compulsarie way, they were drawn unto the field. His Majestie applyinge this man as aforesaid went to give the alarum elsewhere himself but prevented by his enemie multitude, did send his severall orders to Diggbly to marche towards him, whoe neglectinge to obey from time to time, delayed untill his Majestie was disapointed of the intended service, and the expected relife frustrated. Diggbly perswaded the Kinge would take this verie ill, bethought for his proper securitie to betraye the trust reposed on him, and became a member of the Parliament, pursuant therto workinge with the said Parliament, did send the enemie worde that he was to marche to such a passadge with soe many horse, which might be easily surprised. 196.

Diggbly arrived to Ireland. His treason.

This intelligence sent, noe delay interposed, the enemie came to the place apointed, Diggbly did pass the passadge with a 100 horse, left the rest behind (which likly was the covenant), the enemie fallinge upon this horse all easily yelded. Diggbly rode on still (as if not privie to any thinge that hapened) untill he came before the Ile of Man, faininge some busines from his Majestie thither, embarked himself, and left the horse to the enemie mercie. From the Ile of Man tooke his course for Ireland, arrived to Dublin, though this treason was publicke in all Ireland before his arrivall thither. Ormond at the same time beinge father unto a new borne son made choice of my lord Diggbly to be godfather unto this infant, whoe was christened under the name of Diggbly Buttler. This man provinge soe fatall to his Majestie, a prime member of his sadd condition, was now goshope unto the Lord Lieutenant Ormond, and none soe deere unto him as he; this man was the onely antigoniste of the Earle of Clanmorgan, left noe stone unmoved to hinder his proceedings with the Catholicks, and that purpose went now and then to Kilkenny to infuse those things unto the eares of such as he knewe were willinge to embrace the same, as instructed in Dublin. This man Taaffe and Costellagh, as postilians too and fro betwixt Dublin and Kilkenny had noe repose, all the intelligence and secrett intentions of the Irish Councill and State was by those Mercuries intimated to Ormond. 197.

Diggbly, godfather to one of Ormond's broode. Though traytor.

Ormond's Mercuries, Taaffe and Costllagh.

All impediments notwithstandinge, peace was concluded, accordinge his Majestie's instructions, with Clanmorgan, all conditions to the heart's desire of all nationall and indifferent men, either clergie or laitie. The peere himself was highly pleased. 10,000 men were to be transported to England from the Catholicks for his Majestie's service fourthwith, with armes and amunition, in pursuance wherof officers and comaunders apointed for that expedition. Amonge the rest was one Waringe, who was at present Lieutenant Colonell for Sir James Dillon, now nominated Colonell Waringe, and Captain Bernaby Geoghegan, spoken of No. 87, was lieutenant colonell. His brother Art, his owne lieutenant was now captain, and his insigne, Matthew Geoghegan was now his owne captain lieutenant. The 198.

1644. matter of 6,000 were neere Waterforde, expectinge the remaine of the number dayly flockinge unto them to be transported. All things now readie (as was thought) onely a Generall for this armie. Severall opinions touchinge this particular were broached. Some would have Owen Oneyll others Castlhaven, Taaffe or some one of the faction. Others would have Clanmorgan himself to be their Generall, as Catholicke and to his Majestie very loyall, the matter brought to its now period the enemie of all Godly and loyall proceedings, faction must now rouze it self and give the alarm otherwise, which was, that they held any peace suspected, unless confirmed by Ormond, the King's Leutenant, this beinge once moved by them must prevayle.

199. Clanmorgan must goe to Dublin to that effecte, though seriously and truly perswadinge them to be needlesse, for his power was immediat from his Majestie, and needed noe other aprobatation then his, as the instrument doe sett fourth, wherein his Majestie vowed as a Christian and a Kinge, to ratifie and confirme what Clanmorgan did engage himself unto. All this (though alias sufficient and reasonable) will not doe, they are more sure of Ormond's worde, then of the anointed protestations. This is the seconde time the Councell did rejecte and villipende the King's authenticke letters, as in Antrim's graunte No. 154 and this present. Agents [were] dispatched to accompany Clanmorgan to Dublin. Nicholas Plunkett and two more thither arrived on Christmas eave. The Agents were welcome, but this greate peere of England and extraordinarie ambashadour from his Majestie was comitted to the Castle, against the lawe of nations, and the particular priviledge of such a peere, whoe could not be imprisoned, other then under the greene canopy, the Agents simulatunge a flight, returned to Kilkeny rendringe an accounte of what hapned. The well affected were highly discontented, but the factioniers had their intent. The Councell expostulated the Lord Leutenant with lettres for the restraunte of that peere, and desired his enlargement. He would neither sett him at libertie, or shewe cause for his restraunte for a fortnight, the lord Diggby alleadged against him that his comission was subreptitious, as never passinge through his hands, beinge secretaire, therefore not valide. They thought to make this treason (as forginge the King's hande and seale) against the noblman. Beinge examined Ormonde certifies the Supream Councell, that he will not approve of that peace, nor give way to that armie, to be transported, if the Generall thereof be not at his election. After serious overtures in this matter, his intentions were knowen, to fix his objecte on his goshope my lord Diggby (notwithstandinge his former treasons against his Majestie) to be Generall of that Irish armie. The Catholicks did listen and wincke at the business to have Clanmorgan out. Now enlarged after 4 weekes restraunte, he would never condescende that Diggby should be Generall, and soe would none that was either loyall to his Majestie or true to his nation or religion. Ormond certified herof, wrote to his Majestie, tellinge him (as if with a frowninge countenance) that he suspected his loyaltie, in sendinge a by comission by Clanmorgan, never giving him the leaste notice therof, and could not but be sensible of it. This, with many other such audacious words he writes unto the Kinge.

200. His Majestie obsearvinge the distemper of the man, and that without any grounde picked quarrell, havinge experience alreadie, to his losse, of his crafts, feared to



yeld the least suspition of jealousie openly to his publicke revoult, of two evils choosed one (in his own opinion the leaste), to disclaime in Clanmorgan's comission and peace. The poor Kinge was perswaded that Clanmorgan knew his intentions concerninge him, and that all this was don to oblige Ormond. This was authentikly printed and receaved as truth. True it is that he wrote that peremptorie letter unto his Majestie, as aforesaid, but that his Majestie did disclaime in the peace and comission is false. Rather the contrary; but the former suggestion was forged and printed in Dublin, as is notorious. However if Ormond and his abettors did hitt upon that treasonable stringe, duringe Clanmorgan's restraints, they might colour what was don amisse to this peere, and thus was Clanmorgan's peace rejected, and his Majestie not relived by Ormond's treacherous faction.

1644.

Clanmorgan's peace rejected.

I mervayle what moved the Provinciall of the Minors this yeare, Brian M'Gillacoynny beinge, alias learned, obsearvinge the obstruction of the Supream Councell, did cause his friers to sweare obedience to the said Supream Councell and association. Noe other religion that I know did sweare any such. What their associations did in their congregations was sufficient; but this Conaghtman, to indeere himself unto the Councell, that they may speake a good worde for him to enjoy a meeter he will shewe himself more extravagant then others of his ranke to their obeysance, whoe have been still of Clanricarde sense in Conaght, though taxed for, by his owne order. His instrument is as followeth :—

101.

Quandoquidem tam seculares quam regulares cleri convocacione visum fuerit, presentium rerum statui convenire quod uterque clerus associationis juramentum (sicut hactenus cetera Regni membra) praestarent. Hinc est quod nostro munere, in hac parte, satisfacere volentes, vobis subditis nostris cuiuscunque qualitatis ac conditionis, in virtute sanctae obedientiae praecipimus ut praefatum associationis juramentum praestetis. Idque hoc ordine: Primo Guardianus quilibet seu Praeses coram comunitate juramentum praestabit, postea a suis subditis excipiet, quo facto teneatur post 24 horas in virtute sanctae obedientiae praesentes ad proximiorum conventum ordine infra scripto transmittere, cum testimonio authentico executionis horum ad R. P. Fratrem, Petrum Darcy, Diffinitorem cui ad hoc nostras vices commissimus in Provincia Lageniae. Datum sub sigillo minori nostri officii 9^o Novembris 1644.

Praecipimus ut illa authenticatio praestiti juramenti transmittatur ad P. Fr. Petrum Darcy, Diffinitorem qui eam remittet Kilkeniam ad R. Adm. P. Fr. Joseph Euerardum.

Fr. BERNARDUS CONNIUS,
Minister Provincialis.

This good man will not trust any bodie (with this extraordinary tendernesse of his censeritie to the Supream Councell) but those religions that are inative styrrers of the present and other faction; he is a good man, but a greate temporizer, an healinge spirit; to name the conuents here wherunto this instrument distined is needlesse, which are of Linster.

1645.

THE SECOND BOOK OF THIS DISCOVERIE FOR
THE YEARE 1645.

CHAPTER I.

202.
Terenc.
1. 2.
Senec.

THE Councell of State is the Cabinet of the Commonwealth, deliberations the Jewells and Secrecie the Locke which shutts up this treasure from others, on which nothinge more advanceth the publicke busines. Hence it is that confederat Princes intimate many times to the world the generall cause of their consultation, and reserave to their owne secrecie and for better times the particulars of greatest moment—

Alium silere quod voles, prius sile.

Wee have finished in the last both yeare and chapter, doe begin in the presente with the yeare 1645. In the frontespice therof wee will place the takinge the regall forte of Duncanan, now in the Parliament hands. We made mention, No. 141, that ould Laurence Esmond, governor of Duncanan, revolted from the Kinge to the Parliament, and did not agree to the cessation betweene the Irish and Ormonde which now continued a yeare and a halfe. This Duncanan greatly hindered the trafficke of a great part of Linster, and specially of Waterforde and Rosse, for noe shipp could arrive unto any of those porte townes, wherfore the inhabitants of those respective townes verie often made their suite to the Councell, to be pleased to comaunde Generall Preston with an armie to leager the said forte, and that they would endeavour to gratifie both Generall and armie to their abilitie, at present they pleaded noe excuse, as havinge that armie was to be transported, and now stopped neere hand, which without tumulte may unhearde off marche thither. The fiat graunted, the Generall soe tedious in addressinge himself, that the Parliament of England had a reliefe readie afoote to be sent unto Duncanan before the Irish Generall shewed himself in the field (which proved *ex diametro contrarie* to our former auxiome,) but God Almightye kept off the said reliefe, by an unseasonable time for a flete at sea, for the space of 6 or 7 weekes.

202.*

Generall Preston with all necessaries befittinge a seidge and a good armie arrived to Duncanan, made his trenches a farr off, and by degrees both daie and night, by triangle and quadrangle worke, came a pistle shott neere the forte, every hower playnge on another, some losse on both sides, the deffendants behaved themselves exceedinge well. The governor, ould and unable to acte any thinge in this exigence, Lalue a Frenchman ingenier for the Irish caused a truncke to be caried by night to the place where the centrie perdue was, and within the truncke some wilde fire in maner and forme of a bombe and granados, which by the openinge therof would kindle and take fire. Next morninge the deffendants

* Thus in MS.

obsearvinge the said truncke, they addresse themselves for a sallie, to bringe it 1645.
 unto their owne custodie. The Irish entrenched neere, seeinge the enemie cominge
 as aforesaid, dissemblinge a cowardly flight accordinge orders, retiringe, left the
 pretended bootie to the deffendants, they very joyfull handlinge the same, found
 it promisinge noe vacation, but verie heavy, cariinge it unto the forte, some were
 verie desirous to breake it open, others, better advised, thought to enform the
 Governor of it, agreed upon, the ould dogg tould that he feared some stratageme
 of warr to be therein inclosed, that they should be warie of it, leaste to prove
 ominous, to leave it in the sea for 24 howers, and then may freely examen it,
 though this resulte was reasonable, some of the souldiers had not that patience,
 gave the truncke a blowe, to make him believe he desired what within it
 contained, upon receipt of that blowe the truncke answered with a thunderinge
 voice, that it burst in peeces. The whole campe hearde the noise, and was sure it
 did much mischief, it did onely kill one woman, wounded two souldiers, and
 burned a cottage that belonged to the garrison, others gave out that it burned
 their storehouse.

This was the verie best siede that was yett in Ireland, most plentifull of all 203.
 necessaries, both of pay, amunition, shuttlers, all kinde of liquor. Waterforde and
 Rosse complied with their promise, the souldiers accordingly most couragious
 and forward, many bould attempts they made on the walls, with losse on either.
 One night the assayllants did carie away their boates, the cables tyed to the verie
 post of the posterne doore, on the sea side beinge well watched, they cutts
 the cables, and carries the boates away, to their owne greate praise, and the
 enemies exceedinge losse, the best comaunder that was of the deffendants was killed,
 one Laurence Lorcan, this defuncts lieutenant was captain in his place, an
 audacious spitfull fellowe, did severall times mounte the walle, and speake most
 basely of his countri men, in scorne and defiance, the ordinance and bombs
 goinge very thicke. This Lorcan lyinge on the walle the ordinance goinge, the
 bullett hittinge on the walle, away goes a stone by the force of the bullett, which
 reboundinge on another opposit wall, after the said rebounde, hitted Lorcan on
 the heade and killed him presently. The death of this onely man discouraged all
 the rest, notwithstandinge they endured some fewe daies after, the bombs mightie
 troubled them, they must now stay within their forte, and not mounte the walls,
 as accustomed, the bombe (now or never) one day hitted in their storehouse to
 their high discouragement.

The Governor an ould and crafty fox now began to know himself to be mortall 204.
 and to be saluted now and then with the panges of deathe, and his best souldiers
 already killed, seeinge noe relife like to come, a more tempestuous time could scarce
 be seene, though now in that poore posture he rather amused of quarter then of
 God Almightye, they sounde within for a parley, that graunted, hostages yelded on
 both sides, a minister from the forte and Oliver Darcy a Dominican frier, a brave
 intrudinge companion from the campe, their quarter, as much bagage as they were
 able to carry on their backs, lives and armes, a convoy to their choice garrison,
 next day yelded the forte. The Generall . . . * very . . . sorie for the losse
 Oliver
 Darcy,
 after
 Bishops of
 Drumore

1645. of Duncanan. Some bodie did putt this garrison in . . . * on, why did they make choice of Dublin, they for the Parliament and Dublin for the Kinge? they . . . * ed that they were sent from Dublin, by my Lord Lieutenant a fortnight before the siedge, as a reliefe to the garrison, and in all good reason, should turne backe thither now, for, we said they make noe distinction betweene Kinge and Parliament, but wheare wee are comaunded by my Lord Lieutenant, O brave royalliste.

Ormond's
loyaltie.

205. Within 2 or 3 daies after the surrender of the forte, 7 or 8 shippes from the Parliament came to the harbour, as reliefe, thinkinge it still their owne. Some of the Irish went to the campe, as to simulate a siedge, those in the forte did set up the Parliament colours, whoe began to defende themselves against their presumed assayllants, the shippes did send a cocke boate with 5 or 6 men to learne how matters went, arrivinge to the porte, the Irish not as politicke in this busines, as required, discovered themselves too soone, the shawlopp men were kept within, those of the shippes suspectinge the forte to be for the Irish, hoisinge saile turned to England, to give an accounte of their late arrivall to Duncanan. The rumour of the taking of this forte was soone spred through the most parte of Europe, now manned for the Irish, one Thomas Roche, a captain of foote, was left there with his company, a native of that countie of Wexford, another captain from the Generall was left there. This Roche was a reall servitor and most constant in his principles, accordinge his oathe of association, and continued soe without blemish unto his dyinge day. The fort was called now Saint Patricke for it was delivered up soone after Saint Patrick's day. My Lord Nuncio went thither to be goshope at that christeninge. Waterforde and Rosse were verie glad for this service. Wexford lost much of his trafficke by it. Generall Preston made it farr stronger than ever it was, with brave rampiers about it, that it was impregnable, unlesse by famen or treachery was hearde to force it.

CHAPTER II.

206.
Aristoteles
Eth. lib. 2.
Plut. de
fortitud.
Alexand.
fol. 344.

THE defecte of vertue is comonly much worse then the excesse, because this, though it overpasse the goulden line of mediocritie, yett it hath much in it that still relisheth of the vertue: whereas that other extreme of the defecte never comes neere it; hince it is that the passion of feare is of such force, as by it the timorous are caried to more preceperate resolutions through dispaire, then the timorarious through inconsideration. So violently are they tossed in the sea of dangers that have loste their anchor of hope—

Quæ enim plus a medio distant esse magis contraria videntur.

The noble Earle of Clanmorgan now experimentinge the worlds instabilitie, his peace rejected by Ormond's faction, his Majestie disclaiminge his comission (as was given out, though soe forged in Dublin) for intertaininge his Majestie in his own house, against the Parliament was proclaimed traitor in England, was ignorante what best to doe. This peere was married to a daughter of Henri O'Brian late Earle of Tomond, brother to this now extant, this Henry

* MS. torn.

died without issue male, left onely two daughters behinde, wherof one was married as aforesaid, and the other to the son and heire of the now Earle of Tomond, as both Puritants made noe scruple of either divine or humaine law to the contrarie, the portion of Clanmorgan's wife assigned upon her inter-mariadge, not payed some lands in the countie of Clare assigned him duringe the non-payment therof, he sues the Supream Councell for granntinge theire orders to inter possession of the said estate, the Councell did favour his lordship thatt farr, his wife by this arrivinge to Ireland, pursuant to the former Councell orders, both peere and ladie tooke their journey towards the countie of Clare and seats himself in Innishclun—

Ormond and his faction examininge all their wittes, to invent a new scene, to frustrate this peere of this suposed comforte, to bringe this fatall designe to the period of its wished end, had two strings in his bowe that one faylinge, the other could not misse, the Lord Lieutenant therefore seriously adviced the Earle of Tomofnd] (all this while behavinge himself neuter, and consequently not troubled by either partie) to be ronciled to his cossen Insichuynes (whoe alias were foes) and caused my lord of Muskry, Tomond's nephewe, to worke this attonment, not for any other intention, then to worke the destruction of the K[ing's] partie, the Catholicks, and to impower the Prespiteriants, which reconcilment was to be perfected conditiona[l], that Tomond did give upp his house of Bonrattie to Insichuynes, upon the hands of some prime comaun[der] of his: whereby would mightily indeere himself unto the Parliament, and would therby prove most gratfull . . . *
 both did nominate for governor of Bonrattie Colonell Adams
 thither arrivinge with 600 men possessed himself of that brave house, and most comodious for the future trouble of the royallists. But before the arrival of the said Colonell and his partie, Tomond did bringe in the walles of his house all his gould, silver, and plate, made up the same againe, and leaste any such to be suspected, caused all the roome to be plastered and rough cast with fresh and hott lime. The garrison takinge viewe of the house, and settlinge there, would not admitt his lordship to continue there and soe must packe away: Some knave or other discovered the sheltringe his coyne, as aforesaid, wherupon the souldiers tooke hould of his lordship, and must tell where his treasure lay, or swared to kill and distroy him, to reede himself of that eminent danger, he revealed the truth, before his own verie face tooke all from off the walle, and would not bestowe himself a fardinge of it. This was the begininge of Tomond's fortune and covenant with those brave factionall peeres as for his other compliyanse, you shall in due place be accertained off.

1645.

207.

Ormond to deceave his owne uncle.

The first stringe of Ormond against Clanmorgan.

The other stringe of Ormond's bow, that he worked a dislike of Clanmorgan's seatinge himself, as aforesaid, in the hearts of the gentrie and nobilitie of the countie of Clare, as beinge a forraigner and loath to contest with the Supream Councell, as all the Brians (except the two peeres aforesaid) beinge of their partie, as was given out, either for that jealousy, or for their niative amitie towards, Insichuynes, did worke the meanes that he should come to the countie of Clare, and seate himself there, wherby Clanmorgan, volens nolens must quitt that

208.

The second stringe, whereby deceave many loyalists.

* Some lines torn from top of MS.

1645. countie, which those gentlemen would never have don, if they understoode the fetche and consequence of it, as after to their losse did experiment. By those sinister and colloquinge meanes, Insichuynne did inter possession of the house of Bonratty contrarie to his expectation, which was of dangerous consequence for Limbricke and all the countie of Clare. He builded a forte in Bonratty that did master all shippes, to and fro Limbricke. Many a friende had Insichuynne alreadie in Limbricke, as beinge waveringe since those comotions, therefore to be now looked unto, havinge this fox before their doore.

209. My lord Nuncio very zealous for the comon good seriously perswaded the Supream Councill to acte some service comodious unto the publicke. They pleaded povertie, and disabilitie, his lordship made a motion that 3 armies should be comanded to the field, one with Generall Owen Oneyll to Ulster, another with Preston either to Conaght or Tomond, and the third with that Generall that wil be elected by you, and to that Province the refuse of Generall Preston. The Councill will give Owen Oneyll noe means at all. The lord Nuncio promised to satisfie him and his armie. Greate difference was in the choice of the third Generall, at length they choose my lord of Muskry to goe and leager Bonratty with 3 Linster regiments of foote and 300 horse, and all the Monster forces. Generall Preston comaunded for Conaght 4 Linster regiments of foote and a regiment of horse. Owen Oneyll marched to the north and Boetius Egan, a Franciscan frier and Diffiniter Generall in the order, a grave and religious man, this man was comaunded from my lord Nuncio to attend that Ulster armie with power to graunte plenarie indulgence.

[210.] The Councill gave Richard Fferrall noe comaunde befittinge his persone. Owen Richard Fferrall, by Owen Oneyll, made Colonell, and soe is Capt. Lewes Moore. O'Neyll did now apointe him Colonell of foote, and Captain for a troupe of horse. Lewes Moore was onely a Captain of horse, but not of the standinge armie, whom Generall Neyll did apointe and nominat Colonell of horse, and Meylds Reylylly McEdmond (thitherunto onely Captain of horse) Lieutenant Colonell, Captain Con Bacagh Oneyll his maijor. Henry Roe Oneyll the Generall's son was Colonell of horse, Brian Roe Oneyll his Lieutenant, and Owen O'Dogharty maijor. Lewes Moore marched to the north with his onely troupe to reclute his regiment there; the troupe certified in their jorney that their Captain was now promoted, and must adhere unto the Ulster armie, havinge not the honor heartofore to be of the standinge armie of Linster, thought it a blemish and staine in their reputation and hereafter to be cast in their teethe, upon this surmish, and by the inducement of other malevolent, 16 of them stole away from him in his jorney, mightie greeved herat, comaunded his lieutenant Conly McConnell Geoghegan with 4 or 5 horse to follow the said partie, but in vaine, for they went straight over the Shanon to Conaght, where the Lieutenant could have noe redresse. Lewes himself certifyinge the Generall herof, was comaunded in person to follow them himself, and whether thrivinge or noe to follow the armie to Ulster, but not pre-vaylinge likly was ashamed to goe alone soe farr unto such a hopfull service one of his now place stayed behinde, untill the service of Ulster was don.

[211.] My lord of Muskry marched to Bonratty with his Linster forces: .i. Edmond Buttler's regiment, Colonell Waring's regiment, and Huigh M'Phelim's regiment.

The rest of the Linster armie went with Preston to Conaght. Muskry arrivinge 1645
 at Bonratty did leager the house which was well maned, with 600 men, but not
 stronge. He went to work very leasurly and grave though no souldier, would
 not admitt a councell of warr, all must be don accordinge his onely dictamen. They
 gave out that he was not indifferent unto the Linster, but used greate partialitie
 betweene them and his Monster men, this much was notified, one day that a
 Monster Captain was comaunded to a place of service with a Linster partie,
 standinge in posture of service the enemie advanced towards this partie, the Captain
 obsearvinge the same, most couwardlie rann away, and gave order to the rest, to doe
 the like, whom they obeyed, in defaulte of defendinge that poste, the enemie did
 some hurte, which cominge to the Generall's eares, did send for the said partie,
 and there Captain beinge examined, confessed, as aforesaid, delivered his judg-
 ment, to hange all that partie except the Captain, whoe pleaded not guiltie, as ob- Muskries
partialitie.
 searvinge there comannds, and obeyed there then officers, all will not searve there
 turne, with much adoe spared any, but to satisfie his crueltie did hange 13 of
 the whole, all Linster men, the comaunder not touched, but how just this his
 doome have been, lett any man judge. Severall other times did he use the like
 partiality towards the Linster forces, duringe that siedege, which was like to bride
 a mutinie in the armie, not that the Linster men were more tender of the publicke
 and comon service then sensible of those particular affronts would not brooke the
 same, beinge, as they were, absolutly the best partie in the field then. The service
 goinge forward very sloe, with a mightie fleame, without any great hurte don
 to the enemie, whoe every day acted somethinge prejudiciall to the campe, as not
 beinge in any posture of service, had neither trenches or batterie for there ordinaunce.
 The Generall will not batter the house, his uncle's chiefe mansion place, alleadinge
 it to be a world of pittie to battere such a brave house; wherby protracted time,
 the best he could, exposeinge his men, and specially the Linster, to all fatall triall.
 Five or six weekes did he spende thus, dalyng with the matter. That Insichuayne
 might have time to relive the place, an easie busines to ferie them over the
 Shanon to the garrison, which Muskrie might with a wett finger frustrate, if
 willinge, or capable of advice. Relife came as often as the deffendants were
 pleased.

About Trinitie Sunday, 1645, Bernaby Geoghegan (spoken of no. 21 and 87, 212.
 there Captain, but here Lieutenant Colonell), made a generall confession and
 received. Some of his regiment was to goe on service to a place of eminent daunger,
 but himself was comaunded where stronger opposition and lesse safeguarde or
 shelter, and the more the daunger had beene that he must leade other men, and not
 his owne, that would runn all hazard conducinge to his saftie. Away he went with
 a Christian resolution, havinge made his will and testament and all other things
 necessarie for the good of his soule accomplished, arrived to the place apointed (and
 though none that ever sawe him, or had the leaste acquaintance of him), could finde
 in his hearte to beare him any ill will, notwithstandinge was thought, was
 comaunded to that fatall poste that day with such seconds industriously to perish,
 beinge there almost naked without shelter. The enemie came, both horse and foote,
 and advanced to that onelie place in sight of all the campe. The Lieutenant, with

1645. his picke charged the horse, and held them off. Three severall times did he beate backe the enemye, both horse and foote, but still relived. His campe spectators of this tragick scene did not relive, neither the Generall did give way to his proper Colonell, and others most willinge to venture their purest blood in his defence, but rather comaunded to the contrarie (which gives foment unto our former surmishe of treacherie), behaving himself more like a gyant then an ordinarie man overladen with the multitude, was shott in his foreheade, and killed, and a few of his owne regiment that waited on him, made good the place, maugre all opposition onely to defende his corps from the bloudie rage of a cruell enemye, until now late relived. The enemye lost many men in that fatall place.

Leutenant-
Colonell
Bernaby
Geoghegan
killed.

213. After the death of this brave gentleman, as every one loved him in his life, soe eache one bemoaned his untimely death, as he was most reverent and devout unto all saints, bore a particular affection unto S. Ffrancis, wherefore in his last will and testament comaunded to be interred in the habitt and monasterie of the Seraphicall order, which was accomplished, for his corps was caried with great honor (as became one of his place and familie), accordinge to the reits of holy Church and militarie discipline to Limbricke, 8 miles thence, and in S. Francis' monasterie, with greate solemnitie was interred with a non expressible sensibilitie. Lett us leave Muskry and his siedge for awhile, museinge how to sarve his Monstermen, and not to anoye the house of Bonratty, and the well affected in generall lamentinge the death of his onely cavallier Geoghegan, and returne to Preston to Conaght.

CHAPTER III.

214.

Just. lib. 3. WHERE there is noe hope to escape, dispaire taketh armes: for necessitie maketh the most cowarde valiant. Wherefore leave thine enemye a porte allways open, whereby he may flee, and rather then try what he can doe (when thou seeest what he would doe) make him a bridge of silver that he may goe his way—et Tacit. An. l. 3. fractis rebus violentior ultima virtus.

Sil. lib. 9.
General
Preston in
Conaght.

General Preston arrived to Roscoman in Conaght with a brave armie. This Roscoman was held now by Scottsmen of Sir Charles Coote's partie, it belonged to the son and heire of my lord Grandesson that was lord President of Conaght upon the begininge of those comotions, those that dwelt there adhered unto his Majestie's enemies and were of Sir Charles Coote's partie. When my lord Taaffe was Generall for the Confederats there (as above mentioned) gettinge this Roscoman (by Ormond's advice) gave upp the same to the said Grandesson, as proper owner thereof. This Grandesson beinge poore and as loyall to his Majestie as Ormond himself, gave the garrison backe againe to the said partie in consideration of some monies, fee-simple and all (as was given out). Now Generall Preston did leager the same, made an assaylable batterie, though difficult to be assailed. The breach was soe greate that the deffendants were for the most parte above ground without shelter: beinge peremptorie and bould, would not yeld, dayly expectinge relife. The enemye camp was within 3 or 4 miles to the Irish, whoe, receaved intel-

Leagers
Roscoman.

ligence by their spies how matters were carried, and in what posture the Irish campe lay: it being a foggy day, the matter of 400 of the enemy horse marched in a body without the least notice until seen by the Irish campe between it and the horse. Some of the Irish horse at the instant grazing abroad the fields the enemy snatched them away, and made halte upon a hill, within half a mile to the campe. If the enemy had any courage in him, as he had no wit to come soe farr, he might marche to the campe and upon a sudaine likly would acte brave service; most of the Irish horse were readie in the campe. The commanders observing how bould the enemy behaved himselfe, and how peremptorie stooode before them in posture of defiance, nothinge regarding their number, moved unto the Generall the affront pursuant to the same, if not pursued, who denied to grant their motion, alleadinge it to be dangerous to follow an exasperat enemy, fearinge some stratagem to ensue that another division of the enemy, not yett appearinge and likly reserved would betweene us and the castle, whereby wee might (said he) in danger to loose all which may easily now be kepte, if we had patience and stay where wee are.

The commanders McThomas, Finglasse and others of rousing spirits were not pleased with this poco apoco, havinge such an occasion offerred, wherfore they will pursue the enemy. When the Generall sawe their valiant and manly resolution condescended thereto. Scarce the fiat graunted when marching away with all speede, the enemy observinge the undaunted courage whereby the Irish advanced towards him, forsooke his grounde and in a routing manner ran away. The Irish followed (though they suspected by the behaviour of the enemy some ambushe or stratageme), advancinge untill they overtooke him, wheare the Irish behaved themselves most couragious, non of the enemy durst abide their furie, or face them, but was downe tumbled to death, for 4 or 5 miles the Irish followed the route, passed all that came in their way to the sworde, onely Armsbye was taken prisoner wounded. The Irish killed there 200 by the authenticke relation of pregnant authors, though others undervalewinge their proper acte, onely 150, and others the whole partie excepte one troupe that by their coursier's speede overran the rest, went unto a garrison of their owne and for that present saved themselves. However by a necessitated resolution (though desperat), the acte proved a brave piece of service, and did highly impaire the enemy in Conaght, whoe thought to have dealte with their Conaght cavalliers, but now to their losse have by sadd experience tried the valor and agilitie of Linster blades. The Irish lost verie fewe, 6 or 7, and that noble sparke, that deserved that day imortalle fame Finglasse was wounded, but not mortally as after proved.

Roscoman
skirmish.

The Irish returned victorious with bloudie swords, everyone double girded with a prey of horses, spoyle, and of note onely Armsby prisoner to their campe; the defendants of the castle observinge what hapned, mistrustinge now in any future reliefe, they cry out for parley, which graunted, a quarter onely of their lives offered, it was freely accepted, the castle yelded to Preston, a riche place, the armie stayed there for 4 or 5 daies to refreshe themselves, and sende their wounded men to convenient places. The garrison of great concernment for the Confederats, and mightie chargable to the publicke, was by the Supream Councells

1645. comaunde given up to Clanricarde (whoe did apointe Capt. Licester with his company there) never yett of their partie, as severally heretofore mentioned. Generall Preston and his armie marched forwarde to Sligo where all the enimie garrisons were, all which were surrendered uppon demaunde, on sight of the armie and ordinance, where we leave them for a while and speake of Generall Owen Oneylle.

CHAPTER IV.

[1646.]

217. *Cic. ep. l. 5.* *Senec.* *Virg.* *Ovid Met.* 7.
 THAT which paines us much to endure, glads us much to enjoy, and to remember. For there is nothinge glorious or sweete in the fruition that is not difficulte and painfull in the acquisition: nor can wee taste the kernell of pleasure, unless wee cracke the hearde shell of danger. Such are the craggie and untrodden paths to vertue and honor, where though the first intrance be harde and many times disastrous, yett overcome by true resolution and perseverance, it after turnes to a man's greater glorie—*fleBILE principium melior fortuna secuta est.*

218. Generall Owen Oneyll marched to the north (as no, 209 mentioned) where the enimie was a greate armie in two severall bodies, intendinge to come to Linster and from thence to Monster, and joine with Insichuynes armie, and soe jointe to overrun all Monster, and then to marche to Conaght to the same effecte and there to joine with Sir Charles Coote (which if God did permitt) they would overrun all the kingdome to the distruction of all the Irish nation; this Generall Montroes armie was the verie best and better apointed that the Scotts did ever yett sett a foote in Ireland, 7 or 8 regiments of foote, eache regiment containinge a 1,000 and two regiments of horse, about 1,500 horse, a world of carts and wagonns, loaden with powder-beefe, all sorts of meale, bisks, cheece, oyle, butter, beere, wine, aquavitæ, all grosaries for kitchin stuffe, marchants, and marchant ware, meate, and drinke for the whole armie for two monethes, least to diverte the armie, or give a rubb unto their intended celeritie in their marche for the inquirie therof, caried all necessaries alonge, in this posture marched with fiede peeces from Carrigfergus unto the countie of Ardmagh. The other armie was Logan armie under the comannde of Sir Robert Stewarde, which now marched towards the county of Dungenan. This armie was to joine with the former. General Neylle havinge had true intelligence of the composure and intente of both those armies, did purpose to hinder, at leaste their joinging together, and in case Montroe did passe out of his reache to Linster, to be still in sight in the reare, and send notice unto Westmeath, to burne throughfare, townes and castles, as not to be servicable for those enimie armies. Our Catholicke General did now examen the secret retirements of his witte, to be enformed what best to doe in this extreamitie, to goe forwarde was verie dangerous, leaste to be circumvented by both the armies, to stay afarr off, did discover some weaknesse or disabilitie to apeere in open field, which would encourage the enimie, and discourage his owne, revolvinge those and such others in his rememorative power, findinge therein noe solid grounde to build upon, addressed himself for proper saftie to the secure rocke of stabilitie, castinge the anchor of all his care on that ocean of

The deliberation of Generall Neylle in this extreamitie.

mercie and comiseration, God Allmightie, confident of divine asistance did treade ¹⁶⁴⁶ under foote all humaine difficultie, marched forward untill he arrived within 14 miles to Montroe. But truely enformed by his spie, that Logan armie was behinde and then marched towards him, whoe comaunded Brian Roe Oneylle and Owen O'Doghardie with 400 choice horse to encounter those Logan men in their marche, away they went and made soe good speede that they mett the folorne hope of the said armie in a straight scarce seene untill amonge them, whoe manly began to stirr themselves, the enimie verily thought all Generall Neylls armie had bene there, soe furious did this partie begin the conflicte, wherfore all possessed with feare and amazment, as fast as ever they were able, retired, forcinge with dismay all echoes the beinge of General Neylls armie in the front of theirs, wherby the bodie of the enimie armie turned tayle, the Irish cuttinge him amaine, in the now rear that was before front for 4 miles, and did still followe to their utter distruction, but that Brian Roe overheard some shoutinge betweene the other armies, wherby he guessed they were alreadie in battle, thought more behovefull to assist his owne in such an occasion, then to follow this route. The rather that those were not able, these two daies to arrive soe farr; this service was a good presage of a seconde better.

You shall obsearve by the way that there was an emulation betweene those ²¹⁹ two enimie armies, Montroe and his Generall of horse my Lord of Montgomry (a son to the now wife of Montroe), thought to have the honor of that service themselves alone, before Sir Robert Stewarde and his armie arrived. Sir Robert allsoo thought in his owne idea to have the honor of it, without the asistance of the other partie, wherby came to passe that both marched in contestatione of other. But the Logan armie was beaten, as formerly, and Montroe's armie marched that day 13 or 14 miles, now cominge in sight of the Catholicke Generall, must dislodge, for the place wherin he was at present was not soe fitt for battle. Eache armie advanced towards one another, the enimie did seate himself in place of advantage, but Generall Neyll protracted time the best he could, expectinge the arrival of Brian Roe and his partie, for whose dispatche he sent severall postes, puttinge himself in posture of battle, comaunded all to kneele downe and make a brieve confession, and Fr. Boetius Egan, no. 209, touched was authorized to graunte them a generall absolution and plenary indulgence, after which did say the litanies of our Ladie, and some other jaculatorie prayers, standinge upp, the Generall did stande in the fronte of his armie, made a Cæsar-like oration to this tune:

My deere companions, now is the time you prove yourselves men, not men ²²⁰ utcunque, but men of warrlike and bloudie behaviour, and settled resolution either to die or conquer. It might hapen that heretofore in such other occasions you made some shewe of a contraire semblance (lett it be farr from my thought to deeme you cowards, whoe in and from your imbrion are dedicated unto that suposed martiall Dietie), and this, as obnoxious of severall mortall crimes, and soe perishinge in the next disposition of double death, but now can yeld noe excuse of not fightinge well, as disloaden of that heavy burden your sins, the many extortions you comitted in Linster, with the curses of poore and widowes

Generall
Neylls
oration at
Benborbe.

1646.

that cryed against you before God Almightye, are now forgiven and remitted. Such as will perish in this battle, said he, lett him be sure of eternall blish, havinge for our objecte in this battle, as prime motive, the defence of our holy religion, in the second ranke, the free libertie of our lives and fortune, we have justice to what we challenge, the same beinge an attribute of God, he cannot denie us now the benefitt therof. This, said he, was the argument of Gracian the yonger, Emperour of Rome, in the first battle that ever he fought (which was against the Kinge of Hungarie, as the Dial of Princes doe sett fourth), whoe cominge to wage warr upon the very empire, the yonge Emperour, encouraginge his men to battle (as I doe now), though very fewe in respecte of the enemie multitude, tould that justice was on his side, that the enemie entrenched on his right, and that he onely defended his owne, beinge by divine, humaine and martiall lawes thereunto warranted; justice beinge of your side, feare not the multitude of your adversaries, for God will fight for you, our cause his owne attribution. After this confidence in the divine asistance fought the battle, and though the enemie was three for one, he killed and discomfitted and tooke prisoners all the whole adverse armie, and lost himself but 10 men. Did not that greate Haniball overrunn all Spaine and Italy, brought the one to subjection and the other to a desperat and sad condition, had still the victorie in these nations untill yonge Cipio Affricanus issued against him to the field, Generall for the Romaines a yong warrior without art or experience in martiall discipline, and his antagonist the verie best in his time (as Plutarchus and Polybius doe averr), but beinge intruder, and the other defendinge his predicesor's right, justice beinge of Cipio's side, discomfitted the other, and banished him out of all the empire. The Machabeians fightinge against their enemie, religion their chiefe motive (though but a figure of the realitie wee now professe), by the justice of their cause obliged God so shewe them very often in dangerous conflicts his visible asistance Our quarrell is juste; wee offer to maintaine the religion taught by our Saviour, preached by the Apostles, planted in Ireland by our holy patron S. Patrick, and held ever since by our predicesors. Our lives and fortunes and liberties wee challenge in the seconde ranke; we pretende nothinge that belongs to any other, other then such as by all justice we inherit by our forefathers, by the succession of many ages. Those that you see before your faces, there readie to spill your bloude, are those that prophane your churches, turned your aulters and sanctuaries to beastly mangers, to stewe houses, and other barbarous uses; murdered and killed your friends and allies, both man, woman, and child; turned your sweete native cuntry to desolation; all that was deere unto you is demolished by fire and sworde. To any their proceedings can challenge noe right. Whearfore call to God Almightye for asistance, whoe cannot denie you the same accordinge his owne divine covenant; offer yourself and the justice of your cause as a sacrifice unto his Dietie, and be confident this oblation to be more acceptable unto his divine clemencie then the sacrificed bloude of bulls and rams offered in the ancient lawe, though prevalent for the expiation of sinne. You never hearde justice forsaken by God, nor the cry of the poore, forlorne and righteous contemned. Nowe, my hearts of gould (armed with this confidence) take courage against

221.

Plutarch
and
Polybius
de bello
Rom.

your enimie. There is noe place safe for you to fly unto; the foure Provinces of ^{1646.} Irelande doe abounde with this same enimie. Never think of any base, cowardly flight; fight manly; either here live or die. If in this battle killed, you triumph with God in heaven; if alive victor your double laurell shall be recorded to future ages. If to shune death you fly and leave your fellowe souldiers in action, you wil be noe better esteemed in the world then bloudie Cain, who morthered his owne inocent brother Abell. Stricke, therefore, drumm and sounde trumpett for battle; advance, fight, live and raigne, etc., etc.

CHAPTER V.

WORTH is valued by the qualitie, not the greatnesse of a thinge, for as the good-^{222.}nesse of a fortresse consisteth rather in this, that the parts be one to another ^{Reg stat.} conformable and in distance answerable, then that they be unproportionably ^{L. 9.} greate and capatious. Soe the strenght of an armie stands more in the valour and good order of the combattants then in the number. Against which number are ^{L. 5.} these two principall advantages, great ordinance and good ordinance.—In omni ^{Seneca.} conflictu non tam prodest multitudo quam virtus. ^{Veget.} ^{c. 8.}

On the other side the enimie insteede of prayers consulted how to manage the Irish distruction. Mongomry, Generall of the enimie horse, confidinge too much in the valor and number of his horse, adviced Montroe not to trouble the foote, that he alone with his horse would beate all the Irish armie as havinge true intelligence that Generall Neyll had onely the matter of 5 or 600 horse, and himself upwards of 1,500; but Montroe, as better souldier, perswaded him not to disparage the enimie, that he was to deale with a most experte souldier, and God grannte, said he, we be victors by the asistance of our whole armie, for noe action of mortall men is more subjecte to sudaine and unexpected event, then that of warr, be therefore adviced in time, leaste the victorie that we are sure off would be snatched out of our hands. Montroe therefore did drawe the bodie of his foote, with his traine of field peeces to a place of advantage, placed his field peeces on the side of a hillocke, both winde and sun shininge and blowinge in his backe, and in the verie face of the Irish. But Montgumry a yonge warriour, verie desirous of honor, had not the patience to abide those needlesse ceremonies (as he tearmed them), aimed at a foorde that was neere hande, and betweene himself and the Irish, thought to leade his horse that way and beate Generall Neylls armie in the flanke, which the Generall timly obsearved, to prevent such future danger, did send 600 musketiers, with a partie of horse that way, under the comannde of Phelim McTuhill Oneylle and his son Henry Roe O'Neyle, himself drawinge in person other divisions for flanks and wings; he apointed Colonell Richard Fferrall at the right hand for a researve as he did see cause with the Generall's regiment, and Major Molloy for the left winge, with his owne regiment of Colonell, all the comannders must goe afoote in fronte accordinge there respective incumbencie with a pike.

1646.
223.The battle
of Ben-
borbe.

The Irish in this posture began to advance, the signall for battle given, the Catholicke Generall, by inces was recoveringe grounde, and used his verie best endeavours to have the winde and sunn in his backe, and turne it to his enemie face, though at instant in actual possession of the contrary, which by his dexteritie was brought to passe, beinge an extraordinarie advantage in such an occasion. Montgomery now intends to passe the said foorde, beinge more valiantly opposed then he expected by the verie first charge was broken upon, and himself taken prisoner by Henry Roe Oneyll, which was a good presage of the future event of the battle. By this time Bryan Roe Oneyll arrived with his horse, whom, when the Irish sawe, made greate shoutings and cry for joy, whereby the enemie somewhat cooled of his former heate and edge rebated, thinkinge the said horse to be some sudaine and unexpected reliefe, the whole campe herby mightie encouraged, the comon souldiers could now brooke noe patience, the oration workinge soe farr in them that they could not containe themselves like peacable men to stande still before their enemie without advancinge for prooffe of the last triall, and upon the first, maugre all resistance were masters of the field peeces, and broke upon the enemie unto the verie batallion. Now realy is the fight begun, the furie on either side greate, the successe on whether side doubtfull, untill the valor of the Catholicke Generall performinge the office of a worthy and brave comaunder, by his assignment charged the couragious Colonell Richard Fferrall, his researve all this while to advance, and give the onsett on the enemie flanke, by whose approche the enemie did stagger, and brought the odds on his owne side. There was the best pickmen in the world on both sides, brest to brest pointinge at each other, the shortest before he came home, fell from his masters hands, the carier beinge dead; whole regiments fell dead to the grounde from the enemie, their seconds or reliefe advancinge as farr as the former, were tumbled upon the senclesse corps of their comrads; all on either side rann to that their fatal place, the last researve of the enemie now in battle, either to loose or win all, their contestation tended to noe lesse, which Generall Neyll obsearvinge (as vigilant as ever Argos could be), encouraginge his men, cryed out, that all the campe overhearde him, comaundinge the valiant Irish to double their blowes and renewe their never-faintinge courage, that the field was theirs, and dispatche, with the wideninge of a small and contemptible rubb, that hindred their passadge unto a full victorie. This shorte speeche highly discouraged the enemie, and added strenght unto the wearie limbs of the warrlicke Irish, in soe much that all that survived of the enemie began to turne tayle and fly in a routinge maner, the Catholicke victors pursuinge and killinge all they hitted upon for 3 or 4 miles, and would followe to the last man, but that beinge late in the eveninge the Generall comanded a retreite, wherupon those bloudie executioners of justice turned to the field.

224.

It was given out by prime authors, eye-witnesses that day, that a son of Generall Montroe had of longe a vehement desire to meete upon indifferencie with Henry Roe Oneyll, Generall Neyll's son, and e contra. It is reported that both were of one pitche, and beinge ahorse and armed, hardly could the one be descearned from the other. Such was the sympathy of both, eache verie stoute

quicke, nimble, and active, exceedinge goode jenesaries they were. It hapned 1646. (accordinge their respective wishes, as my authors doe alleadge) that this day of battle sudainly they mette, and by one glaunce likly knewe eache other, for they began fiercely and manly to fight. The Scotts that saw them, confidinge too much in the valour of their champion against a single man, stode by, never offeringe to relive him, untill they sawe some odds or fowle play. The Irish, on the other side, havinge noe worst estimation of their warriour, gave way that he did deale alone, and this partly by his proper signall unto them. Generall Neyll himself sawe his sonn in that single combatt. Some came to him desiringe to relive Henry. But insteede of relivinge him, the Generall cryed aloud, that both friende and foe overhearde him, said, you base-borne rogue, is it possible that you soe spende the time in dispatchinge one single man? be sure of noe relife, either conquer or perish. If you were not a degenerat Neylle you did not brooke the patience to see a single adversarie to stande soe longe in your sight unabated. Rouze now your purest bloude, if any be in your vaines, double your blowes, if of any good, noble or warlike extraction you be. Seale the same to posteritie by the heart's bloude of your now corrivall. When both the champions hearde those words, it was their fortune to be both unsaddled and fell to the earth, Henry on his feete, the other flatte, as in a maner dazled by the occasion of his falle. He was verie well armed, but Henry leapinge on him before he could recover grounde, drewe out a little skine, and therwith trusted him under the armor, as they wrestled, to the verie hafte, wherby finished his life, and Henry receivede no greate hurte. Thus Henry Roe Oneyll did kill in single combant Montroe's sonn, a very able horseman. By this all the horse and foote of the enemie was discomfitted, and the Irish returned from the slaughter to the campe, as aforesaid.

Now they make inventorie of the spoile, which was infinitte, and nothinge 225. hitherto touched, for all were comanded, under paine of deathe, to touche Tacit Hist. nothinge till the field were their owne, as beinge experte that nothinge soe lib. 4. soone snatcheth victorie out of men's hands as untimely fallinge to the spoile; upon such disorder fortune alwayes turneth the wheele and maketh victors of them which before were vanquished. The victors now wearie, and noe mervayle, had plentie of all things to refreshe themselves (as aforementioned), fearinge noe enemie that night, better acomodated then ever yett in a campe, slept soundly (though not without a sure garde). Next morninge, makinge a survey of the losse and gaine of that dayes labour, founde 4,500, and prisoners 31, all commanders, and my lord Mongomry, Generall of the horse, with a 100 comon souldiers (those by the Generall were presently sett at libertie); 30 colours were had upon acconte, but as many more were dispersed among the souldiers, cuttinge them in peeces, usinge them, hattbands, band-stringes, garters, and such like foperies. Very manie of the comon souldiers, nay garrsons, went in braueries, silke and sattin, nay in coathe of gould and silver. Amonge the rest of the spoile, Montroe's perewicke and cashocke was founde in the field, knowen by Montgomry to be his, wherby was thought that he perished there himself, but was mistaken, for he forsooke the battle with one troupe of horse. At the most (as was truly after enformed) one onely standard did apeere, and was given out that the horse did

1646. not fight, except a few, for as soone as Montgomery was taken prisoner, for the most parte fled away. All the field peeces, bagg and baggage, amunition, provision, and all the spoile in generall (except what the vanquished had about them), was valued in fiftie thousande pounce sterling, which I beleve was noe lesse. All the comannders of any note, except Montroe, were either killed or taken prisoner in that field. The Irish lost onely there of note Colonell Manus McNeylle, Garane O'Donnell, and the matter of a 100 comon souldier killed and wounded. This is the fruite of prayers, of the holy money and plenarie indulgence. The prudent and sage orderinge of that field did mightily conduce unto the victorie, beinge as they were a handfull in respecte of the enemye multitud, but their inative courage, with the polliticke application of their ever famous Generall, did manifest their singular vertue, notwithstandinge the number of their adversaries much exceedinge theirs.

226. This deerefull battle beinge divulged in all the country and really knowen, by Montroses sadd scatteringe, and weake returne home, the Irish, English, and Scottishe matrons missinge their deerey beloved, caused the superiour regions to echo and rebounde their exhallative clamors, burstinge fourth unto saltrie teares, and not herby pleased, ran in troupes to high and narrow pathes, and swore never to turne home untill certified of the life or death of their quondam amarus bedfellowes. And thus goinge alonge to the said field of Benborbe sawe the multitude of corps starke naked, like a greate hearde of smale cattle afarr off, drawinge neere knewe them to be the slaughtered jewells of whom they weere inquisitive, and soe stoopinge downe to see whether they might knowe whom they looked for, but their faces disfigured could not be soe discearned, ignorant then what best to doe, and loathe to departe without some certaintie of their miscarriage, studied all devices to that purpose. At lenth by privat and naturall tokens examined them. Some turned the corps the wronge side to heaven, to knowe by the surplus of nature in his posteriors, to whom belonged; others turneing econtra, very curious to finde, whether Christian or Jewe, circumcized or not; others without any such by and secrett tokens, onely by that publicke discretion of each humane individuation, and whom the former disclaimed, alleadged to be theirs. As a certaine Homerian poet, the passadge secretly obsearvinge, to the tune of blewe bonnett and bobtaile, by the ensuinge anagramicalle poeme, aluded:—

Whiles neere Benborbe, three diverse nations fought,
 And thundringe Mars, to rage their captaines brought,
 The English, Irish, and the Scottish wives
 Could not discearne their loves that lost their lives.
 And when the mangled face could not be knowen,
 They turned the stript deade bodies upp and downe.
 The taile behinde made knowen the English race,
 The blewe chopt yarde bewrayed the Scottish face;
 But where they founde non such, nor such strange signe,
 The Irish woman said, the man is mine. (Finit.)

The battle given, Mongomries pocketts examened, a liste of each daies marche 1646. was founde therein, cominge to the countie of Cavan, were to lodge in the verie 227. towne of Cavan, next night to Fyena from thence to Mollingare, to Tyrrells pace, to Geyszell, to Maryboroughe, to Ballinakill, to Kilkeny, where Ormond and Insichuynne were to meete the enemie with their severall parties. Sir John Gifford was to meete them at Geyszell with as many men as he could, and the Puritants of Leyse likewise at Mariboroughe. All this did the said papers sett fourth, wherof I am confidente for as many as Ormond could spare of his militia did send unto Montroe (though publicly knowen to be for the Scottish covenant and consequently against the kinge) to enable him the better against Owen Oneylle (as the onely blocke in his way), the rounde heades of Leyse and many others of the English partie was there, but when Mongomry was taken prisoner, the horse for the most parte fled away, and tooke the way of Dundalke, specially the Linster English and to Dublin, where they gave notice of the saide defeate, before ever the dispatche of Generall Neyll arrived unto the Confederats; soe that all Linster was truely possessed of Owen Oneyll's victorie in Benborbe, by the relation of Ormond's partie, before his proper addresses apered: obsearve how loyall this peere is to his majestie, sendinge a reliefe against such as really fought in the behalfe of his quarrell, to enable his sworne and publicke enemie, and in actual cessation with the Irish, and though farr stronger then his partie, made 31 cessations with him successively, and as I have from a verie good hande, for condescendinge to those frivolous, trecherous, and factionall cessations received £100,000 sterling, and now against a brave the lawe of nations doe fight by the seconde hande against those, and made his summ. privat covenant with the publicke traitors against Kinge and Irish nation, though in the seate of justice, as Lord Leutenant for his Majesty, and soe highly obliged by the Irish, as aforesaid: and alsoe when this was acted betweene him and the Loyal Covenantier Scotts, that he was privatly in treatie of peace with the Irish, or Ormond. rather (though under a cloude) peace was concluded last Marche, this beinge in the month of July. O brave gentlman of worth, O faithfull engagment of a loyall subjecte, why did not men trust this man soe tender of his promise and honor?

After this battle the Catholicke Generall did send 1,500 foote and 200 horse 228. under the comannde of Colonel Roger Maguire and Phelim McTuhill Oneylle to Claneboy, and to the countie of Dune, where noe opposition was given them, tooke severall forts and hoults, burned, demolished, and sacked them, killed as many of the enemie as came in their way; whoe sent greate preys unto the campe, ranged whether they pleased in the countrie without controlment. The Logan men also enformed of the said defeate, turned home to their severall garrisons, durst not now apeere in the field. They were sure General Neyll would soone marche that way; noe armie now in all Ulster to oppose him but they, and they but a handfull in respecte of the alreadie vanquished, which gave them rather motive to consult of some honorable atonment, then courage to venture a battle with the now victors. All things in its due order, the Generall caused provision and amunition sufficient for two or three years to be sent unto Charlemont, refreshing his armie by the remaine of that daies worke, comanndinge

1646. severall posts here and there, to discover the enemie motion, and redeeminge prisoners that were of longe time in restraints with the enemie, for the exchange of others now taken. Captain Huigh McArt Oge Oneyll taken prisoner in the skirmish of Cluneise, as No. 89 touched; and severall other now released upon this score, and arrived unto the Catholicke campe. Captain David taken prisoner when Casthaven was Generall of the north, as No. 168 mentioned. The bishope of Rathboth and Patrick Croane O'Hegerty, then comissarie visitator of the Franciscans in Ireland (both in restraints since the begininge of those comotions) were now enlarged.
229. The Generall did send his dispatches by Father Boetius Egan, and a troupe of horse, to my lord Nuncio and Supream Councill, resident then in Limbricke, 31 colours, one standart, a note of the battle succinctly of both freinde and foe's proceedinge. My lord Nuncio and the well-affected were most joyfull, but the factionists were bleedinge and verie pensive. Some were not ashamed to tell in publicke meetinge that those were some ancient colours, kept by the industrious craft of Owen Oneyll for such a purpose, onely to beguile simple soules. Others did affirme the said defeate to be ominous and prejudicious unto them. These and such like extravagant opinions were whispered by the factioniers, and infused unto the ears of many silie soules, wherby any man of judgment might reade in their very foreheades how cancered their heartes had beene, how malicious their intentions, and how ungodly their proceedings, that nothinge cominge from that fonte will seeme either cleere or satisfactorie unto their muddy and treasonable thoughts. Let us now leave the Catholicke Generall for awhile, and speake of Digby, Supream Councill and Muskry.

 CHAPTER VI.

230. THE nature of the bassiliske is to kill all trees and shrubs it breathes upon, and to scorch and burne all hearbes and grasse it passeth over. Such are the effects of warr, for be the title never soe cleere, and the cause just, yett the meanes are not without fire and sworde, nor the end without horroure and bloudshed. Peace therefore is to be preferred: soe it be not with the blemishe of the prince's honor, or prejudice of the publicke good. *Nulla salus bello, pacem te poscimus omnes.*
- I have made mention of my lord Digby, No. 196 unto No. 199, a publicke traitor against his Majestie, though goshope to Ormond, now by the Lord Lieutenant is comanded for France, to worke some other treason with the poore Queene, by the mediation of my lord German, that her Majestie's favor might not be wantinge in any occasion. Digby had great intrest in her, did persuade her what he pleased (notwithstandinge the publictie of his former treasons against his Majestie); he gave out that he was agent from the Confederats and the rest of the hingdome of Ireland by royall consent, wherby he intred unto the favour of Cardinall Masarine, prince counsellor to the Christian Majestie, whoe was highly devoted to the Confederat Catholiks of Ireland, in pursance wherof made up the matter of £10,000 sterling, to be given to the said Catholicks, as a gratuitie of

theire Catholicke intentions, to enable them in their holy warr, and thinkinge ^{1646.} Digby to be truly and really agent, commaunded him to carie the said summ of money to the Confederats, as aforesaid. Digby dispatched in Franncce, embarkinge himself for Ireland landed in Waterforde with the former sum of money, where presently commaunded carriage, with the said money, to Dublin to Ormond, himself departinge from thence to Kilkenny, where arrivinge was bountifully intertaind, and more like a prince then a subjecte received by the Supream Councell such smiles and jolitie shewed for his safe arrivall, that a dull man might understande that what was don against Clanmorgan's person and commission by the surmishes of this Digby was not onely gratefull unto them, but their proper acte. Likly this man had some letters from Cardinall Massarine to the Supream Councell, settinge fourth his donation, for what intention bestowed, and promisinge future more ample gifts, if the present well employed, but none such came to light, but rather mony and letters was shifted betweene them and Ormond.

An active member of this faction, a publicke ringleader, and a maypole of it, ^{231.} did alledge before severall gentlemen of good repute, that this Digby was absolutely the best benefactor for this kingdome that ever yett did sett foote on Irish shoare, and the onely man of concernment for their now affaires. All my lord Nuncio did for this kingdome, his power, advice, both temporall and spirituall subsidies, in this gentlman's opinion, was of noe estimation in comparison of Digby. All the service of Owen Oneyll, his victorie at Benborbe, wherby gave a rubb unto the finall distruction of all the Irish and regalitie in Ireland, his other victorie borne of my lord Moore, his reliefe of amunition in their greatest extremitie, the donation of his frigatts (and what followed therupon), his invitinge of seaferinge men, most beneficiall to the Kingdome, and others his brave and severall acts complied with since he arrived unto Ireland, in respecte of Digby, are villipended by this gentlman. Generall Preston takinge many forts and hoults and at present triumphinge in Conaght, all his labour is lost, and of noe validitie in respecte of Digby's service, in the sense of this gentlman. And said, further, that this Kingdome is not worthy of such a brave and well merittinge patron. Clanmorgan's toyles, dispursments, and the charges of such a personage and a prime peere of England, vndergoen sollicitinge with excessive tirednesse, imprisonment, and disrespekte of his honor and reputation, the recooper of the decayed affaires of Ireland, bringinge them to such an attonment, to the hearts desire of both Kinge and loyall subjecte, is now in estimation of this gentlman undervalued and of noe concernment in respect of Digby's service. But if any man putt this gentlman the question, what is the service that this Digby have don unto the nation, wherof this man doe soe much bragge? I answer for him, that nothinge else wee sawe or hearde, onely that he betrayed his Majestie, hindred the peace of Clanmorgan, contrarie unto his majestie's royall assente, and publicke instrument, to his totall distruction, stopped the reliefe to be in areadinesse for transportation for England, and his majestie in extreame necessitie therof, drawes the Queene to the Prespiterian faction, enforminge her they were for his majestie, and the monies sent by Cardinall Massarine by him to the Confederat Catholicks, he sent to Dublin to Ormond, to be rempartid betweene them both; those be the

Thomas
Tyrrell the
lawyer.

O malicious
barrister.

1646. good offices that Digby have don to the Irish nation, lett any indifferent man judge whether Digby or this gentleman that soe highly prayseth him (beinge soe notoriously refractorie), be either loyall to his majestie, beneficiall to the nation, true to holy religion, or conformable to the oath of association.
232. Another barister, to second the former's discourse, speakinge of the defeate of Benborbe, men will now give out, said he, that the Pope's money payed that armie for the service, and therefore thrived. Whoesoever, said he, swearing a greate oath, that did affirme this, lyed in his trothe; it was the extortion and pilladge comitted by them in Linster theire pay. If extortion and plunder be soe just in the sight of God Almighty that he will grannte the authors therof victorie, in the opinion of this barister, why should either Scripture, Canon, or Church disclaime against it as unlawfull? or why did this same man and his factionists finde faulte with the northeren armie for comittinge an acte soe acceptable before God, and the rather, havinge noe other meanes from the publicke to maintaine themselves therby, and the onely suporte (under God) of the Kingdome. These two lawyers, finishinge theire discourse, or spittinge parte of theire venome, were so earnestly devoted to Digby, that they in person looked for horses for his journey to Dublin. A boy of his, namage himself a groome of my lord Digby, missinge a horse, Browne spoke to one Cleere, an hostler, whoe had a good horse in his house, verie peremptorie comanded him to give the said groome that horse, or swared by a Jewish oathe he would hang him at his owne verie doore. O brave Confederats, loyall subjects, soe tender of his majestie's publicke and knowen enemy.
233. Noe sooner the Supream Councill conferred with my Lord Digby, and enformed themselves of his intencion and reallitie towards Ormond, and withall beinge truly certified of Generall Neyll's victorie in the north, but they dispatched Comissioners to Ormond to treat of an absolute peace without the authoritie of an Assembly, and contrarie to theire oathe exhibited before my lord Nuncio, as above No. [blank], and allsoe verie well perswaded that Ormond had noe power from his majestie, his former authoritie to that purpose was recalled by that of Clanmorgan, as later and particularly disanulled by his Majestie [in] Marche before this present treatie, by a public instrument, this beinge in July. Notwithstandinge all those impediments and rubbs, they goe about it as busie as possibly they may, and as privat as they could. Comissioners nominated were Nicholas Plunkett, Terlogh Oneyll, John Dillon, Sir Luke Dillon, Geffry Browne, Patrick Dorchy, George Comine and John Walshe. Those commissioners, all Ormond's creatures, except the first two, were dispatched for Dublin, with the former caution.
234. It was truly given out that this now peace treated off was concluded in the 24 of Marche last, and kept under a cloude hitherunto, either expectinge power from his Majestie, the returne of Digby from Fraunce, the arrivall of the Scottishe armie to Kilkeny, where they, Ormond and Insichuynne, were to meete, or the defeate of the Catholicke Generall in the north, beinge the onely blocke in theire way, for all Linster was naked, never a man in armes in that Province that belonged to the Confederats except Duncanan and Athlone garrisons, and one

Geffry
Browne, a
venemous
viper.

troupe of horse in the countie of Kilkeny, comanded by Captain Walter Buttler, 1646. as confident of the censeritie of Ormond, then in cessation, and treatie of peace with them, as aforesaid. But now certified of the Catholick Generalls victorie in the north, they goe on with their treacherous peace, beinge a maxem of the factionniees, that when the kingdome is in the best posture, and the enemie in the worste, and specially when General Neylle is victor in the field (as now and at the skirmishe of Portlester in Meath, when my lord Moore was killed), as No. [blank] touched, they will hasten to a dishonorable and periured peace or cessation. The comissioners for this purpose now in Dublin, Ormond would conclude nothinge without the councill, did send a peere of the kingdome to grace the rest of their comissioners. The councill offered to send a Peere and a Bishope (as was given out). Ormond answered that he would have noe prelat to be scene in the business; this agreed upon, my Lord of Montgerrott was sent to Dublin, upon whose arrivall the rest and his lordship did conclude the dishonorablest and most disvantagious peace with Ormond that could be heard off, notwithstandinge his owne authoritie as aforesaid. Sir Walter Buttler, a very good seruitor of the Irish partie thereunto was earnestly solicited to repaire to Dublin to salute Ormond; overcome by many perswations (though then against his stamocke) went thither, and was created knight barronet: cominge home was never after soe earnest in his confederacie. Walter Bagnall, a cossen germaine to my Lord of Ormond, went to Dublin, and was given out that he was created Lord Baron of Idrona and Viscounte of the Newrie; and allsoe was blazed abroad that Montgerrott was created Earle of Wexforde; but the patents never came to light, if any such had beene, onely Sir Edward Buttler of Grainge, was publickly created Viscount Galmoy, alias Fasaç Eli. Those creations onelie tended to drawe those members from the due obseruation of their severall oathes of association and confederacie, and become peiured members of treason and faction, wherin proceed to Ormond's desire. Lett us now leave Ormond drawinge unto Dublin the best members of his owne alliance, with many others of the Irish partie, to ensure them to joine with him upon his goinge to Kilkeny, and turne now to Bonratty and Muskry.

Walter
Butler,
Knight
Baronet.
Mont-
gerrott.
Sir Edward
Butler
created
Lord of
Galmoy.

Wee made mention of Muskries leager to Bonrattie, No. 211, of his partialitie and unwillingnesse to doe service, his ill managinge of affaires caused the losse of many of his men, without any considerable service don against the enemie. Amonge the rest of note was one Captain Art Geoghegan (a brother to Lieutenant-Colonell Geoghegan, spoken of No. 212), was killed, provinge himself a brave gentleman, as not degeneratinge from his noble prediccursors, and in good earnest a brother to the foresaid Lieutenant-Colonell, and was interred with pompe and honor beseeminge a Catholicke captain, with his said brother in S. Francis Abbey in Limbricke. Some of the Supreame Councill went to Limbricke too and fro the campe every day to grace the Generall, but am confident the service did not the better thrive, for their beinge soe neere home. The Councill complained to my Lord Nuncio that they had noe monies to be sent unto Generall Preston to Conaght, and desired his Grace to be pleased to lend them the matter of £3,000, which was fourthwith grannted, the same was sent as formerly. When my Lord Nuncio obsearved how they were bent, and Muskries crastinations, he went to the 235.

Captain Art
Geoghegan
killed.

236.

1646. campe to edge him on, if he could, thought now to make a good harveste, havinge such a begininge; to oblige the souldierie gave a fortnight's meanes to each souldier; this don, were most gratfull, and promised to obey his lordship to the uttermost of their abilitie. Leavinge them in that disposition, addressed himself to Muskry, desiringe him to advance with his ordinance and plant it neere home, where it might doe service, whoe was unwillinge to comply, but obsearvinge the willingnesse of the whole armie, to shewe my Lord Nuncio some sporte (as he tearmed it himself), sayinge that he had noe sporte in martiall feates since he arrived to Ireland, except that relation of Benborbe battle. Muskry, rather by compulsion then willingly, gave order to advance the ordinance; the souldiers soe well behaved themselves, that in an instant forced the deffendants to flocke in unto the bawen and courte, wherby the ordinance was mounted, as my Lord Nuncio would have it, as neere the walle as he pleased, now began the ordinance to goe, and made an assayllante breache; which began very fierce and manly—noe orders needfull, all Irish before my Lord Nuncio to shewe themselves couragious, most desirous, all the contestation was now of honor, whoe should be the first with emulation was tried, specially the Linster men, nay, such as hitherunto were reputed not soe forwarde, were now brave souldiers. The deffendants cried for quarter against the comon vote were heard, and a quarter onely of their lives granted. Out they came, the matter of 200 (where were at the begininge 600), with their Colonell Adames, one of Insichuynes's comannders. They were convoyed to their proper quarters, accordinge capitulation, and Muskry did man the house for himself; the armie continued there for 3 or 4 daies.

237. You shall obsearue that upon the surrender of Bonratty by the Earle of Tomond to Insichuynes partie by the privat surmishes of Ormond and Muskry (as No. 207 touched) in exchance therof was promised by Muskry his owne chiefe house by name Malarny, within 2 or 3 miles to Corke; but noe sooner banished from his owne in this colloguinge maner, and confident to have had accesse unto Malarny aforesaid, accordinge covenant,) but deceived, for Muskry upon some seeminge designe wrote a letter unto his foster-brother, Captain and Chief Comannder in the said house (an impregnable peece of worke and well maned), comanndinge him in case Insichuynes's partie arrived thither desiringe intrance, to surrender the said house upon demannde, upon quarter of lives and goods, and then to marche to his other house of Mucroni, and insure the same; all this was don accordinglie notice came to Muskry residinge then at the siede of Bonratty, that Mallarny was taken by a partie of Insichuynes's horse, herof enformed did sweare to hange the Captain if ever he apered, for such a base and treacherous acte, pursuant therto he writes a letter unto the said Captain comanndinge him to repaire unto the campe upon sight, the Captain obeyed, Patrick Dorchy, Doctor Ffennell and another of the Supreame Councell did examen this Captain and enformed him how dangerous his proceedinge did prove, and that his lord and master did sweare to have him executed. The Captain answered with a greate oathe, though his lord, master, and foster-brother, before he offers such an abuse, I will said he, sadle the right horse, and sayinge soe, drew out Muskries letter and peninge for the surrender of the Castle, as aforesaid, the Councellours perusinge the lettre knewe well Muskries hand, wished the Captain

to be of good courage, seeinge his good fortune had beene soe favorable, as to have them in place at such an extremitie, would not permitt any hurte to be don unto him, but rather bringe the difference betweene him and his master unto an atonement, and injoynd him to secrecie, and not to shewe the said lettre to any other, the matter was smothered, and never a worde spoken to the Captain; not longe after the said Mullarny was given Tomond duringe his preparation for England, where he thought to be receaved by the Parliament with greate honor, as was promised, but was receaved, or looked with dishonor and disdain, where he lives most beggerly, O brave Peeres that chaite a nobleman to his distruction, it were farr more honorable to be a publicke ruffin than a privat cheater. 1646.

CHAPTER VII.

THE river Nouanus in Lombardie, at every midsummer solstice swelleth and runeth over the banks, but in midwinter is cleane dry. Such is the nature of men unresolved to severall fortunes; they swell in the sunshine of their prosperitie, but when stormes of danger and trouble arise, they are dried up with dispaire, for a minde unprepared for disaster is unfurnished to sustaine it when it cometh. He that soareth too high in the one fortune, sinketh too low in the other. Insolent bravinge and base feare are individuall and unseparable companions; but the resolved man is ever the same in the period of both fortunes.— 238.
Plin. l. 2.
Curt. l. 7.
Tacit.
An. l.
Horat. l.
Lucan.

Fortissimus ille est,
Qui promptus metuenda pati, si cominus instent,
Et differre potest.

The armie now at Bonratty, the forte alreadie yelded, as above mentioned. My lord Nuncio thought now to make a good harvest, as havinge those three victorious armies in the field, noe enemie of courage to withstande either, none in the north durst show his face in the field against the Catholicke Generall, Conaght now all cleere unto Sligo and Monster, but a moytie of the county of Corke. His Grace therefore was confident, Muskry would marche towards Corke, Preston to Sligo, and the Catholicke Generall would follow his victorie in the north, but was farr deceived, for the factious Supream Councell swellinge in the sunshine of this their prosperitie, to become dry, will give a rubb to their midsummer solstice either by fate or divine destinie soe permitted, for as soone as Bonratty was taken did send a privat letter to Preston, givinge him notice of a settlement betweene them and Ormond, and that he should proclaime the same in his campe, which don to marche in all hast to Kilkeny, did write allsoe to Ormond to use noe delaies to marche unto Kilkeny wheare he may be sure to be in the heade of 10,000 foote and a 1,000 horse, which was the composure of Preston and Muskryes armies. Muskry went to the county of Limbricke, and the Linster foote that searved under him, in all hast marched to Kilkeny accordinge directions. MacThomas comannder of the Linster horse, marched the way of Cashell and Clonmell, and made some stay there to refreshe his horse. Prestons volubilitie.

1646. Noe sooner did Preston receive this intelligence but did comply with, publishing the peace with drum, bagpipe, trumpet, and great ordinance, roaringe aloud, to second those warlike instruments with feastes, banquetts and carrouzes, beavers full of liquor did each drinke to Ormonds healt. Such jumping and jolting was used, as at the triumphing of Caesar or Pompey in Rome, from thence next morninge Sir James Dillon boasted to Dublin, to endere himself to the Lord Lieutenant. The armie marched with more then ordinarie pace towards Athlone, but once cominge over the Shanon, did not expecte the ceremonious marche of a bodie, as too tedious and cumbersome unto their intended celeritie. My Lord Nuncio observinge some distemper in the Generall and other his adherents, and a sudaine behaviour in the Militia, to be further enformed of the cause of such an accident, with such of the clergie as was there, boasted to Kilkenny, whether noe sooner arrivinge then possessed of the true state of the conclusion of that treacherous and disloyall peace, wherupon did call a congregation, but before any acte did issue, was certified of Ormonds marche towards Kilkenny with an armie, consistinge of a 1,000 foote, 500 firelocks, and 200 horse, his proper life garde, upon intimation herof my Lord Nuncio and his congregation retired to Waterforde, where issuinge their censures, the 13th declaringe the contrivers and abettors there of periured, and of the 17th of the same August under paine of excommunication, prohibitinge to pay by the Supream Councells order, any monyes, applotments, leavies, impositions, or other such to be transferred unto the publicke treasurie, all comissioners, receivers, or other persons that have in their hands any monies or leavies, disbursinge the same, as aforesaid, without the congregation allowance, and all such troupes and souldiers or others what soever that will exacte or force the said monies or others leavies contrarie to this our decree, to be excommunicated, as in due place more at large will appeere. Browne, the lawyer, and others of his factione did not give way to the publication of those decrees in Kilkenny, tellinge that he fastened a nayle that all the clergie of Ireland would not drawe the same backe. This clergie decree arrived to MacThomas and his horse, and to the three Linster regiments that came from Bonratty, Huigh McPhelims regiment, Colonell Wareinge and Colonell Richard Buttlers regiment. Browne, of Pollrangan, in the countie of Wexford, was Lieutenant-Colonell to this Buttler, and Charles Kevanagh, son to Sir Morgan Kevanagh, captain in the said regiment. Those two, observinge how they were sworne to fight for religion, and now the clergie did disclaime in this peace, as prejudicious to the said oathe, pursuant therto, perswaded their regiment to conformitie of their said intente, such as were not affected to the factionists condescended, wherby these two broke the regiment; 5 or 6 companies adhered unto them, marching to Waterforde did tender their alleigiance to the clergie, Captain Daniell OCarroll upon the same grounde broke Colonell Wareings regiment.
1647. My Lord Nuncio consideringe in what a poore takinge his lordship and clergie was, dispatched his proper addresses unto Generall Neyll, all excuses sett aside, that he should marche day and night to the congregation rescue, as in mightie danger to be taken prisoners by Ormond. As soone as notice came to the

1646.

139.

Sir James
Dillon's
facillie.

140.

Ormond
marched to
Kilkenny.The clergie
decrees.Brown's
contumacie.Mac-
Thomas
and the
Leinster
foote.Browne and
Charles
Kevanagh's
fidelitie.

141.

Catholicke Generall, with a brave armie marched with longe and tedious jorneyes untill he arrived to the countie of Westmeath. Ormonde cominge to Kilkeny, peace alreadie there proclaimed, knighted the Mayor. After some fewe daies there spent, marched towards Cashell (the proclamation of the publication of the peace was his precursor) but hearinge that MacThomas and his horse were in his way, leaste any sudaine opposition would be offered, he comanded Castlhaven to give notice unto him that peace was proclaimed in Kilkeny, and that both were now of one and the same partie, in vertue therof should joine now unto his Excellencie. MacThomas answered Castlhauen that he did not repute his Excellencie of his partie untill the clergie congregation did informe him of that much, in whose behalf he thitherunto did fight, and therefore adviced him to quitt his quarters, otherwise would use his uttmost endeavour to force his Excellencie to it. Castlhaven mightie offended with these rurall and souldierlike complements, as havinge noe other remedie, addressed himself to all the horse in publicke, in privat to any was not permitted, desiringe whoe should joine with the Lord Leutenant, all answered that they would follow their Colonell, onely Capt. Thibott Buttler said that he would follow his Excellencie. MacThomas tould him, if he did, that he was periured, notwithstandinge, said he, you may goe where you please, away this Buttler marched, forsakinge his collours, in whose troupe was a Catholicke Englishman, whoe said that he had a conscience to save, as any other, and that he would never fight against his conscience or religion, and consequently would adhere unto his colonell. Speakeinge this he returned from his captain to the regiment. MacThomas and the rest with shoutings and crys received him, wherby the rest of the said troupe, all Irish, ashamed of such a president of an English foraigner, turned tayle, and left their captain all alone, to his mightie confusion, revolvinge what best to do, to turne back, was assured of noe better entertainment then that of a reformed captain, which by the former acte deseerved, to goe forwarde, did noe more then what alreadie comenced, and that his fidelitie to Ormond should be as reputed in goinge single as with a 100 horse, with this result followed Castlhaven, where his Excellencie expected the issue of his Pigmæyan Mercury.

Castlhaven gave his Excellencie accounte of all the passadge, and how peremptorie MacThomas proved in the compliange of his negotiation, Ormond herof certified, durst not attempt the finishinge of his intended progresse, turninge backe, as to Kilkeny, but receavinge intelligence by a poaste from Kilkeny, that Generall Owen Oneyll marched towards that citty, wherfore in good earnest resolved to turne backe to Dublin himself, Castlhaven, Digby and Taaffe, Clanricard and Costllagh, that beared him companie in this his felicitie, now in the ebbingge of his glorie and cowardly flight, taketh another way to Cashell, Enagh, Portdumny, and soe to Conaght. Ormond, goinge in this disordered maner, never stayed for either horse or foote, but gave order to follow in all hast to Dublin, he that had the best horse or a good paire of heeles, was reputed a hapie man, arrivinge to Grangebegg, neere Sliave Roe, very little odds had the very best horse of the foote, such was their feare that it added wings unto their sandie feete, the ministers that last week were as peremptorie in Kilkeny, as at

1646.
Generall
Neyll
marchinge.
Ormond to
Kilkenny.

Mac-
Thomas his
galantrie.

Thibott
Butler's
irreligious
resolution.

242.
Ormond's
flight.

The
sudaine
change of
affaires.

1646. any time since suppression, did now chance habits to dessemble what they were. Thus, those Peeres whose very looks did shake the continent orbe of this northeren sphere opposed by Mac Thomas (a brave servitor then for his religion), and fearinge the arrivall of the Catholicke Generall, was putt to flight and route by that onely conceite, Ormond breathlesse and fearfull arrivinge to Dublin, as to their sanctuary. Preston, in consultation with some of the nobilitie of Meath about the opposinge of the Catholicke Generall's further advance but not of power to putt this in execution, in regarde, his armie was deuded, as above mentioned, where wee leave them for a while, and speake a litle of Fr. George Dillon, a Franciscan fryer.

Preston's intended treacherie.

CHAPTER VIII.

243. THE neighbourhoode to danger is dangerous: And therefore men must seeke to quenche the fire in the next house, though it be their enemies, least it come to their owne. But such generall desires are often thwarted and made frustrate; because the ends of those fewe, from whose meanes and authoritie such actions must have their life and performance, are comonly contrary to the wills of those many that make the motion.

Plaut.
Thucyd.
L 6.
Tacit. An. 2.

Aliquid mali propter vicinum malum.

Athlone surprised by Thibott Gawly.

This George Dillon, uncle to my Lord of Costllagh, (beyond all his deserts a most captious and pretendinge companion) to endeere himself for a myter to my lord Nuncio, went to Waterford, where the Congregation then was, addressinge himself to his Grace, tould that the Castle of Athlone was of greate concearnment at present, and beinge in the hands of a Protestant (though my nephewe) did prove very dangerous unlesse timely prevented: And said he if it like your Grace I will endeavour to putt the same in the hands of some well affected Catholicke. My lord Nuncio glad of such an offered occasion dispatched him about that interprice, whoe arrivinge to Athlone, conferred about the same designe to another Father of S. Francis Order, by name Anthony O'Dallaghan, a zealous and upright man, whoe concluded to nominat Captain Dillon, a brother to Costllagh (in whose possession, as from his said brother, the Castle was at instant), and Captain Thibott Gawly, those were apointed actors in the surprise therof, beinge sent for, undertakinge the complianc. George did invite My lady Dillon to the towne, and others of the best note of her familie were severally allsoe invited. Captain Gawly therefore prime actor, this now oportunitie offered, a knowen man both in towne and Castle, with 3 or 4 lustie men in his company, went to the Castle gate, desiringe intrance, admitted, but the porter obsearvinge those other to followe, offered to shutt the wickett, but prevented by force, least further trouble did arise, was stabbed to death by a skine, which don, the Captain and his comrads intred, and fallinge on such as offered any resistance, to their perill, others desiringe and acceptinge of quarter, disarmed now forced out of door, wherby comanded the Castle bell to ringe, the signall that was betweene those

actors. Captain Dillon notified herof, ran to the Castle, where, hoiseinge a huge cry for joy, tellinge the Castle was for both kinge and clergie. This hurly, burly cominge unto My lady Dillons ears, and overhearinge that the Castle was now for the clergie, affrighted, said to Fr. George that he betrayed her. Thus was the Castle of Athlone surprised. 1646.

Vpon the superficies of this storie, any man will judge this service of Fr. George Dillon to be well deservinge unto the Churche affaires at instant, but if you obsearve his scope therin, and the marowe of his fetche, will soone discover his malitious intent, and malaparte behaviour: for first he cheated both Nuncio and ladie of Costillagh, reposinge greate trust and confidence in him, as in her uncle, and though gave out that all was acted for his religion his intintion cleane contrarie, rather his ploddinge was to thwarte the Churche of the benefitt therof, for hearinge that the Vlster armie marched to Westmeath, Owen Oneylle the onely champion now for the clergie, disclaimeinge in the peace, thought verily that he would marche towards Athlone (as in the hands of My lord Dillon a Protestant, and never yett of the Irish partie), beinge of mightie concearnment, a brave passadge masteringe Westmeath and a greate parte of Conaght, did aime at the same at his now marche, to secure them parts for his future purposes. To ride this pregnant forte of this eminent and beseeminge danger, least it came to Owens hands upon any pretence, he worked the meanes, as aforsaid, to have it out of the hands of his Protestant nephewe, thinkinge to putt his brother Sir James Dillon, as Catholicke and of the Confederat partie, in possession therof, and made this Thibott Gawly, one of Sir James his regiment, an instrument to putt this designe in execution, as knowinge this Gawly to be still at Sir James his becke, and both at My lord Dillon's, soe that this good man, thought in the first ranke to oblige My lord Nuncio, his was not that My lord Dillon was looser, but his prime obiect was that Owen Oneyll and the clergie were defeated of such an important place, was not this a longe fetche, a brave pranke and a smilinge faction? 244.

The malice
of George
Dillon.

The Catholicke Generall now drawinge to Kilkeny, Generall Preston and his Conventicle, as not able to oppose him dispersed and went to Kilkeny, the townsmen enformed of this Catholicke warriors aproache were mighty fearfull, least to use theirs as an enemie towne, in regard the peace was there proclaimed, and many there refractorie, they amused how to insure the castle for the clergie, beinge then in Colonell Richard Butlers hands, Montgerrotts son. This Colonell was a fleshly man, too much given to the conversation of women and baudie pastimes, a yonge gentlwoman of a goodly grace and honest behavior was industriously sent to the castle with privat instructions to humour that gentlman accordinge his said fancie, whoe dissemblinge some extraordinary suite to the Colonell, but realy to intertaine him as aforesaid, and bringe the purposed designe to a period, whom when he sawe the petitioner began to courte her and intertaine her with drinkinge of sacke, in the meane while the rest of the officers and the well affected souldiers were possessed of the designe. The gentlwoman readie to parte, the Colonell to comply with the duty of a noble courtier, must convey her to her lodginge, or neere home to be acquainted with her resident 245.

Colonel
Butlers
behavior.

Kilkeny
Castle
taken.

1646. aboade. As soone therefore as his heeles were out of the wickett, the door was shutt, and the Colonell returninge from his convoy was kept out, and was tould that the castle was for the clergie, wherby offended went away. The Catholicke Generall hereof certified, was somewhat cooled of what he alreadie conceived, in relation of revenge towards the cittie. My lord Nuncio enformed of the Catholicke Generalls arrivall to the county of Kilkeny in all hast poasted to Kilkeny, and from thence to the campe to Aghanaparky and kept that night with the generall. Next morninge an Agent was dispatched from the Supream Councill that both Nuncio and Generall should repaire to the cittie. The Generall answered, that both would not yett goe together, leaste any thinge did hapen amishe whoe went alone, leavinge my lord Nuncio in the field, and was absent 3 or 4 howers, and returned to my lord Nuncio to the campe where they continued for 4 daies more.

CHAPTER IX.

246. To keep a field from over growinge with wides, is to plucke them up in the springe, and to presearve ones bodie from over charginge with disease, is to purge the bad humors betime. Such seedes of sedition and weedes of warr are suspition and jealousies, if they be not nipped in the bud, they bringe fourth much sower fruite of trouble and danger. *Helleborum frustra cum jam cutis ægra tumescit. Poscentes videas, venienti occurrite morbo.*

That time expired My lord Nuncio and Catholicke Generall intred the cittie with civill force, and not satisfied with the Councells proceedings, or excuses, comanded to be kept in safe custodie, with other prime members of faction, except Nicholas Plunkett, Patricke Dorchy and fewe others, whoe yelded some seeminge satisfaction to the congregation in Waterforde. Walter Bagnall as one of the chief motors of sedition was comitted, and soe was Edmond Roe Buttler, son and heire to Montgerrot, his innocencie did not pleade ignoramus for Montgerrott, but his ould age, and not to be without civill goverment did choose a newe Councill of both Spirituall and Temporall members consistinge, wherof was My lord of Lowth, all sworn to the clergie obeysance, Preston and the rest of his refraction did renewe their oathe to be hereafter most observant of the clergie decrees, and would doe nothings for the future, other then by their consent, all this accomplished, the Catholicke Generall was comanded to take the garrisons of Leyse not hitherunto in any considerable sorte touched, and Preston to take onely Katarlagh, which don, jointly to marche to Dublin.

The Catholicke Generall in humble obedience of the said comande and most tender of the publicke benefitt, knowinge not in such an accasion to be idle, fourthwith marched to Leyse, whether arrived about the last of September, and did send a partie of horse and foote under the comande of Colonell Lewes Moore, whoe gott Tulloe, Milltowne, and Stradbally upon sumons, the bodie of the armie marching to Bellorony encampinge neere Mariborough did send his sunons to Cullinragh, Mariborough, Kilmensie, and all the garrisons of Leyse did yeld (except Diserte OLalor) thereupon. In Diserte did inhabitt a peremp-

246.
Paneg.
Cicer. 5.
De fin.
Tacit. An.
l. 14.
Pers. Sat.
3.
Ormonds
peace
relected.
A new
Supream
Councill.

Preston
newly
sworne.

247.

Generall
Neylle in
Leyse.

torie bould companion, Sir John Pigott, a Captain of foote before those comotions 1646.
confidinge too much in the strenght of his castle, in the number of his men, in
the abundance of both provision and amunition, and in his owne suposed skill,
and allsoe in the ancient friendship of the house of Tyrone (wherof was fosterer,
by his mother side, of the Ouentons), would not by any meanes surrender, either
for friendship, or in imitation of the rest, though seuerally attempted, by noble
messengers and honorable quarter, of life, goods, armes, and castle, onely to
swear fealtie to kinge and countrie, shewinge himself soe stiffnecked, the
Catholicke Generall (though his well wisher) greue mightie discontented,
comanded Colonell Fferrall and Colonell Roger Maguires regiments to take that
castle. With Pigott were 3 score musketiers well apointed, the house stronge
enough, as was thought, for such a partie.

Sir John
Pigotts
alliance
with the
Neylls.

Noe sooner did this partie arrive unto the said forte, and manly advancinge, 248.
then a volly of shott issued from the Castle, whereby one Alexander M'Allen a
Captain of Roger Maguirs regiment was killed, herby growinge discontente,
advancinge towards the hagarde, whence, (as the ill lucke of the deffendants
would have it), the winde with a goodly blast did blowe, towards the Castle,
comanded to sett the same on fire, the musketiers playinge still on the enemie,
the pikmen caryinge on the pointe of theires conflamed shefes, throwinge them
as ticke as haile unto the castle windowes, and trustinge armed men, to oppose,
if any offered to quenche the irefull progress therof, inkindled allsoe the Castle
doore through the grate, soe that the deffendants could acte noe service, were all
smoaked, and returninge to corners, as from the furie of both fire and sworde,
were slaughtered within before any intred the doore, such outcries were hearde
within, as if on doomes daie, Bryan Oge ODuayne, a ranke Puritant, a brother in
lawe to the said Pigott, and chiefe motor of his obstinacie, ran to the Castle doore,
now half burnte, some of the assaylants offeringe to enter, presented himself
to Colonell Fferrall and begged his life, it beinge promised, with the danger of
his owne deffended him from the militia furie, whoe rushinge in, did buttcher all
that came in theire way, both Pigott and other, excepte women and children, as
by the Generall comanded under paine of death, not to offer violence to either of
those kindes, the matter of 10 or 11 men were mercifully savved, under the weake
shadowe of feminian qualitie, the house was very riche, and in an instant rifled,
all for the comon souldiers, or such as laboured most for it, as the custome ever
haue beene with the Catholicke Generall in such and other occasions. Thus was
Deserte taken by force, Pigott and woodenlegg minister slaine.

The Vlster
courage.

Bryan
Duayne
savved.
Pigott
slaine.

Disert
taken.

Next morninge all the armie marched to Reban in the countie of Kildare, 249.
where Captain Flower was comander, upon sumons yelded to Sir Phelim
Oneylle, Generall then of the horse, went to Athy, and did sumon Captain Veldon,
Governor therof, whoe presently yelded, wherupon the bodie of the armie marched
home, and Captain Gerald Crone Fitzgerald was comanded with sumons to
Grange Mellon and within two daies after was surrendered, here was the
Vlster armie kept for 3 whole weekes, to the mightie prejudice of the intended
service, expectinge Generall Prestons arrivall unto Katarlagh accordinge assigna-
tion, as aforesaid. By those crastinations, his unwillingnesse to any service was
bewrayed. The Catholicke Generall did send him word, as not yett readie to

Prestons
delays
and why?

1646. marche to the field, that by his assent would imploy his armie, as in present posture of service in the takinge of Katarlagh, rather then ly idle: Preston answered that it was his taske by assignment, and desired to lett it ly by untill his proper arrivall. But his marche to the field, was soe untimely and unseasonable, that it did not give place to his ceremonious leageringe of that forte, but must marche forwarde, all his tergiuersations, was thought by pregnant witts to tende onely to the marringe of the intended service of Dublin, as hearafter the event will prove.
150. My Lord Nuncio, Scarampo, and Supream Councill came to Kilka in the countie of Kildare, whoe next morninge adjorned to Athy to salute his proper Generall, (whoe very busy in buildinge ovens and fornaces there) and conferr of certaine affaires conducible to the comon good. Tandem aliquando, Generall Preston did marche to the field, and tooke his way towards Kilmage and Briminghams country, and there putt his men in posture of winter quarter, and sent his horse towards the Naasse. The Catholicke Generall marched directly to the Liffy and encamped in Henristowne. Preston kept noe bodie of an armie, wherby was confirmed the former surmishes of unwillingnesse to doe service, as hearafter more at large, it was truely given out that he temporized with theemie, givinge him time, to make himself stronge against a future siede and allsoe expectinge the arrivall of Clanricard to Dublin, beinge sent for, by Ormond, all the whiles and delays of Preston in this interim imported this much, Exitus acta probant.
251. A day after the marche of those armies, some of the Councill, expectinge the perfectinge of some necessarie affaires in Kilka, thither went Sir James Dillon, to spie what was abruinge amonge them, others affirmed that he was called for, concerninge some rupture fathered upon to be intended, but before any worde was spoken unto him, his regiment within two miles to Kilka, stole away, and comanndinge his men to marche towards Athlone, and turne tayle to the armies and service, such as were well affected to the cause, did not obey but marched in pursuit of Prestons armie, as obsearuinge their proper Colonell to run a desperat course, against both oath and conscience, but such as was allied unto him, obeyed and began at Ballybegg, and from thence to Athlone to plunder and pilladge where euer they wente. The Catholicke Generall was now harde upon 4 weekes incamped in Henristowne and Coghlainestowne and all the garrisons betweene that and two miles to Dublin were deserted, poastes every daie to Preston desiringe him to marche either in one and the same bodie of an armie, and Preston to be chiefe in the field, or seuerally as heretofore, soe desirous was this warrior to doe service. At lenght Preston marched (with noe smilinge but a heavy countenance, as the use of milancholicke disposition, or the moode of such as harbour a treacherous designe is,) with his ordinance on the Liffy side, untill he came within 6 miles to Dublin by name Lucan. The Catholicke Generall marched in the high roade between him and Dublin on the right hande, untill thwartinge the way seated his campe on the left hand of Preston northweste. If the Catholicke Generall and his recent councill were obseruant of the former Aphorisme, at the apprehension of the late councill, sure what now Preston is to acte, would never come to light. Obsearue therfore the subsequent tragedie.
- A blind man might see through Prestons glasse.
- Sir James Dillons treacherous revoulte.
- Prestons malaparte jugglinge.

CHAPTER X.

Vpon certaine notice of some treasonable plott or practice in a towne or campe, the Gouernor or Generall must first assure the place, and then more fully search unto the treason, and punishe the traytors, either all, for the offence, or the ringleaders for example. Seueritie in this case is but justice: lenitie putts all in hazard, wherfore against such intestine ambushe, wee must first take upp the buckler of saftie, and then drawe out the sworde of justice.

At paucos, quibus hæc rabies authoribus arsit,
Non Cæsar, sed pœna tenet.

Six weekes were not fully expired since Preston did sweare obedience to both Councell and clergie, obnoxious of periury by former relapses, now obliuious of both (though vissiblye extant in the field) or that his seuerall former acts did producte such an habitte that cannot be cancelled, doe now comence a bloudie and treasonable scene, grounded on proper ambition, and styred by the weake and contemptible healme of a non authorized peere euer yett antagonist of both kinge, nation and religion, nor soe much as salutinge afarr off, the Catholicke Confederacie of Peters nauil. This Peer, Clanricard, arrivinge to Dublin, by the earnest desire of Ormond, to be a friuolous actor in this foolish tragedie, poastes every day went too and fro, with greate secrecie, betweene those Peeres and Preston, the fruite wherof was the subsequent proposalls treated and penned unknowen to both clergie, councell, and cogenerall.

First, that Ormond would receaue unto all and singular his garrisons one moytie of the number in cache consistinge of the Linster Irish armie, with their respectiue officers and comannders, except the chiefe governor of each garrison, whoe should be, by Ormonds onely apointment and their pay from their seuerall quarters.

2. That he would use his best endeauor unto his Majestie to give full content unto the Confederate Catholicks, and in his case his Majestie did prove remisse in such concessions, that he would make suite unto the Kinge of Francc to be assistant unto the Confederats for the fruition of their requeste.

3. That in case he could not preuayle in any those suites with either kinge, then he would joine with the Confederats and by a member of their association by September last come twelmonthe (this beinge in October) the respitt was 11 monthes and 15 daies. All this was the sum of Clanricards engagment, how poore soeuer, Preston was pleased, and as agreeing signed thereunto, and did seuerally send for his major officers to signe unto the same engagment Huigh M'Phelim, Leutenant-Generall of Linster enformed hereof, stole away from the campe. MacThomas, beinge sent for to signe to that engagment whoe absolutly denied compliyancc, rendringe for reason that he did not see the firme of his fellowe Comannders, why, said Preston, my hand is to it, and that is president enough for you, who answeringe that all was nothings satisfactorie unto him, and in sayinge soe, departed the Generall's tent and left him alone. Colonell Warringe, Major Geoghegan, and Major Lalor did run the same score, soe that verie fewe of the best note of Comannders in General Prestons armie did subscribe unto the said

1646.

252.

Tacit. An.
l. ii.

Plut. de his
qui sero
puni.

Lucan, l. 5.

Prestons
relapses.

253.

Clanricards
engagment.

Such as did
not signe to
this en-
gagment.

1646. The fetche of Ormond and both English and Irish factionists. engagment. Preston's agitation was not soe privat but the Catholicke Generall had some incklinge therof, and marched over the Liffie on Lepslly side, as hauinge true intelligence that in case he did not condescende unto that faithlesse bargaine that then both armies, English and Prestons, would falle on him. Preston obsearuinge in the motion of Generall Neylls armie that he suspected somewhat, wherfore to give him a touche of what it was, to try his constancie, did send him the said instrument signed by him, and by fewe other corrupt members of his armie, desiringe him in a proper addresse to signe to it. The Catholicke Generall answered that he was onely a seruant for the kingdome, and specially for the churche, and that both Nuncio and Councell were in the campe, if he sawe their hands to it, that would not be wanteing, and not otherwise.
254. The Nuncio and Councell stole away. O Prestonian treason. When the Catholicke Generall understoode the fetche of those factious spiritts, aduiced My lord Nuncio to turne home to Kilkeny, and the Councell to saue themselves the best they could, for I feare, said he, some fatale plott to ensue the former distruction to both Nuncio and Councell, as for my parte I will stande upon my garde. My lord Nuncio and Councell followed this advice, as privat as they were able forsooke the campe and poasted homwards in a quellinge maner, this intelligence or speculation of the Generall was true, for sure there was such a plott, upon the fayler of Generall Neylls signinge unto the former engagment to cease upon the bodies of Nuncio, Generall, and Councell, and Preston with all such of his partie as signed the saide instrument to be actor of this tragicall scene by the assistance of Ormond and his complices.
255. Prestons flexibility. Prestons volubilitie. Reade all the histories you can, and herdly will finde soe unchristian a passadge as the present. Generall Preston in lesse then two months, became soe flexible, that like a weathercocke turned more oftner then the moone did change. At Abby boyle by the bare enformation of fewe refractorie members of faction and treachery, embraced that prejudicious and poysonall peace, and goinge to Kilkeny disclaimed therin, upon the comittall of the late Supreame Councell upon the institution of a new, did sweare (beside the oathe of association) neuer to embrace any peace, or capitulation, therof, without the lord Nuncio and clergie consent, now notwithstandinge all those tyes and unchristian reuolutions in soe shorte a time, subscribed to the former engagments without once acquaintinge My lord Nuncio with the passadge, though extant in the campe, contrary to the premisses. Lett any man judge whether this be conformable to the rudiments of christian belife to a Catholicke Confederacie, to holy union and association, or to the worth and honor of any qualified person? This passadge doe confirme the cause of his alreadie mentioned delayes, and Sir James Dillon's reuolte and mutinie to marr the service did onely tende. And if not soe intended, why should he embrace such dottinge and childishe capitulations, a heape of soe foolish engagements from one that was neuer yett in any posture of compliance, either by authoritie from his Majestie, intrest in royaltie or martiall estimation by dexterity or abilitie, therby to force his engagements, rather a publicke and privat enemye to all the monarchall power of the Brittishe nation. Or what intreste did this good Preston conceaue Clanricard might haue in the Christian Majestie that he did oblige himself and supplicat the Kinge of Franncce to be asistant unto the

Irish nation, upon the faylinge of their proper Kinge? Unlesse it be that the Bourkes doe repute themselves to be deriued from the Frenche, in regarde they see noe honorable monument of that name, in all the ancient histories or chronicles of England, would intrude upon Franncce by the surmishe onely of a bare similitude of the name Burgoe or Burdeaux, and this their genelogie without any other grounde then a bare interpretation of some beggerly fryer of that name Bourke. Or what greate honor did Preston thinke would it proue to the Irish nation to have this refractorie Peere their associate? in case he thriued not in his former engagments? one that euer yett proued traitor to both Kinge, nation and religion, and will proue fatall unto both hereafter. Verily I doe rather esteeme it a dishonor, they fightinge and sworne for his Majestie to adhere unto soe ill merittinge a subiecte, a publicke and knowne aduersarie to the whole objecte of their intentions.

1646.
Clanricards
character.

Why did not Preston (seeinge soe desirous to hinder the seruice, and soe willinge to shake hands with disloyaltie, to couer a litle his nakednesse), moue the capitulation of that counterfeite atonement imediatly to Ormond himself, as invested with some seeminge authoritie from his Majestie at least was Lord Leutenant? If he thought had none for the present, why then did Commissioners or Councill apply themselves to such a man not impowered for settlment of peace? or why did you Preston accept and embrace such a groundlesse and unualid a peace upon a bare intimation of fewe factionall members of the late Supream Councill? If you thought Ormonde lesse powerfull then Clanricard in the compliance of those engagments, why did not the former peace concluded with him styre on that solid grounde of Clanricards helme? How doe you feel yourself now, Preston? My lord Nuncio, the Councill, your Co-generall, and the choice parte of your owne major officers are goen and against you; you are like now our first parens, Adam, after comittinge the sin of disobedience in Paradise, naked and without grace, or remorse; the Apostolicall grace forsooke you, now you stande in the field as a laughinge stocke to the enemy, a Judas Iscariotes to your co-generall and proper partie, an Itche or merie-gosorie to your friends and kindred, a turne-coate of lawfull confederacie, a trinchante of holy union, a scandall and reproofe of all Christian pietie. Doe you expecte compliance of your agreement. Noe such matter. As soone as Ormond and the rest of his complices was enformed of the Catholicke Generalls departure, and that he did not signe to the said engagment, would not give Preston foure fardings in lewe of his engagments. Surely Preston if you doe not dispatche thence you shall not carie your ordinance back to Kilkeny.

256.
Queres
against
Preston.

Prestons
character

Preston how doe periurie thriue with you now? You lost at home and abroad, before and after, like Isops dogge, but what did this gentlman to cover his nakednesse, (as aforesaid), he called unto him, all the poore and illitirat priestes and friers of them parts, to qualifie, (as he thought) his owne acte, caused them to signe unto an instrument to that purpose, a poore shifte, folia ficus, with the leaves of the maledict figg tree, like a new descent of relapsinge Adam, offered to shelter his publicke treacherie and periurie by the calification of those members voide of all scientificall motion of Divine theologie, whoe after questioned why did they presume to signe to suche a calification, as truely

257.
Prestons
poore shifte
Gen. 3.

1646. inheritinge, excepte from the first mother, said they were deceived by the serpente.

258. Preston now as aforesaid traduced from a Catholicke Generall to a periured, factious temporizer Presbyterian, Ormond seeinge him, in whom he hoped to be a meane of self-raisinge, and himself noe lesse of his proper ascendent, then Lucifer supra Astra cœli ascendam, was now despicably hurled headlonge unto the lowest ranke of caterpillers. Ormond therefore seeinge him villipended and not considerable, insteede of complyinge with him in the accomplishment of the said engagments did addresse himself to issue against him to the field, to possesse himself of his ordinance. Preston herof aduertised, hoisinge sayle, marched in all hast with his gunns. Butt Clanricard, Diggby and Taaffe came, and ouertakinge him in his marche, gave him some future hopes of great preferment, if he did make sure the citty and castle of Kilkeny, and that they with Ormond and his armie would marche to second and relieue him out of hande, and were confident to have no considerable opposall, Generall Neylls armie after so longe and tedious marches and toylesome seruice now in the hight of fowle weather, and late in winter, will likly dreame of nothinge else now other then for settlment of winter quarter. This motion did Preston embrace, though the verie last day publickly deceaued by the same men, afore he was a passive engager, but now an active, undertaker to doe it, to his uttermost endeavour, therefore poaste hast marched, untill arriuinge to Kilkae, where he left some of his ordinance, and other some in Laghlin bridge, to render him in better posture for a light marche, as his exceedinge greate hast required for the compliance of his new engagment.

259. This was not soe privat but the Catholicke Generall, (by his owne warinesse,) had some incklinge therof, either by privat intelligence, or by proper politicke obseruation, consideringe Prestons sudaine hast, and extraordinarie marche, and accordinge that maxem of the comon lawe, qui semel est malus semper presumitur malus. The uigilant Generall upon this surmishe, comannded 3,000 foote and 500 horse, under the comannde of Sheane OKahan, his then Major Generall, and Colonell Lewes Moore, straightly charginge them under paine of deathe, to march directly towards Kilkeny, and not to diuerte or delaye any where untill they arrive to Kilkeny, with instructions not to give way to Prestons armie to inter the citty, and if any thinge were attempted both citty and castle, and to certifie him fourthwith; This partie began its marche from Manister Feoruish, where the bodie of the Catholicke armie resided, and accordinge directions arriued to Kilkeny before Prestons armie. Preston obsearuinge his plott to be prevented, by the euer willy uigilancie and uigilant witt of the Catholicke Generall, poasted his addresse to Ormond, (who by this was marchinge with his armie, as farr as Killcullin bridge pursuant to the former couenant,) that he was prevented, aduicinge his Excellencie to turne backe, and to be assured of him and his armie to meet his Excellencie at Ballimore at twelueday or Epiphanie, wheare he was confident would bringe theire designe to a full period by the destruction of the whole Vlster armie. This messadge dispatched, went himself before the Councell, verie peremptorie desiringe winter quarter for his armie. The Councell instructed in the like case, gave him present

O waveringe
Preston.

Generall
Neyll's
prevention.

Prestons
second
engagment
to
Ormond.

satisfaction, and in a thrice dispersed his armie unto their seuerall quarters, that whether Preston would or not, was not of power to bringe them unto a bodie to Ballimore, accordinge his seconde engagment. 1646.

To this campe came intelligence to the Catholicke Generall that Sir James Dillon waited on the castle of Athlone with the moytie of his regiment that followed him in his reuolte, as n° 251, he was assured to have the castle by a sceminge stratageme, or rather colution and false dealinge, and to acte this catastrophe, caused his brother Fr. George Dillon, whoe not longe before, gott the same castle out of the hands of his owne nephewe, My lord of Costllagh (as n° 243 touched) to inuite Captain Gawly, (as not suspitious of him) the Captain answered his suposed benefactors inuitation. Some of Sir James Dillons regiment within the house they were to denne in ambushes. As soone as the Captain intred the said house, Captain FitzZymons with his squadron of souldiers fell upon Gawly, disarminge him, kept him in the nature of a prisoner, as suposinge to have the castle for his ransome, 200 souldiers were appointed, with some of the townsmen to marche unto the castle; Captain Gawly hauinge the libertie of the house, onely that he must not passe downe staires, gott up to the battlment, tooke out a handkerchiefe, made signall unto the centry of his owne castle, wherby presently they understoode of his restraints, every one ran to armes, did send worde unto the inhabitants of the towne, that they would batter the same with their ordinance, unlesse their captain were presently sett at libertie. This cominge unto the eares of these malaparte conthriuers of this plott, fained to have don as formerly, in a gyryng moode, and to try what stufte the said Gawly was made off, and soe on the threatninge of the garrison was sett at libertie. 260.

Sir James
Dillons
stratageme
fayled.

Notice came to the Catholicke Generall that Sir James was to surprise the foresaid castle, wherfore he sent Colonell Richard Fferrall and Colonell Roger MaGuire with their regiments to asiste Gawly, Sir James and his partie notified of this relifes aproache, marched away over the Inhy, and to Meath and dispatchinge a poaste to Ormond, signifyinge their arrivall, by his comannde were quartered in Fingall. Sir James leauinge his men in that posture, went himself to Dublin, and there began a newe plott by the asistance of Clanricard, Castlhauen, Diggby and Taaffe, which was to marche with his armie and those Peeres to Westmeath about Christmas, and likly the Catholicke Generalls armie by that time wil be scattered in their winter quarters, and Generall Preston would marche on the other side from Kilkeny to Ballimore, accordinge his engagment and allsoe Gawly obsearuinge this posture, durst not deny your Excellencie the Castle of Athlone, as desperat of any relife, or seconds; this motion is embraced, where wee leave them for a time, makinge themselves readie for that journey, and speake in the interim of My lord of Costllagh. 261.

Ormond
and his
Peeres plott
interrupted.

1646.

CHAPTER XI.

262. The vicissitude of things and change of times begettis newe counsailes and deliberations in states and inforceth necessarily the knittinge or dissoluinge of alliance betweene them, what is vsefull to day may be hurtfull tomorrowe, as showers that are seasonable in the springe and unwelcome in the harvest, wherfore to temporize by leuellinge and adoptinge our actions to occasions present and presented, is requisit policie.—Et cum fortuna statque caditque fides.

This Costllagh (as No 244) either a Puritant or a Protestant whose religion was not knowen onely was noe Catholicke or loyall subjecte, obsearuinge the vicissitud of the present times, great Ormond brought in a maner under the wheele himself from a suposed president of Conaght to the degree of a privat gentlman or a reformed Viscounte, that both his uncles plott for Athlone fayled, that the said uncle did adhere unto Ormond, he, that euer yett was of the same sence must now giue the alarum elsewhere, that if one way fayle, another must thriue. He therefore addressed his suite to the Catholicke Generall, makinge such protestations of fained amitie unto him, and vowes to adhere unto the confederacie, and to enable him therto, desired his mediation unto My lord Nuncio for reconciliation unto holy church, by these and such other intimations, did insinuat soe farr on Generall Neylls friendship, that he seined his fiat to the conformation of the said requeste, wherupon he writes by his lordship to My lord Nuncio to Kilkeny how My Lord Dillon was inclined, upon whose receipte My Lord Nuncio exceedinge joyfull. This noblman shewed such willingnesse to be a Catholicke, that all the city was mightie edified therby. My lord Nuncio reconciled him to holy church, whoe thence forward called him his father or godfather, whoe did acte nothinge other then by My lord Nuncios dictamen, now a Catholicke, and frequentinge the Church very often, by his hypocrisie deluded My lord Nuncio, in this disposition he made his suite unto him, that he should gett his said castle of Athlone for him, and that his lordship the Nuncio should not have any scruple of him, and to assure him of his fealtie, swaired the oathe of asoociation for Kinge, Countrie, and Religion; When my lord Nuncio sawe what publicke and privat engagment this noblman tendered of his fidelitie towards the cause now in hande, he writes seuerall letters to Captain Gawly to give Dillon the castle of Athlone, beinge the prime objecte of his owne reconciliation and not the saftie of his conscience, as the euent proved. But Gawly knowinge the man to the verie dept of his interior intentions, had some euasions for not complyinge with My lord Nuncios requeste herin, soe that he kept Dillon out of the castle, all policie, surmishes, and craft to the contrarie notwithstandinge; see how those Dillons behaue themselves, he that was a Catholicke, sworne for religion, kinge and nation contrarie to the said oathe, adhered now to his Majesties sworneemie. The other that was still of the same partie, swearinge the Confederacie, becominge a Catholicke, onely for the Castle of Athlone, braue gentlmen, censer Catholicks, faithfull Confederats and politicall temporizers.

Costllaghs
designe to
become
Catholicke.

Costllagh
reconciled.

His scope
in this
reconcilia-
tion.

All this while the Catholicke Generall kept his armie in a bodie, and the two regiment sent to Athlone were now returned to the campe, he was verie suspitious of Sir James Dillons goinge to Dublin, and did reade, as it were, in his owne idea all their intentions, fearinge therefore the worst, kept himself in posture of interruptinge any their designes. Ormond began to moue himself in Dublin to marche to Westmeathe accordinge the plott aforementioned, a weeke before Christmas, this was not soe privat, but, the Catholicke Generall had intelligence therof, he sent Colonell Fox (whoe was Captain Arthure Fox n^o 113 mentioned, promoted by the Generall to be a Colonell of foote), with his regiment to Athlone, to asiste Captain Gawly to make the same sure; Con M^cCormacke O Neyle, his Leutenant Generall then, was comanded with 3000 foote to Tullomore in Ferkall, Henry Roe Oneyll his son, Brian Roe Oneyll and Owen ODoghardie with a regiment of horse to the borders of Ferkall aforesaid, to make good the passadges of the river Brosnagh, that Ormond and Preston should not joine with their armies. The Provinciaall Councell of Conaght residinge in Gallway, complained to My lord Nuncio, that the gentrie of Clanricarde and the rest of the countie of Gallway, as sidinge with My lord of Clanricarde, weare refractorie, and in as much as they were not sworne to the Confederacie would not contribute with the rest of the Catholicks of the said Province already sworne, desired his lordship may be pleased to apply some salue to such a cancered rupture, either by ecclesiasticall censure or otherwise. My lord Nuncio receavinge this intimation wrote of this subiecte to his owne Generall, whoe fourth with comanded Colonell Richard Fferrall and Colonell Roger MaGuire with their respective regiments and a partie of horse, to the countie of Galway, with instructions to keepe touche with the Provinciaall Councell of Conaght and receaue their orders from them, they marched and arrived to the said countie. Colonell Fferrall went to Galway to enforme himself of the Councell and receaue his comannes accordinge orders from them, such arears as was behinde of the severall aplotments of that Province, accordinge their usuall diuidents, was assigned upon those refractorie members by the said Councell, a whole regiment was cessed upon one onely man, with comannes never to quitt the same place, untill the partie concerned did bringe from Galway the Provinciaall Councells discharge and a certificat signed by them that the partie soe acquitted did sweare the oathe of association, by this meanes brought all that countie to conformitie, filled both publicke and privat purses by the bargaine, those we leave about that harvest, as in their winter quarter. Generall Neyll was not deceaued in his former coniectures for Ormond, Clanricard, Digby, Castlhauen, Taaffe and Sir James Dillon, with his armie both horse and foote marched to the countie of Westmeath, usinge noe acte of hostilitie in their way, onely tooke meate and drinke, as beinge sure all was their owne, now cominge as farr as Balimore, advertised how Generall Neyll did putt his armie in the posture aforesaid, whereby by all liklyhoode they were prevented of any their former plotts. These Peeres some of those holy daies of Christmas, were in Castltowne in Kinalyagh, and some other in Donore, though Conly Geoghgan the land lord therof did not apeare, Ormond mightie inquisitive of this gentelman; this armie was quartered here and there in the countrie by hundreds

1645.

263.

The reach
of Generall
Neylls
witt.Colonell
Fox in
Athlone.The pos-
ture of the
Vlster
armie.The refra-
ction of Gal-
way County
reduced.

264.

Where
Ormond
and his
Peeres on
Christmas.

1646. and 200 and not farr asunder, there was noe jealousie betweene them and such of the Linster forces as was there, but the northeren people could not brooke them: as often as they mett, the Vlster gave them the worke, by degrees came to be in a maner acquainted with them, wherby made bould to advance towards Terrylls pace to Fertolagh and from thence to Ferbilly and killed some fewe troupers of Ormonds partie in Rathguary and packed the rest out of the said barony towards Mollingare. Ormonde now here the matter of a fortnight or upwards, untill the time apointed by Preston to come to Balimore with his armie, was expired. Seeinge himself now disapointed of the said relife, and mightie fearfull least to be circumvented by the Vlster armie, to come betweene him and Dublin (which was the fetch of the Catholicke Generall,) he marched on with his traine of Peeres, with some only of his horse, and some of his foote, in all haste followed, he arrived to Trim and from thence to Dublin.
- Ormonds
fight.
265. Henric Roe Oneylle with his horse, goinge as farr as Bordstowne, to discover the enemies motion, as he intended, advertised there of their marche, in the posture aforesaid, followed towards Killatton, there makinge inquirie whether the enemy passed that way, enformed that a partie of horse and foote of Ormonds armie did lodge in Keylls, he was aduiced by some of his under comanders not to venture upon a stronge garrison without his foote, and that he should expecte a regiment of infanterie that was marchinge after, leade by major Generall Cahan, he will not followe that sense, as very desirous of honor, marched away, the day was mightie foggy, obsearuinge noe opposition either by scout or centry, the gates weede open, marchinge in as deepe as they were able, the enemy not aware untill he sawe them with bloudie swordes in the streete, slaughteringe as many as came in their way, pilladginge and riflinge of houses, all the enemy foote upon sight deserted the towne and ran to a bogge that was neere hande, the enemy horse takinge example by the former did the like, leavinge both horse and furniture behinde to the victors disposall, the northeren Irish, lightinge followed afoote the fugitive enemy, wherof killed foure score, tooke prisoners Sir Theophilus Johns a Lieutenant Colonell, a page to my lord Forbize, five Captains wherof one was of Cavalliers, and 50 comon souldiers. This warlike partie soe actinge to their eternall fame, turned the same backe, this is the second time that Generall Neyll, forced Ormond to a dishonorable flight and am sure ere longe will cause him run some desperat course, to quitt the kingdome. Those officers soe taken, were remitted to Castllogh and the comon souldiers turned away upon their parole for the exchance of other suche, if any was at that present in restraints.
- Henri
Roes
courage.
- Sir
Theophilus
Johns,
prisoner,
and others.
- The Vlster arme now after the deade of winter paste, was designed their winter quarter.

CHAPTER XII.

1646-7.

The mother of him that feareth seldome weepeth, men must therefore looke before them, leaste they stumble, and behinde them least they be overtaken : and on either side, to meete danger which way soever it cometh : for noe man is in greater perill then he that feares it leaste. Wherfore upon a parley and treatie of peace betweene the besiedged and the leaguer, neither parte must be secure, but stande upon like garde of diffidence, as when they were in tearmes of greatest defiance.—Mater timidi non solet flere.

At this verie time Henrie Roe Oneylle went to Andrewe Boy Tuites house, neere Mollingare, and tooke him prisoner, and in that nature caried him alonge to Mariborough to the Catholicke Generall.

This Andrewe Tuite was a prime man with the enimie, sendinge him notice of all occurrences, beinge a suposed member of the Confederacie, a neere kinsman to Sir James Dillon and in nothinge degenerat, wher ever he mette with the northeren people upon advantage, used bad offices towards them, both in goods and reputation, gave many bad characters of the Catholicke Generall both in publicke and privat conference, neither fearinge God or man, usinge all uncivill deportment towards them to his power, and uttermost abilitie. Beinge now in the Generalls hands, all, with both acquainted, was confident the Generall would hange him or keepe him in longe indurance, for verilie his misdemeanors towards his lordship deserved noe lesse, but his lordship mightie partiall and sparinge of humaine bloude, kept him onely in restraints for the matter of 6 or 7 weekes, in the interim the Supreame Councell very serious for his enlargment eftsoone applyed their addresses unto the Catholicke Generall desiringe him to send them the said Tuite, and did promise and vowe, to see justice ministred, (though to his preiudice) accordinge his demeritts, at length by importunitie overcome, was remitted to the Councell, with his accusation legally drawen and therof convicted, in noe lesse then severall treasons, repairinge thither nothinge was don against him (notwithstandinge their innumerable attestations to the contrary,) as beinge Ormonds creature was dismissed, without the leaste satisfaction offered the Generall for his publicke and privat wronges, loe how juste the Councell did proceede ; many other suites have the Councell moved very earnest unto the Catholicke Generall, desiringe to have my Lord Mongomry out of his hands, by the privat workinge of Ormonde, which denied to comply unto but kept him in Cloghwater in the Countie of Cavan, as experimented in their faithlesse dealinge with him in all their actions.

I have promiscuously written the 6th yeare actions in this present and in the next, as conceavinge it of noe other concernment then what those may importe, therefore doe desire the reader not to deeme it a forgettfullnesse, or error in the author, but as formerly suggested, and thus to the seventh yeare of this warr.

266.

Seneca
Suas.

Probus.

Andrewe
Boy Tuite
restraints.Tuite sent
unto the
Councell.The
injustice
of the
Councell.Observe
this.

1646-7.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sixth and Seventh Yeares.

267.1

Bod.
Rep. l. 5.
Eras. Adag.
Alusio
Poetae.
Sueto :
Nero.

Seldome or neuer shall we see such a father, as My Lord of Ormond, or such sones as the Irish Councell, nor such sones, (as the Supream Councell be) but of such a father, for the plant is knowen by the fruite ; and as is the egge, soe is the birde that hatcheth it, yet as in phisicke, wholsome use is made of poyson and venemous things : Soe in policie men may learne by the villanous and bloudie carriage of such mens actions, how to manage a just and lawfull cause, in doeinge execution upon rebells and traytors namelie to doe nothinge to the halfe : But when the sworde of justice is drawen to throwe the scabberd into the fire.—*mali corui malum ouum.*

Crudelis pater magis, an puer improbus ille ? Improbus ille puer, crudelis, tu quoque pater.

The
proportion
of the Irish
armies and
why ?

In the begininge of springe this yeare, there was an Assembly actually sittinge in Kilkenny, the more indifferent that was there, either before or after unto this day in Ireland, there had been in all the Assembly of Ormonds faction eighteene onely persons, but soe deuilish and poysonall is this broode, (as of such a father,) that those fewe did suggest unto the minds of all the rest whatever they pleased, to the furtherance of their owne ends. The Supream Councell and others their adherents comitted upon Ormonds retireite to Dublin from Kilkenny, as n^o 242 mentioned, were now enlarged without bayle, punishment, or examination, noe nor as much as a bare checke, as a publicke satisfaction for their former treachery, onely by the surmishes of those factioniers. The Catholicke Generall must now disbande seuerall of his armie, beinge the onely champion for the Confederats, pursuant as they did sett fourth to the Assembly instructions in that behalfe, which had beene 6000 foote and 800 horse the proportion of the Vlster armie, wherof one moytie did the kingdome pay for, and the Province the other, (whose compliance was never yett seene,) Linster Province to have 6000 foote and 600 horse. Monster as many more ; and Conaght 2000 foote and 300 horse, this beinge industriously apotted to diminishe their onely sticklers armie, scilicet, Owen Oneyll, as hereafter will apeere more at large. The very same relapsinge Councell was now of newe subrogated and unworthyly assumed to their former dignitie, where wee leave them for a while, workinge the kingdome distruction, and speake a little of Clanmorgan.

The
treacherous
Councell
newly
assumed.

268.

The
loyallest
in all
Monster.

Upon the rejection of Ormonds peace, as n^o 246 mentioned, the clergie congregation and the Supream Councell for that present, by the suggestion and furtherance of all the well affected Catholicks of the Province of Monster, my lord Roch, Castle Connell, David Roch, Mortagh OBryan, Richard Buttler, Ikeyrie, Donogh M^cCarthy and severall others of the best note did nominat and apointe the Earle of Clanmorgan Generall of the Confederat Catholicks of Monster, (settinge fourth herby their loyaltie to his Majestie,) Richard Buttler, Ikeyeries son, a brave gentlman and an ould beaten souldier, was apointed Leutenant Generall, they received their orders to make upp their armie with

greate expedition, Clanmorgan employed the said Buttler his Lieutenant Generall, as a native of the kingdome and of greate alliance in that Province, (if not refractorie) to bringe the armie in a bodie unto the field and in the interim would attende other affaires himself in Tomond conducinge to the furtherance therof. This gallant gentlman, the Lieutenant Generall, omitted noe time in pursuite of his said comannds, untill with a competent armie of horse and foote did shewe his face in the field, though not with his full number, accordinge the former provinciall proportion, yett every day multiplied and flocked by heapes unto the campe.

1646-7.
Lieutenant
Generall
Buttlers
censerie.

My Lord of Muskry resident in Kilkeny, certified of Lieutenant Generall Buttlers proceedings, in emulation with him and disparagment of Clanmorgan, as a forraigner, though imediately cominge from his Majestie and very zealous for the Catholicke cause and other the kingdome affaires, departed the city, with Lieutenant Generall Pursell in his company, directinge his course towards Lieutenant Generall Buttlers campe, industriously to breake both armie and designe, (though choosen as aforesaid) he gathered some men and putts himself in posture of a campe upon a hill in sight of the armie, he sent worde unto such of the said armie, as best knowen unto him to be more inclined into both noueltie and faction, that they should repaire unto him to conferr with him, this don seuerall of them obeyed, whoe drewe to mutinie and disloyaltie the most parte of Clanmorgans armie, to his owne faction, causeinge such as repaired unto him, to be instruments to seduce the rest, with the promise of honorable preferments if they joine with him and relinquish Clanmorgan, tellinge them withall, that sworne for the association of the Catholicke Confederacie had noe reason to joine with a stranger, nay enemie to their nation and countrie, beinge an Englishman, of whose religion wee may doubte, for he may be a Puritant for ought wee know, against whome wee are sworne to fight, onely by his proper relation he is a Catholicke, which makes nothinge against our now intention. If an armie once under his comannde might be, would invite many of our now enemies the Puritants his countriemen to be of his armie, and those once admitted did make themselves stronge, cashire you, and soe have their owne intents, withall that he is not authorized by the kingdome, as I certifie you as cominge imediately now from the Supream Councell to move this much unto you that you be not deceaued and prevent the busines leaste this obstruction did take roote to your future distruction, by these and other pregnant (though false) surmishes, Muskry and his ministells perswaded privatly the whole armie, at leaste the best sorte by degrees conferred to Muskrye himself to be further satisfied in those proposalls. The matter came to that height, that all the armie became of Muskrys partie except the Lieutenant Generall and fewe of his owne adherents that followed him, but noe reasones or motions sufficient enough to drawe him, (though many seeminge good ones were offered) to joine with Muskry, he departed away sad and pensiue, for the affront receaued, and Muskry did abide with the armie as Generall.

269.

Muskrys
deuillish
plott.

His falshe
intimation.

Muskry,
zeudo-
generall.

Any man may thinke strange of such a passadge, soe peremptorily performed, soe periurable attempted, soe unchristianly insinuated, soe unconscionable

270.

1646-7. Muskrys character. intended, and soe factiously executed: doe not you note how prevalent is Ormonds faction? his treacherous peace rejected. Clanricards engagment in his behalfe disanulled, his plotts with Preston and Dillon prevented, this now Peere, his brother-in-lawe, sworne for the confederacie, contrarie to his oathe, is in publicke negotiation for the enfrenching therof, in contempte of that holy tye of both divine and humaine lawe, in disdaine of publicke and supream authoritye of both clergie and laytie, presumes without the leaste qualification of any power, to take upon himself, the regulatunge of the Catholicke militia in Munster, and to finde faulte in the reall and loyall actions, of that noble and Catholicke Peere Clanmorgan (though falsly, injuriously and ungodly otherwise by him traduced) neither respectinge the degree and condition of such a man, nor his dignitie, as immediatly authorized agent from his Majestie nor the zeale of his aproved and censer proceedings, nor his owne affinitie towards soe well desearuinge a personage.

271. The relapsinge Councell newly assumed.

The Assembly as aforesaid, sittinge in Kilkeny, grannted their orders to disbande severall companies and regiments of the Catholicke Generalls armie, not well understandinge the fetche and groundes of the surmishers, they breake upp and leave the former Supream Councell with fewe others newly assumed, with the ordinarie power of non plus ultra, and beinge in a seeminge maner reconciled, made them renewe the oathe of Confederacie and association, but the oftener they swore this oathe, the worste they proved in the performance. Lett us leave this Councell plottinge all devices to keepe downe Generall Neylle, the onely stickler of religion, kinge and nation, if good phisitions we might make good and wholesome use of the poysoninge druggs of these pestiferous and venomous apothecaries the broode of treasonable Ormonde and turne now to their ambitious and disloyall parent Ormond musinge in Dublin, how to avenge himself of both monarche and Irish nation.

CHAPTER XIV.

272. Arles. Rhet. 1. 3. Plut. Apoph. Eurip. Plin. paneg.

Unlawfull actions proceedinge from our free elections, can noe way be salued, nor porgetted over with any colour of excuse: the wounde may well be bounde up, but the scarr will always remaine for if lawe were to be violated, it should be for a kingdome at leaste: but neither the greatnesse of the purchase, nor of the partie can estimate the qualitie of the facts, nor patronize either the offender or justifier of the offence from juste reproofe, noe man is more bounde to be true then he that is trusted. *Malè vim suam potestas alienis injuriis experitur.*

Endoxus.

There is nothinge soe haynous as ambition, for the ambitious cares not, soe he obtaines his wished ends, to violate the lawes of reason and religion, breakes all the bonndes of modestie and equitie, and will not sticke to enfrenche the sacred tyes of nearest freindshipe countinge nothinge unlawfull, or undecent that seeme not to his unbridled and raginge humors, what plotts, devices, and conclusions he hath laid to compasse, what he soe eagerly pursues. Eudoxus, a Greece Philosopher, said that ambition is hurried on with an unreasonable desire to rule,

by it said Ar[istote]les sedition is nourished and sowed in cittyes, kingdomes and countries. Anaxagoras did compare it to a bramble, the bryer above all other trees doe drawe bloude of passengers. This covetous ambition or ambitious covetousnesse is like a sponge, sucks all liquors, but parts with noe drope unlesse squeezed with violence. It is said Exens a barren sandie ground, which sucks all the raine and dewes, but yeld neither herbe or fruite, ingratitude and covetousnesse are companions, which is compared to a drag-nett, houldinge both small and greate fishe, it is compared to a thirstie traveller whoe drinks any liquor that first comes, though it prove poyson. An[a]charsis said, that the covetous is not capable of good counsell or instruction. By Socrates is compared to a maddman. Zenophon said, that he neglectes justice, equitie, all lawes both divine and humane, livinge without friendship, charitie, breakinge all bounds of faith and covenant. What was the cause of the Emperour Mauritius, his wife and five sones deathe but covetousnesse, because he payed not the souldiers their monies. What brought the nobilitie of Swizerland and Crassus to untimely death, other then ambitious covetousnesse, as Plutarchus affirmeth? Did not ambition cause the deuastation of Greece, the mother of Science and Arte, and famous in armes? Yett was brought to ruine by the ambition of Leosthenes and Demosthenes, whoe plotted to bringe all publicke officers to their owne power, therby kindled the fire of division and distraction. The like did Alcibiades in his owne countrie. The same hapned to the Lacedemonians and Athenians. What other did hapen to Rome by Cæsar and Pompey? What betweene the house of Orleans and Burgundie that caused the utter downfall of 4000 men of greate families in one daie within Paris; And, lastly what have bene the cause of the now destruction of Ireland, other then the ambitious covetousnesse, treason and faction of Ormond and his complices? This Ormond, a man of small deseruinge in martiall affaires, weake in his directions, could in his resolutions, and unfortunat in his actions, in whom was nothinge noble or greate but his bloude, which issued from the master-veine of the Buttlers is now pensiue in Dublin, capitulatinge with the Parliament of England for the surrender of his Majesties title in all the garrisons at present in his hands beinge as he was the Kings Lieutenant Generall in Ireland. Noe vice layes a more foule aspersion upon man then that of ingratitude, soe noe evidence is soe stronge to tainte him therewith, or convicte him therof as his owne handewritteinge in detestation of that vice, and aprobatation of the contrary; beinge intrusted by his Majestie receavinge his honor and preferments from the Crowne of England unto this very day, though well perswaded of his censuritie for the Parliament. Ormond now certified that his Majestie was in bondage with the Parliament and not able to doe him any greate favor, ungratfull of paste benefitts and unmindfull of all his former creations and dignities, as such must lay open to the world's viewe. What in the retired angles of his cankered hearte he reserued unto his Majestie in this time of his ebbing and lowe fortune, as a reuenge of some former wronges (as he conceived,) the father of the now monarche, Kinge James, had don to the grandfather of this extant Earl of Ormond, by name Sir Walter Buttler.

The case have been thus: Thomas Duffe, Earle of Ormond, died without 273-

1646-7.
Aristoteles.
Anaxag.
Philoxenus

An[a]-
charsis.
Socrates.
Zenophon.

Plut.

Ormonds
character.

1646-7.

issue male lawfully begotten of his owne loines, left one onely daughter behinde, which daughter married unto My [lord] Dingwell, a Scottsman, by the lawes of England this man should be heire aparante of the earldome in right of his wife. But Sir Walter Buttler, married unto a sister of Richard Buttler, My lord of Mongerrott, beinge nephew unto the foresaid Thomas Duffe, Earle of Ormond, and consequently his collatterall heire, as the next in bloude that way. My lord Dingwell enformed his Majestie King James with his title to the said earldome, wherupon Sir Walter Buttler was sent for by his Majestie to England, there arrivinge would not admitt his Majesties arbitration betwixt him and Dingwell, for his contempte was comitted by souveraigne authoritie to the Fleete, where himself, wife, and children indured much povertie for the space of 14 or 15 yeares, all the maine profit and annuitie acruinge out of the said earldome nay of his owne proper patrimony was assigned over unto Dingwell. Sir Walter had a brave gentelman to his sone and heire by name Thomas Buttler, knowen for Viscount Durlise, whoe was father unto this now Earle of Ormond. Complaints were exhibited before his Majestie against this Thomas Buttler by the lord President of Monster 13 articles of treasone, pursuant herunto comanns issued from his Majestic for him to apeere fourthwith before him in London in obedience therto, embarked himself for England, either by privat fate or diuine providence suffered shipwracke and was drowned, this nobleman soe miscaried left behinde him two sons and foure daughters, wherof James Buttler, the now Earle of Ormond, was the eldest as such was sent for, and the Archbishoppe of Canterburie appointed his tutor and Guardian, in processe of time, Dingwell himself was drowned, and his ladic now Dowager upon her death bed, comanded her onely daughter by Dingwell aforesaid, to marie none other then the heire aparant of Sir Walter Buttler. She dyinge, and Kinge James himself chauncinge this life for another, some well wishers of the house of Ormond, did drawe this yonge ladic Dingwell, and Sir Walter Buttlers grandchilde, James Buttler the now Earle to an atonment, whoe after severall ouertures were married. This cominge unto the eares of younge Kinge Charles newly crowned, after the death of his father, was more clement and indulgente in that busines then his royall father had bene. The cause of debate now ceasinge, the effecte of necessitie must be crubbed, the plantiffe and deffendant by this indissoluble knott of matrimonie united, the enlargment of Sir Walter Buttler adiudged, to inter possession of the said Earldome of Ormond, he to enjoy the same duringe life, and his grandchilde married as aforesaid, and his posteritie without controlment with a provisoe that they jointly and seuerally shall inter recognizance for the payment of forty thousande pounce str. to his Majestie as wardshipe or fyne, thus were enlarged and arrived unto Ireland and intered possession of all and singular the parcells of the said Earldome by vertue of the kings iniunction.

274.

Sir Walter Buttler now by the kings assent Earle of Ormond, and this his grandchilde Viscounte Durlise, the ould man, a braue Catholicke, eminent in devotion, and soe was his son and heire, miscaried, as aforesaid, but this now Earle, (son to the one and grandchild of the other,) a younge man bred, as above mentioned, in the bosome of Canterburie, a Puritant, Protestant or Atheiste is

conformable to the principles of his education by that reputed prelate his tutor, the longe and penurious restraints of his grandfather, the untimely death of his father occasioned by his Majesties commands for him to appeere in London in relation to the said surmises of treason, and the extreate of the said sum of £40000 already payed to their exceeding great prejudice, was an itche and a gale in his hearte, ever expecting some oportunitie wherby he may be empowered to revenge those wrongs, (as he pleased to call them,) if possibly he may, either on the person of the now Kinge Charles, or his posteritie. His Majestie by all liklyhood had some feelinge therof, thought to amuse the partie, to give him some satisfaction, by promotions, after his grandfathers death, to braue honors and preferments, he made him Lord Generall of his militia in Ireland, after promoted him to be Lord Lieutenant, Generall Governor of the whole kingdome, created him Marquesse of Ormond, and Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and intrusted him with the royall sworde, invested him with all the power possible, though against the statute lawe of England and Irelande. All this was not of sufficient force to quenche and abate the inueterat hatred, he conceaued against the crowne in pursuance of the foresaid motives: his longe and continuall wishes, for that diabolicall revenge is now drawn to a periode the oportunitie is thus now offered.

CHAPTER XV.

Noe necessitie can be forcible enough, nor pretence warrantable to urge a man to be disloyall, or make breache of his worde and faith to his Prince; It is therefore hatefull in all men, but more when it is in a person noble by bloude, and a souldier, and most of all when it is accompanied with ingratitude, whoe seldome escapes the due rewarde for such an offence.—*Fraus foedior quam aperta violentia.*

Ormond, simulatunge great necessitie to betraye both kinge and nation, as by the Catholicke Generall two or 3 severall times putt to flight, the remuneration of faction and treason sits now in Dublin in consultation with his refractorie Peeres, Clanricard, Castlhauen, Taaffe, and Digby, with those master peeces of disloyaltie, as fitt instruments of revenge and disobedience, induced therunto by former principles and motives of seeminge affronts ministred by his Majestie as may be suggested. Clanricard in relation to his vterine brother, the Earle of Essex, now Generall for the Parliament against his Majestie, and to indeere himself particularly unto the said Parliament as havinge in their possession his estate of S. Albons, was prime motor of this catastrophe, Castlhauen now callinge to minde the execution of his father in London for buggery though enformer himself, or rather a patricide as aforementioned, n^o [blank]; Taaffe, a comon, cogginge gamster, a route banke and a temporizer fitt for any stampe; Digby a publicke and knowen traytor against his Majestie, and for the Parliament, *viribus et posse,*

1646-7.

275.
Senec.
Liu. lib. 9.
Thucyd.
lib. 4.

Ormond
and his
traîne of
Peeres,
disloyally
against his
Majestie.

Theire
ends.

- 1646-7. with those I say Ormond consults, how to deliver the kings sworde and forts, and all that was deere unto him in all the kingdome unto the comon enimie, therby to disenthroned royaltie in Ireland and consequently to extirpate the Irish nation in bringinge in the maine power of a potent enimie the Parliament of England.
176. **Ormonds motion to the Parliament.** After serious and many consultations to this effecte, to colour by some seeminge reason this soe abominable a treason they move unto the Parliament (the kinge then their prisoner, and consequently not his owne man) that they should gett the royall assent for the delivery of Dublin and the rest of the garrisons to their hands, and the same instrument to be signed and sealed by him, his Majestie durst not deny the Parliament anythinge, this requeste grannted, all things conducinge to the said agreement perfected by both parties, Ormond must sende pledges for performance, whoe had beene his owne son and heire, and the Earle of Roscoman, those arrivinge to London, all the dispatches were sent to Ormond, accordinge requeste, and Colonell Johns frome the Parliament, with 1500 souldiers to inter possession of all and singular the said forts and garrisons, in Ormonds hands at present, whoe was to have twelthousand pounds str. readie money in hand, and £4000 yearly for 7 yeares, at the expiration therof, to have and to hould all his owne estate without contribution or any yearly rente, and in the interim to live with the Parliament in England, or wheare he thought fitt for his further behoofe, and that the Parliament would have a speciall care of him, this much was publicke, but doe veryly believe there were others privatly betweene them. Upon sight of those conditions and the kings letters, the castle of Dublin, Droghedac, Dundalke, Trim, and the Naasse were surrendered to Johns. Ormond now makes himself readie for jorney to apeere in London accordinge covenante; but before he departs the kingdome, shall I question him one thinge?
- Dublin given to the Parliament.**
- Ormonds conditions.**
- Ormond goes for England.**
177. **Observe his colution.** When the Confederat Catholicks were in a treatie of peace with Ormond, by vertue of his Majesties comission to that effecte, settinge fourth that he should make peace with his Irish subjects the Romaine Catholickes of Ireland upon any condition soe, they send 10000 men over to England for his royall asistance, which were the kings verie wordes; these beinge urged to Ormond, answered that his Majestie was in a weake condition then, which was the cause he spoke soe pliant to your desires, and that he would not builde the kings graces upon soe sandie a grounde, as not beinge his owne in regarde of his now weaknesse, loe how Ormond shifes his Majesties comission and comannds, alleadinge him not his owne man, in regard of his then weaknesse. O loyall Ormond—the kinge now close prisoner, with a malicious, impious and stronge enimie, bought deerely from another malaparte and disloyall subjecte, accordinge all lawes not his owne man Ormond did sollicite by himself and the Parliament (whom he durst not denie) to have his assent under his hande and scale, for the surrender of all that is royall and deere unto him in Ireland, and upon such whether proper or conterfiete, yelds all to the publicke and sworne enimie, the kinge enjoyinge his full libertie, and in the heade of an armie, comanndinge him to give his subjects that earnestly and loyally fought for him, and sworne therto, the conditions onely that all
- Ormonds treacherous excuse.**

free borne nation might have, will not obey, because the kinge is not as stronge as at other times; if Ormond were loyall and adviced by his Majestie he would prove stronge unto this verie day in England, 10000 men was a braue reliefe of his weaknesse then, and those once sent, would be still reliued and recruited by the kingdome of Ireland, he will give all the kings forts unto the enemie, that imployes all his men and power against his Majestie upon the bare subscription of a close prisoner, by coaction forced and threatens wrested, and will not upon the severall authenticke comannds of a monarche in libertie and by a legall and royall waies agree with his Majesties sworne and decre subjects for the kings exceedinge greate auayle, and will give the enemie what is decre unto the crowne, to the kings mightie prejudice and utter destruction. Lett any man judge, whether this be faire dealinges with a kinge, or whether it be ingratitude in this Peere soe high, and often obliged to the contrary. We leave him goinge for England, to salute his ould and recente benefactors the Parliament bankettinge for a while in London, and returne to those other Peeres his comrads.

1646-7.
Obiections.

CHAPTER XVI.

It is noe paradoxe to be riche with litle, nor to be poore with much: because contente is the poore mans riches, and desire the rich mans povertie, which is never satisfied, for whereas all things in nature are finit and terminable within the limitts of their peculiar period, and all humors and affections of the minde are fixed upon their proper objects, and quietly settled in the center of their fruition: onely that of ambitious couetise, is infinite and endlesse, for it gives as much vexation of soule after the purchase acquired, as there was at first travaile in the acquiringe; still suggestinge and supplyinge newe fewell to the fire of his desire.

278.
Curt.
in gest.
Alexand.
Apul. de
magia.
l. 1^o.

Creuerunt et opes, et opum furiosa cupido:
Et, cum possideant plurima, plura petunt.

Senec.
Epist.
Juvenal
Sat. 1.
Ovid.
[Fast. i.]

Those Peeres though in wealthe plentifull, in desire beggerly, such can never be satisfied, upon the surrender of Dublin (beinge prime motors therin), and Ormonds departure, tooke their course for severall places, accordinge their respective fancies, and where most each of them might acte with more ease and dexteritie their ungodly designe, to the destruction of both monarche, nation and religion. Digby went to France to worke some division there betweene the Christian Kinge and his subjects, in imitation of the Parliament of England, wherof he was a sworne member receavinge all his influence from thence. Castlhauen and Taaffe went to Kilkenny to infuse there, their former treachery to the Supream Councill, where, notwithstandinge their severall oathes to the contrary, were very apt and capable of such impressions, and though actors on Ormonds parte in these later comotions, and therefore willfully guiltie of all the proceedings, but now by the Councill more friendly receaued then the loyallist subjecte or the censerest Confederate. Clanricard, the Zforza Millaneze inventor

Digbys
designe in
France.

Castlhauen
and
Taaffe in
Kilkenny.

1646-7. and engager of all malice, did sue the Councell for a safe conducte, to goe to the countie of Galway and from thence did promise to embarke himself for France, (which was the least of his thoughts, though cost him the worde of a peere). **Clanricards colution.** But I mervayle why did this nobleman desire this passe, either for Conaght or beyonde seas? and never a one of his foresaid complices did the like? Sure he was nothinge better minded then the worst of them, nor the Confederats in anythinge more obliged unto him then unto the meanest of all those that went over. Ormond and Digby in seue[ral] wayes thought the same needlesse, and were not stopped, though in their power to due it. Those others that went in person to Kilkeny, Castlhaun and Taaffe as guiltie every jott as the primest, and eache a knowne traytors against Kinge and nation, were not only hindered, but honorably intertained. Why then did this man desire a passe more then they? he sought a passe and obtained it, to be the better enabled to suggest what he pleased unto Galway men and others: arriuinge to Galway, shewed his passe and in vertue therof, the effecte of all his farr fetcht colution, desired his owne house of Tyrolan within a muskett shott to Galway, then in hands of the publicke, as longe as he was makinge himself readie for jorney, it grannted, seates himself there, delayinge his goinge, from time to time, expectinge, as he gave falshely out, newes from France, importinge his dispatch protracted time soe farr, that he stayed there for good and all, which was his whole scope.

CHAPTER XVII.

279. All creatures are naturally skillfull and cuninge to knowe not onely their owne good, but what may hurte and anoy their enemie. And therefore the dragon biteth the elephants eare, and thence sucketh his bloude: because he knoweth that to be the onely place, which he cannot reache with his tronke, to defende. Soe the partie iniured, if he finde noe other way, revengeth himself upon the iniurer, by infusinge ill counsell unto his eares. A prince therefore must either not wronge his neighbour, or not take his advice whom he hath wronged.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 8.
Tacit. Hist. l. 3.
Teren. Eun.
Ovid Art.

Quælibet extinctos iniuria suscitât ignes.

The Supreame Councell comanns Generall Neyll, with his armie to marche to Conaght against Sir Charles Coote and his partie, and promised him £9000 the verie first day of his rendezvouz in the countie of Roscoman, and the Comissioners of the Province of Conaght did engage themselves for performance herof, Athunry, Sir Luke Dillon and Father Oliuerus Bourke, a Dominican Fryer, existinge then in Kilkeny. The Catholicke Generall marched though well understoode the Councells intente which had beene, to keepe him out from Linster, gettinge him once over the Shanon and breake his armie, to their uttermost endeavoure, by famen, non-payment, and other such unconscionable quilletts (as hearafter more at large will apeere) notwithstandinge, marched towards

The Councell couenant with Owen Oneyll.

Athlone, having received orders to carry the ordinance therof alonge with him, beinge not readie for cariage, for want of carts, the cartes wanted iron, 15 stones was necessarie, all his dilligence to have this in a readinesse was not sufficient, the Comisioners of Conaght was soe remisse in such a poore begininge, whereby they shewed their unwillingnesse for the furtherance of the said service, untill a marchant of Galway, by name Stephene Browne, then in Athlone furnished him with that quantitie of iron, whereupon was dispatched, at the end of 3 weekes from Athlone to the campe, but the said merchant gott for his good office a rounde checke from Sir Richard Blake, of that Province Comisioner, a prime practitioner of faction. Colonell Richard Fferrall and Colonell Roger Maguires regiment, were the verie firste that apered there, as havinge their winter quarter there abouts, though for the most parte in bodie in the field to stoppe the enimie incursions to the counties of Galway and Roscomon, the campe now upon the arrivall, dayly multitude in Bellagalle. In this campe was Colonell Fferrall made Lieutenant Generall, and Con M^cCormacke Oneylle deposed by the Generall, and Captain Huigh M^cArt Oge Oneylle, spoken subrogated Major Generall in steede of Colonell Shane OKahan, chiefe of that familie. Lett us leave Generall Neyll in this campe recrutinge his armie, and speake of Generall Preston goinge to the field now in Linster.

1646-7

Sir Richard Blake factionier.

Richard Fferrall, Leutenant Generall.

Huigh Oneyll, Major Generall.

CHAPTER XVIII.

In an ancient inheritance and well settled state, fortresses are onely needfull upon the frontiers and against the borderinge enimie: But in the bowells of a contry they are uselesse, and in some cases preiudiciall and dangerous. If therefore a Prince be forced to abandon his state and give way to necessitie, and will ever hope to returne, when the times are more propitious, let him raze all those in-lande forts before his departure, he shall finde his returne and restitution more easie.—Arces et propugnacula ciuem ignaum efficiunt.

280.

Lips. Pol. l. 4.

Mac. l. 2. dis. 24.

Bod. rep. 5.

Generall Preston (though noted of seuerall seeming treasons) is now comanded to the field with a braue armie, and a traine of artillerie, the first thinge he did was to leaguer Katarlagh, it was given out that he had the same by promise, when he passed thither last October, this beinge about the later end of May last imediatly followinge, notwithstandinge he leaguers that same now, plants his ordinance, begins to bater, aimed too high and passed the newe buildings through which his shott, havinge such a triall, would not demolish the house, passed the ordinance the other side of the Berowe to plant it against the bridge castle, the artillerie planted there severall times the Generall, Bagnall, Edward Walle, with many others of the beste note of factionists were feried over the river to and fro, at any time and under reache of the castle shott and never shouted at, or any hurte offered unto them, which was most strange in the opinion of the well affected, wherby was knowen to be enimie in shewe and not really, he would admitt noe Councell of warr, but was totally leade by Bagnall,

Prestons tergiuersations.

Prestons knowen treacherie.

1646-7. prime motor of all faction, and others of the same broode, the ordinance did bater White Castle, now assaulte followed, but began to capitulat for quarter, it beinge granted of bagg, bagage, liues, armes, and a conuoy to Dublin. The Generall made some stay there makinge more workes, repairinge the breaches, maninge the house, for his owne proper use, Duncanan and Birr were alreadie in his possession.

281. His son Anthony Preston was from him gouernor of Birr and others by his assignment in Duncanan. After some stay there, he marched to Manistereuin, (in ancient time a monasterie of S. Bernards Order,) in the countie of Kildare, where he continued the matter of 3 weekes to shewe rather his brauery, or to give the enemie sufficient time to make himself readie or for some recruite, as was given out, rather then for any thinge pertinent to the seruice that euer came to our knowledge, the campe was more like a marte then it proper, soe many braue caualliers, such feastes and banquetts, such inuitations, jolitie and pastime, such huntings and sports, such a markett of all venable wares, that Kilkenny could not afoorde better. It was infused to every mans eares, that the factionists would oppose by all possible meanes the Vlster people to treade upon Linster soile, either must sinke or swime amonge the respectiue enemies of Conaght and Vlster, this was their sense towards their best benefactors. But God, whoe penetrats the privat and retired angles of humaine conceites, never passeth such in humanitie of confederats unpunished, as was soone after inflicted by diuine prouidence upon this very armie, from hence he marched to the Naasse, leauinge a garrison there in Henristowne and Coghlanstowne deserted by the enemie, from thence to Minuth, which was surrendered upon quarter, leauinge there a garrison, gaue out that his aime was at Trim, thither he marched, arriuinge to Agha Palice, where wee leave him for a while, and speake of Colonell Johns, gouernor for the Parliament in Dublin.

An abby of S. Bernards order.

The behaviour of Prestons campe.

His needlesse garrisons and why?

CHAPTER XIX.

282. A busines well begun is half ended, wherefore it imports to the hapie or disastrous issue of any affaire what maner of intrance and begininge we make, especially in that of warr, for good success in the first encounter, greatly aduanceth the maine of our busines, and takes away both courage and reputation, yee and resolution from the loosinge side; herin therefore ought to consiste the chiefe care of a Generall.—*Dimidium facti, qui bene cœpit, habet.* Colonell Michael Johns by the Parliament of Englands authoritie did inter possession of Dublin and other garrisons, then in Ormonds hands accordinge capitulation, as n^o. 276 specified. Beinge now in sure possession therof, after Ormonds departure, (beinge a souldier of fortune), certified of the proceedings of this Prestonian Irish armie, as havinge oportunitie enough by the Generalls delayes, and needlesse wheelles left noe way unattempted, or stone unmoued, conducinge any way for proper strenght and readinesse against the said Generall, as beinge his first acte in Ireland, thought

Horat. l. i. ep. 2. Pastor Fido. Tacit. An.

Colonell Johns advantage and noble proceedinge.

noe labour lost, noe expence, (how greate soe ever undertaken,) chargable for the achievinge of a heroycke deede in the begininge of his nowe promotione wherfore he sent for the English and Scotts of the north, promisinge them a masse of money for salary, and asiste him for certaine dayes, the northerenemie alreadye his partie moued with more earnest desire, (as couetous people), as hauinge the like inticeinge baite, embraced the motion, made themselves readie for jorney, the place apointed for their meetinge with Johns and his partie was Drohedac, where wee leave them gatheringe to a bodie and speake a litle of the Supream Councill.

1646-7.
Mercenarie
auxiliaries.

The Supream Councill aplyed all their witt and power to the onely objecte of the Catholicke Generalls destruction, and findinge noe better way to that purpose then to worke rent and division in his armie, under the cloude of some seeminge good government whoe knowe by experience that his armie (notwithstandinge his exceedinge good applications and vigilant industrie) could not longe subsiste in a bodie, as not prouided of any necessaries, or to be prouided, any way befittinge such and soe populous an armie, and marchinge dayly in waste countreies without either cattle or tillage, and that the Commissioners of the Prouince of Conaght did not pay the armie, the sum above mentioned. And to further inuite the distraction and dispersinge of the said armie, gave orders to their seuerall Colonells in Linster to recruite their respectiue regiments. To Sir James Dillon, an archtraytor against Religion, Kinge and countreie, and a periured person, to Colonell Gillmer, and to Colonell Alexander M^cCollakitagh M^cDonnell, newly come over from Scotland, upon the disbandinge of the Earl of Antrim and Monrosse their armies, soe comanded by his Majestie instrument (though in restraunte with the Parliament to which they foolishly obeyed.) The Councill did send orders to eache barony in Linster to make up traine bands, and those to be in a readinesse for a recrute of the standinge armie, if neede required, and to joine with Prestons armie, notwithstandinge the proportion of eache prouince, accordinge the Assembly aploiment (as above mentioned,) those traine bands to be in pay, as longe as in the field, or randevouz. All this were baite, and allurments, to drawe Owen Oneylls armie from their colours, for staruinge souldiers, without either prouision or meanes, in an unhabitted countreie, was sure to come to plentifull countreie, with full meanes and lesse enemye. By these deuices the three former regiments were brauely recruited, by the runawayes of the Vlster armie, 2000 men at leaste of the Catholicke Generalls armie arriued to Linster upon this score, and were it not for his owne vigilancie and his major officers exceedinge greate care, this stratageme did prove sufficient to drawe his whole armie from him, accordinge, as things were then caried, and the extenuitie of affaires in his campe.

283.
The
Supream
Councill
objecte.

Reformed
Colonells
recruitinge.

Antrim and
Monrosse is
foolerie.

The
Councill
knowen
partialitie.

Those fetches well understoode by the Generall, notwithstandinge, went still forward with his designe marched to Bully, in the countie of Sligo 10000 foote and 1200 horse, all of braue resolution, the waies from thence to Sligo 20 miles, verie rough, sliperie and tugh for artilerie or wagons, imployed his armie (though in extreame penurie) to qualifie all the wayes alonge Corsliaue in such a befittinge maner, that neither armie or other power, either civill or martiall have attempted

284.
The
composure
of the
Vlster
armie.

1646-7.
His works
in
Corstiane.
The
Provinciall
Councells
colusion.
Sir Luke
Dillons
craffe.
285.

ever the like, made it possible for all kind of cariage, this beinge accomplished, spoke to the Provinciall Commissioners desiringe them to putt him in some posture of marchinge forwarde accordinge orders and couenant, and would accept for the present a competencie of meate for his armie for onely 4 daies, and would goe forwarde, faire promises he had in lewe of compliance, causinge him to live still in expectation therof, some of the Comissioners went to Galway, as they gave out to bringe money unto the campe, but noe such matter, nay Sir Luke Dillon, whoe was chiefe in this plott, seeinge his owne time (beinge a suposed pledge for performance) stole away from the campe.

The spies
deceived
by Generall
Neyll.

When the Generall obsearued how those Comissioners were intended, to make knowne unto the world, his zeale for the Kingdome service, and the treacherie of those ministers of iniquitie employed in the gouernment comanded his Lieutenant Generall Richard Ferrall with 2000 foot and 800 horse to be in areadinesse to marche to Sligo to discouer the enemie motion and situation. The Generall was well possessed that in his campe were seuerall enemie spies, to delude those, caused this partie to be in areadinesse for present marche, the spies two or 3 they were in seuerall wayes, and seuerally apointed dispatched themselves to Sligo, gave true intelligence there of the said parties arrivall thither that night or next day, wherupon the enemie was in arnes all the remaine of that night and the next day, though the said partie never stirred untill the seconde night. The enemie seeinge none to arrive in any the apointed houers, was confident they were apointed some other way and not thither, by this surmishe and truste, he did omitt any exacte watche or garde, beinge tyred for want of rest (by theire former intelligence) gave full raines to sluggishnesse and slept, without feare. The said partie marchinge all night, that 20 miles, the forlorne hope therof arrived to the campe, never scene or hearde off untill within theire campe, wherupon runinge to execution, all such of the enemie as was able to run away, did it in all haste, some naked, some armed, all forsooke the campe, as fully perswaded, all the Catholicke Generalls armie to be there, left all the bootie behinde to the mercie of this partie. But the poore starulinge souldiers, after theire long and tedious marche, fell eagerly to eate and drinke, wherof the campe was plentifull. The bodie of the partie arriued, refreshed themselues, caried away all the bootie, rifled the campe, possessed themselves of all the tents and pavillions. But in regard the souldiers were tyred, after theire tedious marche, and now refreshed havinge allsoe as much pillage as was in the campe, and those other monuments of victorie, leaste to loose all and themselues, by the reinforcinge of the enemie, (theire relife farr off,) by this time cominge unto a bodie. The Lieutenant Generall wisly returned the same way towards his campe, which, when the enemie obsearued, followed him, in the rear the matter of 5 or 6 miles, but bootlesse for the Irish kept very good order, marched on, still fightinge in the rear, seconded by the fronte, as the maner is. The enemie reccauinge some hurte and gettinge noe aduantage, turned tayle, and the Irish arrived to theire proper campe with honor and spoile.

Generall
Neylls
partie in
Sligo.

Their
valour and
behaviour.

The
enemie
followed.

286.

Within 3 daies after the arrivall of this partie, the armie marched to Bellaghnegrege on the weaste of Aleage, theire meanes and sustenannce faylinge, for the

most parte, was forced to scatter here and there for their proper reliefe, some went unto their assigned quarters to Monster and Conaght, others in the countrey, and others livinge poore and beggerly in the campe, loe, how the willfull and vngodly intention of those impious ministers of Gouernment, Supreame and Provinciaall Councells is now brought to its wished end, onely the dispersion, disunion, rent, diuision and finall destruction of this Catholicke warriors armie, which now (as you see) is brought to passe, this could be the acte of none else, then of a true childe of proude and disobedient Lucifer. O braue engagement of Fr. Oliuerus Bourke, Athunry and Sir Luke Dillon, where is the worth of such personages? where is the truth of Catholicke Confederats? where the loyaltie of sworne subjects? It is methomorphosed vnto knavverie, periurie and treason.

1646-7.
The Vlster
turned
from Sligo.

These
Comrs.
character.

After the recrute of Colonell McDaniells regiment (as aboue mentioned) most willinge to joine with the Vlster armie, Antrim, for some groundlesse jealousies between him and Generall Neylle, did not give waie to this noble Colonell to comply with his said desire, but was comannded by the Councell, and Antrimes surmishes to be of the standinge forces of Monster, whose Generall was then newly promoted, My Lord Taaffe notwithstandinge that he was neuer yett sworne to the Catholicke Confederacie, nor swarued from the Parliament or Presbyterian gouernment, and asisted Ormonde and Clanricard in their former plotts against Kinge and nation, as n° 278 did apeere. In the interim that this newe Generall (by combination and practise of both Councell and Muskry suborned) is makinge himselfe readie for the field, Colonell McDonnell was comannded Gouernor of Clonmell with his regiment. Another regiment of reddshanks under the comande of Clangary was neither permitted to joine with the former, their patriotts to Monster, or to Generall Neyll, but to Preston and his armie, that both should perish without the assistance of either to other, which was the whole scope of those authors of disunion and distraction as the euent will euidently auer hereafter.

287.

Alexander
McColla
M'Donnell
in Clonmell.

Taaffe
Generall in
Monster.

Clangaryes
regiment.

CHAPTER XX.

Example is of greater force than precept. It therefore behoueth a Generall, as well to be a good souldier, as an able directer; that by his presence and personall performance of what he comannds others they may be encouraged to endure any paines, or undergoe any dangers, for upon his actions and vertue especially depends the successe of all the seruice. Wherupon the Greeke leader truly inferred, that an armie of sheepe led by a lion, was better than an armie of lions led by a sheepe.

288.

Plin. Paneg.
Homer.
Polyb. de
Hannibal.
l. 9.
Lucan, l. 9.

Primus arenas,
Ingrediar, primusque gradus in puluere ponam.—
Dux an miles eam.

Wee left Generall Preston in campe at Agha Palice (a stronge place by nature, as n° 281 touched) this man a delicat person in his diet, fine in his deportment, waueringe in his resolutions, imperious in his precepts, never experimentinge the

Prestons
character.
His nigard-
nesse.

1646-7. Barnwalls true intelligence. Owen Oneylls intelligence and offer. Why did not Preston expecte this reliefe? His ill managinge of affaires. His bootlesse garrisons. 189. Prestons small deuotion. The priests perswasion.

extreamitie of want or warr in his owne person, receauinge seuerall intelligence of the Scotts arriuall to Johns asistance, whoe neither did beleue any such relation, or would be at the charges of 4 fardings to have a proper spie to be truly certified therof he receaued a full account of the truth therof by a letter from Barnwell of Killbrue, settinge fourth all the particulars of this busines, the number of the said reliefe, the qualitie of them, and where at present they were, he would not beleue the same, though from so good an author, and his owne neere kinsman and well wisher, whoe kept the said letter, to give the author a good reprehension (as he said) for soe falshe intelligence. Nay receaued intelligence from the Catholicke Generall in Conaght, and tould him in his letter, that the English and Scotts of Vlster were marchinge towards Linster, and desired him to keepe himself in places of saftie, and not to give battle at all vntill the 10th of August, beinge at the receipt then, the 5th and that he would send by his Major Generall and son 4000 foote and 500 horse, he receaued this letter, and thought that anythinge cominge from that author, smelled of some stratageme, insteede of complying with this warriors requeste, was neuer soe forwarde to give battle as now, leaste the Vlstermen did participate of the honor of victorie, that he rather choosed to be vanquished alone, then victor in their companie, and allsoe that he should not giue admittance to their cominge to Linster, as aboue spoken off, but farr deceaued for if the Vlster forces were there appeered, the northeren English and Scotts, beinge acquainted already with them to their losse durst not venture soe farr as they have don against Preston. However Preston must fight with those two armies, and will not be perswaded to the contrarie, nor beleue the enimie arriuall, verily he managed this busines soe ill since his cominge abroade, in rendringe his owne armie (alias stronge and flourishinge) soe weake and unconsiderable, that he is now in noe posture of battle, two or 3 companies of his were in Waterforde, a stronge garrison in Katarlogh, to noe purpose, another in the Naasse, Henristowne, Coghlanstowne, Minuth and others, some of his verie best horse absent, Finglasse, Scurloge and seuerall others, neuer a regiment full, nor company complete, the officers and comannders had their fightinge men cryinge out upon touche in siluer tune in their pocketts, this was publickly knowen but neuer reformed by Preston, hauing still a mustermaster of his owne stampe, sharinge amonge themselues the profit (if such may be called) but not the honor or seruice.

All these aduantages and intelligences notwithstandinge, Preston neuer feared the enimie, he lodged on Saturdaie night the 5th of August 1647, in a very comodious and safe place from any incursions of all enimie as long as he pleased, but next morninge timely on Sunday, beinge the Transfiguration of our Savior, likly without complyinge with the church precept in hearinge masse, dislodged and marched towards Lince hill. Upon his dislodginge, a prieste presented himself to him askinge whether now he marched? whoe answered to such a place, the prieste with all the efficacie possible perswaded him to turne to the former place againe, or pitche his campe where at present he was, affirminge for certaine that Johns with the northeren English and Scotts were marchinge towards him, I doe tell you in the behalf of God Almightye if forwarde you

marche you shallbe vanquished, therefore comannde a halte presently, for it is a world of pittie to expose this armie wittingly unto slaughter, the distruction of a whole kingdome hanginge on it. The priest for rendringe this well grounded sense, by Generall Preston was reputed a maddman, in disrespekte of eache intelligence marched on, goinge to a hight discouered the enemie marchinge towards him, upon whose sight comannded a halte. I hope Preston you beleue your owne perspective glasse now, seeinge you gaue credence to noe humaine relation, the verie vntowardest place that nature could deuice did he choose for battle.

1646-7.

The enemie
discouered.

Colonell Pierce Fitz Gerald, alias Mac Thomas, by the Assembly was apointed comannder of the horse of Linster, but in this present occasion, Preston did giue this comannde to My Lord of Costllagh, a newe reconciled Catholicke, one that never sawe a sworde drawn in a field before that present, nor in his life gave a stroke in the behalfe of the Irish before then; he gaue allsoe the comannde of 7 troupes to Captain Thibott Buttler, and ill desearuinge member, that reuoluted from the clergie and Kingdome, as alreadie mentioned, n^o. 241, comannded McThomas, Captain Gerald Crone Fitz Gerald, Captain James Geoghegan, with 4 troupes vnto a narrow lane, that 3 onely horse might goe in breste, on either side with high stronge ditches, with 20 yeares growth of quick sett, beinge impossible to relieue them, the enemie began to marche towards the mouth of this lane, a braue large field, Dillon and Buttler with the remaine of the horse for relieue and researue, was neither able for the one, nor yett did offer to doe the other, his foote he placed in a braue field of wheate, not yett reepe, the rigges soe toughe and high, and the corn soe extraordinarie high growen, that neither horse or foote could doe any seruice there (in case it were offered), nay too many of the souldiers, (that were not excessiue tall) could not descerne either friende or foe, or what either acted except such as stode by; those were on the left winge of the horse engaged, in the said lane; on the right hand of the aforesaid lane, was a goodly plaine made fallowe and alreadie harrowed, where hee might place his armie for battle, if desirous to thriue. At the right hande southe and by west of the said fallowe, was a bogg, at the brimm wherof place Colonell Clangary with his reddshanks, promisinge to relieue them if neede were. Thibott Buttler with his 7 troupes, kept for a researue, was a quarter of a mile from all the rest, in the reare, in a vallie and upon a straight, whoe could neither see, or come to any the said parties, (if willinge to relieue.) This was the posture of the now Prestonian field, rather disposed for slaughter, then any way for victorie.

290.

Costllagh
now
comannder.Thibott
Buttler
for his
demeritts
honored.The posture
of Prestons
field.How
foolish
you see.

The enemie arriuinge in their full marche, neuer offeringe to plant their field peeces, or other warrlicke posture, but as they were, aduanced towards the horse in the said lane, pell-mell ran towards them, as deepe as they pleased, whose foote aduanced towards the reddshanks, whoe brauelie opposed, causinge the bould enemie to stager, three seuerall times broke on them, followed them unto the very bodie of their armie, whom, when the enemie obsearued noe motion in the Irish foote, placed, as aforesaid, on the left winge, and theyre impossibilitie of their relieuinge the reddshanks, as hauinge high and impassible ditches,

291.

The redd-
shanks in
a poore
case.

- 1646-7. betweene both, the enimie by the obseruation of the field posure, was assuredly certain of the victorie, comanded therefore all the foote to fall on the valiant reddshankes, as the onely then opposers, whoe neuer yett experimented the arte of flight, of 800 theire number, 100 was the most that escaped that furie, and one moytie of this poore remaine, wounded, all the enimie horse fallinge on the said 4 troupes engaged in the lane, must either perish or stand, stand they could not, as ouerswayed by the multitude, therefore must perish, as impossible to be either reliued or flye, upon such odds, the brauest resistance was offered that the world could afford, noe seruice could they acte, untill the enimie came to them brest to brest, not able to stirr forward, backwarde, or on either side, for want of grounde but tyed to theire horse hoofe must licke a rocke either abide the shott or sworde, unmovable, his comrade either killed before him in the formost ranke, or at his elboe, all for the most parte masacred, some of the Irish pyoniers, followers of McThomas, obsearuinge his danger, ran towards him on the other side of the lane, and opposit unto him made a gate on the ditche, wherby savved himself and others that were in the reare, desertinge the place as seeinge noe reliefe to come.
292. But, o treason, before this hapned, all the horse, Generalls Costllagh, Thibott
 Preston Buttler, and Sir James Dillon fled away, leauinge the foote and the said 4 troupes,
 and his as aforesaid engaged, neuer givinge the leaste notice of such a base cowardly acte
 new vnto theire quondam comrads. The foote seeinge now all turned to naught, flyed
 comanners unto a litle bogge neere hande. But the enimie hauinge now noe resistance
 flight. followed the route, the enimie foote did leaguer the said bogg, wherin the Irish
 foote had beene. The Irish comanners on the bogg cryed for quarter, which was
 O cruell grannted, but noe sooner surrendred theire armes pursuant to theire said quarter,
 quarter. but the enimie began to murther and slaughter the whole partie, contrary to the
 lawes of both armes and nations. Some prime comannder of the enimie obsear-
 uinge the inhumanitie of those humane-bloude-shuckers to his best endeauors
 opposed, but maugre all force and power to the contrary 1,500 were killed by that
 Prisoners. crueltie, all the rest were taken prisoners and stripped. Prime officers and
 comanners taken prisoners here, Huigh McPhelim Byrne, Lieutenant-Generall of
 the Confederats in Linster, the Earle of Westmeath, Colonell of foote, Colonell
 Charles Browne, Lieutenant-Colonell Cruze, Major Lalor, Major Charles Geoghegan, Leuten-
 Geoghegan. ant-Colonell FitzGerald, Captain Mathewe Geoghegan, Captain Edward Geoghegan,
 Captain Thomas Geoghegan, Lieutenant Rosse Geoghegan, Lieutenant Andrewe
 Geoghegan, Lieutenant Christopher Geoghegan. All the comanners and officers
 of the armie were either killed or taken prisoners, except the Generall, Buttlers
 and Dillons and fewe others. Those of note killed, Lieutenant-Colonell FitzGerald,
 Captain Gerald Crone FitzGerald, Captain Bathe, Captain James Geoghegan was
 wounded and taken prisoner, and died in Drohedae September followinge. This
 field lost by Preston, except Benborbe, was the richest campe that was yett won
 in Ireland, lost all his wagons, tents, artillerie, a masse of money, sent for the
 armie meanes, was founde in the Generalls cabinet, amonge the rest of the
 spoile was founde in the Generalls truncke, the letter of intelligence (aboue
 mentioned) sent by Barnwalle of Kilbruc, for this his censeritie to his conntrie
- Barnwall punished
 for his censeritie.

and cossen Preston, the gentlman was brought in the nature of a prisoner to Dublin, where beinge racked did suffer verie much trouble for this busines. The comannders, as aforesaid, prisoners, and the matter of 500 comon souldiers were conuoyed vnto Dublin in a most miserable condition. Preston himselfe arriued that night to Ticrohan, and intringe Kilkeny (as if victor) with the sounde of a trumpett, was neither sad nor ashamed, nor the Supream Councell did shewe the leaste semblance of grieffe or compassion. It was publickly given out that a composition was made for this daies seruice, that all the Irish that either perished or were taken prisoners that day were sould for a certaine quantitie of money by their owne cheefe comannders.

1646-7.

Preston and
Councells
inhumani-
tie.

All the former husbandrie of General Preston, leauinge garrisons in seuerall places, as aforesaid, did now marr, upon notice had of this defeate, all deserted their garrisons, except Captain Richarde Geoghegan (whoe was comannder in the Naasse) did expecte orders to marche to his proper quarter. The situation of the field spred abroad, was wonderfull to all well understandinge witts, the Generall was questioned for that ignorant and not souldierlike posure of battle, did acknowledge the facts, but said, that he was perswaded therunto, by the Bishop of Farnes. O, poore Preston, you are not ashamed to becuray your proper foolerie and ignorance, asuminge the name of Generall of a braue armie, and sufferinge yourselfe still to be misledde by such men as knowe nothinge of the arte you professe, but are meere strangers unto it. At Ballibegg to abone your owne cause (as you conceaued) you cast the aspersion of that fields miscariadge for the situation, on Montgerrott, of this present on a bishope, both ignorant of such affaires. I doe not believe either assertion. In the capitulation of Dublin, you did acknowledge you were deceaued by Ormonde and Clanricarde. Is it possible that you are soe sicke-brained that you will be deceaued and perswaded by all men, specially by the most ignorant and faithlesse, to belieue any thinge, except loyall and honorable seruice, havinge neuer yett since you came to Ireland donn aught in the field, other the skirmish of Roscoman, and the same don in emulation to Benborbe seruice, and against your vote and assent, therefore thriued your precept may vrge, but your example is not souldierlike, if nature did proue propitious unto the Irishe you would be a lion comannder and your armie sheepe, and then vanquishe, but this proposition transposed unto its verificall sense, you remaine a sheepe Generall, and your armie lions, though vanquished. We leaue you for a while with your fewe runawaies of your thrice unhapic armie, sent now to their winter quarter, and turne to the Catholicke Generall residinge in Conaght.

293.

How often
Preston
deceaued?

An armie
of sheepe
lead by a
lion is
better then
an armie of
lions lead
by a sheepe.

1646-7.

CHAPTER XXI.

294. **FRIENDSHIPE** in courte, is like musicke at a feaste, a man hath nothinge but a sweete sounde for his money, or rather it is licke those apothecarie drugs, which are hott in the mouthe and could in the operation. It is quicke to promise and slowe to performe: receiuinge substance and returninge smoake, sometimes it moueth the clients cause, but seldome urgeth it to preuayle.

Plin.
Paneg.
Senec.
Arist. apud
Laert.
Ovid. Trist.
3.

Usibus edocto si quidquam credis amico ;
Vine tibi, et longè nomina magna fuge.

Psal. The Supream Councell was totally inclined towards the distruction of Generall Neyll and aplied all their witt and senses to breake his armie, which if God did permitt, and the sage and politicke application of himself were wantinge doubtlesse, brought fourth its fruite, as n^o 283. But by the just iudgment of God, what they intended against the other, fell upon their owne necks, inciderunt in foueam quam fecerunt. All their flourishinge Linster armie miscaried, either in durance or killed, the victorious enimie now alone without resistance in the prouince, the Councell in its dumbs not well knowinge what best to doe, suspicious of Generall Neylls conformitie towards them now in their ebbing fortune, as heartofore seuerally offended, and highly in this his last voyage for Conaght, not complied with, whereof must be sensible none other to be had to rescue them from this eminent, nay present danger, though with a brazen foreheade, must humbly make application unto him, settinge fourth their wofull and distressed condition, with more then humble submissions to be pleased to marche in all hast to Linster, promisinge full meanes to all his armie, and to make the same as stronge as possibly he may, and to recrute as many regiments as he were able. With those braue offers, is sent into Conaght the Bishope of Fearnese and Patricke Dorchy. Those agents arriuinge thither, imparted the Catholicke Generall the cause of their mission, addinge soone of proper sense, though cache harbouringe under this filme of assured amitie, a Judas kisse, which to their eternall shame, and his perpetual honor will soone display.

The
waueringe
intention
of the
Councell.

Theire
resolution.

Ferns and
Dorchy,
agents.

295.
Owen
Oneylls
comenda-
tions.
Owen in
Kilbegan.
The
Councell
neuer
comply,
promise.
Com-
issioners
bride
mutinie.

The Catholicke Generall, to his nation naturall, obseruant of his oath and couenant of Confederacie, faithfull to the seruice, and compassionat of the now distressed state of the kingdome, obeyed: His directions was to Kilbegan in the countie of Westmeath, untill further orders, and there recrute his armie, thither in all haste he marched, recruted whole regiments, which don, seuerall letters poasted betweene him and the Councell for remouall from thence, and desiringe meanes for the armie, accordinge couenant £2000 was promised upon muster of his men there, which was but a poore summ in respecte of his multitude, this same was prorogued, at lenth £1200 was onely sent him, the Generall intendinge to keepe it, upon one indifferent hande, vntill more was sent, as nothinge satisfactorie amonge soe many. But some of the ministers, portators of this money did priuatly infuse vnto the eares of seuerall comannders and officers of the armie, that the £2000 promised was come to the Generalls hands, wherupon the comannders offended, were perswaded the Generall would shiffe

the whole, and apply the same for proper use, without more adoe, with this onely surmishe, brides mutinie in the armie (beinge the prime motiue of the said enformers) 5 or 6 regiments did marche in a bodie in sight of the campe, either to deserte the fielde, or force payment, which the Generall obsearuinge, by his industrie and vigilancie tooke some of the Comannders prisoners, supressed the mutinie, brought all to an atonment (except Colonell Alexander McDaniell by some rashnesse and distemper ran away and went to Kilkeny,) and deuided the said sum amonge them, now seeinge what it was and how they were deluded, were ashamed of their leaude behavior and facile belife, and promised for the future to be warie of those informers. See how soone they breake out, with their onely now champion. The Councell kept this armie in Kilbegan aforesaid for 4 weekes, untill notice had, that the Baron of Insichuynne did leaguer Clonmell (where Alexander McColla McDaniell was gouernor as n° 287 touched), the Councell did send orders unto the Generall to relieue the same, with all expedition, in obedience hereof marched both day and night, with his field peeces vntill arriuinge to Ballinakilly in Leyse, upwards of 24 miles, a mightie marche of a greate armie. Insichuynne aduertised herof raised his siedge and marched to his owne quarters, though 30 miles betweene him and the Catholicke Generall. The Councell upon intimation herof, did send orders unto the Generall, to turne backe, as farr as Castle Jordan in the Kings countie, and there abide vntill further orders, (and that Insichuynne raised the seidge), arriuinge now to Castle Jordan, there made halte, accordinge directions, where wee leaue him for a while and speake of Muskry and other occurrences at this time.

1646-7.
How soone
they breake
faithe.
Alexander
McDaniell.

Four
weekes in
Kilbegan.
To relieue
Clonmell.
A tedious
marche.

Insichuyn-
nes feare.

Castle
Jordan.

CHAPTER XXII.

Elder times helde her to have sufficient dower, that was vertuously endowed.

But these later hould her good enough, that hath goodes enough; soe fareth it in publicke purchases, for the ould position was this: Justice is to be preferred before profit. But now the tearmes are transposed in the proposition: And the ambitious desire of rule never disputeth the equitie, but the benefitt of the action it undertaketh, thus standeth the obseruation, but the precept teacheth the contrary.

*Et genus et formam regina pecunia donat.
Quæ dos matronis pulcherrima? Vita pudica.*

Muskry out of emulation and enuie, by the ambitious desire of rule neuer disputing the equitie, but the benefitt of the action, nor once dreaminge justice to be preferred before profit, rather framinge an Epycheya of the transposition therof, without any publicke authoritie displaced Clanmorgan and Lieutenant Generall Buttler, from complyinge with their dutie in beinge Generall of Monster, elected by both Assembly and Congregation of the Clergie, in disrespecte of both spirituall and temporall power (as 269 touched,) managed all that belonged to the militia in Monster, but noe seruice don, from montaine to montaine, drawinge after him a considerable armie, in verie good equipage, did

296.
Plaut. Aul.
Auson.
Demost.
Curt. l. 6.

Muskrys
actions.

What
seruice don
by him?

- 1646-7. send a garrison to Killaloe to make good that passadge against the enemy either to Vper Ormond or the countie of Clare, the bodie of his armie seated in a braue and defensible straight, by name Cott-foorde, a place stronge by nature, and he in a seeminge good posture to mak it good. But as soone as he sawe a partie of Insichuyns horse deserted the place in a routing maner, leauinge it to the enemy deuotion: the passadge thus cleere, the said horse marched to Killaloe, the garrison neuer suspectinge them enemy untill rushing amonge them, made havoocke of all that came in their way and caried the garrison by that only furie. This was all the seruice the kingdome gott by this intruding and suborned Generall, by whose power, (with the Councell assent) Taaffe is now Generall recruting his armie but how ill soeuer Muskry better, and more humane then Taaffe, as hereafter will apeare.
- Taaffe,
Generall.

CHAPTER XXIII.

297. The orator placeth his strongest arguments in the first instance of his plea to perswade and confirme the audiorie, soe should a Generall bend all his best forces upon the first peece he attempteth to animate and encourage his souldiers, and to give reputation to the action he intendeth for, first actions make deepest impressions either of feare or courage. He is therfore soe much to tender his reputation at the first onsett, as to leaue nothinge behinde him, but that which bindeth, instandum famæ, nam prout prima cesserint, succedent uniuersa. The first action of Colonell Michael Johns was the battle of Lincehill (above mentioned) to win the same worked all meanes possible for the victorie, did send for the English and Scotts of the North, his souldiers now couragious, in regarde of their former good fortune, and himself noe lesse embouldned for the venture of a seconde attempte: Generall the onely blocke in his way, to make a full conqueste of his Linster Gouernment: wherfore did now sende for the former partie his abettors in his former victorious action, as perswaded of their forwardnesse in embracing his now motion, as most willinge to haue that oportunitie offered, wherein might reuenge themselves of Generall Neylle for Benborbe seruice, and allsoe for proper benefitt, the matter of 2,000 foote and 400 horse upon the assigned day, did apeare in Drohedae, 14 daies was the sett time, they must continue in Linster; £3,000 and upwards was promised them in readie money, those and Johns partie now in a bodie in the field.
- Johns
and his
mercenaries
in the field
against
Owen
Neylle.
298. All this was well knowen vnto the Generall, pursuant therto wrote seuerall letters to the Councell yeldinge notice and intelligence thereof, with all desiringe their orders to marche from Castle Jordan to some place of aduantage, where he might be able to stoppe both their incursions and joininge together, or venture upon the one before the arriual of the other, as beinge of abilitie to doe it, wanted nothinge but the Councell assent, which they neuer thought to grannte, as not willinge to acte any seruice against the enemy, any such in their sence most preiudicious to their intended faction. When the Catholicke Generall sawe and
- Generall
Neylls
reasonable
requeste.
The
impietie
of the
Councell.

understoode the inueterat malice of the Councell, neither by good or aduerse fortune varied, nor by the punctuall obsequie of him, did ever swarue from their first odious principles, he intended to render all obeysance, though to the hazarde of all that was deere unto him, yett expostulating with the Councell by letters settinge fourth the eminent danger of soe stronge and victorious an enemye, unlesse some way preuented, which in his opinion was, that he should seate himself in Athboy, a throughfare towne, a safe place and neere the enemye garrisons, to any them, if any motion they made elsewhere. By this, said he, I will cause the enemye to attende meself onely and not range at pleasure wheare they liste, withall I will by cunctation weary and weare out their mercenarie auxiliaries, hauinge but a certaine number of daies to continue in Linster, which spent, without any seruice don, will turne backe for wante of meanes, for Johns is not of that abilitie to keepe them still, or giue them any more moneyes. These in the judgment of any indifferent iudge were both reasonable and sounde motiues to giue way to this warrlike comannder and his martiall armie, to dislodge, as most desirous to meete with those relicks of their alreadye vanquished northeren Scotts and English, and allsoe to auenge the death and restrainte of their contrimen, by this same partie at Lincehill vanquished.

1646-7.

His sounde notions not yielded unto.

But note you how did the Councell comply with the Generalls desire, and the souldiers wish? they comannded 4 or 5 beardlesse boyes recent Captains of Sir James Dillons recruited regiment, himself soe often relapsinge into treason, to garrison the towne of Athboy, and would not giue way to the Generall to goe thither, but comannded him to stay where at present he was, and fenche about him and his campe. All this was meere foperie, and though soe understoode by the Generall, yielded humble obedience thereto, and began to make workes, moones, halfmoones and other such, conducinge to a needlesse saftie. It is true that his intentions swarued from that of the Councell, for the Councell hindred or gave a rubb unto his seruice, for two reasons, the one, to weaken the enemye was not soe pliant to their future designe of compulsarie Cessation with Insichuyne. The other that Generall Neylle should not haue the honor of eache felde, and their deere Preston loosinge all, nor the bare name of defendinge as much as one passadge, but rather the publicke character of a cowarde finching about himself in this extenuitie of affaires, the bloudie sworde of the enemye in the field drawn. The Generall had two strings in his bowe, the one that he fenched about himself in due obedience to the Councells comannds in that behalfe, though none such was necessarie, that the world may beare testimonie of his integritie. The other in regarde he was not permitted to deserue that verie place, notwithstandinge thought to make vertue of necessitie and stratageame of this colution. He fenched about him, that it might be bruted of him in the enemye campe, that he was mightie fearful, and that his armie starued, that he might by those baites inuite the enemye to giue an attempte upon him, as sure to thriue. The Generall fayled in this designe, for the warie enemye, too well acquainted with his stratagemes would not apeere in such an action, but not the Councell in their owne.

299.

O treacherie of Gouerners.

Generall Neylles obedience.

The Councells intentions.

The Generalls stratageame.

All this notwithstandinge he writes unto Captain Dardise suposed comannder of the rest in Athboy, desiringe them to keepe the garrison, (in case the enemye did

300. Generalls reliefe.

1646-7. looke for it) for 3 or 4 daies, and that he would relieue them, or in the prosecution loose all his armie, whoe returned answere that they were most willinge to obsearue his comannd, but had noe amunition; whereupon he sent them 3 firkins of powder, matche and shott accordingly. This arriuinge, in shewe, gratfull. promised faithfully to defende it, as aforesaid. But false, for some of those Captains soe promisinge, espyinge some of the enemie horse passinge by, made signall to drawe to the towne gate which they did, but noe sooner arriued, then opened the gate for them, giving them free intrance now within the towne, used all hostile maner, unto eache they encountered, onely such as apered in the said surrender, and such of the verie Captains as was not seene therin, were taken prisoners, thus was Athboy given over vnto the enemie without a blowe, though sworne to the contrarie, how durst those whelpes in armes, those tyron souldiers and novices in the arte militarie, finde in their hearts to betraye such a seruicable garrison, intrusted therevnto by seuerall engagments, to surrender it unto a party of horse without the leaste resistance, unlesse comanded by their Colonell or Councell or both? By noe meanes would offer to doe it, the sequell is proued, for, the Captains taken prisoners, as not seene in the said surrender, nor desired quarter, weare forthwith released. And Captain Dardize the suposed gouernor did accompany the verie enemie for the matter of 10 daies, or ther abouts, as fearinge some punishment to be inflicted on him for this treacherie, if hapninge to fall vnto the hands of Generall Neylle; after sued the Councell for a safe conducte to cleere him, beinge an easy matter to giue satisfaction vnto the Councell in affaires of that graine, as practitioners in that arte. But whoe will absolue those penitents from the guilte of periurie, swearinge to maintaine and defende the towne for 3 daies, and for cheatinge Generall Neylle of his amunition, bestowinge the same without touche to the enemie, it seems they rather he had it, then their liberall good benefactor Generall Neyll, as the tree soe is the fruite. The enemie ranginge at pleasure takinge fewe garrisons, by the Councell the Generall was kept in a penfould, though had 3000 foote and 500 horse, readie to marche under the comannde of Licutenant-Generall Fferrall, to relieue Athboy accordinge promise, and the bodie of the armie to marche after. Beinge in this posture, his spies certified him of the towns surrender, and aforesaid, and instantly arriued a propre addresse from the Councell comanninge his continuance where he was, not to shewe disobedience, leaste to give such an example unto the souldiers, returned vnto the same place againe—for [*sic*].

O periured
captains.

Athboy
taken or
surrenderd.

How durst
those
Captains
surrender
it?

Obsearue
the grounds
of their
treason.

Generall
Neyll
readie to
marche to
to their
relife.

CHAPTER XXIV.

301.

Val. l. 2.

Tacit. An.

l. 1^o.

Curt. l. 3.

Veget. l. 3.

Tacit. hist.

l. 1^o.

Armour for warr comes out of the publicke magazine, but the weapons of victorie, are formed on the forge of discipline: for if they haue not this temper they loose their edge in the tryall, and turne their pointe unto his bowells that vseth them, wherfore nothinge is more necessarie in a martiall gouernment, either for the generall good of the affaire, or saftie of the souldier then obedience.

Parendo potius quam imperia ducum sciscitando res militaris continetur.

Though the Catholicke Generall did very well vnderstande, all their comanndes did tende to the distruction and marringe of the seruice, notwithstandinge obeyed, least by a contrarie obseruation did bride or nourishe many such corruptinge humors, and obstinat obstructions in the militia by his example. The mercenarie auxiliaries are now 14 daies in Linster, beinge the peremptorie time apointed accordinge couenant, must now away, or heired of newe, Johns is not able to performe this, therefore they putt the other in execution, they marche all towards Drohedae, the one to pay moneyes and the other to receaue. The Linster gouernor thought not to pay the whole sune promised, in regarde noe seruice of any consequence was don. The Scotts answeared that it was not their faulte, but the witt and crafte of the aduerse Generall, that kept himself in such a posture, beinge alreadye, to our losse, acquainted with his prancks, how euer, said they, we must have accordinge our couenant. It was like to be tryed by the edge and bent of sworde. At lenght the northeren auxiliaries had their desire, and away marched to their proper homes.

1646-7.

The contestation of Johns and his auxiliaries.

Their sense of Owen Oneylle.

As soone as those departed, Johns and his partie marched to their seuerall garrisons, as not daringe to continue the felde alone. The Councell now wearie of lullinge Generall Neylle asleepe in Castle Jordan these 4 weekes, beinge assured all the enemye armie to be yett in the field, did send orders unto the Generall to marche upon sight unto the countie of Dublin and Meathe and there use all acts of hostilitie for the space of 8 daies and soe many nights and upon his perill not to excede this sett number of daies. This is a strange passadge: when Athboy was in their owne hands, a stronge and defensible passadge to defende the same and keepe the enemye from attemptinge anythinge that way, will not be permitted, though seuerally and with pregnant reasones sued for, but now must goe to their own verie doores, havinge neither forte, garrison or other shelter, other then the plaine feilds and amonge their stronge hoults notwithstandinge settinge all difficultie aside, to shewe his humble obedience, marched with his armie, and some of the Linster horse, whoe proued unto his armie, as the Councell to himself, as the euent will proue, inimici hominis domestici eius.

302.

The Councells intente. Generall Neylle marchinge to Dublin by orders.

CHAPTER XXV.

The dolphin findinge himself vnable to hurte the crocodile by reason of his hearde scales which noe weapon can pierce, diueth under him and with his sharpe finne sticketh him vnto the belly, beinge softe and tender and soe killeth him. What nature hath taught the creature, experience hath taught man. To strike the enemye wheare he may be most hurte, and leaue things impossible vnattempted for, prudence is of force, where force preuayles not. And therefore direction is left to the Comannder, execution to the souldier, whoe is not to aske why, but to doe what he is comannded.

303.

Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. Suet. de Cæsar. Tacit. An. l. 1^o.

Tuus, o Regina, quod optes,
Explorare labor: mihi iussa capessere fas est.

Virg. En. 1^o.

- 1646-7. The Catholicke Generall, this dolphin, now marchinge to the crocodile quarters furnished with very good spies and surueyers of that countrie, to encourage his men marched, and directed his course towards Lincehill, where espiing that greate mortalitie not yett interred, disfigured by volatle and other wilde beastes standing in front of his armie, comanded a halte, breathinge fourth the ensuinge lachrymall speeche in honor of so many braue blades, by oversight miscaried,
304. My freinds, followers and fellowe-souldiers, be not dismayed at this lamentable sight, nor thinke strange of the perishinge of soe many soules, nor deeme the cruell butchers of this inhumanitie, the same enimie whervnto you now marche, too stronge and valiant, for the ill posture of grounde was chiefe motiue of this disaster, as you may with an indifferent judgment obsearue; the ill intentions of prime and supream rulers, with the concurrence of diuine prouidence the first and secundarie causes of the other. Tyrany, craft, crueltie, periurie and self-factionall combination, and noe valour or courage, have beene the onely occasion of the present abomination, ruminat in the retirements of your thoughts these grounds, perswade yourself all to be true, as suggested, examen in the deepest of your iudgments whoe those be, that offers themselves now soe contemptible vnto your viewe? none other then such as reliued you in your neede, helped you in your dangers, asisted you in your trauayles, and perillous encounters, those are your freinds and allies, your confederats and associats, your speciall freinds and kindsmen, your flesh and bloude, you are the relicte of those, the onely pledges of both theire reuenge and deliuerie. Neuer hope for a better quarter, at the hands of these executioners, if euer you fall vnto their hands, such is your doome, this or such another will be your end, if not preuented in time; you goe now to the enimie quarters; by this his late victorie is growen peremptorie and bould, though sure I am, will not venture upon the bodie of our armie, but will with his troups waite on the scatteringe pilladgers and vagabonnds; you are in that predicament in the sense of Supream Councell and enimie, in regard wherof (if desirous to cutt you shorte) was comanded hither. Wherfore to delude the one and deceaue the other, I comande you on paine of death not to range heare or there, or proue caterpillers, upon any pretence whatsoever, but keepe still in bodie, if not in parties to doe seruice. Bee warrie and couragious, this enimie to whom you now marche, is noe better souldier, then these others whom you vanquished in the north, lett not their late victorie here obtained, upon advantage and ill managinge of the field, change your minds, alter your courage or warlike intentions. I am alreadie satisfied of your aproued valour, hauinge (to your eternall fame) scuerall undoubted tryalls therof. Historie is the kalender of time, and hath her criticke daies as well as Phisicke, wherby conceite forehopeth of the good successe of an affaire, as art forejudgeth of the decrease of a decease, for we have it exemplified by many instances that certaine daies have beene perpetually successfull to certaine persones or nations, which how soeuer some men may interpret to fate and necessitie, or others to some other causes of circumstance or accident, yett it is the parte of a wise leader to make use therof, and to nourish and cherish that former conceite in the comon souldier, because he shall therby the better encourage him to an alacritie of spiritt, and an hope of the
- General
Neylls
oration in
front of
his armie at
Lincehill.
205. Senec.
Herc.
Probus.
Plut. Camil.
Mac. 1. 1.^o.
Livi. 1. 10.

victorie—cui pariter dies et fortuna fuit; that certaine daies are successfull to certaine persons and nations (if wee beleue antiquitie), is as true as wee stande here, as twesdaie to the English, saturdaye to the Frenche, to the Romans, Timoleon the Corinthian, Bceotius and Papyrius others, whom for breuitie, I omitt. But to the Spaniard Fridaie, of whose extraction wee are and consequently doe challenge the said Frydaie, as our owne euer yett, the fruite wherof wee have experimented in that our last battle of Benborbe, to your neuer dyinge honor and prayse the same beinge now that you began your marche to this intended action, noe doubt will proue criticke, quicken therfore your spiritts, rouze your hearts and renewe your courage, by the unquenchable fire fewell of the former conceite of vndoubted victorie, call to minde the distracted powers of your neuer daunted forwardnesse upon sight of any martiall theater, neuer forgett the memorie of these slaughtered jewells, your quarell for reuenge of those, the defence and saftie of Catholicks, the vendication of Romaine religion, the enlarginge of your friends and allies in durance, is justifiabill before God and man; therfore my hearts of gould refreshinge still your memories with those motiues, insteede of peepe and drumm, marche, speede and thriue.

Finishinge this his speeche and the interringe of the corps mingled with deepe sobbs, sighes and groanes, attested with abondance of saltrie teares, marched forwarde to the countie of Dublin, burninge and demolishinge all that came in their way, but killed none of the countie Catholicks, seauen or eight mile was betweene the fronte and reare in time of that fire seruice, they burned within two miles to Dublin, and 7 or 8 miles ouer it, sowthe and by northe. The countie of Meath was noe better delt with, this was to diue vnder the crocodile, and strik him in the belly, to cutt this enemie shorte of prouision and maintenance. He sees now to his grieffe, Generall Neylle puttinge all the countie afire, and all that is deere unto him consumed to ashes, and can noe way helpe it, why doe not this victorious and bragginge enemie issue now to defende and rescue his owne? sure if he was possessed, that Generall Preston were the man, (though leadinge 20000 men all of good resolution, he would enconnter him with the sixt parte of that number. But the Catholicke Generall kept soe good a bodie, soe close and martiall marche, and absolutly the very best watche that might be, by the exceedinge greate care and excessiue vigilancie of Huigh Oneyll, Major-Generall, the enemie herof enformed by his spies, durst not venture upon such leaders and souldiers of soe settled a resolution to fight. You may conceaue that verie small time they spent in sluggishnesse, as beinge in such a seruice, under the nose of a victorious enemie and all his forces before their eyes. As sure as death this armie was hither comanded to their slaughterhouse (as was thought.) The verie Linster horse, that accompanied this armie, did noe seruice at all, nay killed seuerall of the comon souldiers that parted to doe the execution with more expedition, dissemlinge to be of the English partie, others goinge comanded to one and the self same seruice together, (as was thought,) did inter one side of the towne or village, and the Vlstermen, the other side, in a seeminge bodie simulatginge the enemie, killed without mercie or remorse as many of the Vlstermen as they could in actuall seruice and in the execution discouered and knowen, all the

1646-7.
Criticke or
successfull
daies.

Finit
oratio.
306.
Mourninge
interrment.

The burn-
inge of
Dublin and
Meath
countys.

Huigh
Oneylls
vigilancie
in this
expedition.

The inhu-
manitie of
the Linster
Irish horse.

Theirefaleh
excuse.

1646-7. satisfaction was that it was a mistake, all the waies possible did hinder the service, and gaue out, that what was don this way was acted by the enemy, which was verie true, though couered with a falsh hoode and conterfeite vaile of suposed freinds: vulpes sub pelle ouina, craftie foxes in sheepe skin. Loe how diabolicall those be, towards their onely and prime benefactor? seauen daies he spent in this service, and not be noted, with the least suspition of disobedience had the eight daie for his returne to Castl Jordan backe againe accordinge his directions, this was about the 15th of November 1647. Beinge soe late in winter, and that armie since the 15th of Aprill last in the field and wearie after the present service, did supplicat the Generall to apointe them their winter quarter, their petition seeminge reasonable, wrotte unto the Supream Councill about the foresaid subiecte, desiringe compliace with the armie desire therein, whoe returned answeare, that he should quarter one moytie of his armie upon the countie of Westmeath and Vlster keraghts, and that they would endeauor to give content to the other moytie. The Generall replied that 4 regiments of the Linster armie did quarter upon the countie of Westmeath and that his armie did impouerish the same, by his continuance in Kilbegan against his will, as for the keraghts, said he, it is well knowen they have noe tillage, lives onely vpon milke, which is now in winter scant, neither haue they anythinge befittinge either horse or foote, not as much as a house for any horse capable. I shall therefore humbly desire, you consider our condition, and deale therein accordinge reason and equalitie to putt us in proportion with other armies. The Councill insisted upon the former resolution, tellinge him in this their address, that he might be satisfied with their former answer, and could noe way redresse it, biddinge him to haue patience, and that they could not attende his busines for the present in regarde the Assembly was gatheringe in, and must waite on them, a whole month was now spent of winter, and the armie nothinge the neerer to its winter quarter.

307. When the Councill resulte was notified in the campe they vowed to obey neither Generall or Councill vntill they arrived to Kilkeny to haue from, a proper answer, with much adoe could oblige them to keepe in a bodie, desiringe them not to plunder or pilladge (as discontented armies are wont to doe) but receaue competent fare in their way to Kilkeny. What did any man expecte of such an armie now exasperat? soe longe in the field, heard now vpon 3 quarters of a yeare, very scante, meanly and penurious without either meanes or provision, exposed to many dangers all the while, longe and tedious marches, and in this last service without sleepe or rest. You neuer sawe (consideringe their wronge, want and toyles) a more regulat armie. Both Leutenant and Major Generall did accompany them alonge. But the Generall went to Mariborough. The arriuinge now within 3 or 4 miles to Kilkeny, if not for their proper Comanders crubbinge, they would in person salute the Councill within doores. Sure if they did foresee what soone after, would use more seueritie then they had don, kept in bodie, the Councill gaue them the best language they could affoorde, and presently did send for the Generall.

To Castl Jordan, backe againe.

Desiringe quarter.

The Councill answeare.

Generall and Councill for winter quarters dispute.

The army resolution.

Theyre wants and injurie considered, most regular.

If prophets they did use noe lenitie.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Injustice is neuer without some pretence to palliate her actions, and rather then fayle, shee masketh under vizzard of religion, which makes her more vgly. Euen as ill faouered complexions, the more they are painted, the fouler they appeare. And mishapen bodics, by puttinge on riche apparelle seeme more deformed—malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus.

The Supream Councill enformes the Assembly scuerall charges against the Catholicke Generall, all malice, enuie and treacherie, however to brande him with the ill besceaming character of disobedience and diffidencie they combine together to make it good before the Assembly, infusing in their eares, what they were to charge him with, sellinge this rotten ware for a sounde one, pure siluer for brasse, the high honor and well-deseruinge-repute of such a personage for naught and their proper consciences for nothinge, though maskinge it vnder the vizzard of honestie, religion and indifferencie (which soone will display its ugliness.) They therfore sent for him, desiringe his aparence in the Assembly, for some important affaires. The Generall well acquainted with their cankered hearts and ill intentions euer yett towards him, answered that he was noe member of that Assembly, beinge neither Lord by Creation, Knight of a Shiere, nor Burgesse of a Corporation, onely a seruant to the Kingdome, and that he had enough to doe, to looke to such affaires, as compited one of his place and encumbencie. But if anythinge were offered, wherein my sense or opinion were desired, I haue, said he, an attorney in courte, whoe accordinge instructions will give satisfaction; if anythinge of transcendent nature be moued unto him, will acquainte me therof, upon returne of my sense, will be capable to giuefull compliance to your demannds, which beinge soe I conceaue, said he, my owne personall asistance there bootlesse. This, (though reasonable) was not satisfactorie to the Councill. Three seuerall Agents did they send for him successiully desiringe his proper aparence.

The Generall wearie, after, soe longe continuance in the field, suspectinge some colloguinge busines, and not satisfied with the Councill alreadie, for their former orders, contrarie to his publicke seruice, and lastly for not assigninge his armie their winter quarters, would not condescende to their motion, (as friuolous), but answered all, as formerly. The Councill in suspense what best to doe, to bringe their said diabolicall designe vnto a period, hitted vpon the Frenche Agent Monseieur Mollin, as beinge a stranger, and of that encumbencie, durst not denie him in courtesie. This Agent arriued to Mariborough (where the Generall was at present) tould him the cause of his mission, and that, it imported his reputation, his owne personall aparence in the Assembly house, for such aspersions were cast upon him publickly by the Supream Councill, that none but himself could giue satisfaction, and vendicat his honor and reputation at extreame hazarde, if not timely preuented, he recited succinctly all the Councill charged him with.

First:—In a generalitie of disobeyinge all and singular their comannds.

Secondly:—Receauinge in Conaght the summe of money promised him, and other

1646-7.

308.

Tacit. Hist.

3.

Phocylid.

Leo. Ep. 23.

Lucret.

Senec.

The

Councill

knauerie.

Owen

Oneylls

answears to

the Agents.

309.

The iust
cause of his
anger.The
Frenche
Agent
Monseieur
Mollins
intimation
to Owen
Oneyll.

1647.
The
Councells
falshe
accusation
against
Owen
Oneyll.

provisions for his armie, and the service of Sligoe, his onely taske not complied with.

Thirdly :—Cominge from thence without orders did impoucrishe the countie of Westmeath, continuinge soe longe with his armie in Kilbegan.

Fourthly :—At the time of the enemie service in Meathe, burninge the countie and takinge garrisons, and specially Athboy, a place of great concernment, did not relieue it, or stoppe the enemie incursions any where, but fenched about himself in Castl Jordan for 4 weekes, therby disstroyinge the Kings Conntie, as formerly he did Westmeathe.

Fifthly :—The enemie dispersed marched to the Conntie of Dublin and Meathe, without mercie burned all that was deere unto the poore Catholicks of them parts, hauinge neither respecte to religion or our orders to the contrarie, for, if wee weare willinge to haue comitted soe irreligious and ungodly an acte, wee might eftsoones heartofore comannde our Linster forces to putt it in execution, but were euer auerse unto such inhumanitie.

And lastly doe disrespekte our orders for the winter quarter of his armie, but contrary to the same, comannes them to our very doores, in disparagment of our particular authoritie and the whole Kingdome, invitinge to that purpose many straglinge regiments, contrary to the settlement of the last Assembly, for the proportion of armies in the respectiue Prouinces. This was the sum of Monseieur Mollins intimation, or rather a repetition to Generall Neyll of the Councell charges against him.

310.

Owen
Oneyll
reprouinge
the said
accusations
by
producing
there
seuerall
orders
to the
contrary.

The Generall for the present satisfaction of this French Agent shewed him the Councell orders for Conaght and to receaue £9000 the first day of his rendezvouz (which was appointed to be at Bellagall), of which summ receaued onely £1500 (for the means of 10000 foote and 1500 horse,) and some beefes for provision, not exceedinge 500 of the verie worst that could be had, shewed allsoe his orders for cominge from thence to Linster, and recrute his armie as strong as possibly he may in Kilbegan (as the Agents sent for him to that effecte, the Bishope of Fernes and and Patricke Dorchy may beare testimonie), and there receaue £2000 to pay his armie, the day of a generall rendezvouz, of which he receaued but £1011 (as the Comisioners that brought the said money may auer), his continuance there for a whole month doe apeere by this same order, vntill by this anexed was comannned to relieue Clonmell leagured then by the Baron of Insichuynne. The said Baron, hearinge of his marche to the said effecte, raised the seidge, pursuant therto, the Councell comannned him to turne backe as farr as Castle Jordan, and there continue vntill farther orders, which you may here peruse, said he, to the Agent, his continuance there warrantable notwithstandinge his many suites to the contrary, as may apeere by seuerall copies of his letters to the Councell to that purpose, and their resulte therupon, his letters desiringe the Councell assent for remouall to some place of service, duringe the enemie abode in the field, and his suite for Athboy, the Councells negatiue answeare, the garrison of Athboys couenant with him, his relieuinge the same accordinge requeste with ammunition, his orders for burninge the countie of Dublin and Meathe, his continuance and returne specified in the same, their orders for recrutinge of his armie, the best way he could, and

as numerous as possibly he may with this intimation (notwithstandinge the Assembly orders for the proportion of armies) the cause now altered) soe that he had noe stragglinge regiments, but such as were by their authoritie enlisted under his colours and beared pondus diei et æstus hitherunto.

1647.

The Frenche Agent possessinge himself of the true state of this busines, by the sight and perusall of the said orders, was mightie suspitious of the integritie and loyaltie of the Councell, vowed there publickly were noe better in his opinion then treacherous knavves, and faithfully promised to joine with the Generall for a publicke redresse from those perfidious whaspes. The Generall promised him to see him in Kilkeny within two daies. Away the Agent goes, arrivinge to Kilkeny gave an accounte to the Assembly of all the proceedings, wonderinge at the presumptuous foolerie and malaparte knauery of the Councell, did not well knowe what condigne satisfaction could they yelde the Generall in soe publicke an afronte, before a whole kingdome. At last advised them to pleade ignorance, that they were deceived and misenformed, now certified of the true state of affaires, to cry him mercie. The Generall now cominge, accordinge promise, intered the citty with a 100 horse, whoe was saluted as friendly as may be, and such extraordinarie courtesies, but mouinge the cause of his cominge thither, shewed all his former orders for eache particular, and the copies of his letters to the Councell and their respective results therupon. The whole Assembly and French Agent reputed themselves mightie iniured, for soe aparant a misenformation and publicke afronte offered the Generall, possessinge themselves of soe falshe a surmishe, as studyinge what satisfaction did they comannde to be given the partie lesed. But the Councell alreadie instructed, cryed pardon, acknowledginge their mistake and groundlesse belife and such a noble and bene merittinge a man. This was all the Generalls satisfaction.

311.

The returne of the French to Kilkeny. The Councell instructed what satisfaction they give Owen Oneyll.

Generall Neyll disapproved the Councell.

Maliciously cryed pardon.

The Generall privatly enformed how the Councell was inclined towards the quarteringe of his armie in the deade of winter, which was noe lesse then the dispersement therof, and consequently the disablinge of any service moved unto both Assembly and Councell, seeinge said he, my armie is yett a foote and in bodie, and winter soe farr spent, I shall humbly desire you may be pleased, that I marche now with my armie towards the Naasse or Henristowne and keepe there in a bodie, and send them thither their winter quarter from their respective quarters, and lett me stande to the hazarde of shuttlers meself. If you grannte this requeste, said he, I will engage this heade of mine to be chopt off, if by May day next any enimie either in Dublin, or its quarters doe continue, but will either starve for want of foode or deserte them quarters. I will force them to stay within doores, and be contented with what they have at present. Upon your fayler herin, the enimie will range abroade to our quarters, the counties of Wickloe and Kildare, and take what corne and garrisons are there in lieve of their owne, that I demolished. This motion soe reasonable and plausible, in itself, that noe opposition might be given, soe true a principle of warr was not subiecte to the leaste seeminge contrarie sophisme, notwithstandinge was denied stat pro ratione voluntas.

312.

Generall Neylls pregnant reasons and motions reiected.

I pray peruse this.

O treacherous negations.

The Generall observinge their temper, that they will neither condescende to

313.

1647. his motion (though styred on settled grounde, nor yeld any reason good or bad to the contrarie), moved the seconde time to apointe Newrosse, Laghlinbridge, Katarlogh, and Athy head garrisons, to settle his armie there and send them their winter quarters from their respective quarters, soe to be in a readinesse upon a call, when occasion was offered, neither will this be grannted. The third time he moved, seeinge, said the Generall, you will neither of the former motions embrace, that the world may testifie how willinge and prompte I am to doe service, you may be pleased to give way, that I may marche with my armie to the Countie of Corke, where I will force the enimie there to retire to his garrisons, and will have my winter quarter there, whether he will or noe. Muskry, (as more peremptorie, tender of the enimie saftie, more then of his confederate), in name of all the politicke bodie there answered, that in his way would spoile the Catholicke quarters. To which the Generall replied that he would inter recognizance, not to take worth a fardinge of any in the Irish quarters, other then for his money, and that accordinge the cuntry rate. This neither would they accept off. When all fayled, he descended soe low, as to one onely regiment, desired to have the allowance of his owne proper regiment in Athy, and to send their winter quarter thither, that he may have soe much of his armie upon a call and in a readinesse, all this he did move, was for the comon good, and as providinge that danger that did soone follow the contrarie, notwithstandinge all was denied, and insteede of compliyanse with any the leaste censeritie, gave a publicke testimony to the world of their disloyaltie and faction, as any man may obsearve by the settlinge of this onely loyall armie, this time ayeare to their winter quarter. All the horse must quarter in the countie of Clare, his Lieutenant-Generall and proper regiment was sent to the countie of Galway, and privatly stiled with the honorable denomination of chiefe Comannder of Conaght, Roger Maguire and his regiment to Westmeathe, Major-Generall with a regiment to Clonmell, Sir Phelim Oneyll, and Alexander McDaniell to the countie of Kery, Iveaghe and Tyrconell regiment to the countie of Typrary, the Generalls regiment to the counties of Wexforde and Wickloe. O falshe traytors, enimie of God and nation, but here more.

Muskry
tender of
the enimie.
The
Generalls
reply.

His peere
descent and
denied.

The Vister
armie
scattered.

CHAPTER XXVII.

314. Justice and injustice are the most generall of all other morall or politicall habitts. There is noe vertue or vice which they doe not comprehend. Therefore he which is untrue in his worde and unjuste in his actions is apt to perpetrate, all other nefarious villanies, and to suborne others to the like where his owne attestation may not be admitted by law, he will foiste in false wittnesses, and wheare justice and equitie restraines him, his power and pleasure shall prevayle, for what he may not doe, he will liste to doe, because he may doe what he liste.

Senec.
Hicol.
Senec.
Troa.

Quod non potest, vult posse, qui nimium potest
Minimum decet libere, cui multum licet.

The Generall not thrivinge, notwithstandinge his pregnant and covencinge reasons, his warrlicke and martiall motions, his armie as aforesaid scattered. The perfidious and ever impious Councell did suborne an armie of women and garsons to come to the Assembly doore house, and give there many forcible out cryes desiringe helpe and mercie, settinge forth that the Vlster armie did undoe us for ever, protestinge and swearinge to stone both the Generall and Bishop of Cloghar to death, this had been the instruction of this tragedie, and was punctually acted upon the foresaid theater. The Bishope of Cloghar within the Assembly house, overhearinge those clamorous out cryes, was mightie fearfull, knewe himself to be noted by his upper garment, upon his goinge abroade changed his cloake, and soe escaped. But the Generall more earnestly looked for, havinge privately receaved intelligence herof, disguised himself and stole away and arrived to Reban in the countie of Kildare. See how these bloudshuckers, as not of power themselves to acte such catastrophe and tragecall scene doe foiste in those suborned executioners of inocent bloude, to deprive soe prime members, worthy of all calefication and soe benemerittinge of the comon good, not onely of their good and honorable reputation, but alsoe of their proper lives. What villanie would not those comitte that are soe eminent in injustice? None—

1647.
Bloudie
ministers
suborned
by the
Councell
to murder
Generall
Neyll.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Nothinge can quenche the combustible slime of the ponnde in Samo satis, nor the burninge flame of the high hill chymæra but onely earth, so nothinge can satisfie the muddy thoughts of the covetous, or the enflamed hearte of the malitious, but onely the grave: for when his imagination perswades him that he hath made sure his first purchase; the unsatisfied disease of this dropsie drives him beyonde all limitts of justice or reason, to thirste after more. And to thinke it good purchase, whearas there are noe perquisites of lastinge and sure tenure, but onely those of vertue and justice.

315.
Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. 2.
Horat. l. 3.
Juvenal,
Sat. 14.
Seneca.
Claudian.
Paneg. 2.

Trudis Avaritiam, cuius fœdissima nutrix
Ambitio, quæ vestibulis foribusque potentum
Excubat.

Obsearve how ungratfull this people be, their enflaminge and malitious heartes cannot be satisfied by any service or obligation, (how transcendent soever) their dropsie is soe farr growen to canker beyonde all reasonable limitt, thirstinge after more revenge, as not thriuing in the bloudshed of their prime benefactor, contrarie to all justice, fomentinge his further indignation, disbanded 3 or 4 regiments of his armie, now in the dead of winter, beinge now three quarter of a yeare continually in campania, never receavinge a fardinge of meanes, but for 3 weekes onely, deprivinge them now of their winter quarter, the onely suporte and magazine of the souldier. The Generall herof certified, mightie pensive and wonderfull, knowinge not what best to doe, at length resolved to write unto the Councell, settinge fourth, that to disband an armie of such concernment in so unreasonable

Three or 4
regiments
of Generall
Neyll dis-
banded in
the dead of
winter.

1647. Owens
letter unto
the
Councill.
- His sense
of the
Councill.
- 316.
- The
Councill
intention in
those
affaires.
- a time, was against all equitie, lawe and reason, havinge noe other meanes from the publicke, other then their winter quarter, that it was a world of pittie to use them soe unhumaine, that it should be feared, in this troublesome time to exasperat soe considerable a partie, and in their present condition, it beinge the very next disposition to force them runn some desperat course, to the publicke prejudice, that the authors left away open for many misconstructions, doe displaye unwillingnesse to doe service, an intention to weaken its owne party, and enable the enemie, wherfore I desire you bringe it to your further serious consideration, etc.
- Vpon perusall of this addresse, they conceaue an order, that the said disbanded horse and foote shall have 3 nights in eache baronie in the Irish quarters, and this their winter quarter. What think you would such disbanded and discontented armie do, by nature licentious, and now by the goverment authorized to doe what they list? whersoever they came, comitted all mischief, except the killinge of men, and noe mervayle (though they and their Generall did beare the blame,) they were blamelesse in the opinion of any indifferent judge, rather the Councill that grannted such power to a partie of that straine, were maliciously intended. Whoe conceaued this order, not for the behoofe of the said partie, nor for any satisfaction to the Generall, severally before offended, but to put his armie in the predicament of pilladgers and scavengers and himself no better than an enemie in the comon sense of comons. This same was the cause why the Councill comanded his continuance in Westmeath and King's countie for 2 monthes betweene Kilbegan and Castl Jordan, to call his name in question, amonge the disaffected to brande him with the character of a distroyer of the comonwealth, and by this fowle aspersion to withdrawe the affection of all men from him, more malice the devill himself could not invent, but nothings can quenche this but the grave.

CHAPTER XXIX.

- 317.
- Curt.
Lip. Pol.
l. 2.
Cicer. pro.
leg. Man.
- Tacit. An.
15.
- Taaffe
character.
Generall
of Monster.
- Power and worth in the comannder begett feare and love in a souldier; and they are in warr as heate and moysture are in nature: They give life and growthe to the service in hand, without them, both to will and to doe withereth in the armie; for wheare his power hath noe vertue of heate to enforce and enflame the souldiers could stamocke to courage, nor his worth the power of moysture to supply and quicken his dull limms to the action, there the hope of all good success doth wither and decay. Men are not therefore to be dignified with those high places, that are not qualified with those noble parts. *Authoritatis proles felicitas.*
- The Supream Councill did dignifie My Lord Taaffe, with the high place of a Generall of Monster, as n^o. 287 a man of meane ranke (though Viscounte) lesse experience and leaste authoritie, amonge verie many Irish comannders, the Assembly and Clergie congregation did assigne Clannmorgan, a man well practised in the warr, though not in the theoreticke, at leaste in the speculative parte, and farr better conditioned in such a matter then Taaffe, undervalewed by stronge faction, and

the ambitious covetousnesse of Muskry, but Taaffe was by the Councell subrogated 1647.
 insteede of both, though farr inferior to either in reputation, honor, and extraction,
 and one whom the armie did more willingly reject then embrace. This ill choise
 of theirs was chiefe motive of all the fate and ill successe that is soone to hapen
 in the same armie. This newe Generall was a refractorie member, never sworne
 to the confederacie, a minion to Ormond, a fitt instrument of treacherie, murther,
 and disloyaltie, knowen and intended by the choosers.

I have referred this warriors proceedings, in this his newe Generallshipe of Monster 318.
 unto this place, and treated of the Catholicke Generalls, though some here
 handled more recente then the tragicall scene of the other, onely to finish this
 yeare with its service in that which concerned Generall Neylle and his partie,
 whose action had such conexion betweene them, that scarce could I omitte one
 branche of the whole relation of his storie, without marring, and giving a rubb
 unto its genuine relish and proper veritie. And this others actions are such that
 they desire a continuance of intimation that the curious pallat of an unpartiall
 reader may with ease ruminat in the retirednesse of his solitarie thoughts the due
 censure of soe cruell, abominable, and diabolicall tragedie acted by two gentile
 and impious comedians Taaffe and Insichuynne, upon the theater of Cnocnadosse in
 Monster, the one provinge Annas the reprobat buyer of inocent bloude, the other a
 Judas an Apostat merchant shellinge the same for money. Math. 26.
 Marc. 14.
 Luc. 22.
 Joan. 18.

CHAPTER XXX.

Five things are required in a Generall, knowledge, valour, foresight, authoritie 319.
 and fortune : he that is not renowned for all, or most of these vertues, is not to be
 reputed fitt for this charge ; nor can this glorie be purchased but by practice and
 prooffe, for the greatest fencer is not allwaies the best fighter, nor the fairest tilter
 the ablest souldier, nor the greatest favorite in courte, the fittest comannder in a
 campe. That Prince therfore is ill advised, whoe confers this charge upon his
 minion, either for his courtshipe, or what other respecte, neglectinge those more
 requisite and more noble properties. Lip. Pol.
 l. 5.
 Cic.
 Ammirat.
 l. 6.
 Lucan l. 2.
 Plut. Apop.
 fol. 287.
 Tacit.
 Hist. l. 3.
 de Tyberio.

Tiberius hortabatur senatum vt eligeret proconsulem in bello contra Tacfarinatem, gnarum
 militiæ, corpore validum et bello suffecturum.

I supose Taaffe was a well spoken man of both arte and delivery a fencer, a
 runner of a tilte, a brave generous gamster, and an exceedinge good potator in
 any liquor you please : will he be reputed a fitt Generall of an armie for those
 qualities, havinge noe condition compitinge his own encumbencie, nay contrarie
 to all the former epythomes unfortunat in all his proceedings by inative propension,
 without respecte or authoritie with the militia, without foresight, valour or
 knowledge in the art, most inivious disdainfull, treacherous, disloyall, timorous
 and delicate, notwithstandinge good enough for the intended purpose. Marchinge
 now to the field with 3 Conaght regiments his owne brother Colonell Taaffe,
 Taaffes con-
 ditions de-
 cyphered.

1647. Colonell Bourke and Colonell M^cDaniell: those with the Monster armie, and
 Insichuyne Colonell Alexander M^cColla M^cDaniells 1500 redshankes (that kept in Clonmell,
 a degenerat as n^o. 87, touched) Insichuyne that degenerat Irish Generall of Monster for the
 Irish. Parliament drive to the field with his armie, on the other side. Taaffe duple
 more numerous then his said antigoniste: Purcell of Croe, his fidus Achates, and
 320. Leutenant Generall for that expedition. But o horrid and inhumaine treason,
 Generall Taaffe, Leutenant Generall Purcell and Colonell Gradie conspired against
 the inocent bloude of that brave warrior Alexander M^cDaniell and his three valiant
 reddshankes, like another Judas against our Saviour, compounded with the enemie
 (sayinge, as he said) quid vultis nobis dare, et eos vobis trademus, what will you give
 us, and will relinquishe them in the battle to your proper devotion, without givinge
 the leaste succor? £1500 was assigned, pretium sanguinis. O damnable contracte!
 Cnocnados O infernall and gracelesse merchants! O more then miserable buyers! Why
 battle in did not you feare the rigor of Gods wrathe inflicted on such betrayers, and
 Monster. executioners of the shedinge of inocent bloude, wherof holy writte is plentifull,
 Gen. 4. what was Gods indignation against Cain for murtheringe his brother Abell?
 2 Reg. 11. the verie insensible and tough element the Earth cryed to his Creator for vengeance:
 What punishmentdesearved David for the murther of Urias Hetheus? (comanninge
 2 Reg. 12. to leave him too farr engaged, in the siedege of Rabaothe, unrelieued) pronounced
 3 Reg. 2. by divine oracle and published by the Prophet Nathan. The execution of Joab
 for his several murthers sometime Generall of Kinge Davids armie, was deseruedly
 Matt. 26. inflicted by Salamon? What Judas himself that sould our Redeemer, the
 divine providence ordained him to be his proper hangman and executioner,
 Luc. 22. suspendit se laqueo et suspensus crepuit medius. The Jewes the buyers ever
 since, without kinge, lawe or religion or any permanent place, but in all the
 Matt. 27. world vagabonnds. Doe you thinke or perswade yourself any better event to
 waite on you your scene noe better? or doe you conceaue God not soe just now
 as then? In one thing you proved better marchants then Judas for you gott
 Act 3. 1^o. 20s le piece, wheare he got but 30ds in all. But worste then he, for he did
 Math. 27. acknowledge his faulte (though not with intente to thrive penitent) peccavi, tradens
 sanguinem just; but in you was not founde soe much grace as to doe the like
 though desperat of remission, as your exemplar: The motion was embraced, the
 covenant concluded upon, as provisoe indorsed, that if the warrlike reddshanke
 did hapen to be taken upon quarter, not to comply the same, but to kill him,
 though against the lawe of armes and nations.
321. This tragedie was to be acted on Shrubbhill, or in Irish Cnocnan roop, where
 both armies arrived, in sight of eache other, addressed themselves for battle, the
 enemie planted his field pieces. Taaffe had none, the right hande of the field was
 allotted to this Machabeyan souldier and his reddshankes, his taske was to give the
 first onsett, which he performed on the enemie with such an undaunted courage
 that he caused all the armie suspense, rather wonderinge at his valerous charge,
 then any way able to oppose it, gained grounde so farr, that in a thrice was
 master of the enemie ordinance. His proper Generall obsearvinge, how he was
 too farr engaged, insteede of relivinge or secondinge him, oblivious of all honor and
 worth, comanded the rest of his armie to marche out of the field, leavinge this
- O inhuman
 treacherie
 of Generall
 Taaffe.

onely gentleman in action against the enemie multitude. Richard Buttler, 1647.
 Ikierys sonne, afore mentioned, obsearvinge this brave comanner forsaken, and
 exposed to slaughter, the Generall marchinge treacherously with his armie out of
 field, addressed himself towards the Generall, asked whether did he goe? or
 what did he intende? and besought him with all vehemencie possible, to turne
 and relieue that brave champion M^cDaniell, for allmost the field was his owne
 alreadie, and beinge reliued, without question was theires, and this faylinge, said
 he, to bringe him with honor from off the field. The Generall disdainfully
 answered, that he would not turne or cause any reliefe: for my parte replied
 Buttler, I rather perish in that battle, then to be subiecte to soe ignominious
 a staine, and irrevocable an aspersion, as my house and bloud may be subjecte
 unto, for relinquishinge this braue warrior, soe cowardly: and though alone I will
 venture the battle to the extreame hazard of life, onely to share in honor for
 future ages, with that martiall broode: By the livinge lord, said the Generall, if
 you would once offer to doe it, I would pistle you. Buttler mightie offended, and
 most sensible of both proper and alien affronte, tould that he would bullett him,
 like an archtraytor, as he was, if once attemptinge the same, with this parted to
 the fielde (nothinge esteeminge his life, in respecte of honor and credit) to asiste
 M^cDaniell, whoe all this interim, never dreamed what was don on either side,
 but makinge such a havocke amonge the enemie, in proper person, that was ad-
 mirable.

The noble
behaviour
of Richard
Buttler.

M^cDaniell
admired.

The enemie obsearvinge the Irish Generall and his armie out of the field, havinge 322.
 now onely to deale with the reddshanks and Buttler, the left winge that should
 be the taske of the alreadie goen armie, to oppose, gave a wheele and came in the
 reare of the reddshankes, whoe verily beleevinge those to be their owne untill
 experience taught them to their losse the contrary, then began the mortalitie on
 either side, the event doubtfull untill at lenght, the heroycke and valiant reddshankes,
 never yeldinge, but rather gaininge grounde, were all for the most part slaughtered,
 their warrlike chieftaine behavinge himself like another Jonathas, that none durst
 aneere him, noe such feates was seene by our progenitors acted by an ordinarie
 man (unlesse asisted by a higher power) whoe could not be either killed, vanquished
 or taken prisoner, but of his owne accorde, seeinge the mortalitie of his men and
 his owne present danger, yelded upon quarter of life and armes; But alas, now in
 restraints, his quarter signed by unnaturall and tyranicall Insichuynes, reedinge
 behinde a horseman one Foordome, a captain of horse, cominge to him with a
 naked sworde, did trust him through, contrarie to all the lawes of both armes
 and nations (though not against covenante), it gives life unto this surmishes, that
 the partie offendinge in soe transcendent a degree was never punished, nay, not
 as much as a bare checke, rather honored, esteemed and promoted. Noble Richard
 Buttler was taken prisoner in this field, wherby acquired imortall fame. Noe
 sooner Taaffe enformed of this defeate, and of the death of valiant M^cDaniell, but
 roade with his armie, with all expedition to Limbricke with the sounde of a
 trumpett, as if victorious cominge home for triumphe, in confirmation of former
 relation, you may seriously peruse the ensuinge epitaph of Alexander M^cDaniell
 aforesaid.

M^cDaniells
feates.
i. Mach: ii.
Redd-
shanks
killed.
Alexander
prisoner.
By Captain
Foordome
cruelly
killed.
It was the
bloody
covenant of
Insichuynes
and Taaffe

The
bouldnesse
of Taaffe.

1647. **Alexandri Colliadæ Mac Daniell, Tribuni militum (Qui velut alter Machabæus, pro fide et patria, fortissime certans, gloriosus occubuit)**
M^cDaniells epitaph.

Epitaphium :

Ad Nossas heros vicit, victorque perivit,
Venditus a sociis, emptus ab hoste, suis.
Infelix praxis Judæ, non Martis alumni,
Qui patriam tradens, vendidit ære ducem.
Inversum fatum, Taffum, tunc nominis esse,
Dum lætum in tristem, verterat arte diem.

323. After this treacherous defeate Taafe was comannded by the Councell, (as prime warrior and mightie sutinge to their factious principles) to marche with his armie, and Richard Bellings, one of the said Councell to grace his actions, in his company to the countie of Kery, to reduce (as they gave out) some refractorie members of the confederacie to obeysance of the gouernment, whoe were OSullivan and Daniell McCarty, in whose hands was the Castle of Maigne, and other places of great concernment, for the publicke auayle, but certainly those members were as upright and as loyall, as any in all their province, and by the keepinge of those hoults in the same hands, kept out Insichuynne from them parts, which was sufficient motive to place them in the predicament of refraction. The armie, Generall and Councillors marched thither, rather like enemies then confederats or associats usinge all mischeife, demolished all they hitted upon, plunderinge and pilladginge whereuer they went, not sparinge either friende or foe, noe distinction of either apeeringe. They leaguer the Castle of Maigne aforesaid, affarr off none of the foresaid gentlemen then there, nor suspected any such matter, the comannder that hapned to be then in chiefe in the Castle admittinge a parley, greate offerrs were made unto him, and to be plyant to the assayllants request of the surrender of that castle ; whoe embraced both faction and offer made unto him by Generall and Councillour, did send such of the garrison as he thought did oppose to the contrie for forage, or other thinges seeminge necessarie, havinge obtained the consent of such as did abide, the Castle impregnable and unaccessible by nature was treacherously surrendered unto those traytors, precursors of Insichuynes future Cessation, to make those hoults in a readinesse to be yielded unto him in vertue of the said Cessation to come.

OSullivan and Daniell McCarty's loyaltie.

Taafe and Bellings hostile proceedings.

The Comannder became of the faction. Moygne yielded.

324. Insichuynne enformed of his benefactor Taafe in the field in the countie of Kyerie, marched with his armie to the field, wheare the contry was naked to the county of Typrary, tooke seuerall garrisons there onely upon summons. But Taafe and his councillor, with braue expedition, marched to Limbricke, givinge out their disabilitie to oppose Insichuynne, impoverishinge their partie and quarters, though farr more numerous and better apointed by greate odds then he, but were powerfull enough to doe mischiefe towards Catholicke and loyall members, their owne associats. This zeudo Generall with his Councillor arrived to Kilkeny, wheare by the Councell they were wellcome, Insichuynne takinge garrisons as aforesaid, without opposition (notwithstandinge this our recent and suborned Generall, his Councillor and armie in the field) marching towards Cahirdunamaske.

Insichuynne without opposition with a small partie takinge garrisons. O braue Councill and Generall.

Huigh Oneylle Maijor Generall of Vlster, was comanded with 3 regiments of foote, and M^cThomas with some Linster horse to defend that place, but Major Ffennell (whoe after the base and treacherous surrender of Caperquin,) was promoted from a Captain to be Major of horse, as n^o. 194, by the Councell, to enable him to worke more mischiefe, was, as a suposed partie of the Confederats, keepinge a straight passadge, did send privat intelligence unto the enemie to march with all secrecie, and might unawares fall upon Huigh Oneylle and McThomas their partie. This was not soe privat but Major Generall Neylle had some notice thereof, and imparted the same to M^cThomas, whoe conceavinge it very dangerous to continue the . . . any longer in that virulent vipers bosome, his mortale enemie, beinge his domesticke, resolved to turne to Linster with his horse, whether the Major did turne to his garrison or noe, upon the marching of the Linster horse towards their proper province. Huigh Oneyll was not of abilitie to stand in the field with his onely foote, returned home to Clonmell. But Insichuyne arrivinge too late for the former designe, as beinge discovered, as aforesaid, by the privat workinge of Ffennell and the conivance of the Supreame Councell tooke Cahire.

1647.
Major
Generall
Neylle had
notice
hereof.
McThomas
sent to
Linster.

CHAPTER XXXI.

While the crocodile sleepes gapinge with open mouth, the Indian ratt shoots himself into his belly and gnawes his guts in sunder, soe intreth mischiefe at the open gates of securitie, self-conceited confidence in our owne strenght, and overweeninge credulitie of anothers honestie, begettis in men this supine negligence. But a watchfull providence prevents an eminent danger.

Metiri sua regna decet, viresque fateri.

325.
Plin. Nat.
Hist. lib. 8.
c. 25.
Tacit. Hist.
l. 4.
Plaut. Rud.
Lucan. 8.

The Catholicke Generall did supplicat both assembly and councell to give him way to keepe his armie in the field neere Dublin, all winter, or to place them in heade garrisons wheare they might be in a readinesse at all occasions, as n^o. 311 and n^o. 312 touched. But the Councell confidinge too much in their owne securitie, disrespectinge any prevention, by the sage and watchfull eye of the Generall offered, whoe enformed (as previdinge, what the enemie would acte to the kingdome prejudice, if not timely prevented, the councells self-concited credulitie, lulled them asleepe with a supine negligence, untill the now ratt of Dublin marched to the countie of Wickloe, overan with fire and sworde the most parte thereof, caryed away all the corne, as much as possibly they were able, and what they could not carie away they demolished. 4 or 5 garrisons they left in that countie, where they thought occasion did searve, meane while that this was abruinge, the Councell did send 1,500 men thither, under the comande of Richard Buttler, Montgerrotts sonn, a relapse member from the church obeysance, as n^o. 240 mentioned, and Thomas Bagnall his Lieutenant-Colonell, by faction, and contrarie to the lawe of armes subrogated. Those marched to the county of Wickloe, untill arrivinge to Rathdruma, where they apointed their poast to be, and make that place sure against the enemie.

Generall
Neyll
proved
prophet.
The
enemie in
the countie
of Wikloe.
The inhu-
manity of
Buttler and
Bagnall.

1647.
326.
The crueltie
of the said
Comanders
towards the
natives.

But noe sooner settled there, then a 1,000 of this partie ranged in the countie, exactinge meanes and provision, and this upon the score of ould pretence, and left 500 or thereabouts in the foresaid poaste. Yett never offered to hinder by any way the enimie incursions, demolishinge all and overuninge the cuntry with fire and sworde, as aforesaid, in their sight in loose parties, and troupes, all the passages most advantagious for such a purpose. But the harvest of this supposed reliefe at an end, and every villadge, montaine and cottage, cryinge after them, more pittifully then after the enimie, as caryinge both prey and pilladge. Those of the said poaste, answered the hewe and crye (not in obsearvance of the lawe in that behalfe to rescue), but to seconde the violence of their comrades, gave out that the enimie come with force, to their poaste, (which was most falshe) and added greife to their confederats, plunderinge and pilladginge where ever they came in that county, nay stripped, both man, woman and childe, caryinge away all their prey for good and all. This was the salve those miscreants and crocodilian broode applyed to the recente wounds of their associates, and actually blydinge under the mercilesse yoke of their enimie sworde. The enimie now in possession of Wicklowe countie without opposition, the natives diverted and distracted by the inhumanitie of those (alreadie mentioned) sent from the Councell, (which I belevee was the intended objecte,) but all this might be easily prevented, if the Councell did admitte Generall Neylls sense herin. Finis hujus libri.

The
Councell
and Com-
anders
the cause
of this
distraction.

THIRD BOOKE.

CHAPTER I.

1648.
327.
Cæs. Comp.
l. 6.
Cicero.
Livi.
Juvenal
Sat. 10.
Ovid. Trist.

Though fortune be said to have a greate stroke in all humane actions and greatest in those of warr, yett can wee not transferr the fault upon her, but that the greatest blame will light on our selves: for her two onely advocats (blindnesse and ignorance) which pleade her innocencie, are our chiefe accusers and prove us guiltie of our owne destruction. It is therefore the parte of every comannder to open the one eye of his providence upon the danger: and fix the other of his knowledge, upon the remedie.

Rara quidem est virtus quam non fortuna gubernat.

The
Councells
treacherie
against
Generall
Oneylls
sense.

While the Supreme Councell was peacably possessed of the Counties of Wickloe and Kildare, had neither the witte or judgment to see, nor care to foresee, what was necessarie for the keepinge thereof although they could not but expecte newe attempts from the enimie, as Generall Neyll did wisely infuse unto their eares, whereby, like a brave comannder opened the one eye of his providence on the danger that might ensue, and the other fixed on the remedie, if the blindnesse, ignorance, or self treacherie of the Councell did but once embrace it, and putt it in

execution, which, at length, will prove them guiltie of proper destruction. The Catholicke Generall seeinge now to his grieffe; the countie of Wickloe to be brought unto a sadd condition by the enemie, accordinge his predixion, acertaind accordinge all militarie induction, would soone marche unto the countie of Kildare, unto his verie doores, whoe, well knowinge that sooner may one prevent, then cure a deadly sicknesse and easilier keepe out then trust out an unwellcome guest, sued the Supreame Councell to be pleased, that he may now gather his men unto the field, though farr asunder that he may be able to keepe out the enemie from cominge over the Liffy in the countie of Kildare. The Councell denied him this lawfull, just and reasonable requeste, nay not as much as one onely regiment to waite on himself, in this extremitie in Reban or Athy. The enemie hereof certified marched to the foresaid countie, and upon sumons gott as many castles there, as they desired, and was truely given out, that all this was don, by the Councell assent, whereof I am confident, for they would not give way to Generall Neylle, either to defende or demolishe the said castles, which was a stronge presumption that they had a finger in the matter, and thus was the countie of Kildare lost unto a litle nuke, and though this fomented a greate suspi- tion in the Councell disloyaltie, yett mightie conducinge to colour their future cessation with the Baron of Insichuyne.

1648.

Neither Generall or armie would doe the like only he and his.

The Councells finger in this busines.

CHAPTER II.

Such is the force of fate, as it can and will effecte its ends, without any assistance against all resistance, yett comonly it worketh not alone, it is attended with seconde and subalterne causes concurring in the partie, himself whose ruynes is destined for his connsailes and actions allwayes change with his fortune and make the way to his owne downfall.

328.

Tacit. Hist.

Gell. l. 2. Mac. Dis. l. 2.

Ovid. Pon. lib. 4.

Crede mihi; miseros prudentia prima relinquit :
Et sensus cum re conciliumque fugit.

Wee left Ormond in his journey for London, and banquettinge and makinge merry with the Parliament of England at his arrivall thither (as n^o. 277 touched) wheare meetinge with his pledges of performnce, with the Parliament for the surrender of Dublin, and continued there with his wife and children for halfe a yeare, at the expiration wherof, tooke leave and went for France. The reason why? was severall and the intimation diverse. The factioniers gave out (as to their principles agreeable, and likly to proper instructions sutable,) that he stole away from the Parliament as very tender of the King's service, to acte some other scene for his Majesties avayle and future behoofe, which I doe not beleeve, for, if he stole away, as is suggested, why did not he leave his wife, children, and his former pledges in some posture of saftie? It is uncredible that one of his ranke and qualitie, would prove soe willfull, as to leave the lives of soe many deere pledges at discretion and enemie mercie, did not the Parliament performe with him duringe his aboade there accordinge covenant? intertained him and his

Ormonds wellcome to England.

His continuance and flight.

How he was used.

1648. retinewe, as nobly, as reasonable as could be; every daie and hower in familiar
 The falshe conference with him, within and abroad, his sense desired in many important
 surmishe affaires, with all the ostentation possible, reputing him rather a domesticke of their
 of the proper proceedings then any way a foraigner, or reconciled enemie, what jealousies
 factionists then could he harbour against soe prime benefactors that he should runn such a
 in Ormonds desperat course, to putt himself into soe eminent a danger, as to be apprehended
 behalfe. in his now flight, under the name of a fugitive traytor? Leavinge allsoe his
 The foresaid pleadges, his wife and the fruite of his loynes in the like snare, and
 foolerie subjecte to all misconstructions of a stronge, potent, and bloudie enemie? What
 therof. neede all this? or a riche man to be a theefe? If this surmishe were true (as it is
 not) he is like the etc.

CHAPTER III.

329. The hearte wolfe be he never soe hungry and readie to eate, yett if he see
 Pliu. Nat. another prey, he forsakes his meate and followeth after it, such a wolfe in the
 Hist. l. 8. hearte is ambitious covetousnesse. It makes noe use of what it hath gotten, but
 c. 22. greedily hunteth after more, and like Esops dog looseth the morsell in his mouth,
 Terent. by snapping at the shadowe in the water. He therfore maketh his bargain ill,
 Eun. that buyes a future hope with a present losse, and parts from a certaine possession,
 Sallust. to make an uncertaine purchase.
 Jug.

Ovid. Am. Venator sequitur fugientia, capta relinquit.
 2. Semper : et inventis ulteriora petit.

The cause This peere beinge sure and confident by both couenant and theoricks of the
 why Parliament, to be now his chiefe benefactors, as there servant, abetter
 Ormond member since those comotions, why should he relinquish those now unlesse blinde
 left covetousnesse and self ambition did guide him, as not pleased with what alreadie
 England he had in possession, or like that harte wolfe forsakinge his proper meate
 and to whose for alien or Esops dog forgoinge the morsell in his mouth for the shadowe of
 smiles. future purchase? buyinge soe deere and at a rate soe transcendent, a fadinge
 Confuta- hope, onely possibly to be reduced unto an exercite act, (and its contrary) with
 tion of the a present losse? Why, I say, did he use those extravagancies unlesse he did
 former aspire unto further prehemencie? But verily he is in danger to loose both
 suggestion. present and future by the bargaine. This suggestion is falshe, and builded upon
 sandie ground, for (as by prime hands we have receaved) he was sent unto
 How France by the Parliament, with credence to the Hugonetts, that he may insinuat
 thrived himself by their infusion, and intimation unto the Parliament of Paris, to worke
 in Paris. division and went there, betweene royaltie and the members of that house, as
 trained in such a business in a shorte time thrived soe well, that the yonge King,
 Queene Regent and Dowager, with some of the best note of the nobilitie, were
 comitted unto safe custodie and continued thus for 48 howers, untill some of the
 The prime peeres of the kingdome, began to move and stirr themselves, (as previdinge
 Nobilitie such another catastrophe as that of England to ensue, if not at instant prevented)
 loyaltie.

and raise in armes, that nation frolicke by nature, would without question execute some of the contrivers unlesse presently satisfied, wherby those in restraite were enlarged, colouringe this, their disloyaltie and disobedient acte by some conterfeite and fained fixion, to reede themselves of the present danger that hanged over their heades by the lawe of that kingdome.

Obsearve how powerfull is Ormonde to make division wherever he goes—a fitt member of Sathan, chiefe patron of all rent and distraction, divisio christianorum triumphus est dæmonum, he infuses unto the ears of both Prince and Queene of England, that he arrived thither from the strongest partie then, of the Parliament of England, namely the Presbyterians, to intimat unto her Majestie that they were really for the Kinge, whereof she should not doubt, Digby and Castlehaven did attest this metamorphosios, for true. Those 3 with severall Hugonetts and other suborned favoritts addressed themselves to my lord German, the Queenes minion, oyntinge his fingers with supple oyle, which in such occasions is never wantinge, worked soe farr to their desire, that my lord German, not onely did seconde the former designe, but allsoe proved a prime enformer and vnctor therof on Ormonds behalfe, factus est quasi unus ex nobis.

Ormond and his complices complied soe earnest with his mission, that he was master of his now suite, as possessed once of Germans asistance and favour, and to be further certified of his faction in Ireland, how inclined since his owne departure, did send his extraordinarie Mercurie, Colonell Barry, to take the pulse of Insichuynne, Supreame Councell and instructions tendinge to joine those and Colonell Johns, Governour of Dublin for the Parliament to Confederacie, and to goe in hand with a cessation of armes betweene them, and upon his arrivall unto Ireland would conclude a straight union and peace between them, and to be sure of his game in Conaght, adviced the Supreame Councell to apointe Clanricard Generall of the Catholicks in that province, (though noe member of their association) in one thinge was in this busines deceived, for all the rest would never question Ormond, what religion or partie he was off, but hoode blinde would run the same way with him, though for the Devill against God, onely Johns whoe knewe well that Ormond was a Presbyterian, and its faction and himself an independent and therefore not like to agree amonge themselves, how ever whether by crafte or otherwise, did attempte the undermininge of that solid grounde.

Barry arrivinge to Corke enformed Insichuynne of Ormonds designe accordinge instructions. The other by nature fraile, apt for any impression, a practitioner of reuolution, a most ambitious, inuious, and aspyringe companion, though poyson what was offered, drunke heartily of it.

1648.

Continus
in Serm.
All fac-
tioniers
children
Sathan.

Ormonds
faction
with the
Queene.

330.
Ormonds
Mercury,
Colonell
Barry, to
worke
faction
arrived to
Ireland.

How
deceaved
in Johns.

Insichuy-
nes charac-
ter.



CHAPTER IV.

1648.

331.
Plin. Nat.
Hist. l. 8.
c. 27.
Cicer. Offi.
l. 3.
Senec.
Epist. 89.

The poysonfull aconite soe much desired of the panther, is purposly hunge upp by hunters in vessells above theire reache, wherof they are soe greedie, as they never leave leapinge and straininge thereat till they burst and kill themselves, and soe are taken; soe doe men that ayme at honor, too high for theire reache, and too greate for theire meritt, for a hearte overgrowen with this ranke aconite, neither admitts the beames of grace to molefie the hardnesse, nor the bounds of nature to restraine the swellinge: but is unnaturally caried to wronge those of his owne bloude that are livinge, and to blemishe the honorable fame of his predecessors departed. Such tyrants may beare themselves up for a time, but in the end they finde that though divine justice hath leaden feete, she hath iron hands, though slowe in cominge, yett she stricketh home.

Juvenal.
Sat. 10.

Quosdam præcipitat subiecta potentia magnæ
Inuidiæ, mergit longa, atque insignis honorum
Pagina.

The incon-
stancie of
Insichuayne.

Clergie
executed
by In-
sichuayne.

Joines now
with
Ormond.

This poore waveringe panther, Insichuayne, with soe many jumpes and leapinge from Kinge to Parliament, from Parliament to Kinge, and now the 4th or 5th of his unconstant whilinges to Ormond, (that poysonfull aconite) and Irish factionists will burst himself at lenght, as soe greedie of this poysonfull aconite, Ormonds insinuation and offerrs infused unto his eares, by that postilian Barry, and noe mervayle as growen soe graclesse, that he will admitt noe salue to molefie his hardnesse and swellinge humor, degeneratinge from his noble predecessors in both loyaltie and religion, beinge the onely Nero in persecutinge Catholicke Church, and Apostata Julian in the effusion of the sacred bloude of religious and regular clergie-men, as wittnesse his thrice tyranicall behavior in Cashell and S. Patrick's rocke in that behalfe, where he executed upwards of 30 persons of the said divine function, buyinge others for 5*l.* le piece to execute them, or as an ambitious and covetous drover, to sell them after for a higher rate, contrarie to all Christian divine or humaine lawe, never respected the canons of Holy Church, exclaiming against such symoniacall trafficke, all this and thowsands more, to the blemishe of the honorable fame of his predecessors. But now gives newe consent to Ormonds motion by Barry, whoe there dispatched to his content, addressed himself to the Supreame Councill, whoe alreadie received theire influence from that predominant proper starr.

CHAPTER V.

332.
Lip. Pol.
l. 4.
Ste de prud.
Cicer. Ep.
19.
Cicer. Offi.
2.
Ovid. Fast.
2.

He that weareth his hearte in his foreheade, and is of an ouert and transparent nature, through whose words, as through cristall, yee may see unto every corner of his thoughts; that man is fitter for a table of goode fellowshipe then a Councill table: for upon the theater of publicke employment either in peace or warr, the actors must of necessitie weare vizards, and change them in every scene. Because the generall good and saftie of a state, is the center in which all theire actions and counsailes must meete to which men cannott allwaies arrive by plaine pathes and beaten waies, wherfore a Prince may pretende a desire of friendship with



the weaker, when he meanes, and must contracte it with the stronger, he may sometimes leave the comon highway, and take downe an unused-by-path in the lesser of dangers, soe he be sure to recompence it in the greater of saftie. 1648.

Brutus erat stulti sapiens imitator, ut esset
Tutus ab insidiis, dire Superbe, tuis :—

The Councell never yett behaved themselves accordinge those politicall auxiomes nor ever yett mette on the center of this comonwealth saftie, though on them intrusted, by their actions, words and lookes, you might prie unto their verie inward thoughts, used vizards onely for destruction and ruine, simulatunge other then their intentions, without any necessitie, takes now by-pathes of fate, and forsakes the plaine and beaten way of thrivinge, embraceth Ormonds motion, antagonist of religion, (beinge severally sworne for the furtherance therof,) and Insichuynne an apostat dogmatiste, a relapse and disloyall subjecte to both Kinge and nation, and doe shake off, their ever tried faithfull and benemerittinge associat, by the onely blaste of a bare credence of a publick traytor to Barry; they never care for the Kingdom saftie, nor doe either Ormond or Councell once dreame or intende the good of either Kinge, religion or nation, but rather the totall destruction of all, as the event will prove; however, they have concluded with Barry, whoe boasted thence to Dublin, to infuse this venomous poyson unto the eares of Johns, governor of Dublin, therby to scorche and burne his hearte with the same desire, as he did with the two other respective parties, but this cavallier was more tender of his owne reputation than either of them for

How the
Councell
used
vizards.
Their
ioininge
with
Insichuynne
against
oath and
disclaim-
inge in
their
associat,
Owen
Oneyll,
without
authoritie
and lawe.

CHAPTER VI.

Three things are necessarie to every worke, the workman, the tooles and the matter, soe every matter that falls unto deliberation, and is to be concluded in Counsell, must have justice, for the mover and efficient: facilitie for the meanes and instrumentall: and profit for the objecte and finall causes, therefore in determinable causes of this nature, the counsellor must insiste upon these three pointes and prove them Reipublicæ utile, ipsis gloriosum aut promptum effectum. To become now refractorie to that government, under which he searved since those comotions, was not sutable to a constant hearte, nor soe just in a generous minde, nor doth it temper or facilitate the matter any way in his imagination to be moved, by such members, as are characterized, by noe better epythome, then that evangelicall motho arundinem vento agitatam. He conceived allsoe his profit therby to decrease, and his fortune at the last period of its ebbing, for if he did joine, by these sophisticall intimations, and groundlesse offers of Ormond and his colloguinge faction, he may be sure to swarue from his continued principles, to loose both his place and government of city and province, and to be onely combined to the condition of a particular Colonell, if soe much did gaine by that conjunction. Wherefore like a wise counsellor, he insisted upon the former 3 points, iustice, facilitie and profit, and accordinge his former inductions, gave Barry a flatt deniall,

333.
Tacit. hist.
2.
Leo Imp.
de apparat.
ball.
Sueto. cap.
11.
The noble
resolution
of Colonell
Johns.
Math. 11.

He denies
Ormonds
conjunc-
tion.

1648. wherby dispatched thence. Now certified how eache partie was inclined towards Ormond his master addressed himself for journey to France, with all privat assurance to Ormond from the Supreame Councell and Insichuynes.
334. The Kingdome Assembly sittinge in Kilkeny, as n°. 308 touched, conceaved an acte that agents should be sent to Rome, France and Spaine, to be adviced by his Holinesse and those other Catholicke princes, what conditions of peace did they think fitt for the Irish nation, theire instructions did importe, that the agents sent for France and Spaine should conclude nothings, untill the returne of the Roman agents, nor the Romaine and Frenche agents without the resulte of the Spanishe agent and thus theire meetinge to be in Paris and from thence to come home with theire severall results, that the Kingdome Assembly may upon theire returne sitt, examen and conclude the same. The nomination of those agents was left to the Councell by the Assembly, beinge required to choose indifferently. Pursuant unto this trust and power, the Councell did appointe for Rome the Bishope of Fearnese and Nicholas Plunkett, for France the Marquess of Antrim, my lord of Muskry, and Geffry Browne, Lawyer, for Spaine Sir Richard Blake onely, though the Kinge of Spaine theire verie best benefactor in those warrs, did send them 4 demy-cansons, armes, amunition, a good masse of money, and all theire prime comannders came out of his forge, by his admittance, notwithstandinge theire ingratitude was such that they would send him noe Agents, onelie to give the Spanishe agent, at instant in Kilkeny some seeminge satisfaction, leaste to be totally jealous, they nominat this Blake, an unqualified person for such a taske, from a Kingdome to soe eminent a prince whereof the Spanishe agent was mightie sensible, and judginge all to have its osprunge from the imediat influence of that Ormondian planet said in publicke congregation, that it was astrange operation that one onelie Buttler did render all Ireland drunke and soone after departed the Kingdome. But Blake was never sent to Spaine, or other in his place, either for the compliance of the Assembly vote therin, or satisfaction of the Most Catholicke Kinge, our chiefe benefactor, as aforesaid. But the Romaine agents were first dispatched, as havinge a greater journey to goe, and allsoe leaste they might be privie to the Councell actions in treatinge of Cessation, with Insichuynes, a thinge right oppositt unto both mission, instruction, and Assembly vote. Butt—
- The wrongs exhibited to the Spaniard.
- What the Spanish agent said of Ormond.
- Sir Richard Blake.

CHAPTER VII.

335. Longe festered ulcers are beyonde the possibilitie of cure, in a bodie where the humors are ranke and venemous. For a turbulent spiritte, exulcerate with the corrosives of many wrongs, and impatient of delay in his revenge, is soe farr transported from reason, or acceptinge the supple oyle of reconciliation, as he enters into resolutions of desperat consequence, and vents the poysen of his malice, by the pipes of his treasonable practises, unto every veiwe of his native countrie, to the greate hazard of her health, and publicke saftie—
- Senec. Thyest. Tacit. Hist. 1°. Ouid.

Sero medicina paratur cum mala per longas convaluere moras :

If the Kingdome, or at leaste the healthy members therof, did in time cutt off those cankered ones, this poyson would not be difused, soe farr unto the whole polliticke of this comonwealthe. But alas, now is growen soe ranke and pre-dominate, that it is past all cure, and soe inhumaine and desperatly intended as to pretende to vent his venome into every corner of his native soile, onely, to avenge supposed wrongs or afronts, don against Ormonds greatnesse, and now to worke all things for his behoofe, and not to have any thinge at his arrivall, that did render the leaste discontente or rubbe against theire confederacie, they intend a blacke designe, to kill in one and the same hower and night, all Generall Neylls armie, which was an easie taske, as beinge soe farr asunder in severall counties and in three provinces, the actors of this bloudie, cruell and tragical sceme, were foure of the Supream Councill, the plott soe agreed upon, by whom, when and how decreed. But God Allmightie having still a speciall care of the inocent and distressed, touched the hearte of one of the conthriviers with remorse and scruple of conscience, wherupon wrote the case truely and really to the Catholicke Generall, desiringe him to prevente that tragedie to his uttermost endeavour, and give noe better accomodation unto the instrument containinge the intimation then fire. All this was don by Gods devine providence. But verily Generall Neylle never discovered the author of this soe godly a recantation, which was a generous and noble acte what would not these abortive Catholicks doe, that practiseth such treasonable villanies against theire best and onely champion, theire true and zealous confederate, and theire ever famous and victorious associate?— O heavens what patience with such? But hearke —

1648.
If executed accordinge desert.
This scene was not acted.
The blacke designe by 4 of the Supream Councill intended against Generall ONeylls armie.

And how prevented.

CHAPTER VIII.

Where the ambassador hath charge without limitation, he may negotiat in the busines accordinge to discretion, and as he sees occurrence of circumstances and occasions offered; But when it is in prescripte and expresse tearmes limited, he must imitat the camell, whoe never will cary any more weight, then what at first was laide upon him, nor goe one foote beyond his ordinarie journey. Noe more must the ambassador exceede one jott of his comission, but tye himself to the stricte words of his instructions. Legati munus est omnia ad præscriptum imperiumque Consulis agere.

336.
Arm. in Tacit. An 2^o.
Pasch. Leg. Plini. l. 8. c. 10.
Alex. de Alex.

The agents for France are dispatched, the Assembly instructions, as above mentioned, but the Councill gave privat instructions unto two of the three to acte whatsoever they pleased, as confident those would doe nothinge, but what agreed to the Councill pallat, lett any man judge whether those agents resemblinge ambassadors should obey this distinctive instruction of a fewe withered and obnoxious members of the comonwealth, then the authenticke resulte and sense of the whole bodie polliticke therof? The Councill havinge laide this fundation, though upon sand, to make it firme by suporters, left noe stone unmoved, noe braine unrevolved, or way unattempted, conducinge to the strenghtninge and

Agents for France with other then Assembly instructions.
All wayes attempted for faction.

1648. betteringe their faction, and all this onelie tendinge to the extirpation of both religion and ancient Irishe, upon the least disunion or revolution they were certainly assured of some bishopes to adhere unto them, as Meath, Ossoriensis, and Tuamensis : and because this matter was of a longe fetch, and of many daies bruinge, they presented to his Holynesse, by the mediation of My Lord Nuncio, under the vaile of religion, others of the same lethargie to be created bishops, whoe were now honored with the prehemencie of mythers. Drumorensis, Ardaghadensis, Duacensis, Killalensis, Limbricensis, Waterfordensis, Fearnensis, and severall others, havinge those now at their beck, for the former uses. They thought not all safe, unlesse they drew the regulars unto their said faction, to worke this the easier, assuredly certaine the Seraphicall order to exceede in number, vote and consequence all other religions in the Kingdome, but knowinge Thomas Makiernan then Provinciall of the Franciscans to be as firme as a rocke and unmovable from his first godly union and association, began by all industrie and meanes possible to breake this knott, wherein thrivinge, were confident of all things to purpose, but faylinge in this man, and by his meanes in others, they worke most shamfully, perniciously and symoniackly, to the hazard of both bodie and soule of thousands alias religiously given.

Bishops created to what purpose?

Seducinge of regulars.

Thomas Makiernans prayse.

CHAPTER IX.

337. Religion is rather a selter then a stickler in policie, she rather confirmes men in obedience to the government established, then incites them to medle in the erectinge of a newe. Soe ought they of religious order to doe, for if they worke otherwise, they labour out of their veinyard, and move out of their proper sphere. The awefull reverence men beare to their cognizance, and the opinion is had of their learninge and sanctitie makes them more powerfull to perswade, then either the seconde reasons of the wise or authoritie of the magistrate: And therefore when they abuse this power, well ordered states should both curbe and correcte them, which in a state meerly popular is meerly impossible.

Ante omnia sit tibi cura rerum Diuinarum.

The foolerie of the Councell. The duty of clergie men.

The Queene, solicitor.

If this our government were an ordered state, it would rather crube and correcte factious clergie, then any way countenance or move the same, in case they did degenerat from their proper beinge, which is rather to confirme men in the obedience, and awe of a well established government, then to incite them unto the erectinge of a newe evill and pernicious, in doinge that they comply with their dutie. But workinge this, doe cause them to move out of their proper sphere, and beside their comission, what foolerie is it then, or rather unchristianitie in suposed Catholicks, to cause such as should be their intercessors and mediators betweene them and God, by the puritie of sanctitie and learninge, to become transgressors of divine covenant, rendringe themselves therby obnoxious of all guilte shame and reproache; as ministringe fewell unto all that is impious factious and ungodly, and consequently labouringe out of their proper veineyarde.

O poore clergiemmen that can be thus seduced. The Provinciall therfore of the Franciscans, as a sure bulwarke could not be won by those Zeudo Catholicks unto their reprobate sense, wherefore addressing themselves most diabolicall unto another member of more eminent degree of dignitie in the same order, by name Marchant, Comissarie Generall of Flanders and those northerin provinces, then resident in the Lowe Countries, by the mediation of the banished Queene of England, resident in France, the same of her Majesties suite, (instructed as aforesaid) was that the said Comissarie Generall should send one F. Redmond Caron, a Lector of divinitie in the Irish Frierie of Lovaine unto Ireland, as Comissarie Visitator, and judge to execute superior mandats, to punish, depose, imprison whom he please, without any legall procession or proceedings, and to hould a provinciall chapter, independent of any Diffinitorie or other: All the lawes, statutes, priviledges and customes of the Order and religion to the contrary notwithstandinge. The Queene was most forward in this suite, and though such an eminent petitioner was seconded by the prevalent intercession of Indian angells; the Prelat was won by the very sight of that sublunar baite, (though most extravagant to his condition,) pursuant therunto, did appointe, as aforesaid, the said Fr. Redmond, a creature of the Dillons, chiefe incendiaries in the whole Kingdome, and furnished him with severall blankes to be filled by him, accordinge the occurrences of affaires, all tendinge to the totall destruction of religion in Ireland, more then ever Luther have don in Germany for soe shorte a time. Comissary Carons arrivall is not soe soone expected, untill all their drift be in Ireland mature for publication. Interim are not idle.

1648.
Marchant
wonn.

Redmond
Carons
illegall
power.

His uncon-
scionable
blanka.

To the
distruction
of religion.

Insichuynne now in the field marched towards Carrignasurie, Ormonds house, which might be very well defended, but upon sight was surrendered, all the grounde of these crocodiles for this non-service, was, for Insichuynne was assuredlie for Ormond now, the Councell to palliat its owne actions, gave way, that the said house did come to Insichuynes hands, whoe upon Ormonds arrivall would undoubtedly yeld him the same, and thus, leaste any misconstruction should be comented, on them, if they did make Ormonde a donation of his owne house, by proper authoritie, as not yett of their partie. After the seisinge of that house Insichuynne marched to Callin within 5 miles to Kilkeny, thither arrivinge, dispatched a poaste to the Councell, that they should send him £5000, or that he would burne and sacke Kilkeny. To satisfie the vulgar, the Councell herof certified, did order, presently to the Catholicke Generall, that he should marche fourthwith to their rescue. Is not this a most peremptorie suite, havinge soe often offended him, his armie soe farr offe, and in 3 severall provinces, the late blacke designe layed for their lives, whoe should not deeme now, the like to be intended escapinge prodigiously the former? Why doe not they call Prestons armie, now recruited and in winter quarter since the last August untill the instant, beinge about the first of Marche and neere home? or why did not they call Taaffis armie, as in the same province with their antigoniste? none will they call, but Generall Neyll, not for his love, but ever and now ministringe fewell to newe occasion. Qui vult recedere ab amico, occasiones quaerit. The Catholicke Generall well understandinge their fetche, upon sight of orders, did send poastes for some of his

338.
The
Councells
deceite.

The
Councell
colution.

They onely
desire dis-
obedience
to charge
him with.

1648. armie, and in a thrice 3 regiments came to him to Leyse, wherupon inemor iniuriarum, the occasion desiringe a dispatche, and his zeale to the publicke good could brooke noe delayes, marched with the said partie towards Kilkeny. Insi- chuyne herof enformed, returned from Callin and went to Carriggnasurie.

CHAPTER X.

339. All plants and other creatures have their growth and encrease to a period and then their declination and decay except only the crocodile, whose ever groweth bigger and bigger even till death, soe have all passions and perturbations in mans minde, their intentions and remissions, increase and decrease, except onely mali- tious revenge, for this the longer it lasteth, the stronger it waxeth, and worketh still, even when the maligne humours of avarice and ambition are settled or spent, wherfore such fierie spiritts as these, apter for innovation then administration, are alwaies most dangerous in a state.

Thucyd. l.
2.

In id nati ut nec ipsi quiescant nec alios sinant.

Generall
Neylls
motion,
though
reasonable,
rejected.

Insi- chuyne departed from Callin, as aforesaid, the Catholicke Generall went to Kilkeny to salute the Councell in person, to enforme them of better understand- inge, that the Kingdome affaires did mightie impaire for want of government, and desired now (though late) to call his armie unto a bodie, you see how many occasions of havinge this armie in the field were offered, and their two other armies dormant upon the busines, notwithstandinge will not grannte this present requeste, neither will give meanes to those 3 regiments that came now to their proper rescue, and for the future to maintaine them in Reban to be fourthcominge, for such another occasion. Those fatall members, and instruments of sedition and trouble in this nation, and the chiefe authors and encendaries of all the broyles in the kingdome, blowes afreshe the coales of revenge, when the former were racked upp in could ember and almost deade in the hearte of Generall Neyll.

CHAPTER XI.

340. Freindshipe once broken is hardly peeced, and peeced enmitie never surely sodred. Reconcilment amonge such is like that suple ointment which onely easeth the present smarte, and skins the sore, but searcheth not at the roote to eate out the ranke fleshe, and drawe out the maligne humour. It is therefore impossible to cure this exulcerat wounde, and establishe a sounde and censure freindshipe betweene them: because the ould rancour of malice is never well purged from the dreggs of diffidence; and desire of revenge. But the greatest disease of distruste and most incurable is in him whose hath wronged his Prince,

Plutar.
Plini.
Cic. ad Fra.
Tacit. Hist.
2.
Dion. lib.
45.

whose guiltie conscience feedes ever on fearfull distruste, though noe just occasion
at all be given—

1648.
Virg.

Manet alta mente repostum
Judicium Paridis, spretæque injuria formæ.

Severall former abuses were offered the Catholicke Generall, by this malignant
Councell, their enmitie was such that it can never be surely sodred, though he
to his uttermoste endeavors did searche unto the roote, and applyed the beste
salves possible, conducinge to the eatinge of the ranke fleshe and draw out the
corrupt humour, nourishinge that distemper, by the application of sundry and
severall anthidots preservatiue of paste reconcilment, by his duely obedience
prompte and zealous service, but the ulcer of their malignitie is soe farr growen
canker, and the rancor of their malice is soe incurable, that it can never be
purged, from the heathis dreggs of revenge. Wherefore they now afreshe perswade
women and other base people to renewe their attempted tragedie, (against the
person of this their onely champion), and promised, if they fayled to asiste and
seconde them in the same bloudie scene, either in life or imprisonment, (their
power drawinge to its period of tenebrarum, but tempus ejus nondum advenit.)
The Generall havinge had some inklinge herof, either by the induction of former
premisses, authenticke examples, or some privat intelligence that such a plott was
hatched for his destruction, wherupon stole away without the leaste signall of
offence, and went to Reban with his 3 regiments where they continued the
rest of Lent, every day bickeringe with the enemie in the countie of Kildare,
this was the seconde time they layed a plott for this noble warriors life, but by
divine providence, escaped all. Oh how malitious, impious and malaparte is this
Councell inclined. Was in treatie of Cessation with Insichuynne, since the
begininge of Februarie last, this beinge about the 15th of Marche, all was now
privatly concluded, though ranged here and there, takinge garrisons without the
leaste opposition, which was an odd peece of worke, upon the last trippe of
shakinge their holy union and association with both clergie and ancient Irishe.

The third
time they
lay in
waite of
Generall
Neylls life.

Treatie of
Cessation
and why?

CHAPTER XII.

The lawes divine and humane have left men noe such bounde of assurance to
tye one to another, as that of an oathe, which should be taken in censeritie and
kept inviolably. But seeinge the depravation of our nature, hath peruerted
these lawes and abused this lawfull acte, by equivocations and mentall reservations,
makinge it like a Gipsies knott, faste or loose, at their pleasure, the lawe of
state prescribes us this remedie, to truste noe man of noted falshoode and
duplicitie, but upon good caution, for he that hath once passed the bounds of
honestie, and made noe religion of oathe, or covenant, for his proper advantage,
never after makes scruple in his cauterial conscience, to offende in like sorte, upon
like occasion.

341.
Joven. Sat.
10.
Sen.
Cicer. Off.
l. 3.
Plut.
Sen. Sua.

Summum crede nefas, animam preferre pudori,
Et propter vitam vivendi perdere causas.

1648. The Supream Councill men beyond example for falshoode, had now contrarie to their severall oathes of union association and confederacie, inclined to a contracte of freindshipe and association with the Baron of Insichuynne, for this purpose, imployed privatly Sir Richard Everard Baronett, and Callaghan O Callaghan, Esqr., spendinge time in the prosecution herof. Patricke Geoghe and John Wailshe, Esqrs., were nominated and apointed to proceede and finishe. All the grounde and reasone, inclininge the Councill this way, (as they gave out) was, that they understande the desire of Insichuynne (soe competent provision might be made for maintenance of his armie) to decline the Parliament partie, and be abstaininge from acts of hostilitie, to establish (in order to his Majesties service) a better understandinge, betweene the Confederat Catholicks, and the partie under his comaunde. And havinge received further assurance of the reallitie of his intentions, which after (by publicke declaration and the imprisonment of some officers, whoe denied to approve the resolution he had taken of servinge his Majestie was confirmed: hitherto their owne words touchinge the motives of Cessation betweene them and Insichuynne.
342. Brave motives to joine in confederacie with a publicke traytor against God, Kinge, and Kingdome, by the lawes of England have forfeited his honor, life and estate, and canot be restored, other then by a lease from his royall Majestie for soe many yeares, or perpetually by both Kinge and Parliament; But the Councill doe assume more power in this acte, then either Kinge or Parliament, beinge Catholicke and sworne Confederats for the furtherance of Catholicke religion, doe now shake hands with him, that hath his dyed with the bloude of many priests and innocent religious, beside those alreadie mentioned in S. Patricks rocke in Cashell, have tiranically executed a brave upright and godly prelate, a true child of the Seraphicall Order of S. Frances, by name Ffrancis Mathewe, in Corke, with many others of both Regular and secular clergie. Such an inhumaine and cruell butcher, and humane bloude-sucker is a fitt member to joine with Catholicks for the furtherance of Catholicke religion. As for these falshe surmishes of motives, inducinge them to this never possible conjunction, as God and Belial; that they understand his desire etc. by whom? not by himself, or his contrarie actions, tendenge dayly to the oppositt? It was not given out by the agents employed betweene them for that purpose, nor did wee ever see any such by a publicke instrument either in printe or manuscripte: nor any declaration of his, to that effecte, as is now falsly furnished, nor any comaunder in restraints for disobeyinge his said intentions to scarve his Majestie: But 2 or 3 Captains for some mutinie, murther and theft, whoe were enlarged by the Supream Councells addresse: The former intimation of motives came from Paris, and infused to the Councells eares by Barry, Ormonds Mercury, therefore true, authenticke and without doubt observable.
343. His desire to decline the Parliament, soe competent provision might be made for his armie, what juglinge is this? are not his owne quarters the very best in all the kingdome, both militia and others are plentiful enough? What, (if soe loyallie inclined) did hinder him to that loyaltie? brave porte townes in his own hands, beinge of one partie with the Confederats, all their quarters (like such) to
- Insichuynnes bloudie behaviour.
- Francis Mathewe executed.
- Former motives disproved.
- Barry, the author.
- Further disproved.

be one and the same united in comon without division, or propriation, meum et tuum illud frigidum verbum, or else his partie to live, as hitherto upon their proper quarters, and the Catholicks upon theirs, or else to pay the militia on either side indifferently without distinction or partialitie to either quarter or person, but like brothers for the one and the same cause fightinge without exception to use in all occasions offered a religious comonaltie. The Supream Councell likely can give noe such maintenance to his armie, still pleadinge povertie for the settlement of the Vlster armie, their owne onely armie against all occurrences. Those be the grounds and motives of the Councell intendinge a Cessation with Insichuynne, incapable of any such conjunction with men of seeminge contrary engagment, as the Confederats were, in the opinion of indifferent, understandinge witts, for Kinge and Catholicke religion, from both which he swarved, as by former intimation did apeere.

1648.
The Councell ability to give the enimie, but to his friend pleads povertie.

CHAPTER XIII.

While the river runs entire with all his water in one bed, his current is the swifter, and his force the greater and daunteth the most hardie to adventure passadge. But beinge divided into severall streames, it proves soe slowe and shallowe, as it may with saftie, and at ease be waded over; soe is it in the current of warrlike actiones, power united is the stronger, and the best means to weaken it, is by diversion and distraction unto severall services.

344.
Reg. Stat. Par. l. 2, dis. 5.
Tact. de Milit.
Prov. Lat.
Onup. de diuis.

Dividens, quod unum validissimum erat, utrumque redidit imbecilius;
Virtus unita fortior.

While the Confederats were united, their force was greate, their victories renowned, and with saftie and ease their wadinge thrived, but now to divert and distracte this unitie, will cause their affaires to prove slowe and shallowe and weaken themselves to all good purposes, and withall to bringe in, insteede of their owne, forraigners, to all their pretended actions antagonistes, those I meane that are here offered, mercenarie forces, bred in the enimie bosome, strangers and stragglers, as well to nation as religion, taken upp in England by the drum, ganoppans and beggerly men and sent over unto Ireland unto this Insichuynne, whoe canot but be ever more taxed with the coalinge staine of cowardize, and tainted with the continuall reproache of perfidiousnesse, (as herafter will more amply apeere). If therfore the Supream Councell were wise, or willinge to acte anythinge prayse worthy, they should beware of such shallowes, and shallowers of their exchequer, and never soe farre to truste them, as to putt their lives and fortunes unto their hands. But noe document will searve.

The Councell brings in forraigners and enimies insteede of Confederats and loyall servants.

1648.

CHAPTER XIV.

345. Nocumentis are documents, and greate afflictions are good lecturers to reformation of life and maners, for the harder the pressure is with calamitie, the deeper is the impression of our frayltie and lyablnesse to miserie. But in a hearte never moistened with the dewe of grace, and obdurat with the continuall practise of wickednesse and villanie, they take noe deep roote. Such mortarrs will still savor of the garlicke.

Juvenal.
Sat. 13.
Horat.
Serm. lib.
2. Sat. 2.
Preston
and Mont-
gerrott lost
3 battles.
What
Castlhaven?
and what
Taaffe?
And whoe
is Generall
Neylle.
O ingrati-
tud of
suposed
Catholicks.
The
Councell
character.

Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurrit.

Our Supreame Councell (if sensible of any sorow in the behalf of the poore kingdome which they styred) had occasion of maine miseries since these comotions, three severall battles fought, or rather without fight, lost by Preston and Montgerrott in Linster (wherein was lost the flower of that province) much threasure spent by Castlhaven in Vlster and Monster, without the leaste service don, but the losse of many men. By Taaffe the warlicke Redshankes lost in Monster, others treacherously by Muskry at Cottfoorde, the terror and advance of their enemy, at these respective seasons, their threats and power in executing, the Councell disability and weakness at home, to oppose any of the said victors, had none to be their stickler, other then Generall Neylle, still at a call to encounter any the said enemy, indifferent for any province, not as others combined unto one, and feared in all, havinge therefore seene, nay suffered those nocumentis why are not they good lectures for them? and give God laude and prayse that freede them from those troubles, by the instrumentall cause of the Catholicke Generall, and nowe being in a brave posture, after those miseries, and recovered themselves by his industrie and vigilancie. Notwithstandinge all this, they bringe in those mercenarie enemies and forsakes their native sworne friends confederat and prime benefactor, and will goe forward in this impious Cessation, in spite of clergie, oath and vote of the whole Kingdome, for deeper is the impression of revenge in their cankered hearts, then the operation of the former lectures whose hearts were never yett moistened with the dewe of grace, rather obdurate with the continuall practice of wickednesse and villanie; Such mortarrs as those can never wante (though all the salves possible were applyed,) the savour of thatould garlicke, their venomous ententions.

CHAPTER XV.

346. As it is fitt that Princes, in one hande, should hould those in extraordinarie place of favour, whom they shall please, beinge more eminent then others, either in bloude, merite or some cause else best knowne to themselves, soe is it as requisit, that in the other hand they should hould the rodd of justice and correction over them, when they abuse this favour, for when the favorite shall dare to contradicte or disobey the expresse comandment of his master, and to give him check-mate,

Procop.
Arist. pol.
l. 5.
Dionis. l. 3.
Tacit.
Agric.

by stoppinge the draught of his power, it is intollerable ; it derogateth too much from his honor, that soe ill bestowed the favor, and staineth the honestie of him, that soe unworthly received, and so ungratefully requited it.

Sed dignas tanto persoluit crimine pœnas,
Et qui non tulerat verbera, tela tulit.

If the Councill instructions for this Cessation were sutable to the acte, the world cannot cleere them from disloyaltie, treasons and faction, but if those their agents for this purpose, Geogh and Walshe, did excede their comannde and played the parte of . . . igni, they did derogate too much from their honor, but sure and certaine all was proper unto the Councill, otherwise they would both punishe by the rod of justice those check-mat-giuers, and disclaime in the acte, neither of both haue don. The Cessation therefore is concluded, mercenarie hereticks, traytors, and strangers introduced insteede of natiues, Catholicks, and loyall Confederats. The Councill gave Insichuynne £8000 readie money, for his present meanes without ever giuinge one blowe in their behalfe, and must give him meanes as often as he is called for to any service, the relation of 8000 men he had in paye, but in Linster or any other place of service was never seene more than 4000, two intire counties that were already in the Confederat hands were surrendered him both spirituall and temporall that he should encorporat them into his already quarter, wherby banished all the clergie from them parts, by a publicke proclamation, inhibittinge their residence there, upon paine of death. This Cessation was published in Kilkeny about the 25th of April 1648. All hitherto, therein don, without the priuitie of all and singular the well affected, both clergie and laytie.

Vpon intimation herof My lord, residinge then in Kilkeny, did convocat a Congregation of the clergie extempore, and upon the 27th of the same month, issued a declaration against the said Cessation, as destructive to religion, Royaltie and kingdome, wherby were declared all such of the Confederat Catholicks, as did adhere unto the said Cessation, as contrarie to the oathe of association taken by them, to be guiltie of periurie, as most unjust, illegall, and ungodly, tendinge to the destruction of the immunitie and libertie of Holy Church, the comoditie and wellfare of the Irish nation, to the service and honor of the Omnipotent God and prosperitie of the innocent Catholicke flocke, this declaration maturely discused and examined, by all the Archbishops, Bishops, and other prelates there convened in congregation sittinge, did unanimously condemne and disproue severall articles of the said Cessation, as aforesaid, and signed this their declaration, nemine vel excepto, vel discrepante, and presented the same to the Supreme Councill, on the foresaid 27th of April. But insteede of recantation and Catholick satisfaction, to the clergie and his Holinesse his Nuncio, the Councill did stande peremptoriely to its former determination and principles, in disrespects of all divine function, and foraigne jurisdiction, (as in imitation of hereticks, they tearme all Royall authoritie), would not obey, rather menauce and threate all spirituall and temporall members that did alienat himself from the same. And thereupon gave orders to Generall Preston (whoe since the defeate of Linchill, kept his winter quarter, heard now upon 3 quarters of a yeare, recrutinge his armie) to marche unto the field, with horse and foote, to the opposall

1648.
Cic. ad Q.
fr.
Tacit. Hist.
l. 2.
Martial.
Ep. l. 1.

Agents
for In-
sichuynes
Cessation.

Cessation
concluded.

Means for
8000.
4000 onely
apeered.

Unchristian
condition.

347.
The Con-
gregation
declaration
against
the said
Cessation.

The
Councill
disobedi-
ence.

1648.
The
promptitud
of Preston
to doe
naught.

of all such as disobeyed this prejudicious Cessation. This man that neuer stirred hand or foote against any enemie all this while, but still pleaded disabilitie, is now most prompte and quicke against his oathe and religion to marche unto the field, with more celeritie than ever yett used, did send such urginge and precise dispatches, to the respectiue quarters to each officer and comannder to meete upon a generall rendezvouz a prefixed day in Dorowe in the Queenes countie.

348.

The Nuncio
and clergie
to be appre-
hended.

When My Lord Nuncio and the Bishop of Clogher obsearved the obstinat behavior, wicked demeanour, and cruell distemper of the Councell and the danger of a sudaine surprise, (by the consent of the whole Congregation choosinge dellegats to asiste his Lordship as occasion were offered, authorised them) stole away, as privat as they could (as truely informed of present restraints) and arrived to Mariborough where the Catholicke Generall was at present, the dellegats apointed, by the congregation, as aforesaid, followed My Lord Nuncio, after consultation had, sat at Kilmensie, Henry Roe Oneylls house then, where in pursuance of their former declaration, issued this ensuinge excommunication against all such as did adhere unto the said Cessation and remitted the same to be published in Kilkeny in hæc verba :

“ Nos, Joannes Baptista Rinnucinus, sedis Apostolicæ gratia, Archiepiscopus et Princeps Firmanus, ac in regno Hiberniæ Nuncius Apostolicus extraordinarius, et nos Episcopi, ad effectum de quo infra specialiter delegati, et subdelegati, etc :

The Clergie
excommuni-
cation.

Cum jam compertum habemus, die vicesimo secundo Maii instantis publicatum fuisse cessationem armorum inter Supremum Concilium Confæderatorum Catholicorum et Dominum Baronem de Inchiquin, in qua multi sunt articuli, prius ab omnibus Archiepiscopis et pluribus Episcopis hujus regni coram nobis Nuntio Apostolico congregatis, maturè ac diligenter discussis et tanquam injuste ac iniq̄ue per eosdem die 27 Aprilis (nemine excepto) damnati, prout constat ex declaratione per supradictos Prælatos eadem die 27, Supremo Concilio regni præsentata, ut religionis Catholicæ augmentum, Ecclesiæ libertas, et bonum hujus [regni] ad Dei omnipotentis gloriam, ac innocentis populi Patriæ prosperentur ; Nos Joannes Baptista Archiepiscopus Firmanus, et in regno Hiberniæ Nuntius Apostolicus extraordinarius, et nos eorundem Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum autoritate delegati, et in defectum delegatorum subdelegati, sub pœna excommunicationis latæ sententiæ omnibus et quibuscumque tam ecclesiasticis quam secularibus in quacumque dignitate et præeminentia constitutis, præcipimus et mandamus, ne supradictam cessationem quocumque modo per se, vel per alios, directe vel indirecte consilio, auxilio vel favore faveant, vel defendant : necnon sub eadem pœna præcipimus omnibus et singulis Generalibus, Colonellis, Ducibus, officialibus, militibus et quibuscumque aliis Catholicis, ne cum prædicto Barone de Inchiquin, vel cuicunque alio hæretico sese jungere, aut quovis alio modo ex superius enarratis, eidem vel eisdem adherere præsumant vel audeant arma sumere contra exercitum, seu exercitus Catholicos dictam iniquam cessationem impugnaturum vel impugnatos, cui etiam pœnæ omnes et singulos subiacere volumus et decernimus qui supradictam cessationem acceptarunt etiam si sunt de corpore ipsius Supremi Concilii, si ipsam ulterius quoquo modo, ut supra sectentur, et pertinaciter defendant, nisi infra novem dies a notitia habita præsentium etiam per viros fide dignos rescipuerint : quorum tres primos pro primo termino, tres alios pro secundo, et demùm tres ultimos pro peremptorio omnino constituimus, et assignamus : omnes vero communitates, sive urbium sive oppidorum, villorum aut pagorum si predictam cessationem acceptaverint vel

acceptatam ut supra quovis modo defenderint ; et nisi infra novem dies pariter, ut dictum est 1648. superius, resipuerint, Interdicti pœnamque cessationis a divinis incurrant, districtè præci-
piendo mandantes, ut omnes religiosi cujuscumque Ordinis, etiam societatis Jesu, non
obstantibus quibuscumque privilegiis, etiam missionariorum inviolabiliter prædictum
interdictum observent. Mandantes insuper omnibus Vicariis generalibus et capellanis
exercituum ut, iis literis visis, siue impressis, siue habita earundem copia manu cuius-
cumque Episcopi vel notarii Apostolici subscripta, eas statim sub pœna excommunica-
tionis latæ sententiæ et aliis arbitrio nostro iniungendis in ipso exercitu publicent :
Vicariis autem sive curatis et quacumque ratione curam animarum habentibus, ut sub
eadem pœna prima die festiva inter missarum solemnia publicare, et in foribus ecclesiæ
eas affigere teneantur. Si qui vero contra attentare præsumpserint maledictionem æternam
se noverint incursuros.

Datum Kilmensi, die 27 Maii, 1648.

Joannes Baptista, Archiepiscopus Firmanus et Nuntius
Apostolicus extraordinarius.
Euerus, Clogherensis Episcopus.
Fr. Boetius, Rossensis Episcopus.
Fr. Antonius, Clonmacnosensis Episcopus.
Robertus, Corcagensis Episcopus.
Arthurus, Dunensis Episcopus.

Amoventes et lacerantes sint ipso jure excommunicati.

This excommunication was sent unto Kilkeny, as aforesaid, and published to both 349.
Council and others accordinge instructions, and fixed to the churche doores, that
none should have any kinde of excuse, beinge notified to all kinde of men, to
Council, Generalls, Colonells, Captains, souldiers, and all maner of civill and
martiall officers and officials. All Vicars Generalls, Chaplaines of armies, all
houses, monasteries, and congregations of secular or regular clergie, notwith-
standinge all imunities and priviledges through missionaries to the contrarie, and
all and singular other persons, nobilitie, gentry, comons or pleybeyance, that
would by themselves or others, directly or indirectely, by their advice, asistance,
or favor, favor or defende the said ungodly Cessation, joine or adhere this way or
otherwise with Insichuyne, or any other hereticke, or beare armes for them, or in
their behalfe against any other armie, that fights this quarrell, in the behalfe
of the Catholicke Church and clergie, to be lyable to this excommunication, as may
be obsearved, by its proper tenor. But such copies of it as were fixed on the
churche doores in Kilkeny, such as was on our Ladie churche and S. Patricks,
Castlehaven and D^{ca}. Fennell, broke downe in peeces, and did treade on the verie
peeces in the dirte for meere spite, though an excommunication is by the Canon
Lawe annexed to such an acte. I doe verilie beleevve noe less was don to all the
rest of the copies, by those or other such impious members.

Castlehaven
and D^{ca}.
Fennell
are nomi-
nated by
this acte
excom-
municated.

When Generall Neylle was enforced of those distempers, and obsearvinge 350.
Generall Prestons motion, gatheringe his armie unto a bodie, never yett shewed
such willingnesse and secrecie, he sent orders in all hast for his owne proper
regiment that was in the counties of Wickloe and Wexforde, and to Tyreconnell
regiment that was in the countie Typrarie, as for Huigh Oneylle, it was impossible

The
politicke
obsearva-
tion of
Generall
Neylle.

1648.
 He
 gathereth
 his armie.
 Iveagh,
 Sir Phelim
 ONeylle,
 Alexander
 McDaniell
 turned
 apostats.
 The dis-
 obedience
 of the
 Keraghts
 proved
 fatall.
 Preston
 with a
 brave
 armie in
 Rosscree.

to call him soe soone, as havinge many rubbs in his way) but he sent orders to the counties of Keirie and Limbricke for Iveagh, Sir Phelim Oneylle and Alexander McDaniells regiments, whoe alreadie were for the Councell, against their religion, Generall and nation. Roger Maguire, and Colonell Fox came to him. Hee sent alsoe comannes unto all the keraghts of the Queenes Countie, and others to marche in all hast towards Mariborough, and there receive further directions, many of them were most inclined rather continue in the countie, then relinquishe it, specially such as belonged to Iveagh, Sir Phelim and Alexander havinge, as was thought, some watche worde betweene them and their said refractorie masters, would not stirr, until they received some proper directions from them, but such of the keraghts as timely obeyed the Generall were putt in saftie, but such as did not, did after learne, to their prejudice, that he was in the right, those regiments and his horse from Tomon arrived to Mariborough, havinge still a watchfull eye at Preston, whoe was now with a brave armie in Dorowe, and from thence as privat as ever he could, marched to Rosscree, where he encamped, intendinge there to expecte Insichuynes forces.

CHAPTER XVI.

351.
 Am.
 Marcel. lib.
 12.
 Plutarch
 in vita
 Oratorum.
 Sabell. l. 4.
 Livi. l. 22.
 Virg. lib.
 10.

Hide not from thy lawyer or phisitian the state of thy cause or bodie, nor discover to they subjecte or enemie, they wants or they feares: for it gives encouragment to the one, and quitt dismayeth the other. Imitat rather the well adviced sea-man, when thou steerest at the stearne of a greate state, beset, and set upon by many and greate forces, whoe seeinge the clouds gather, the winds rise, and the waves swell, besides diuers pyratts havinge him in chase, as if both heaven and carth had conspired his confusion; he raiseth the dejected thoughts of his souldiers and mariners, with many words of assurance in the tightnesse of his shipe, the goodnesse of her tackle, the swiftnesse of her saylinge, and many other advantages he hath upon the enemie (though in his owne hearte he truely apprehende the danger as it is), wherby he makes his resistance the stronger or procures his peace upon better tearmes,

Tu ne cede malis, sed contra audentior ito.

His advice
 to the
 Nuncio.
 His
 intencion
 touchin:
 his Lord-
 ships saftie
 and his
 feares.

The Catholicke Generall seriously obsearvinge the drifts and fetches of Generall Preston, which was to gett betweene him and Athlone (like an humble and Catholicke patiente) tould his phisitian, My Lord Nuncio his jealousies of the said proceedings, and adviced his Lordship to take his jorney in time, towards Kilcolgan, Terence Coghlines house in the King's countie, and would send a convoy with him thither whoe beinge in saftie did the lesse care for anythinge else that might hapen, this agreed upon, Henry Roe Oneylle, the Generalls son, with 200 horse was appointed to accompany his Lordship that farr, when I goe, said the Generall, towards Athlone, I will send for your Lordship, and in case I could not come thither, you are to take your course over the Shanon, directly to

Galway, and soe secure your owne person, leaste those revoulted Catholicks did offer your Lordship any violence, which I thinke noelesse, accordinge the true induction of present affaires. 1648.

But before My Lord Nuncio departed, he comanded the Bishope of Rosse for McThomas, for his Lordship was verie tender of this gentleman's saftie, as descended from the house of Medicis in Florence, as the Lord Nuncio was, this gentleman arrivinge to Kilmensie, My Lord Nuncio enformed him of all the Councell treacherie and theire scope for that Cessation, distructive to all that is religious, the danger of Gods wrath and indignation, hanginge over the heades of such as shewed themselves contumax in obedience to Holy Churche, incurringe the high censure of excomunication to oblige him the more, refreshed his memorie with his genelogie, as aforesaid, and like another Paule would rather abide the censure himself then that McThomas should be subjecte to soe heavie a burden, and charactered for such to future ages, to the noe smale blemishe of his paste, future, and presente descent and progenie. All those sweete admonitions and fatherly rememoratives were not of force to reduce this strayed sheepe to his proper flocke and obedience, rather like a bloudie tiger or a wilde bore froathinge menaces and threats from his chawes, against all such as did adhere unto either religion, clergie, or Generall Neylle, (of whose sudaine behaviour and change, when I call this matter unto my remembrance, I am right sorie and wonderfull, as acquainted with his extravagant zeale of religion and its ministers thitherunto) whether this proceeded of the inticinge pallat of a feminian lipp, his bed fellowe, cossen-german to Insichuynes wife, or by proper facilitie, in constancie, or divine destinie, is not to me knowen, how ever, he was soe invincibly become (like another Pharao) obdurat, that likly God himself in persone, by his ordinarie power would much labour before he could bringe this man to a Catholicke reconciliation.

My lord from Killmensie aforesaid, did send the above excomunication, by an Italian priest, to be published in the Linstre armie in Rosscrea, the partie arrivinge published the same accordinge instructions, but (o wonder) none soe vehemently opposed the same, as McThomas, swearinge a greate oathe, if not for the respecte, that the priest was a stranger and a foraigner in the kingdome, that he would see him fourthwith hanged, and did second the same oathe with another, that if ever after he mette him in such another action, without respecte or regarde to either function or former circumstances, would see him executed. O braue Catholicke. This excomunication published as aforesaid in the campe, many Captains and others did stagger, for they willinge to forgoe their encumbencies, rather then become apostats of religion, and therefore muttered some mutinie in the armie. The Generall and other comanders obsearvinge some such distemper, and fearinge some sudaine rupture, caused everie Captain to swear an oathe of alleageance to the then government or upon their fayler to quitt theyre places. As soone as this was notified, by drumm in the campe, Captain Richard Geoghegan started out in fronte of his companie, marched before the Generall in sight of the armie, and tould him publickly he would not swear the said oathe, as contrarie to the now Clergie decree, and ex diametro oppositt unto the union and associa-

352.

My Lord Nuncio did send for Mac Thomas. The Fitz Gerald descended of the house of Florence. My Lord Nuncios zeale towards McThomas. The flint obduratness of McThomas.

Her affinitie to Insichuynes.

353.

The excomunication published in Rosscrea. McThomas his behaviour there. The irreligious oathe desired by Preston.

Richard Geoghegans brave resolution.

1648. tion, generally sworne by the whole Kingdome, and upon this score said he, am pleased to quitt my place, and doe desire a passe. MacThomas, a cossen once removed unto this Captain, gave him a rounde checke, the other as good a gentleman as he for his life, answered cathegorically : The Generall and major officers fearinge worst consequence to followe, brought Captain Geoghegan aside, pacified him with his place, and that without an oathe, and thus smuthered the matter. The Italian priest, above mentioned, eye wnesse of this passage, leavinge the campe in that disposition, returned to Killmensie, wheare givinge an acconte to my lord nuncio, amonge the rest of MacThomas his proceedings, who could scarce beleve the same.
- The Italian priest testis ocularis.
354. After all those dispositions My Lord Nuncio tooke his jorney (accordinge Generall Neylls former resulte) towards Kilcolgan, with the same convoy, as aforesaid, where arrivinge with his dellegats, sate in congregation wise, expectinge the Councell resulte upon the excommunication, sutable to the time limited therein for that purpose. But the convoy returninge to their proper Generall, amusinge now of his saftie and danger, As often as I revolve this busines in my memorie, I stand confused, consideringe with meself the use wherin this noble warrior did stande at present, three kingdoms now his sworne enemies, his owne armie scattered, distracted, and devided, 4 regiments revolted from him, and adhered unto the Councell, without either Lieutenant or Major Generall, the one in Conaght the other in Clonmell, stickinge to onely 4 regiments of foote and the name of two of horse, beinge in a nuke of the countrie, circumvented with stronge foes, as an inocent lambe, betweene a greate hearde of wolfes, where would a man thinke he could marche now to save himself? to goe to Monster is impossible, for Insichuyn and Taaffe with their respective armies are there in a readinesse to oppose, and Preston within 8 miles unto him with a florishinge armie, upon the leaste motion that way to fall upon him. If he did attempte to marche a foote over the Berrow, Linster way, there is an exasperate and victorious enemye. Vnto Vlster is not able to goe, for 3 regiments of foote, and two of horse, of the Linster forces are there, in his passadge to keepe him off, and Preston and Johns likly would fall upon him in the reare and flankes. And suposinge a free passadge was grannted, what could he doe in the north, with soe smale a partie, the province there distracted, by reason of the distemper here, to Conaght neither can he goe, the Shanon garrison would give a rubb therto, and wadinge the same, Clanricarde with his Conaght armie is there readie to oppose him, raisinge all Conaght by proclamation and drumm, to be in armes against their enemye, intendinge hereby Generall Neyll, whether, then will this brave spiritt marche? Is not this a poore condition of soe eminent a man, that faction brought him to soe straight an accounte? I sawe and observed all this to my greefe and wonder, and would thinke, nay sweare, he could not be reede of that present and eminent danger, other then by a miracle. But all this freshe in his memory, gave not the leaste semblance of discourge, rather as in the very best fortune he ever yett enjoyed. His severall orders issued to the keraghts to marche towards Kilbigan or Athlone way.
- Consider the strenght of Owen ONeylls armie and his enemies. His saftie will be reputed miracle.
- The Catholicke Generalls courage.
355. My Lord Nuncio residinge in Kilcolgan with his dellegats, expectinge, as aforesaid, the Councell result upon the excommunication, published in Kilkeny about

the 28th of May instant. The Councell by the asistance and advice of some revoulted and zeudo divines, Peter Walshe, a penitential Franciscan Fryer and others, did apeale from My Lord Nuncio, to his Holinesse, as from a judge not indifferent, givinge a very bad character of his Lordship in the said appellation, rather a libell, then any civill instrument to be presented to his Holinesse, all falshe, perverse, unchristian, injurious, and perjurous, the same was sent My Lord, by one Mr. Richard Lalesse, a gentlman of Kilkeny, about the last of May, and arrived the 5th of June to Kilcolgan, and the very same daye of its receipte, My Lord Nuncio and his dellegats, gave the said attorney Appostolos refutatorios, as by the anixed certificat may apeere :

1648.
Peter Walshe, apostat Fryer, author of the apeale. Richard Lalesse, attorney. Apostolos refutatorios and what they be?

Joannes Baptista Rinnucinus, Dei et sedis Apostolicæ gratia, Archiepiscopus et Princeps Firmanus, in Hybernia Nuncius Apostolicus extraordinarius, fidem facimus 5^{to} Junii 1648 adhibitum fuisse nobis et Reverendissimis Dominis Episcopis delegatis Appellationem contra sententiam excommunicationis qua innodantur omnes adhærentes Treugæ cum Domino Barone de Insichuyn super qua dedimus Apostolos refutatorios et quo ad effectum deolutium non suspensium ad spatium sex mensium atque adeo non suspenditur effectus ejusdem excommunicationis per eiusmodi Appellationem, imo eandem excommunicationem violantes maiorem excommunicationem latæ sententiæ incurrunt, in quorum fidem etc. Datum 5 Junii, 1648.

Joannes Baptista, Firmanus Archiepiscopus, Nuncius Apostolicus Extraordinarius. Certificat.

Concordat cum originali: Ita testatur Antonius Geoghegan, Prothonotarius Apostolicus.

The nature of these refutinge apostells is, not to suspende the effecte of the excommunication by that Appellation but to be revolvinge unto the very Judge a quo, as to stande to his sentence ; Six monthes is given them to come and goe to Rome, and in the interim the said excommunication to be bindinge, nay others of higher ranke and degree violatinge the former, to be incurred. The said foolish, frivolous, false, injurious and scandalous appellation did begin, Nos Ricardus Vicecomes de Montgerrott etc., as proluxe and scandalous onely substance I omitte to incerte here as not to offende, chaste and Catholicke eares with these ranke notes songed by petty-snotty-noses, by scurrillous and spurious-pott-cantors, difusinge their proper venomous poyson unto others well affected. But deeminge it necessarie to inserte here My Lord Nuncio and his dellegats letter to his Holinesse, settinge fourth, truely and really the state of the busines, that all may see what it is, and specially foraigne, (though not soe much concerned, as ours) will receive hereby satisfaction, which in Latin is as followeth :

356.
The nature of these Apostolos.
The Appeale did begin thus : Nos, Ricardus, etc.

Sanctissimo Domino nostro Domino Inocencio Papæ X^{mo}, etc :
Beatissime Pater,

A letter for his Holinesse from My Lord Nuncio and his dellegatta, etc.

Post sacrorum pedum oscula, accepimus hodie quandam formam appellationis in pergamino scriptam a quibusdam Dominis Consiliariis Supremis regni huius Hyberniæ, contra nos, nostram sententiam excommunicationis quam omnes iniquissimæ treugæ cum Insichuynno barone nuper conclusæ adhærentes innodauimus interpositam, quæ incipit : In Dei nomine Amen. Nos, Ricardus Vicecomes de Montgerrott etc ; datumque gerit vltimo die Maij

1648. 1648, cuius appellationis tenorem hic inserere, tum ob prolixitatem eiusdem, tum ob locorum ac temporum quibus nunc premimur angustiis omnino non possimus. Quoad nos porro attinet, Pater Beatissime, licet appellationem prædictam ineptam esse, friuolam, frustratoriam, nullo iuris fulcro munitam, falsam etiam permulta ut a nobis et aliis Episcopis iniuriosa continere dignoscamus ac perinde acceptandam nec eidem deferendam consumimus aut censemus, nec eidem deferimus, aut acceptamus ut legitimam itam prædicta superius, itum quia talis acceptatio et dilatio in præiudicium maximum et inutile vergeret fidei Catholicæ et Romanæ periculosum; nihilominus ob reuerentiam uestram, Beatissime Pater, uestreque sedis Apostolicæ et curiæ Romanæ, atque famam nostram aduersus præfatos calumniantes in toto processu et sententiam prædictam apud Sanctitatem suam conseruemus, illæsam. Hos ideo apostolos refutatorios, et quoad effectum sententiæ nostræ deuolutiuum, non suspensiuum ad spatium sex mensium integrorum a presentium, data ualituros concedere decreuimus et concedimus per presentes, quibus quidem et quo temporis interuallo, predicti appellantes sub ulterioribus pœnis et censuris in posterum a nobis infligendis, et mandato nostro stultissimo falsa sua et prætensa grauamina cum hoc scripto nostro coram Sanctitate Sua presentare (etsi possint) ut omnino non poterunt, comprobare teneantur. Interim non obstantibus quibuscumque declarantes, et manifestantes pristinam sententiam nostram excommunicationis sententias et censuras quoad omnes suos effectus in suo robore permansuras, nec easdem uel earum aliquas irritæ et inutilis appellationis huiusmodi intuitu aut pretexto, ab eisdem aut aliis quibus cumque violari, temerari aut infringi posse, aut debere: Easdem nostras de nouo ratificamus et confirmamus sententias omnesque eis hactenus contrauenientes aut contrauenturos in posterum excommunicationem maiorem lætæ sententiæ incurrisse, incururosque (ac si nunquam talis, nunquam fuisset posita postulatio). Iterum decernimus et declaramus omnemque ulteriorem, si quam forte interposuerint appellationem cassamus, irritamus, et annullamus per presentes. Hoc porro nostrum decretum acta scripta, gesta et processus nostros uniuersos in predictis, aliis omnibus, Sanctitatis uestre etc. censuræ omni qua decet humilitate submittentis, referimus.

Datum in hoc loco presentis nostræ mansionis et refugij Kilcolgan in comitatu Regiæ die 5 Junij 1648.

Sanctitatis uestre humillimi ac fidellissima serui,

Jonnes Baptista, Archiepiscopus Firmanus et Nuncius
Apostolicus.

Euerus Clogherensis Episcopus.

Robertus Corcagensis et Clonensis.

Fr. Boetius Rossensis.

357-
See and
feare the
same.

The consequence of this processall instrument is most dangerous not onely unto such, as did approve and actually incurred the said excommunication, but allsoe to such as will for the future, adhere unto those withered members, uphold or defende the said Appellation to be just and lawfull. That every man may knowe and not pleade ignorance, the solid grounde, wheron My Lord Nuncio and his Congregation, builded those their censures, beside the already related, you may peruse the ensuinge propositions, exhibited by My Lord Nuncio and clergie unto the Councill, (with their illusorie resulte therupon) which in the opinion of any indifferent judge are reasonable and would prove satisfactorie if grannted, which are in their owne printe, as followeth.

Conditions and necessarie remedies for the clergie and those adhereinge to them

theire severitie, that the Cessation with the Lord Baron of Insichuayne, may be made with a safe conscience. 1648.

1. First that the Lords of the Councell shall sweare, that neither themselves, nor any other by theire advice, or asistance shall directly or indirectly, bringe in any peace, but that, which by the orders of the last Assembly was directed and committed to the agents sent for Rome, France, and Spaine, to be by them obtained, and that they will oppose themselves against all and every person, whoe shall endeavour in any sorte whatsoever to introduce the contrary, and that they shall make theire publicke declaration pursuant to such oath. 358. Reasonable conditions of the clergie.

2. That they shall apointe indifferent persons of the Confederat Catholicks, to comannde in the Linster, and Monster armies.

3. That the Vlster armie be employed upon some befittinge service of the kingdome, and payed in the same measure, as any other armie, and be assured of gett[inge] theire winter quarter, the next winter, in the inhabited provinces.

4. That CastlConell, Richard Buttler, David Roch, Mortagh OBryan and Donagh McCarty theire regiments be continued in the armie and in pay.

5. That all and every the Colonells, and other officers of the armie, shall binde themselves by a stricte and speciall oath, that they will not directly or indirectly, either underhand or openly, or any other way to be imagined, move for, cherish, make, or accept of anythinge in prejudice of the Catholicke religion, its professors, or the libertie of the Irish nation, or which is, or may be beleevd to tende to theire prejudice, without the expresse licence of the clergie.

6. That the Castles in the possession of the Confederate Catholicks in Monster, and namely the Castle of Maigne, with its territories in the Countie of Kierie be excluded from all maner of jurisdiction and contribution to the Lord of Insi-chuayne, and all other enemies duringe the Cessation.

7. That the clergie and nobilitie of Monster, and all other, whatsoever adheringe unto them, have a hande in the civill government.

A reall man would judge those proposalls, lawfull, reasonable and behoofull, most pliable and consonant to the oath of association, confederacie, and Catholicke union, severally, sworne, ratified and heretofore confirmed: And the opposers to be reputed willfull perjurers, apostats, and demi-athiests, whose gyringe and impertinent answeare to those universall propositions (in the sense of a shallowe witt, might soe seeme) is as followeth: 359. All true. The Councells gyringe answeare.

To the first is answeared, that we have by the oath of association and our late declaration, given sufficient satisfaction in the particulars propounded.

To the seconde is answeared, that care shalbe taken, that none shall comannde any of our armies in cheife, but such as shalbe indifferent and faithfull to the Catholicke cause, and whoe shall give sufficient assurance therof, and for our better assurance therof, intende that a Comittee of this Boorde shall attende the armie, by whose advice the Comannder in chiefe, in greate matters shalbe directed, and wee shall upon sufficient cause, or reason, if any shall be given or apeere unto us, remove any whoe shalbe found unfitt to comannde, and desire that information be given us, of any cause of exception against any whoe is or shal be by us putt in comannde.

1648.
O faithlesse
Councill.

3. Such an armie of the province of Vlster, as this Board shall conceave fittinge, shall be employed upon befittinge service and the composure and strenght of the said armie, is to be as followeth, viz. 7000 foote in 8 regiments and 800 horse in two regiments, the regiments to be the ensuinge viz. the Generalls regiment, the Lord of Iveaghs regiment, Sir Phelim Oneylls regiment, Alexander McDaniells, Roger Maguires, Phillipe McHuigh OReylly, Colonell McMahons, and Tyrconell regiment, and the two regiments of horse to be that of Henry Oneylle and Colonell Lewes Moores, and if there be any super-numeraries, that they shal be disbanded, wee intende not by this, Lieutenant Generall Ferrall, whoe wee suppose is provided for in Conaght, as Comannder[in] Chiefe of the forces there. As for the service whereon this armie may be employed, wee founde by former debates soe litle encouragment to expecte its joininge with other armies, as we are content it take a peculiar taske to it self, whilste our other armies shall doe the like, and that it take in hande, either Trim, Dundalke, Drohedath, Newry, Iniskillin, or any other service that way against theemie, and for its maintenance shalbe content (matters beinge firste agreed on and secured, as hereafter is expressed, that your Lordship shall pay that armie in such maner as we shall agree, soe much of the supplies sent by his Holinesse, as shall serve together with the contribution of Vlster and the Keraghts to maintaine in this field service, and shall contribute our best assistance to provide winter quarters or garrisons for it, next winter upon the stocke of the kingdome in proportion with other armies of the Confederat Catholicks: And as we are for the preservation of the union of the Confederat Catholicks induced to descende to those particulars, wee declare that the same is conditionally that assurance be given us, that the Generall and all others the comannders, officers, and souldiers of that armie, shall from time to time, and at all times hereafter give punctually and readie obedience unto all the orders of the Generall Assembly and Supream Councill, and obsearve the oathe of association, in all the particulars therof. And that the Generall and major officers of that armie shall in manifestation of their observance unto our orders apeere before us, at or by the 10th day of June next, and take such an oathe, pursuante to the oathe of association as wee shall minister unto them.

Upon what
score
should his
Holinesse
undergoe
this
charge?

Theire
unpossible
conditions.

4. The Cessation beinge agreed upon, may necessitate the reducinge of the armie of the province of Monster unto a fewer number, then as heartofore it stode. But wee shall advice with the Provinciaall Assembly of Monster concerninge the reducement and composure of that armie, wherin, if they shall not deale indifferently wee shall interpose our power to over rule them.

5. The officers shall sweare an oath pursuant to our late protestation.

6. The Castle of Maigne, is provided for, soe that it is secured in the hands of him wherin it is duringe the Cessation, and soe are all other the Castles with the quarters assigned to the Lord of Insichuyne secured to their possessors.

7. We named none in civill employment in Monster, but such as have taken the oathe of association, and which consequently are bounde to mantaine the just rights of the nobilitie and clergie of that province, and the whole kingdome: And if any particular exception be taken, against any of them, or more indifferent or

fitt men presented by your Lordship, wee shalbe readie to take the same to consideration and proceede as much to your Lordships satisfaction as wee may. 1648.

Athunrey.	Richard Bellings.
Lucas Dillon.	Gerrott Fennell.
Robb Lynche.	Patrick Bryan.
Phelim Oneylle.	Rob. Devereux.

CHAPTER XVII.

The tribunall where mens actions are brought to triall, the eare is but a promoter, the eye is both wittnesse and judge, for if what wee onely heare by reporte doe enforme us, and not what we see in effecte and by prooffe, then must needs be error in that judgment, because morall honestie, like Christian pietie consists not in verball profession and protestation, but in actuall practise, void of all corruption and spotlesse. He therefore that will not be deceived by Stat-hypocrittis, whoe make honestie and religion the cloake of their ambition must not listen after their words, but looke into their actions, leaste his eares tickle with such pleasing reports, doe afterwards tingle with the smarte of the blowe,—plus valet oculus testis, quam auriti decem.

360.
Herod.
Ruffin.
Seneca.

Adagium
Lat.

The Councill of Kilkeny, beareinge the honorable title of Supream, challenginge to be the powerfulest of all the Catholicks, both spirituall and temporall of the kingdome of Ireland, havinge now their ambitious thoughts wheeled about the spheare of this lande, doe at last con-center in this one pointe to joine with the Parliamentaries, Insichuyn and others, thereby to supresse both Church and ancient Irish, the bargaine is already made, the articles drawn, the covenant indorsed, nothinge wants but the sealinge therof, which of necessitie must be with the bloude of many inocent Catholicks employed in this action, to prevent which My Lord Nuncio with his Congregation dellegats, presented the Councill with the former proposalls, reasonable, and behoofull, as any man may conceive. But the Councells answere therupon illusorie and impertinent.

The brave
title of the
Supream
Councill.

Their
bloudie
covenant.

The clergie
prevention.

By the first proposition of the clergie it seemes they did feare the Councill would bringe in Ormond and his rejected peace, contrary to the instructions given by the Assembly for such Agents as were to be dispatched for Rome, France and Spaine, and already sent by the Councill, (as n^o. 336 mentioned) by this surmishe would have the Councill and nobilitie declare themselves to the contrary and swear an oath pursuant to that declaration. You observe what answere they give. It is true they issued a declaration in preinte in relation to this requeste, but would not swear an oathe, as was desired, alleadginge the oathe of association to be sufficient, the contrary by wofull experience was too publickly knowne in all the Christian world.

361.

The
Councells
illusion.

The
grounde of
the clergie
for their
diffidence.

As for their declaration, its proceedings (as hereafter will appeere) will prove illusorie, vaine, or faithlesse.

362.

The clergie and all well affected Catholicks had grounde enough for many jealousies and diffidence in the Linster and Monster Generalls, touchinge the Linster Generall, you peruse for that purpose the ensuinge numbers, 86, 101, 117, 118, 201, 216, 239, 242, 249, 250, 251, 252, 254, 255, 256, 258, 259, 281, 282, 288,

Those num-
bers doe
shewe what
Preston
and Taaffe
are.

1648. 289, 290, 291, 292, 297, 353. As for Taaffe, Generall of Monster, you may allsoe obscarve the numbers herunto anexed, viz. 186, 198, 275, 278, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, to avoide prolixitie, I remitt you thither, to enforme your self there of the entegritie of those Generalls, by the perusall therof. I make noe doubt but you will, if one sparke of honestie doe harbour in your brest, aproue the clergie grounde in desiringe the said proposition to be put in effecte. And withall, how peremptorie the Councell answered to the same proposition. What assurance, I pray, did Taaffe ever giue the Confederats of his censuritie? Never yett did sweare their union, nay nor allegiance to his Majestie rather ever yett an enemie to both (as by the perusinge of the said numbers to his name anexed may largely apeare) or what greate satisfaction unto a kingdome, that one of that boorde, a mechanicall fellow, doe accompany a treacherous Generall, ouer rulinge an armie, all sworne brothers to his proper faction? If one Richard Bellings, a lunaticall poet, will marche alonge with disloyall Generall Taaffe, (as he did to the Countie of Kierie, for the recoper of Castle Maigne) what miracles did he there? Onely to gett such castles as were in loyall hands, and putt them on the hands of one David Crosby, a Puritante, publickly for the Presbyterians since those comotions, and a quarter of a yeare now paste, became a Lieutenant Colonell to Insichuayne. To such a man, charactered for severall refractions, our councellor and Generall did give the impregnable Castle of Maigne and others; to spoile plunder and pillage, all the well affected Catholicks in the said countie, onely as beinge true and loyall to the cause in hande, and greate opposers of the enemie Insichuayne. This is all the benefitt wee gett, by the asistance of this poeticall councellor with this refractorie Generall, this the Councell calls to overrule an armie, to disable their sworne freinds, and never oppose their mortall enemie, though able to doe it with greate odds.
363. Baristers, druggists, and poets, the councell. Gerrott Ffenell of greate concernment with Taaffe. If this brave supreamacie of government did send a petty-tongue-tyed barister, one of that Councell, whoe never sawe a sworde drawn in the field, to rule an armie of sheepe, accompany a perfidious Generall, what good could he doe? nothinge but runn the same score, acte the same scene and play the same tragedie. O brave.—It would prove somewhat proficacious, if the Councell did send Gerrott Fennell, that druggist, herbaliste, one of thaire Supreamie to advise phisically that potator Generall to forgoe distempers and surfeites, and by purges to consume and expell the predominant bad humors, wherof aboundeth, but to send this or other, with Generall Preston will doe noe good, for all the lawe, phisicke, and poetrie in the world canot cure or amende the flexibilitie, volubilitie, inconstancie, and treacherie of this man, as alreadie growen to frencie, what foperie therefore is it to sende a comittee from that boorde, meere strangers to the arte militarie, to manage an armie and asiste a treacherous Generall in greate actions? And noe lesse foolishness to desire information against those alreadie named of any exception, their guilte beinge as publicke unto the whole kingdome, that hills and stones washed with inocent bloude, in Cnocnanose, Ballibegg, and Linchill doe cry for vengeance onely the Councell is ignorant of it. Nolunt intelligere ut bene agerent.
364. The Vlster armie the It is well known in all the kingdome, by both freind and foe, that the Vlster armie, was under God, the onely suporte of the whole nation, by the defeates of
- Noe satisfaction that a comete did accompany any these armies.
- Proved in Richard Bellings acts with Taaffe.

Portlester and Benborbe, the Catholicks onely runninge armie for all occasions, to eache Province, their chiefe and onely buckler, all this last yeare, runninge from Conaght to Dublin, from thence to Clonmell, from thence to Castljordan, Calluin and Sligoe, and to rescue the Councell from their now Confederate Insichuynes, notwithstandinge all this, his armie, that have onely undergone those extremitie must now be reformed, and its composure and strenght consiste for the most parte, of refractorie members, as Sir Phelim Oneylle, Iveaghe, and Alexander McDaniell and others, his Lieutenant with his regiment applyed to the Conaght service, and gives out that he is chiefe comannder there (which is as false as Judas) (onely deludinge him and cuttinge Generall Neyll shorte of such a member), whose by patent did nominat Clauricarde Generall of that province, bearinge date 8 of May this presente yeare, never sworne to their suposed cause, or confederacie, nay a prime Presbyterian instrument as Ormond ever yett haue bene. After all reformation, they will not pay that armie (accordinge the clergie proposition) any meanes, but leave both armie and Generall to My Lord Nuncio and keraghts devotion for payment. Is not this a strange passadge, that those Catholicke contrimen, sittinge in the seate of Justice choosen by the kingdome for that purpose, will exclude those warrlicke natives, fightinge and sworne for one and the same end, from pay in proportion with other armies, accordinge the Assembly resulte? and will conteste with his Holinesse Nuncio for the payinge of armies (beinge a foraigner) as, if he had gained by the bargaine greate revenewes, inheritance or possessions, havinge already spent since his cominge hither, upwards of £20000 sterling they will give meanes to Insichuynes armie, strangers to both religion and contry, and will not contest with himself as native, gaininge greate possessions by the bargaine, O strange, but why should My Lord, or Mr. pay any thinge but gratis? noe. O truly mechanicall Councell, that will exacte his Holinesse, like drunken and neegardly sotts in a taverne, your pott and my pott. But now to the rest, their answer. As for winter quarter, say they, (specified in the said proposition) wee will endeavour to give content, conditionally that the Generall, major officers, comannders and souldiers shall inter assurance to obey all the comanndes and orders of the kingdome Assembly and Councell, whether pertinent or not: And that by the 10th of next June must apeere before the Councell to sweare an oathe, pursuant to the former and another, that they will then tender unto him, and withall shall have his peculiar taske towards the North, because other armies doe not thrive in his company.

Lett any man but reade this their answer, will knowe presently what they are, how inclined and how cankered their actions? Seeinge they disclaime in the payment of any meanes to this armie, but leave the same to My Lord Nuncio and keraghts, what is it, out of their way that it be more numerous? or that it consiste of 10000? Sure it is not for any good husbandrie, or good will they beare the pay-masters, but leaste it did prove stronge and soe serviceable to the nation, they will, whether he will or noe, joine those revolted members unto his armie, and cutt him shorte, of such as are reall and loyall, such as are faithfull to kinge, countrie, and religion, accordinge oathe and aproved actions, must be disbanded, and such as are perjured and factionists must continue. He must sweare to obey all the orders

1648.
only sup-
orte under
God of
Ireland.

The Vlater
armie must
be of
refractorie
members.

Clanricard
apointed
Generall of
Conaght
by the
Councell:
a Presby-
terian.

A strange
passage.

£20000
did the
Nuncio
spent and
wherfore?

The Coun-
cell con-
dition not
observable.

365.
Objections
against the
Councell
answers.
Strange
proceed-
ings.
Their
nonsense.

1648. of both Assembly and Councell, wherof many are subreptitious and cabinetts, never seene by him, and may be privatly conceaved to his distruction, the Councell will not obey the last Assemblyes orders touchinge the agents sent unto Rome, France and Spaine they force all the world to proper obeysance, and will not obey the higher power, though severally sworne to the contrary.
- I pray
peruse
these.
- He and all his officers must apeere in Kilkeny, to swears an oathe, unto poets, baristers, and drugists (and such an oath farr irreligious then any ever was penned, by Kinge Henry the Eight or Queene Elizabeth for supreamacie), and they will not swere a lawfull oathe, desired by his Holinesse, his Minister and other brave prelates, by divine and humaine law, authorised therto, his invitation to Kilkeny, was onely to imprison or poyson him (as severally hertofore attempted) if not conformable to their perjurous treacherie. As not to thrive in his company; It is true, In the North Castilhaven as a traytor, would not be adviced by him, nor did stay for his bidinge, when he stole away, nor Preston at Dublin, beinge together, because Preston played the parte of a foolish and treacherous knave to both Nuncio, Councell, nation, kinge and cogenerall. It is well knowen he was against both, and their actions, and he proved still reall and upright, if this be not to thrive in his company, you say right, but lesse doe they thrive when he is absent. for then they wittingly expose their men to slaughter, and forsakes them at a stage, as wittnesse Ballibegg, Linchehill, and Blackwater, and other places, but he in place, are preserved (though it be for shames sake), this is their thrivinge in his absence, though they cast the blame therof upon him.
- Not
thrivinge
in his com-
pany.
Why?
- Preston
and
Castilhaven
traytors.
366. Those in the 4th proposition, desired by the clergie to be continued in pay, are the colonells appointed by a Generall Assembly of the kingdome to be of the standinge armie of Monster, onely disbanded by the faction of Muskrye and Councell, (as n^o 269 touched,) you see what they answeare, that Cessation agreed upon may necessitat the reducment of the Monster armie.
- The Coun-
cell illusion
herin.
- O poore
Ireland
where such
coun-
cellors.
- A man would thinke, if such a reducment were necessarie, that it were more proper to continue those that were appointed by the generall vote of both assembly and congregation, and were never yett tainted with any treason, faction or perjurie, of better extraction, more eminent, noble, faithfull and reall, havinge more men to comannde, more to loose, in both possession and dignitie, then by private and corrupte authoritie, to appointe of newe upstarts, of base and mechanicall descent, of a heathize behaviour, clownize demeanour, of scandalouse and unchristian belife, bankroutes, and traytors, and for such knowen, and reputed in all the kingdome, they will be adviced by the Provinciall Assembly, and will not be said by the whole kingdome, spirituall and temporall together convened, but by those fewe corrupt members and of their proper hatchinge. It is strange to, if the said necessitie of reducment were such, that at leaste they would not continue some of those presented by the clergie, amonge their owne, if, but to give soe much content unto both Nuncio and clergie? You see what they are, and their colloguinge. Dabit Deus his quoque finem.
367. Of Preston
and Taaffe
to be
warye.
- Experience taught the prelates to be warie, for in the most parte of all the comanners, even Generall and officers of the field of both Linster and Monster armies was observed faction and obstruction, to prevent further mischief (if a

newe oathe did doe it) the clergie did desire in the 5th proposition, this onely assurance of them, to sweare fealtie to them, not to embrace any peace, prejudicious or without the clergie consent, this beinge as lawfull, as you see, and as conformable to their oathe of association, as you may in honestie conceive, will not be grannted, rather the contrarie, for if pursuant to the late protestation, why then, makinge the one, what did hinder the other? The verie Councell issuinge the said declaration or protestation was soone after therin of perjurie founde guiltie, in condescendinge to the clergie motion herin, likly the comandders would prove noe lesse. In this the Councell was more tender of the officers repute and fame, then of proper, as practitioners of perjurie, would onely at instant, researve the danger therof unto proper use.

1648.
The Councell perjured in their declaration.

To the 6th proposition they answere that the castle of Maigne and all other castles and forts in them parts, are secured to their possessors, duringe the Cessation. It is true, if they meane Insichuyn, as in the hands of his Puritane Lieutenant Colonell David Crosby aforesaid, all is jugglinge and gyringe at the clergie.

To whom Maigne assured.

The grounds of the 7th proposition would seeme strange unto any indifferent judge, that none of the nobilitie and prelats of the province of Monster, had any hand either in civill or militarie government except two noted of perjurie and faction. Muskry and the Bishope of Limbricke, Edmond Duyre, My Lord Roche, Ikyerie, Kilmallogge, Dunboyne, Castlconnell, and severall other such, of nobilitie, gentrie and prelats, the verie best members in all the province, were discourtenanted, secluded from the handlinge of any publicke affaire, and poore mecanicall people, pedlers, dumbe-baristers, attorneys, and route-banck-merchants promoted to the managinge of civill and ecclesiasticke government (extravagant of their beinge, and transcendent to their breedinge) onely because refractorie, and the others, reall, faithfull, noble and well affected. If this sorte of people were sworne to the confederacie, (wherof wee are not certaine) in that supsition, wee are confident they are forsworne. The nobilitie and prelats were doubtlesse sworne, and of their oathe observante. By all good induction, those should be preferred before the others in any dignitie or degree sutable to honor, as more honorable, more learned, better practised, more conscionable, havinge more either to loose, gaine, or deffende, then the former invested with none of those qualities, onely better practitioners of perjurie and treason; All this notorious in the whole kingdome, why should not the clergie desire redresse in soe publicke and pallpable an afronte, prejudicious to both publicke and privat kingdome affaires? What satisfaction thinke you the Councell gives the clergie in soe maine a busines? this onely: The Councell desires more fitt men to be presented, and then would bringe the clergie desire to consideration. O foperie! the nobilitie and clergie were nominated and presented in the 7th proposition by the clergie, what newe presentation doe they now desire? they doe not for all this promise redresse or satisfaction to the clergie, onely to bringe it to consideration, what majestie doe those beggerlie fellowes assume to themselves? If peeres of the kingdome, of any eminent degree, qualitie, or condition whatsoever, either in learninge, extraction or otherwise, or bearinge their said authoritie se solo without any dependencie of other. I would not mervayle their imperositie, but such men hatched in ignobilitie, brought up and trained, under the muddy

368.
Nobilitie and prelats of Monster, not of any government. Strange, and why.

What, those by the Councell employed.

Is it to gyre the clergie?
What this councell be.

The clergie motives for issuinge their censures.

1648. cloude of heresie, and qualified (exceptinge fewe) in Christian contries, with the condition litle better then bondage, and their now greatnesse to continue onely duringe the pleasure of the inconstant multitudine of a whole kingdome, is strange. O treasonable consideration, observe what desired, whoe the petitioners and grantees, all reasonable and lawfull demannds, and the Councell answeare to noe purpose, or satisfaction, before God or the world. Be not therefore deceived by the words of those stat-hypocritts, whoe make honestie and religion the cloke of their ambition and treacherie, rather listen and pry to their actions, which will display what they are. These with other pregnant motiues are the grounds of My Lord Nuncio and congregation dellegats for fulminatinge of the said excommunication against the Councell and others therein specified, agreeinge to the foresaid Cessation, as destructive to both religion and nation. Now lett us leave My Lord Nuncio and dellegats in Kilcolgan for a while and turne to Generall Neylle.

CHAPTER XVIII.

369 Adversitie bendeth, but never breaketh a noble and undaunted courage : he
 Venu. l. 3. abandons not himself, though all the world forsake him, but hopes that when
 Tacit. An. fortune is come to the brumalle solstice of her frowninge, she will be retrograde,
 l. 4. and shine againe upon him, with the beames of better successe ; a prince therefore
 Menand. plunged to the lowest deepe of disasters, must beware he sinke not to the
 Lucan, 4. nethermost hell of dispaire, where is noe redemption, but rescarve himself to
 better fortunes.

Virg. En. Fata viam inuenient, aderitque vocatus Apollo.
 3. Fortuna opes auferre, non animum potest.
 Majestas non fracta malis.

The Catho- In the n° 354 I made mentione of the composure and strenght of Generall
 lieke Ge- Neylls armie, the multiplicite of his enemies, and his owne undaunted courage,
 nerall doe which in noble heartes never changeth, but is the same, either in smilinge or
 marche to adverse fortune, treadinge under foote all difficultie, God and his good cause is
 Kilbigan. warrantees, he marched in a warrlike posture towards Kilbegan, where he lodged
 that night, that he began his march from Maribourogh : greate many of his
 keraghts about him. The 5 regiments of the Linster forces that waited on his
 motion towards the countie of Westmeath, enformed of his arrivall, as aforesaid,
 placed themselves in Balimore, six miles from his campe, as an indifferent
 passadge to hinder his goinge over the Inhy, untill Preston, Insichuyne and Taaffe
 did arrive, to ensure him for ever after. The Generall obsearuinge with a
 vigilant eye, their intentions, timely next morninge dislodged and marched to
 Motagranoge and from thence to Kregan within a mile to Athlone, where he made
 halte, and pitched his campe, his noble demeanor gott him passadge, by the asistance
 of that higher power, in those extremitities, and though fortune can deprive one
 of his goods, yett hath noe power in the minde, nor can frowninge fate overcome
 a noble courage.

The Dillon The Dillon
 intention intention
 towards towards
 Owen Owen
 Oneyll. Oneyll.

CHAPTER XIX.

1648.

Where ambition is captaine, and profit carries the colours, there the troupe of vices is stronge: which breakes through all lets, and makes way against all opposition, of justice, honestie, promise, oathe, or what other religious obligation soever, and soe ranke is this weede, as it over-growes all vertuous and wholesome plants in the garden of simples, or heartes of censure contracters: But soe venomous withall, is the poyson therof when it seizeth upon man, as noe antidote of former judgment, worthynesse, courage or noble qualitie whatsoever is soveraigne enough to cure it —

Dulce lucrum ex mendaciis. Quamvis non rectum, quod iuvat rectum puta; Magistratibus, non aliter quam medicis, aduersus pueros et ægrotos mentiri licet.

Generall Preston all this while expectinge Insichuynes partie in Rosscree, and waitinge on the Catholicke Generalls, motion, now aduertised, how he was deluded, and that his said antagoniste alreadye marched towards Westmeath, havinge 500 horse of Insichuynes in his company with the Linster armie, marched the shortest cutts with all expedition, to Bellaghanohire and through M'Coghlan's countries, where, beinge in consultation to inter Kilcolgan, Terence Coghlan's house, and there, (against all justice, honestie, promise, oathe, and what other religious obligation soever) laye hands on My Lord Nuncio and dellegats, plunder and pilladge the house, as harbouringe that princelye prelate, against the lawe of nations, never callinge to minde, (as a suposed Catholicke should doe) the fearfull sworde of excommunication, annexed unto such an acte, determined to putt this in execution, ledd by his proper ambition and self profit, was enformed that My Lord Nuncio last night in a disguised maner went unto the Shanon, where his Lordship was expected with a boate and a dozen muskietiers to ferie and garde him to Athlone, from Captain Gawly, and by the apointment of the Catholicke Generall, to prevent such a danger, as previdinge, the like may hapen.

Preston disapointed of this peece of blacke service, did send a partie of horse before him, with comannds to use all Vlstermen, keraghts and others, whether in armes or noe, that they meete with fire and sworde noe qualitie or sex exempted, but use all acts of hostilitie towards them: O how ungodly this suposed Catholicke Generall behaves himself towards innocent people, against both the lawes divine and armes: The keraght that did not in time obsearve the Catholicke Generalls comandes, were now marchinge towards the campe, but Prestons horse cominge betweene them and it, fallinge on them, poore innocent soules, did plunder and pilladge them, caried away all their cowes, cattles, and goods, nay killed verie many of the poore people, both man, woman and child, suttlers and other persons by the lawe of nations pardonable, and all pursuant to that tiranicall and bloudie-Prestonian orders, this was the first field that Preston ever gott in Ireland. O braue warrior! O noble Preston! O thrice renowned Catholicke comannder that dies your dried hands in the innocent bloude of decrepide ould age, of poore men, widowes and orphans, as not havinge the courage

370.
Lip. Pol
l. 4.
Sen. Thyest.

Mac. l. 3,
disc.
Eras. 438.
Senec. Suas.
Bodin
Rep. 4.
Impia sunt
hæc.

Preston's
diabollical
intent.
But fayled.
The
Nuncio
escaped.

Prestons
blacke
designe
against the
Nuncio.

371.

The inhu-
manitie of
Preston
towards
the innocen

- 1648. or fortune to spill a droppe of your enemies bloude, but cry you mercie, for you never sawe your foe in the field untill now, all hitherto were friends. Doe you thinke Preston, God will not punish you for this inhumanitie, exhibited to this poore folke? hearken to his owne diuine menaces: Viduæ et pupillo non nocebitis. Si læseritis eos, vociferabuntur ad me, et ego audiam clamorem eorum: Et indignabitur furor meus, percutiamque vos gladio, et erunt vxores vestræ viduæ, et filii vestri pupilli. What say you now to this Preston? I am perswaded though extant in Scripture you will not beleve it, or else you will apeale from Gods sentence herin, as you have don from my Lord Nuncios excommunication. Prestons armie gathered unto a bodie, at Bellaghorhine, where his armie consisted of 14 regiments of foote and 4 of horse, the Catholicke Generall within a mile to this campe, with the name of six regiments horse and foote, every day and night some of their scouts meetinge, the Prestonians had euer the worste and the Catholickes the best. Where wee leaue them for a while and speake of other matters of concernment.
- Whoe are Preston's enemy?
God's threats against him.
Exod. 22.
Preston will apeale from God.
The inequality of both these armies.

CHAPTER XX.

372. When an humor is stronge and predominant, it not onely converteth his proper nutriment, but even in that, which is apt for contrarie humours, unto his owne nature and qualitie of like force is a stronge and willfull desire, in the minde of man, for, it not onely feedes upon agreeable motions, but makes euen those reasons, which are stronge against it, to be most for it.—Vitoso humore genito, pars princeps aliqua consentit, a qua totum corpus celeriter alteratur.
- Dionis. Halicar.
Lip. Pol. l. 3.
Gal. loc. aff. l. 6.
Treachery of Ambassadors.
Ormond and his complies.
- The agents for France were by the Councill dispatched, Muskry and Browne with full power and authoritie to doe in that courte what they both thought fitt, without any dependencie or relation to what the agents sent unto his Holinesse did acte, and without the privity of Antrim, their first and prime agent for the Christian Courte, all which was contrary to the assembly instructions (as n^o 336 mentioned) arrivinge therfore to Paris, where Ormond and his complices did abide at instant, masters of all his pretences, as wininge bothe the Queene, Prince and Germans favor. Those agents insinuatinge themselues unto Ormond, Digby and Casthaven, whose humours were soone converted reciprocally unto each others nature and qualitie, not onely fede upon peacable motions in persone, but brought our agents to the Queene and Prince, with whom agreed, that Ormond should come to Ireland for viceroy, all this without the sense of the third comissioner My Lord of Antrim, and that you may not doubt of the veritie herof you may peruse the ensuinge letter penned by Dr. Tyrrell to the Archbishoppe of Dublin, which is as followeth:
373. Most Reverend and Illustrious Lord, I have of late written unto your Grace, and now your Grace may knowe, that our agents have received an answeare, which is not to my likinge, as beinge an introduction of the Marquesse of Ormonds goinge to treat once more with you for to deceaue you noe doubt, looke well to it, you know the Presbyterians doe declare, for the kinge for their owne ends, and to
- Dr. Tyrrells letter.

extirpat the Catholicke religion, and introduce the Presbyterian Government x648.
opposit you know to monarchye, looke to your selves, and be not deceaued. Our
agents in the cittye haue don nothings yett. Paris 23 of May 1648.

The copie of this letter, the Archbishops did send My Lord Nuncio, with the
ensuinge attestation of his owne in the behalfe of the author.

The originall I keepe in my owne hands, and doe send your Grace this copie The Arch-
bishops of
Dublins
testimonie
of this in-
telligence.
onely, that you may perceau how necessarie it is, that wee looke to ourselves,
and labour that our flocke be not deceaued, God helpe us, for which purpose I
hope you will endeavour, that neither your owne nor your Clergies labour and
prayers shall be wantinge. Consideringe that Dr. Tyrrell is the ordinarie agent
of this kingdome in the Courte of France, and more then any of his nation
acquainted with that Courte, its certaine he would not send any intelligence of
such consequence, without good grounde. Soe with my best wishes I rest

Your lovinge freinde,

Fr. Thomas Dublinensis.

Kilkeny, 11 July 1648.

You see what opinion My Lord Archbishops haue of the author of this intelli-
gence, and how warie he was to write unto my Lord Nuncio, leaste his letters
were intercepted, writes unto him a plaine freindly style, that it should passe cur-
rante as unto a comon man directed, and the rather because My Lord Archbishops,
beinge impotent, for travayle or banishment, was in the Franciscan monesterie in
Kilkeny, and though as forwarde as any could be, for the cause in agitation now,
notwithstandinge was loathe to foment the leaste cause of suspition in any other
matter. But if this letter will not doe to your purpose, heare another, a day after
the date of the former, which came to My Lord Nuncio and writes the ensuinge
parcell thereof to the Catholicke Generall.

A parte of a letter sent to the Lord Nuncio from Paris 24 May 1648.

Two of the Comissioners unknownen to the third, have concluded with the 374.
Queene, Prince, Marquesse of Ormond, and Digby, of the meanes how to bringe Another
letter sent
unto My
Lord
Nuncio.
the said Ormond to Ireland, that beinge contrarie to their instructions, and the
will of the Assembly Generall and of the third Comissioner, neither doe they
expecte the sense or answere of the Romaine Comissioners. They are preparinge
in haste for home, that they may putt in execution all they have concluded with
Ormonde. And to cleere the way for his cominge home, it is agreeede, that the said
two Comissioners, with Insichuynne and Taaffe, doe call and gather all the
Presbyterians .i. the Puritants that are in Ireland against the Catholicks, and
specially against the Clergie, and their adherents, and compell them to receive This proves
all our
former
surmishe of
those men.
the Viceroy Ormonde, whoe will come after them, and to accepte of such conditions,
as the Lord Marquesse will offer or propose, whence may be evidently inferred
the ruyn of the Catholicke religion, and of the Catholicks and kingdome of
Ireland, unlesse it be preuented etc.

Whie should any judge my penn to be either bitter, sharpe or invective, against 375.
those adheringe unto the Councell, for factionists and traytors against religion,
kinge and kingdome, when the very Parliament of England, or that prime branche
of it, the Presbyterian faction, doe imploy our agents, as their proper, to extirpate

1648. Our Councell and adherents factionists traytors and Presbyterians.

The Councell knavery discovered.

Sufficient ground of censure.

both Catholicks and Catholicke religion, with all that is royall in this kingdome, and nominats for the execution therof our two greate martiall pillars, Taaffe, Generall in Monster for the Catholicks, and Insichuyne newly reconciled to his Majestie, and our nowe associate. France and England echoes nothings else in Courts or Parliaments, other then traytors, Presbyterians, factionists, Irish Councell and its adherents. Is this Insichuyns desire to decline the Parliament? is this his resolution aproved by the Councell to serve his Majestie? and publickly declared the same, and imprisoned some of his officers for not condescendinge therto? O brave resolution, and thrice brave Councell aprovinge the same. Is this to be obediente to the higher power the Generall Assembly? to cause your two refractorie agents (assumed for such a blacke purpose) se solo, without dependencie of any other, contrary to the Assembly instructions, to agree with Ormonde the archtraytor, against your oathe severally sworne, and your last declaration? why should you thinke strange of my former discourses and discoveries of your treacherie, every day an eye wittnesse of your proceedings, when the superior regions and all Christiandome are privy of your abominable actions? doe not you conceave now, My Lord Nuncio and his clergie congregation to have sufficient grounde, for the fulminatinge of the former excommunication, against you, what now doe you say to the Catholicke Generall? will you yett acknowledge your faulte, hauinge these braue testimonies against your proceedings? If not stay a litle, and you shall see the third, in ore duorum vel trium testium stat omne verbum.

376.

A letter to the Catholicke Generall from Major Mortimer, an intimate cavallier with Ormond and all the Courte of France.

A letter from a wellwisher of kinge and kingdome to a freinde in Ireland.

Sir,

You are like, with the rest of your Confederat Catholickes, both laytie and clergie to see a lamentable time in your kingdome if the powerfull hand of God doe not crosse, and enervat the Presbyterian faction, which brings in Ormond as Viceroy to the kingdome, with the consent of Prince and Queene, moved therunto, by pollicie of the Hugouett faction of this kingdome and their beloved bretheren the Puritants of Englande, to whom Ormond continually and really adheres, and whoe beinge at the presente unable to resiste the Independents there, gives large testimonies of their loyaltie, towards the kinge, whereas their whole armie is to exclude monarchy and erecte a free state, with the supression of Catholicke religion, as the Queene and Prince might easily knowe by wofull experience, if they but had reflected well on the matter, they goe the next way to liue in banishment duringe life, the which Heaven diverte. There are many in Ireland (as wee are credibly enformed) for Ormond, which will curse themselves hereafter. The Puritants of England with their adherents, are noe more for kinge, then the Greate Turke, however they Ormond and Digby coloured it with large promises. Those churchmen which sides with the promoters of this faction in Ireland, by them seduced, will curse themselves when they see, both churche, nation and kinge ruined. The laytie and religious, which run this way will not be better esteemed by the Parliament then meere slaves and traytors to their nation, kinge and contrie. I feare me your kingdome there is lost, religion extinguished, and the nation brought to an

uttermost ruine. Some of your churchmen, as wee are enformed, are neither ^{1648.} zealous for religion or kinge, which broachinge perverse opinions and diabolical distinctions, disunits the poore nation, an ancient policie to ruine the Catholicke faithe in Ireland. I am right sorie that they promoue this ungodly principle of policie amongst you. Wee here for certaine some of them are seduced, which distroies all, and withdrawinge themselves, either by servile feare, or humaine respects after their feruent zeale hitherto, for their religion, are like to loose the game, if they be not better united and bringe themselves on a tragicall stage. God directe you all for the best, and unite you for the advancinge of the Catholicke religion, and reenthroninge of our soveraigne Kinge Charles, for which I shall allwaies pray, and imploy all my endeavours to forwarde it.

Paris, the 27th of May, 1648.

Signed ut in margine.

CHAPTER XXI.

The stronger giueth the lawe, the weaker must take the lesse of evils. Therefore if thou finde theyself overweake make they peace, at as lowe a rate as thou canste, for any conditions are rather to be accepted, then an uneuitable overthrowe expected, soe horrible are the effects of warr.

Pacem reduci velle victori expedit, victo necesse est.

You may not doubt of the former intelligence to be true, as cominge from such a hande, whoe was privie to eache party interested, to all intimate, to none suspected, but highly honored and esteemed of all. You observe how Ormond is for the Puritants and Hugonetts of France, and still have been for them against his Majestie since those comotions, as observable in all passadges, betwene his Majestie and him, and though such prooffe as those untill now was wantinge to confirme his treacherie, his verie actions obscurued (as we have don in this our discovery of faction) did amply beare testimonie off: what other character might any given him, havinge Digby, Clanricard, Castlhaven, Taaffe and Supream Councill, his abettors, advicers, and promoters? verily if otherwise well inclined, in companie of those, could not but be corrupted, cum peruerso, perverteris. O poore fellowes that brings in such Puritants, to the destruction of religion, kinge and countrie? What hindred you to joine openly with those members of Parliament and covenanters when considerable? Ormond in possession of Dublin, Insichuine in Monster, Montroe in Vlster, Sir Charles Coote and Clanricard in Conaght? all weare for you then as now they be, though then in a farr better condition to be sued unto, as associats: If then you had don soe, all that now adheres unto the clergie, was onely in the whole kingdome against you? If you say that the oathe of association to the Catholicks was the onely rubb then in your way, I say it is now as bindinge as then, and with farr greater improvment of tyes, severall others of the like nature, severally since exhibited, not dispensable by any laycall power or Epicheias, and withall in penalty of former perjuries the bipes sworde of the fearfull censures of churche thunderinge excommunication unsheathed against you, which is a drawinge bridge and a firme bulwarke to keepe you from off the sweete breste of your quondam Holy Mother.

377.
Am. Plat.
Cæs. Bell
Ciu.
Curtius,
l. 5.
Liv. l. 25

The calef-
ication of
the former
intelligence
his author.

Psal.
Ormond
could not
choose but
prone bad
for ad-
heringe
unto those
perverse
men.

1648. Blasphemours of holy religion, covenant and oath, why did you send agents
 378. unto his Holinesse unto Rome, gyringe and deludinge that sanctitie, desiringe
 Queres his sense for a settlment, puttinge the poore Catholicks to mightie costs, and
 against the Councill charges, and exposinge them to infinit troubles and dangers? What neede all
 and agents. this? beinge as nowe determined to followe noe other sense then your owne,
 against the vote of all Christian-Catholicks? givinge those two perjured,
 Ormond pervicious and treacherous agents for France, privat instructions, to goe in hande
 the sole cause of the Kings miseries. with Ormonde, and call him once more unto the kingdome, notwithstandinge
 that you are ascertained of his maglignant intentions against religion and
 monarchy. O poore Queene and Prince, that joines with this toade against your
 husbande, kinge, and father, you drawe the sworde to beheade yourselfe withall.
 Ormond is the man that putt you in that poore condition of exiles, is the onely
 cause of the kings miserie and now imprisonment, and will soone prove fatall to
 The foolerie of Prince and Queene. him, havinge once obtained your consent for Viceroy of Ireland, you may repute
 My lord Germans bribe and how worked. yourselves in the ranke of widowes and orphans. What charmes or black arte
 Advice to the clergie. have Ormonde that the Queene and Prince would ever shewe him the least fauor,
 their knowne enemye, publicke betrayer, and the Judas-marchant, of settinge all
 that was deere and royall unto his Majestie in Ireland, and now to trust him the
 second time, prouinge soe fatall and faithlesse before. O poore soules, you are
 not in the faulte, but the Queenes minion, My Lord German, whoe for £10000
 sterling of Irish coine, that Ormonde gave him, whether the Queene and Prince will
 or noe, muste condescende unto their proper destruction, and disenthroninge. O
 thrice unhapie Churchmen, that are seduced by those poysoninge serpents, per-
 How the refractorie clergie will be reputed. swadinge you to the ruine of religion, extirpation of Kinge and nation, under the
 vizard of honestie and confederacie, or by servile feare (as of base extraction), or
 for inordinat desire of some seeminge preferment, contrarie to your function and
 callinge. What will you say when you see base ministells preferred before you?
 What you now enjoye to be putt in their hands by Ormond? When you see
 the Puritants managinge all, noe respecte or regarde of you, or your copartners in
 this faction, but esteemed like base traitors and encendaries of both religion,
 1 Reg. 5. loyaltye and nation, looke to it in time, you see what advertisements you have,
 Ormond the heathize God of those Philistines. by which you see, unto what a laborinthe of dangers you run unto, you knowe
 your doome, if Ormond accordinge his now covenante will come to Ireland,
 imitate the Philistheines, placinge the heathize god Dagon (cast to the gronde
 by the holy Arke) in his former place, though besmeared with dirte and mudde,
 whoe the seconde time was made lesse by the heade, by the same divine power,
 soe this your idol, in former times comittinge soe many treasons, rendringe
 Foolerie or treacherie of the agents. himself therby obnoxious of lessninge him as aforesaid, in contempte and dis-
 paragment of supreame power, doe offer to place this your relapsinge, and
 besmearinge Dagon at the right hand of ever Godly religion, to whom I trust in
 God, will noe otherwise hapen, then what unto his exemplare have donn. All,
 those treacherous agents have don here was not onely against the divine lawe
 against oath and covenante, but alsoe against our former aphorisme for they
 (though stronger) recave the lawe from the weaker, and takes the lesse of evils,
 beinge stronger: powerfull and eminent, buyes their peace, at the lowest rate
 they can from him that at instant expected, noe other then an ineuitable fate

and beggery, a foole might conceave by this same their willingnesse and pronitie 1648.
to the kingdome destruction. O sweete Savior, judge this cause aright and soone,
with effecte.

My Lord Nuncio and his adherents, havinge those reall and true intelligences, 379.
aproved testimonies of his former proceedings, now encouraged to goe forwarde in
his censures, and to make sure all wayes for that purpose, he and his dellegats,
did penn and conceave the subsequent decree in Kilcolgan, against all the Vicar-
Generalls and chaplins of the two armies, Linster and Monster:—

In hæc verba :—

Joannes Baptista Renuncinus, Dei et Apostolicæ Sedis gratia, Archiepiscopus et Prin-
ceps Firmanus, in Regno Hiberniæ Nuncius Apostolicus extraordinarius, etc.

Hoc publico edicto prohibemus, ne vicarij et capellani, tamen exercitus Domini Thomæ
Prestonis Generalis Lageniensis, tam etiam Vicecomitis Taaff Generalis Momoniensis,
post nouem dies iam assignatos ad rescipiscendam et reuocandam cessationem cum Domino
Barone de Insichuyn in exercitibus eorum permaneant, neque deinceps, alij Ecclesiastici
cuiuscunque Ordinis sint, seu Religionis, ad ipsos accedere præsumant, tanquam iam
excommunicationem incururos quibus iure sacramenta denegare debent. Qui uero contra
præsumperint excommunicationis sententiam incurrere volumus ipso facto, et interim
quoscunque milites, duces et officiales perseuerantes in Ecclesiæ inobedientia corrigere
non omittant, in quorum fidem etc. Datum Kilcolgan 4 Junij 1648.

The clergie
decree
against
Preston
and Taaffes
chaplins.

JOANNES BAPTISTA, Archiepiscopus
et Nuncius Apostolicus etc.

ROB. CORCAGENSIS Episcopus.

FR. ANTONIUS CLONENSIS Episcopus.

You see by this instrument all Vicar-Generalls, chaplaines of those two armies,
and their respective Generalls, and all and singular other clergie men, are
comanded under paine of excommunication ipso facto to be incurred, not to con-
tinue in the said armies, or minister any sacrament unto them alreadie excommuni-
cated. But sure accordinge the contents of the former last letter some churchmen
were seduced by the Councill, and therefore would not obeye My Lord Nuncio and
his dellegats decree herin, wherby they ever yett stand excommunicated, whose names
you shall obsearve in due place and time to be warie off. My Lord Nuncio and
dellegats, now in Athlone did send severall copies of these formers excommunications
and letters to Prestons campe, but to noe purpose, either in clergie or laytie, they
will not obey, but in steede of obedience, presented My Lord Nuncio and his
dellegats with the Councells declaration and oathe of late sworne by them and
their faction, wherby My Lord Nuncio and his dellegats were forced to issue the
ensuinge vendication.

CHAPTER XXII.

1648.

380.
The clergie
vendication
against the
Councell.

Whoe
signed to
the decla-
ration ?

And their
scope.

Proverb,
15.
1 Joan, 3.
2 Cor. 2.

381.
How they
taxed the
Nuncio and
clergie.

Wheras we have receaued a perfecte information of a declaration, latly sett fourth in the name of the Supreame Councell, by a malignant, perjured partie, therof, namely by Sir Luke Dillon, Richard Bellings and Geralde Fennell, and by some others, either inueigled by that partie, as Athunrey, Sir Roboucke Lince, Patricke Brian and Robert Deuerauxe, or officiously subscribinge to that declaration, beinge neither members of that councell, nor persons to whom the confederat Catholicks have promised any obedience, as Montgerrott, Alexander M^cDaniell, and Sir Phelim Oneylle. These laymen, would needes countenance an usurped power, assumed by the said malignant lay partie to give laws to heaven and earth, spiritualitie and temporalitie. In which declaration they calumniat the integritie of our proceedings in deliueringe our conscience against the wicked Cessation concluded by them, with the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, and charge us with crimes, wherof they themselves are most of all guiltie: to the end they might induce the Catholic Confederats with more promptitude to a preposterous obedience to their comannds, how unjust soever, a practise too often put in use by that partie whose endeavors are, and euer have been more seriously applyed to aduance heresies and preserue their Mecenas, whoe haue infamously betrayed their soueraigne, than to aduance religion and preserue his Majesties loyall subjectes, their fellow Confederats. In which declaration allsoe, they indanger not onely the bodies, but the soules allsoe of those whoe shall be misleade by them, to continue the late excommunication by us published. Amusinge the Confederat Catholicks, as if they had apealed from us unto his Holinesse, and thereby suspende the force and effecte of our excommunication. To anthidote such malignant influence, we are forced to publishe this our present vendication, wherin wee take God (whoe penetrateth the secrette angles of our soules) to wittnesse that what soeuer hitherto we haue don, or hereafter shall doe, in opposinge the said Cessation, hath and euer shall proceede from a pure and censure intention, defeated and purified of all priuat ends, and from all auersion to loyall subjection, and wholie tendinge to the securitie of religion, obedience to soueraignitie, and preseruation of this languishinge kingdome, which the foresaide malignant partie (abusinge the clemencie of the clergie, and of the Confederat Catholicks, whoe for unions sake, conceaved it their capitall crimes) hath inuolued in an Illiad of calamities, and herin wee desire, that this our vendication may arise against us, at the greate day of judgment if we speake not the true sense of our soules, and puritie of our intentions. Anchora tuta conscientia bona.

In the foresaid declaration, the said malignant partie doe finde, sed defecerunt scrutantes scrutinio, that the Lord Nuncio, his Grace by the suggestion of a fewe persons, for their owne priuat ends, auerse to subjection etc, insisteth on such wayes, as may bringe euident destruction upon us. Here both Nuncio and clergie are taxed by those supercilious ministers, the Nuncio of weaknesse of judgment and inconstancie of resolution, in sufferinge himself to be misleade of a fewe persons: The clergie of rashnesse in selectinge such dellegats to asiste and aduice

his Lordship and His Holinesse himself must haue his share of this reprehension, 1648.
as beinge inconsiderat in sendinge to distressed Ireland, such a Nuncio, though by his vocation an Archbishope, by his dignitie a Prince, by his office a domesticall prelate of His Holynesse and secretarie to the Consistorie of Cardinalls Congregationis Rituum Sacrorum, whose cariadge since his cominge to his kingdome, hath bene with such uprightnesse, as none but the enemie of religion, kinge, and country could justly reprehende him, but while wee thus behould the inoent baited, by this malignant party, the memory of inoent Daudid beited by wicked 2 Reg. 6.
Semei is in us resuscitated. They measure our censere proceedings, by their owne depraued actions, abondantly knowen to the christian world, and ouer much experienced by this oppressed nation. These Jesuits, censur all men that oppose by their sedition, corrupt seditions, and insiste on wayes bringinge distraction to this nation; not that these men, whom they thus censure, are such in deede, but that the corruption of their depraued judgment doth represent them, as such, but had they receaued the just punishment, which was due unto them, for enormous crimes when they were impeached and imprisoned for them, Ireland had bene freede from that calamitie, distraction and oppression, whearwith its now ouerwhealmed, and wherin they themselues, for their owne wretched ends, haue intangled it, but note you why they charge the Lord Nuncio sharvved from His Holinesse his pious affections? Mary, as in their declaration they confesse because he caused a declaration reuealinge the iniquitie of the said Cessation to be fixed in publicke places, to the end the world might take notice, that the clergie did not at any hand consent therunto, as they accordinge to their accustomed practise, and to seduce the inoent to their partie did falsly brute.

If they suffered as deservedly they ought this did not hapen.

And whearas in the same declaration, they assumed that our declaration against 381.
the Cessation was made by a fewe Bishops and opposed by them, whoe notwithstandinge their opposition subscribed therunto. It is soe notable a falsehoode, but indeede sutable to the genious to the composers therof, as not one prelate there present, whoe were in number 14, but did freely, voluntarily, and cheerfully without any opposition subscribe therunto, and withall the self-same prelats, together with Clonfertensis and Drumorensis, with the like freedome subscribed to our dellegation, with whom allsoe Elphinensis and Laghlinensis, by their consent expressed by their Procurators did joine in opinion, soe, as in effecte there were 18 Bishops that freely consented to our declaration, and soe many that in re consented to our dellegation, though the congregation of the clergie were properly but of the prouince of Monster onely, soe, as the declaration sett fourth by this malignant partie, is fraughted with naught else, but false impostures and calumnies to the confutation therof wee are by the lawe of nature obliged, (though otherwise, our propensitie to union, and the modestie which is inherent to our profession, could willingly abstaine from it) such is the zeale of this malignant partie towards the ciuill gouernment as they will not permitte that all officers of what nature soeuer shall in ordine ad spiritualia deuolue to a spirituall tribunall etc. we comende their zeale, and though it be without knowledge yett is not without policie, they will not permitte all affaires, noe nor any at all, if they can, to deuolue unto the [Cessation, which hath or at leaste ought to haue for its prin-

18 Bishops did signe both declaration and dellegation.

The end of the Cessation

1648.
What it
should be?

The Supreme
Councell
is a mixture of
spirituall
and temporall.
Cuius contrarium
in rerum.

383.

Acts 5.
This is
true.
1 Mach. 2.

2 Paral.
.26.

The Canon
Lawe pre-
scribes the
subordina-
tion.

cipall end, and though they are not pleased to permitte this cause to deuolve unto the spirituall tribunall, yett ought they at least permitte it] spirituall tribunall, for if they permitted any, they would permitte this cause, concerninge the cessation, which hath, or at least ought to haue for its principall end, the preservation and propagation of religion which I trowe euery one will confesse to a spirituall end, and though they are not pleased to permitte this cause to deuolve to the spirituall tribunall, yett ought they at leaste permitte it to be agitated and concluded in their owne tribunall, which the kingdome hath appointed to be a mixture of spirituall and temporall of Catholick Prelats, and of the laytie, but the secular iudges of this mixte tribunall, haue founde out a way per fas vel nefas, to exclude from any vote in this Cessation the chiefe iudges, to witte, the Spirituall Lords, whoe were jointe with them in the same tribunall, and by their owne privat authoritie, contrarie to the expresse resolution of their fellowe iudges the Lords Spirituall; they haue concluded the forsaid Cessation, which could neuer be validly don without the consent of the said Lords Spirituall, whose subscription either to the articles of Cessation, or unto the declaration therupon they could neuer obtaine. Which confirms our protestations against the Cessation to be uniuersall and without opposition; But their conclusion of the Cessation, etc., to be factious and with opposition. The very like practise was used by the same malignant partie, in concludinge the late reiected peace, which was the cause of all the calamitie, which hitherto befell us. Its greate pittie, those abortiue statistes, were not sent ambassadours to the Courte of France, to teache the Christian kinge the way to gouerne France, not by Cardinall Richlewe or Cardinall Masarin, the memorable prelates and statistes of this age, but by a secte of lay factionists, who might shoe sedition, raise factions, raigne Cæsars, and deceipher Pompeyes. If those liued in S. Peters dayes, surely they had clapt him up into prison and strongly feathered him, as the Jewes did, because he preached the name of Jesus, contrarie to their comannes, or because he punished Ananias and Saphyra for sacriledge, they would haue tould him, they would not permitte such affaires to diuolue to the spirituall tribunall, nay if they liued in the daies of Judas Machabeus and the rest of that preistly familie, they had snatched the temporall sworde (though giuen them by God himself) out of their hands and manadge all affaires themselues, both spirituall and temporall, as Henry the eight his lay Vicar-Generall did, without any apprehension of feare, to be seuerly, therefore punished, as Ozias was, for a farr lesse crime comitted, entrenchinge on the preistly function, as the bodie politicke of this comonwealthe, is composed of members spirituall and temporall, soe ought the operations therof proccede of both, and seeinge the principall end they aime at is the reparation and propagation of religion etc. Is not the presumption too, too exorbitant in any small member of the laytie to attempte the assecution of this spirituall end, and that contrarie to the resolution of the spirituall members, non potest autem oculus dicere manui, opera tua non indigeo aut iterum, caput pedibus, non estis mihi necessarij, as wee desire not at any hande to trenche upon the power of the laytie, soe wee could wishe the laytie trenced not on our power, then is the power from God well ordered, saide the Canons, when the temporall sworde is subordinat to

the spirituall, wherof others haue spoken more at large elsewhere, which the malignant partie will refute ad Kallendas Græcas. 1648.

The said malignant partie are much displeased, that a declaration against the saide Cessation was fixed in publicke places by the Lord Nuncio his comannde, after they haue fully prouided, in concludinge the articles of that Cessation, for the free exercise of religion and function, and the possessions of our Clergie, after the Lord Nuncio had sent unto them, as a meane to make a Cessation conscionable propositions, meerly temporall wherunto said they, we haue giuen ample satisfaction (as by the said propositions and answeare aboue mentioned may apeere) that they haue not fully provided for the free exercise of religion, as they boaste, nor for the Clergie's possession, as may euidently apeere by a surueye of the said Articles of Cessation, which wee proue to be, as inualide, and uniuste, as the late reiected peace was, which the authors themselues doe now deteste (at leaste before the world) but it is soe farr from truth, that there is any such prouision made for religion, or the exercise therof in Insichuynes quarters, as an exception is in the said Articles to such a prouiso cleame contrary, nay wee are excluded from the free exercise of religion in those two counties Waterforde and Kyerie, the foresaid malignant partie were pleased to giue Insichuyn, for the maintenance of his armie, by what power and authoritie wee doe not knowe, nay the poore Catholicks of Yoghill, Kinsale, Corke, and other places in the countie of Corke, remaine in the same pressure for religion they were, without any prouision made for them.

384. They will worke iniquitie but not that it be reuealed.

O false traytors!

As for the prouision made for the clergie possessions (for to speake here off their churches were as prophane to speake of them in the articles of the reiected peace) all the subsidies freely giuen by the clergie in those two counties Waterforde and Kyerie to maintaine the Catholicke armie, are giuen to Insichuyn to maintaine his hereticke armie, contrarie to the positieue opposition of the owners, a donation much like, but rather worste then that which the deuill made unto our Sauour, when he presented him with omnia regna mundi, which was none of his owne, furthermore wee herby giue notice unto the Confederat Catholicks that they are not obliged, by any lawe of God, or man to yelde any obedience unto the foresaid malignant partie, either in the acceptation of the foresaid Cessation, or in any other matters what soeuer, nay, such as are intrusted in forts and garrisons by the kingdome, cannott with saftie of conscience parte with the same upon any comannde of the malignant partie. First because they haue alreadie betrayed the trust imposed in them by the kingdome, in giuinge the kings enemies parte of the possession, which belonged to the Confederat Catholicks and would haue giuen all, if God by his goodnesse had not preuented their mischieuous plotts: qui autem semel semper præsumitur malus, chiefly when he fall againe unto the same mischiefe.

385.

Like the Deuills donation to Christ. Math. 4.

The treachery of the Councill. 1.

Secondly because the Cessation is concluded not by full consent of the whole bodie of the Councill, which alone, with the clergies consente could haue power to conclude matters of such importance, and not of any particular partie therof.

386. 2. Not concluded by authoritie.

Thirdly because the most actiue parte of such, as concluded that Cessation, are solemnly declared periured in the greatest affaires, that euer concerned religion and contry, which makes them incapable of such or any other power, which

3. The conclusers of the Cessation

1648. 4. incapacitie is augmented by the accesse of the excommunication. Fourthly the oathe
Periurers, therfore incapable of power. of association obligeth to the Councell, and not to any particular parte therof,
5. 6. Fiftly, as tutors haue power to dispose of their pupills goods to their utilitie,
Noe Supreame Councell then extanta. and not to their detriment, soe farr and noe further are they to be obeyed. Sixtly
7. because in very deede, there is not now properly a Supreame Councell, the same
This is good diuinitie and to be embraced. beinge soe disolued, as neither in opinion or authoritie are they united: fise of
8. them adheringe unto this our opinion, seauen (wherof three are infamous
periurers) adheringe to the Kings enemies, for whom they hitherto laboured.
Seauently, because each Confederat Catholicke is to preferr those branches of the
oathe of association, which concerned the securitie of religion, kinge, and
countrie, before any branche of inferior order, obliginge obedience to the Su-
preame Councell, especially when the Councell comanns tends to the ruine of
things, which wee are sworne to mantaine. Eightly, when the superior power,
the Spirituall, comanns any thinge contrarie to that which the inferior, or
Temporall power comannes, then are the comanns of the inferior power to be
neglected, and the comanns of the superior power to be executed, wherin there
is noe danger, either of periurie or disobedience, because accedente potestate
superioris, cessat potestas inferioris, as if God comanded one thinge, and man
another, in obeyinge Gods comanns and slightinge mans, he may not be said
disobedient to man, whose comande hath now noe power, which is the Con-
federats case, in respecte of My Lord Nuncio and clergie power, which is
Spirituell, and the Conncells power, which is Temporall, especially when none of
the prelates, whoe sett in the same tribunall with those seculars, joine in comande
with them.

387. Wherfore if the foresaid malignant partie should declare (as they meane)
Their pro- against the Confederat Catholicks that accept not of this Cessation, traitors and
clamation threaten them, with the losse of both liues and fortunes (which otherwise they
not to be are sworne to defende) such declarations are not to be esteemed, but those
feared. together with their authoritie are to be opposed vi et armis, if by other remedies
their crueltie may not be preuented, licet enim vim vi repellere, but were this
malignant partie pursued, for their treasons comitted, they had neuer
surueyved to empeache faithfull subiects of treason, whoe were themselues
notably guiltie thereof.

388. Lastly, whearas the said malignant partie hath by formall instruments, dated vlt^o.
The effecte of their apeale. May 1648, and exhibited unto us at Kilcolgan 4 Junij followinge an apeale to the Sea
Apostolicke from our sentence of Excommunication, justly deuolued against them,
and their adherents, 22 Maij 1648, hoping thereby to free themselves from the
dangerous effects thereof, which appellation in a vaine and glorious maner, they
haue caused (as we are enformed) to be published in some churches of Kilkeny
of sett purpose to delude the Confederat Catholics, whom they seduce to embrace
that Cessation.

389. Wee therfore to discharge us of the care and charge wee haue ouer the soules,
What apostolls and their nature did doe by this present vendication, declare unto them, that notwithstandinge such
friulous and illusorie appellation, they are not at any hand free from the foresaid
dangerous effects of the said excommunication. The apostolls given by us, upon

the said appellation, are such as the cause onely is deuolued unto the Sea 1648.
 Apostolicall, but the effecte of the excommunication noe way suspended, soe as they
 stande still cutt off, and separated from the misticall bodie of Jesus (which is his
 churche) whoe embrace or accepte of that Cessation, as in our apostolls sent unto
 that malignant partie, by their proctor, M^r Richard Lawlesse, more amply apeereth,
 wherin wee ratified and confirmed the foresaid sentence of excommunication and other
 censures, giuen by us, and doe declare them to incurr excommunicationem maiorem
 latæ sententiæ, whoe adhere unto the said cessation, soe as the appellation is
 auaylable quoad effectum deuolutum non uero quoad effectum suspensium.

My Lord
 Nuncio
 gives
 a con-
 firmatur of
 the former
 excommuni-
 cation.

To conclude, wee may not without deepe recentment and greife of hearte behould 390.
 the unnaturall proceedings of the foresaid malignant partie, whoe imploy the
 armie mantained at a deere rate by the Confederat Catholicks against themselues,
 while in the interim they suffer the enemie to rally their forces, and to tyrannize
 ouer the said Confederats, such is the malignitie of that Cessation, as our soueraigne
 can haue noe better friends then his sworne enemies, nor worse enemies then his
 sworne friends. Væ illis qui dicunt bonum malum, et malum bonum. Soe powerfull
 haue factionists beene, as our owne armies bande against one another, wherin they
 shewe themselues verie stronge and victorious, but against the enemie, they stirr
 not, but still pledd pouertie and imbecilitie, interim they deuoure and consume the
 contrie, wherin they are suported by the same factionists. The Vlster forces
 preseaured Iinster the last yeare from the excursions of the enemie of Dublin,
 whoe promised to themselues the conqueste of all that prouince, after the victorie
 obtained by them against Preston in Lincehill, but now this fatall Generall is
 highly honored and esteemed by this malignant partie, brings in upon their owne
 score the enemie against those that were moste beneficiall and their onely
 defenders, under God, of their liues and safties, noe enemie unto them now, but
 those that euer hitherto obsearued their oath of association, and were the onely
 champions to defende them from slavery, now makes a publicke oathe, to prosecute
 them to the last triall, the bloudie and sacrilegious enemie against God, kinge and
 kingdome, now their Confederats and their chiefe Confederat sworne against,
 as their prime enemie, onely for adheringe unto holy churche and clergie, wherof
 all Confederats should take notice. O ingratitude! thus our vendication.

The malign-
 itie of the
 Cessation.

Preston
 now
 stronge but
 against his
 foes weake.

Deuillish
 Methamor-
 phosia.

Giuen under our hands this 15 of June, 1648, Athlone.

Joanes Baptista Renuncinus, Archiepiscopus et Nuncius
 Apostolicus Extraordinarius.
 Euerus, Clogherensis Episcopus.
 Rob. Corcagensis Episcopus.
 Fr. Ant. Clonmacnosensis Episcopus.
 Fr. Boetius, Rossensis Episcopus.
 Arthurus, Dunensis et Con. Episcopus.

That all censere Catholicks may conceaue the impietie of this malignant lay 391.
 partie of the Supream Councill, prescribing lawes unto heauen and earthe, like
 true followers of that impious broode, Henry the 8, stylinge Supream Heade of
 Gods Church, framed an oathe pursuant to the same, comonly knowen by the
 Imitators
 of Henry
 the Eight.

1648. oathe of supreamacie, soe these laymen factionists, (neuer havinge any remorse of conscience, or feare of diuine indignation for such a sacrilegious acte) in imitation of theire said exemplare, inuented as diabolicall an oathe euerie jott, as the former, tearmed by them, an oathe pursuant to our declaration and to the oathe of association, which oathe implyes, an oppugnant and possitiue contradiction, and therefore not obsearuable, as you may obsearue, in hæc verba.

An oathe in pursuance of the oath of association, taken by the lords and gentlemen mette in Kilkeny the 20th of June 1648, and by the Supream Councell directed to be taken by all the Confederat Catholicks.

392.
The
Supream
Councells
hereticall
oathe.

I. A. B. doe sweare and protest, before God, and his Sainets, and Angells, that I will to the uttmost of my power, obsearue the oathe of association, mantaine the authoritie of the Supream Councell and the Gouerment established by the Generall Assembly of the Confederat Catholicks of this kingdome, notwithstandinge the present excommunication issued fourth by the Lord Nuncio and foure Bishops, against the concluders, mantainers, and adherents of and unto the Cessation concluded with the Lord Baron of Insichuyne: notwithstandinge any other excommunication to be issued upon the same grounde, against which excommunication, and from those whoe issued it, I doe apeale unto His Holinesse, as the indifferent Judge: And I doe further sweare, that to the hazard of my life, I will suppress, and oppose, any persone, or partie, that shall stande in armes in opposition of the said Cessation, soe helpe me God.

And worste
comentarie.

It seemes some men made some scruple of this oathe, wherfore least any rubb should be giuen unto this malignant lay-potestas, writes the ensuinge comentarie, as an exposition of theire intentions therupon. To preuent any scruple to be made upon the branche of the oathe, by us of late directed to be administred viz. notwithstandinge the present excommunication issued fourth by the Lord Nuncio and 4 Bishops, against the concluders, mantainers, and adherents off, and unto the Cessation, concluded with the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, and notwithstandinge any other excommunication to be issued upon the same grounde, although we hould it unnecessary to make any further explanation of our intentions, then the words of the same oathe, containe, yett for the satisfaction of all men, and to the intent, that noe waye may be lefte to carpe at our actions, nor any excuse of refusinge it, unto such as may take exceptions therunto, wee doe herby declare, that by the generall worde (excommunication) we intende noe other excommunication then such as haue beene, or shalbe issued or inflicted by the Lord Nuncio, or by the clergie of this lande, or any of them, for, or touchinge the said Cessation, or grounded therupon duringe or pendinge our apeale.

Kilkeny Castle, the 27 of June, 1648.

Those that
signe to
the oathe.

Those that signed unto both oathe and comentarie, are as followeth:—
Westmeath, Fingale, Montgerrott, Neteruill, Lewes Clanmaliry, Galmoy, Athunrey, Trimletstowne, Dunboyne, Upper Ossory, Lucas Dillon, Robouck Lince, Richard Barnewall, Thomas Nugent, Richard Euerard, Patricke Neteruill, Luke FitzGerald, Richard Bellings, Patricke Gough, John Walshe, Patricke Bryan, Gerrott Fennell, Geffry Baron, Robert Deueraux, George Comin, James Cusacke,

Laurence Dowdall, William Hore, Maurice FitzGerald, Robert Shee, Marcus 1648.
Cheeuers, Michael Dormer, Thomas Rauceter, Francis Dormer, Michael Bolan,
Robert Meade, Pyerce Creagh, Thomas Hennes, Walter Walsh, Richard Strange,
Peter Sherlocke, Edmond Bray, Thomas Cantwell, Walter Archer. Printed at
Kilkeny, in the yeare of our Lord 1648.

CHAPTER XXIII.

When the ballast or ladinge is well stowed in the shipe, she maketh good way 393-
and sayleth fairly. But beinge uneuenly bestowed, it hindereth her course, and
sometime sinketh her. As allsoe wheare is an equall temperature of the humors, Cas.
there is perfecte healthe and a good constitution of the bodie, but wheare these Gal. lib. de
are distempered, and the maligne are predominante, there the former good habitt bon. hab.
is turned to some desperate disease; soe is it in a state, wheare the vitious and Plato de
ambitious succede in the place, and authoritie, but not in the vertues and worth leg.
of theire noble predecessors. Seneca.
Sophocles.

Vbi in urbe deteriora vincunt, tum peccata pessundant ciuitatem.

The ladinge of this our Comonwealth shipe, is not euenly bestowed and therefore The
canott fairely saile, it hindereth her course, nay, is now at the verie last cast of Council
sinkinge, the maligne humor of the styrrers is soe predominant that this politicke is cause
bodie can haue noe perfecte healthe, but rather distemper, and desperation of of all this
phisicke waites on it, and noe meruayle where uitious and ambitious doe distemper.
succeede in place of authoritie, there is noe man acquainte with the kingdome of
Ireland and its people, but will confirme what is here suggested, they name
the former signment the Assembly of Ireland both Nobles and Comons, you
may conceaue there, are specified here non but factionists, excepte Fingalle, and
Dunboyne, and a handfull of the kingdome assembly, all the nobilitie of the
faction did signe to this Henritian oathe, but beseeede those, there are those
ensuinge. Antrim, Eniskillin, Iueagh, Killmalloge, Lowth, De Rupe, Mayo, Slane,
Gormanstowne, Dunsany, Clanmorish, Ikyery. All the prelates of the whole
kingdome (though members of this bodie politicke) are wantinge in this zeudo-
assembly. Neuer a man of the prouince of Vlster, nor of Conaght (but Roboucke
Lince) of all the nobilitie and gentrie of Monster but Dunboyne, onely pettie
pedlers and baristers of the counties, of Limbricke and Wexford in Linster, nor of
the gentrie of Linster, except two Nugents, two FitzGeralds, one Plunkett, two
Neteruills, two Barnwalls, one Fitz Patricke, and one Dempsic, you see what a
selecte assembly doe here signe and force this impious Cessation, against the vote of
a whole Kingdome, both spirituall and temporall, excepte what alreadie rehearsed,
why then would not a man thinke that the ballaste is not euenly bestowed in
the shipe of this Comonwealth? or why should any man conceaue that this oathe,
Cessation or declaration was by the whole nation indifferently embraced, signed
or accepted, whearas the vote of all the clergie and best note of the laitie was
neuer desired, or if desired neuer obtained.

1648.
394.
What the
oathe of
association
importe.
It is
contrarie
to this
last now
sworne.
Obiections
against the
Councell
oathe.
The con-
traryeties
of those
proceed-
ings.
The incom-
patibilitie
of comply-
inge with
both.

The oathe of association did importe, that neither Councell, Assembly, or any partie or persone under paine of periurie should make peace, Cessation or any generall or particular conditions, for himself or others directly, or indirectly, without the consent and acceptation of the clergie Congregation. I leaue to your discretion to judge whether this oathe agreeth with this present. In this present oathe they disclaime in any obedience to the clergie, the other not soe, how then can they disclaime in the one and obsearue the other? If they canot, then an oppositive contradiction and consequently not obseruable. Obsearue another opposition in the same oathe, to mantaine the Supreame Councells authoritie, and the Generall Assemblies gouernment, if the oathe at present did meane the Councell with that composure and mixture, as the bodie of the Kingdome, the assemblie left it. I concurr in this sense, but if it and the conthriuers meane (by the worde Councell) these fewe refractorie members to be onely the Councell whose authoritie, the voters will mantaine, the verie best and primest members excluded, I cannot free them from periurie, or how can they bringe those antipaties to one center of agreement, the Assembly General left this Councell in the mixture of spirituall and temporall, they swears to obey the gouernment of the Assembly, and disclaimes in this, beinge the quintessence therof. The Assemblye comanded agents to Rome, France, and Spaine, there instructions that nothinge should be don, untill the returne of the agents of Rome, with their resulte from His Holinesse. But the malignant partie of the Councell (for whom you now ungodly and impeously swears fealtie) gave privat instructions (contrarie to the former) that two of the agents for France should goe in hand with Ormond, not expectinge the sense of the others, as aforesaid. You see those instructions are contrarie, the effectes contrarie, the grounds and intention of eache noelesse; what then, will you obsearue both? beinge contrarie, nemo potest duobus dominis seruire. You cannot searue God and Beliall. why? because they are contrarie and opposite, but you can doe it, though against Christ's verdit, the oathe of association and this presente, oppositt the one to the other, the Assembly Gouernment and Councell authoritie, as now intended, or rather abused, ex diametro opposita, wherof of necessitie one member must be true and another false, and you the voter in both periured. As a certaine graue and learned poet, amusinge your innumerable periuries, haue genuinely attested, by the subsequent Ovidian-triparte-eligiacke, to the tune of cornuperi, famous in periurie.—

Jurarunt toties Proceres, ut fas mihi not sit
Juratorum voces aut numerare vices:
Sed licet addiderint verbis contraria verba,
Mendaces ideo nemo fuisse putet;
Nam, duo cum nequeant, contradictoria falli,
An non veridicos dicere jure licet?

O poore periurers and sacrilegious blasphemours against the Eternall and Diuine Majestie that are thus handled by all religious penns now in Europe, your iniquitie and impietie, treason and faction, onely ministringe fewell therunto. Obsearue.

CHAPTER XXIV.

1648.

Men usually palliat and couer their vices under the cloake and name of some vertue, base couetousnesse they call good husbandrie, and prodigalitie bountie. They blushe not at the facte though they be ashamed of the title. This shewes that the sense of shame is one of the strongest restraints to keepe men from sinn, and the last passion that leaues him. He therefore that is once past this apprehension, letts loose the reines of his owne will, and abandons himself to all maner of mischief.

395.
Horat.
Virg.
Eneid. 1.
Tacit. An.
l. 4.
Seneca.

Vbi non est pudor, ibi nec cura juris, sanctitas, pietas, fides.

Other actions of the Councell shewe them deuoid of all grace but now doe shewe themselues to be likewise paste all shame, for they blusheth not (beinge the pretended Supream Councell of Ireland for the Catholicks) not onely to bringe in a professed enemie to Catholicke religion, for asistants against their fellowe Confederat, without any warrantable authoritie, but now letts loose all reines of shamfastnesse, rendringe themselues obnoxious to all maner of mischief, not once callinge to minde their former beinge of Catholicks, by the sole apprehension of this now last passion abandoned. But though beinge (as truely they are) illiterat, without the least qualification, in any art or science, onely of the mechanicall of druggists, baristers, pedlers and poets, alltogether laymen, doe assume unto themselues supream ecclesiasticall power, to frame oathes, expounde, comute, disolue or binde the same, se solo, by laicall authoritie, at pleasure, which are acts of religion and to onely ecclesiasticke belonginge, this is to palliat their vices under the cloake of vertue, to cause poore men belieue this their foperie to be warrantable, but not otherwise, thereby their former exemplare Henry the eight, they disclaime in the power of prelates, and will acte all themselues, though extrauagant and alien to their former beinge, they will comente and expounde the tye of Catholicke Confederats on them, which is the oathe now, and seuerally before by them sworne, which is against the known doctrine of prime polititians of former ages, as by the ensuinge auxiome will appeere.

The
Councell
void of
shame.

What the
Councell is
qualified
with?

Henry the
8 their
exemplara.

CHAPTER XXV.

An oathe is to be interpreted, not by him that takes it, but by him that takes his assurance by it. And therefore, they that make noe scruple to breake those conditions wherto they are tyed by this sacred and solemne obligation, if they finde, any nice quillet in the articles, which they may wreste to their purpose, they cannot auoide the guilte, though they seeke to remove the scandall, for how soeuer politicks haue taken their aduantage out of custome, their policie could neuer warrant it out of justice. Quacunq; arte verborum quis iuret: Deus tamen qui conscientiae testis est, sic illud accipit, sicut ille cui iuratur, intelligit.

What neede haue this malignant lay Councell of prelates now? they will acte what belongs to both the Confederats, that takes their assurance by the oathe of

396.
Lip. Pol.
lib. 4
Tacit. Hist.
lib. 2.
Livi lib
24.
Cic. Off.
l. 3.
Isid. de
summ.
bono. l. 2.

1648.
 To frame
 a religious
 oathe,
 expounde
 and comute
 the same
 are acts of
 ecclesias-
 ticks, but
 our lay
 Councell
 do assume
 the same
 to them-
 selues.
 Clan-
 maliry, Mac
 Thomas, Sir
 Walter
 Dungan,
 Sir Thomas
 Esmond
 and
 Shanky,
 Ministers
 of this
 diabolical
 oathe.

association, by our late aphorisme should interprete and coment the same, to the now jurors, and comentors therof, but this is transposed in the present affaire, for such as doe take the oathe, (though laymen) doe glosse the same, And haue don this in disparagment of religion and church authorite, as well perswaded, (by their former beinge of Catholickes) this to be onely pertinent and to be deuolued unto a spirituall tribunall, as meerly of that qualitie; imitatinge herin the oathe of Supreamacie, of their exemple, Henry the 8. All men must sweare this Henrician oathe, and for this purpose did apointe seuerall men, beside the comandments of their respectiue armies to tender and minister the same, My Lord of Clanmaliry was nominated Commissioner of the administration of this oathe in his owne territories. Shanky of Ballilakine, high sheriffe of the Kings countie, in Ely-ferkall and other places. MacThomas, Sir Thomas Esmond and Sir Walter Dowgan with force and armies, compellinge the compliance therof in the counties of Wexford, Katarlagh, and Wickloe, distroying all wherunto they came in those counties, that did not sweare it, or that any way did oppose it, hauinge a runinge armie to that purpose, of both horse and foote, that noe such suppression of religion was euer seene in our memorie, in Ireland, those our recent statistis and polititians cannot auoyde the guilte of this apostasia by justice, though to their uttermost power they seeke to remoue the scandall by the onely aduantage they haue taken in the assecution of such a custome. The towne of Wexford-men verie scrupulous, (and good reason they should) to sweare the same, pursuant therto did borow dayes of deliberation from the foresaid executioners of impietie, whoe interim presented the said lay parte of the malignant Councell with the ensuinge reasones and motiues inhibittinge them to sweare the said oathe, thinkinge therby, the Councell would reflecte upon those sounde reasons and therby mittigat a little this more then hereticall proceedings, which are as followeth—

Reasons makinge the excommunication fearfull alleadged by the Mayor and towne of Wexforde.

397.
 The
 validitie
 of the
 excommu-
 nication.

The
 ignorant
 behavior
 of the
 Councell
 and its
 diuines.

This Excommunication is published upon grounde that is declared by a Congregation, duely assembled, to be against the Catholicke religion, in which causes we knowe noe competent judge, but the prelats of the church, for, as they are the undoubted judges of religion, soe they onely haue power to declare, whether any particular acte be against religion or noe, now by all lawes and authors, noe apeale can be made, or suspende a censure published for matters of religion, as shall apeere upon demannde, therefore wee haue reason to feare that this excommunication is bindinge, notwithstandinge any apeale made from it. The rather that the said congregation doth still insiste to make good, that the said cause or grounde of the said excommunication is a matter of religion. Though the excommunication were not fulminated for matter of religion, yett is not euery apeale that can suspende the effect of it, for if the judge from whom the apeale is made, doth alleadged the grounds of such apeale to be falshe and insufficient, the partie apealinge ought to proue the truthe and validitie before some arbitrators, allowed by the said Judge, at the requeste of the appellante: which if the appellante omitt to demannde, or the arbitrators soe choosen faile to determine the matter

in doubt, within a certaine time to be limited unto them by the Judge, then the judge is to proceede in his censures in that matter, and his censures are in as full force and effecte against the appeallant, as if there had beene noe apeale made at all, And that the rather if the apostolls which are grannted, be refutings and not reuerentialls or dimissorialls, by which the diuoluinge effecte of the apeale, and not the suspensiuie is yelded unto, which is the very cause of this excommunication, apeale and apostolls: This is the true lawe of Holy Church, as may in particular apeare, to any that will desire to be satisfied in conscience.

1648.

The true Canon Lawe.

Wee therefore that haue not hitherto, for feare of our conscience, declared ourselues, for or against the Cessation, are not comprehended, within the apeale made by the Councell, for the said apeale (as by itself doth apeare) is by them made, in behalf of themselues, and such onely of the Confederat Catholicks, as then joined with them to maintaine the said Cessation, soe as wee are not included in it, and therefore can take noe benefitte therof, if wee shall joine therin, and consequently must incurr the excommunication, notwithstandinge the apeale. By those and seuerall other reasons, expressed in the Ciuill and Canon Lawes, which may be shewen upon demannde, unto such, as will not willingly offend God, or transgresse the lawes of his Holy Church our mother, wee are terrified from doinge that acte, which is prohibited unto us upon paine of excommunication, as aforesaid. And therefore as wee haue neuer don any acte nor intende to do hear-after, against the said Cessation, soe wee hope wee shall not be forced against our consciences to putt ourselues to the danger of incurringe such censures, which wee canott escape makinge soe perfecte a scruple of it, untill we be further satisfied in conscience, whatsoever they can say for themselues that doe it, without the like scruple. And we hope, that the Councell intends not to proceede against us, in this cause, with more rigor then Catholicks haue beene proceeded against in this kingdome in like cause, by Queene Elizabeth, euen in the times of her highest persecution, against Gods Church, and Catholicks for their religion.

398.

A true and sound reason.

A greater persecution than that of Queene Elizabeth.

By those former reasons and grounds you may judge the malignitie of this periured zeudo-councell, the iniquitie of their proceedings, their damned actions, their Heathize behaiour, their ungodly and inhumaine ingratitude towards their fellowe Confederats, their crueltie forceinge their Henritian oath upon Catholicks, their illusorie and groundlesse apeale, wherby you may deeme, their malaparte knauerie and aparant apostasie from religion. I haue digressed thus farr from the historie, thinkinge it necessarie, the reader should knowe the gronde of the excommunication issued against those newe dogmatists, by My Lord Nuncio and his Congregation dellegats, beinge, as you now obsearue, legall and lawfull: Now lett us turne to our former matter from whence we haue made the said digression.

399.

The behavior of the Councell this acte.

CHAPTER XXVI.

1648.

400.
Vallei. l. 1.^o.
Ariost. 2.
Tasso, cap.
9.
Plini.
Paneg.
Tacit. de
mor. Ger.
Lucan, l. 9.
de Casare.

Example is of greater force than precepte, it therefore behoueth a Generall, as well to be a souldier, as an able director: that by his presence, and personall performance of what he comanns others, they may be encouraged to endure any paines, or undergoe any danger, for upon his actions and vertue especiallie depends the successe of all the seruice. Wherupon the Greeke leader truly inferred, that an armie of sheepe led by a lion was better then an armie of lions led by a sheepe.

Primus arenas

Ingrediar, primusque gradus in puluere ponam.—
Dux an milis sic eam.

Owen
Oneyll, lesse
by two-
thirds then
Preston.
The
Generalls
humanitie.

Wee left the Catholicke Generall and the Prestonians encamped within a mile to one another neere Athlone (as n^o. 371 mentioned) where they continued upwards of 3 weekes, and though the Catholicke Generall had lesse number of men, then the other, by two thirds, yett as often as one partie mett another, Prestons men had the worste, and were it not that the Catholicke Generall did by a proclamation publishe that under paine of death none of his partie should be accessorie to the death of any the aduerse partie, other then in proper defence, sure would destroye, all that excommunicated armie, soe fearfull and coward they were, by dozens they were brought prisoners to the Catholicke campe, but presently enlarged by the Generall, many horse was gott by the Catholicks upon this score. Owen ODaghardie one morninge with 30 horse shewed himself before Prestons campe, in a daringe maner, wherby all the armie was in an uproare, wished themselues out of that place, but none was founde soe hardie amonge them, as to venture upon the said 30 horse, though it were upon double number, whoe before their faces whipped away foure score horse, without once offeringe to rescue: By this you may perceauce, if the Catholicke Generall were pleased to drawe bloude, or once shewe himself that way inclined, might with a wett finger dislodge that apostat crue, but expected still their reconciliation to Holy Church, but obsearuinge noe suche effecte to proceede by his former insinuation and humanitie, rather the contrarie (by the infusion of contumax and irregular religious and specially of one Fr. Dominicke Dillon, a Dominican frier, a prime encendarie of faction) to issue, whereby the Catholicke Generall was forced to issue a publicke declaration in fronte of his armie touchinge the motiues and grounds of his beinge in armes against Preston and his complices, in defence of his religion, kinge and countrie, in pursuance of the oath of association (which you shall see verbo ad verbum in this very booke). The said declaration published, he aduiced My Lord Nuncio and his dellegats to deserte the towne of Athlone, and take their course for Galwaye, whoe accordingly departed, and though many ambushes (as was certainly giuen out) were appointed for his lordships insuaringe, maugre all letts and troubles, was not mett or perceaued by any such untill arriuinge within the walls of Galway.

Owen O
Daghardies
couraga.

Caried
away 80
horse.

Fr.
Dominick
Dillons
contu-
macie.
The
Catholicke
Generalls
declara-
tion.
The Nuncio
went to
Galway.

The Catholicke Generall now fullie enformed of the peruersitie and cankered intentions of the Prestonian armie (though noe way was left unattempted conductinge to their reduction) that neither by censures, vendication, fatherly clemencie of the clergie, his owne declaration soe Catholicke and reasonable published as aforesaide, nor his exceedinge greate humanitie exhibitted towards them, was of force to drawe any uniformitie or right understandinge betweene them. The Generall did intende by policie to diuerte this armie for their further distruction, comanded 1500 men with 5 troupes of horse, under the comande of Colonell Roger Maguire, and Colonell Lewis Moore to Lowe Linster, where he thought the countie of Wexforde and Wickloe would joine with them, whoe cheerfully departed and arriued thither, ranginge at pleasure, Bryan M^cPhelim Byrne, and Charles Keuanagh, Sir Morgan Keuanaghs sone, onely joined unto them, many other well affected were in them parts, but durste not apeere in that cause, (the persecution beinge soe hott,) but sent them meate, drinke, amunition, and meanes from the countie of Wexforde, even from the very towne of Wexforde, all this was done by the good ensample of this Cæsarian Generall, knowinge to be as behoufull for one of his incumbencie, and specially in the extenuitie of his now affaires, to be as well a souldier as an able director, for in his proper personall performance in induringe any paines, and undergoinge any danger, his men though fewe in number, were highly encouraged. But the Prestonians, though numerous and by nature forward and valiant, were by the excommunication deprived of all such former vertues, and by the delicat example of a dastardly Generall disanimated for all good purposes.

Preston and his partie certified of the Catholicke Generalls policie, in sendinge his partie as aforesaide, did send his son Don Diego, with his regiment of horse and another of foote to followe in opposition of that Catholicke partie. Diego marched through the lordship of Ballinakill in Leise, six or 7 horse of his went through the towne, and directly to the castle, (the then habitation of Mr. Roger Moore) a defensible place the trouper cryinge at the gate, a good distance from the castle, desiringe intrance, one of three souldiers that were within, cominge to the gate, asked the said horse of whose partie they were, or what did they desire? tould what they were, and that they desired to be possessed of that castle, the man without more adoe opened the gate, left their horses there and went directly to the castle, without opposition, and did send one of the said trouper, to enforme Diego of the busines. Whoe arriued himself with his said partie, and left a garrison there, in the behalf of Montgerrott, this castle was sure for the Catholicke Generall, (as he thought, as in the hand of Roger Moore) but was mightie deceaded in the man, a meere temporizer, as hereafter more at large, Diego partinge thence went to Loe Linster, to oppose the foresaide Catholicke partie, where meetinge one day in Clonnagall, in the countie of Katarlagh (though Diego more in number than they, would haue gott a goodly foile that daie, were not for Colonell Lewes Moore, whoe tould his partie, that they had noe orders to kill, but in proper defence, and diswaded the executione of any seruice, onely Diego was putt to route, and 3, or 4 of his trouper taken prisoners, and brought to the commanders, by whom they were fourthwith enlarged.

1648.
401.
All was attempted to reduce those.

Roger Maguire and Lewis Moore to Lowe Linster. Bryan M^cPhelim and Charles Keuanagh did adhere unto Owen.

402.
Diego Preston is sent to Loe Linster. Ballikelly treacherously taken.

The Vlistermen hindered to kill their enemies. Diego put to flight.

1648. The interim that the Catholicke Generall was in campannia neere Athlone, as
 403. aforesaide, newes came to him, that some amunition that was promised him in
 Limbricke was cominge by water. The Conaght armie hauinge receaued some
 Phelim intelligence herof, and layinge in waite of it, were in OMaddens country under
 M^cTuhills gallantry. the comannde of Richarde Bourke. The Generall did comannde Phelim M^cTuahill
 ONeyll with 500 musketiers, thither to safeguarde the said amunition, whoe
 marchinge in sight of that Conaght partie, did lodge within a mile and a half to
 them and continued there for 8 and fortie howers to diuerte them, untill the
 amunition did passe: which now arriuinge, did passe by. Wherupon Phelim and
 his partie dislodginge, followed untill caryinge it to place of saftie. About this
 John time a boate went from the Catholicke Generall, with some packetts of dispatches
 Coghlanas mischief- to the countie of Clare directed, one John Coghlane, reputed heire of MaCoghlan,
 mischieff- layinge in waite in Falkland Forte, to acte some preiudicious seruice, against the
 gallantry. Councell, and to endeere himself to his treacherous cossen Clanricarde, hitted
 upon the said boate thinkinge it a greate boottie, surprised the same. It was
 giuen out by the factionists, that the foresaid Coghlane, did take all the Generalls
 amunition, which was genius to there principles, for onely was taken those
 dispatches, (which were by another way safly convoyed) and brought to there
 owuers.

 CHAPTER XXVII.

404. A will to doe hurte; is neuer lesse in the close, then professed enemie. But the
 Senec. de meanes is alwaies greater. Because he that suspecteth leaste, is soonest and
 Ira. easiest ouerthrowne and ouertaken; like the unskillfull fencer, whoe while he
 Tacit. l. 4. wardeth the heade, is hitt at the hearte, which lay out of garde.

Nemo celerius opprimitur quam qui nihil timet.

Clanricards In this same time, greate preparation was made by Clanricarde in Conaght,
 armie in against the Catholicke Generall, he inuited to this purpose, Taafe Generall of
 Conaght against Monster, whoe arriuinge to Conaght with 4 regiments of foote and two of horse,
 Owen Leutenant-Generall Purcell (hauinge that comannde under Insichuynes) arriued by this
 time to Clare in Tomonde, with 1500 foote reddcoates and 10 troupes of horse, wheare
 he legered and won Clare and Inish from Dermott OBryan, which the nobleman
 takinge to hearte, tooke a sicknesse, and therof soone after died, as conceauinge it an
 Dermott intollerable wronge, that such treacherie should be used towards him, euer yett a reall
 OBryan died. Confederat and a loyall subiecte, was by the Councells assent putt unto such a con-
 dition, that his meere enemie, both in faith and action should be preferred before
 him, he reputed an enemie, and the enemie introduced unto Confederacie, which in
 the opinion of any indifferent iudge was strange.

405. Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall residinge in Conaght with his regiment, as aboue
 Lieutenant mentioned, was now seuerall times sent for, by this recent Generall of Conaght
 Generall

Clanricarde, but durste not apeere (notwithstandinge his chiefe comannde in that prouince, as the Councell falsly and factiously gaue out n°. 359) without a safe conducte from the now Generall, which was sent him, upon whose receipte, he arriued to Aassgrache in the county of Galwaye, wheare Clanricarde and Taaffe with their respective armies laye in campe, they kept him there for 3 nights, workinge all the meanes possible to reduce him to their own partie, against his Generall, somtimes by threats, sometimes by preferments, other times by smooth reasones, tendinge him the aboue mentioned oathe. But all could not doe, as beinge constant in his principles, with all possible efficacie, worked soe farr, that he must engage himself by the worde of a gentleman, to behaue himself neuter, as not to joine to either side, untill 21 daies were fully expired, and thus was very glade to be reede of them, upon such a score as assuredly certaine, accordinge their presente disposition could not with saftie parte them, notwithstandinge his safe conducte to the contrarie. As soone therefore as he parted these scismathicall and zeudo-Generalls, with all celeritie poasted to his campe, and beinge late towards night at his arriual, comanded his partie to marche, whoe with more then ordinarie pace, marched that night towards Bellaleige, as already dubious of any true compliance in those periurous and neuerfaithfull Generalls, and thus was Lieutenant-Generall now in saftie, though Clanricarde neuer suspected any such, therefore the sooner ouertaken, and his will was to doe hurte, but the meanes how, was too publicke, if this man might be secretly surprised, as sure as death, might be dealt with in the closett, as with an enemy, but while he mused upon the meanes to garde this gentlman, and assure him in his owne campe, within two or 3 daies more, upon could bloude, as then least suspected, he was hitt in the brest, which was but slenderly guarded, those conceptions beinge yett onely hatched in the braines.

1648.
Ferrall how
used by
Clanricard
and Taaffe.

His engage-
ment for
21 dayes.

Goes to the
Countie of
Longford.
Clanricards
intention.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

In the actiue parte of militarie seruice, the captaines greatest vertue is to apprehende a present occasion of aduantage and to take it. Soe, on the passiue side, the euasion from a sudaine and eminent danger, is much more noble then a forethought of preuention, for in this is onely matter of iudgment, but in that, is the life of action and execution. =

Atqui ego si mihi adistas caesia Diua
Vel, tercentum contra homines concurrere pugna
Ausim ; te fretus comite, o Dea, et adiutrice.

406.
Livi. l. 28.
Lip. Pol.
l. 3.
Plutarch.
Arist. Pol.
2.
Homer. 11.
N.

While Generall Neyle was in the campe of Athlone, he sent seuerall addresses to the Conors of Conaght, to Colonell John Bourke, to Morough na Mooste, Morough na Dua and Morough na Marte, all Flaherties, that they should make up men out of hand for him, which they went about to doe, though with faire promises of compliance, went very flematically to worke, hauinge intelligence

The new
confedera-
cie of Owen
Oneyll in
Conaght.

1648.
Marched
with a
small armie
to Conaght.
Clanricard
and Taaffes
feare
though
farr off.

of the foresaid preparation hatched by Clanricarde and Taaffe against him, and haugne noe business to stande there any longer, all things for iorney now readie, gaue orders to the keraghts to marche through Athlone, a verie tedious one, those paste ouer the Shanon, marched himself with his armie, which was noe more, as I doe verily beleue, then 1500 men at the most, beside the keraght men, notwithstandinge like a braue captain apprehended his aduantage, for the present occasion admitted noe delaies, whoe went onely seauen miles the first daie, the second three, to Skrine in the baronie of Athlone, where he continued 3 daies and soe many nights, but the two enemie armies durst not venture to giue him the leaste opposition, though, as weake as aforesaide : and they both consistinge of 7 regiments of foote, and 3 of horse then at the leaste ; All this notwithstandinge, the enemie enformed of the Catholicke Generalls motion through Athlone, mightie fearfull of his aproache towards theire campe, though at present 15 miles distant, as beinge in Achruyme in the countie of Galway, forsooke the place, knowinge not what best to doe, for theire saftie : But the Catholicke Generall, like himself to preuente an eminent and sudaine danger, by the foresight of its euasion, without further tergiuersation marched with his keraghts unto Bellasanine, on the caste of Jamestowne, and there passed the Shanon and went to the countie of Longford, where he began to recrute his armie.

407.
The com-
posure and
strenght
of the
Conaght
armie now.

The very same night that Lieut.-Generall Ferrall departed Clanricards campe, the 10 troupes of Insichuyns partie that was in Tomond, (as n^o. 404 mentioned) with Purcell, by Clanricards orders came to the campe, upon whose arriual, thought themselues some encouraged, and stronge enough, as haueinge now 7 or 8 regiments of foote and 4 of horse, against 1500 men of the Catholicke Generall, wherfore in all haste, marched towards Bellagall to ouertake, and force him to fight, as beinge but a handfull in relation to theire multitude, but there certified that he marched forwarde, Clanricarde and Taaffe, (by the association of those their newe confederats Insichuyns partie) promised to followe and pursue him, untill they cause him to shinke or swime in the northeren seas, but after those brauados better aduiced, satte in councell of warr, wheare resolved to deuide theire armies for seuerall designes, as hauinge now the prouince of Conaght cleere, from any considerable cause or maner of reuolution, onely, such as already related, that engaged themselues to the Catholicke Generall, for whose suppression now in the broode, were apointed the Conaght armie, under the leadinge of Colonell Richard Bourke, whoe, accordinge orders, tooke his course for the county of Mayo, to reduce Colonell John Bourke, alias Shean an tPleáine and the Flaherties, noe sooner arriued Richard Bourke where the said John Bourke did at present reside, and desired priuat conference with him, beinge grannted, became to treat of priuate conditions, viz. to give the said John £300 str. under bourde, yearly duringe the warrs, or life, by Clanricarde, and abstaine from all acts of hostilitie on either side, which is as to become neuter, the condition allowed and John Bourke yelded to Clanricards requests.

The
Conaght
armie dis-
tracted.
Why?
£300 pen-
sion for
infrinch-
inge his
oathe and
covenant.

408.

From thence, Richard Bourke marched towards Morough na Dua, whoe dwelte then in Aghananure. This Aghananure did belonge by some claime or other to

Clanricarde before those comotions, as was giuen out, that this Morough his father was attained, whereby this Aghananuire came to Clanricarde, but Morough na Dua, in the begininge of those comotions, obsearuinge Clanricarde to be really for the Parliament, and himself of the Irish partie for his Majestie intred possession of this his owne ancient inheritants upon the surmishe of enemie goods, and consequently, in a just warr, a lawfull prey. Now this man and Colonell Richarde Bourke in conference, for an atonment and right understandinge, promised him, on Clanricards behalfe, Aghananuire, (for how longe I noe not) and surcease to be Confederat with Owen Oneylle. Those fine, soft-waxed Conaght babies forsakes by these baites both their obedience to the clergie, and fealtie to their sworne associate, whoe are reduced, or rather traduced from Catholicke religion to heresie, without a blowe, onely by baites like fishe, fy, fy, on such men—or rather—

Interim those stageplaies were acted, the other parte of the said armies inarched to Athlone, and encamped themselues within a mile to Athlone, seuerall addresses were sent for Purcell and the readcoates to Tomon, while those are cominge, Preston with his armie did leager the towne of Athlone, on the Linster side, and did batter the same, an easie matter, an assaulte followed, on that side was very large, and onely two companies defendinge it, all Vlstermen, the castle could well asiste them in that extremitie, by its ordinance, but gaue not the leaste motion therof. The defendants most couragious behaued themselues, killed many of the assayllants: But the multitude ouercominge, intringe the towne both horse and foote, the defendants betooke themselues for the most parte to M^r. Devvnish his house, and defensible place, where makinge the same good, against all comers untill by their vallour forced quarter of both liues and armes which authentickly grannted, that parte of the towne was made suro for those athiests, usinge all inhumanitie, without exception to either freind or foe, sex, age or religion, nay did plunder, sacke, pilladge and strippe the verie nunns within their religious cloister, without remorse, scruple or conscience (though for the moste parte, of their sense and partie). After all this was don, by this gracelesse Generall Preston, he tooke his leaue, with some of the Linster forces, MacThomas, Iueagh and others with their respectiue parties of both horse and foote, apointinge Sir James Dillon gouernor of that newe conqueste. And as such, began to purge the towne (as he tearmed it), issuinge his proclamations, onely against seuerall of the Franciscan friers (as adhered to My Lord Nuncios censures, or rather such as were obseruant of their proper rule and statuts,) to banish and exile them from the said towne, as incendiaries of comon and publicke gouernment and ill willers of the house of those upstarte Dillons. The names of such fryers as were banished by him were as followeth: Fr. Anthony Dullaghan, Guardian of the Conuent of Athlone, Fr. John Coghlan, vicar, Fr. Francisse Shiell, preacher, Fr. Stephen Dally, Fr. Francisse Nangle, Fr. Laghlin Coghlan, Fr. John Tornor, and Fr. Paule Neaghtin. Those, because obseruant of their conscience, and Appostolicall rule, that they would not incurr the excommunication fulminated by both Nuncio and kingdome clergie, must be banished, and such as are irreligious, to God kinge, and nation refractorie, must continue, whose names are these, Fr. Patricke

1648.
Clanricards
right to
Aghana-
nuire, and
how did
loose the
possession.

And now
is the bribe
of perjury.

Unconstant
and wauer-
inge
Conaght
men.

409.
Preston
did leager
Athlone.

How well
the two
companies
behaued
themselves.

The inhu-
manitie of
Prestons
armie.

Sir James
Dillons un-
godly pro-
clamation.

The good
and bad
fryers.

The good
banished
and the bad
to continue.

1648. Plunkett, confessor for the nunns, Fr. James Caron, Fr. Anthony Caron, Fr. James Shiell, Fr. Laurence Dillon, Fr. John Lester, Fr. Anthony Dillon, Fr. Francis Dillon, Fr. Didacus Carrin, Fr. W^m. Costelly, those upon this score did continue.
410. I meruaylle, that Sir James Dillon did issue this soe scandalous a proclamation against clergimen, whose greate grandfather was a churcheman, prior of Kilkeny weste, of the Order of S^t. Augustine, that he should be so soone forgettfull of his obedience that way, and specially to regulars, and to be soe ob[li]uious of his proper extraction, as to persecute those, of whose vienes floweth his purest bloude and this so neere home? in this verie acte, this gentlman doe proue to be realy descended of such a stocke, such the tree, such is the fruite, for the said prior begettinge children, swarued from his rule, religion and regular obedience, and therby ioined to apostats, faithlesse and disobedient members, and in his actions shewed himself right opposit to all that was either religious, vertuous, pious or godly, therby becominge a scismathicall and withered member of Holy Churche, and a true brancho of the same bough that Martin Luther was off, what then should this gentlman doe? unlesse you did judge him, to degenerat from his said ossprunge but imitat his genitors said qualities, rendring himself to all the world, obuious, a true lawfull, and legittimat heire of that his great grandfather, as the monkie broode doe imitate the comelinesse of his proper parents, which caused Jupiter to laughe.
- Sir James Dillons genealogie.
- Qualis arbor talis fructus.
- Aesop.

CHAPTER XXIX.

411. The more eminent men are in qualitie, the more foule is the qualitie of their offence; and, therefore, as dishonorable actions are greatest blemishes in those that are honorable by bloude or profession (as gentlmen or souldiers) because, vertues are greatest imbellishments in them then in others, soe wicked and unchristian actions are most odious, unto those, that are not onely professors, but professed patrons of religion and vertue, in these dissembled hypocrisie doubleth the iniquitie—

Omne animi vitium tanto conspectius in se
Crimen habet: quanto maior qui peccat habetur.

- Purcell and his redd-coates with Clanricarde did leager Athlone. Terence Coghlane and Captain Kelly, agents or explorators.
- Clanricarde now upon the arriual of Purcell and his partie, accordinge orders (as n^o 408 touched) drewe neere home the Castle of Athlone, and seatinge himself there, he called unto him Captain John Kelly, Captain Kellys son, and Terence Coghlane of Kilcolgan, gaue them instructions and credence, and employed them towards the Catholicke Generall, residinge then in the countie of Longford, desiringe better understandinge to be conceaued betwixt them, but sure noe such matter was by him intended, onely to discouer his motion and intentions by these explorators, or whether he intended to succor Athlone. Arriuinge therefore unto the Catholicke campe to Johnstowne, the Generall was assuredly certaine that these gentlmen would proue both reall and faithfull unto him, tould them priuatly what he intended, and speciallie, that he would doubtlesse relieue Athlone or perish

in its pursuite. Those agents there dispatched, arriued to Clanricards campe where all the armies of both Monster and Conaght were before them.

Clanricarde enforminge himself of the strenght and composure of the Catholicke Generalls armie, and how intended, the same night caused the readdcoates to aduance towards the towne, and giue an attempte upon Conaght tower, beinge in his opinion, an easie taske, but were to their losse, and contrarie to their expectation, opposed and forced to retire in a grumblinge maner, thus, faylinge that nights seruice, next morninge did sende a safe conducte to Captain Thibott Gawly, then gouernor of that castle, desireinge to have 4 howers conference with him at his tente in his campe, wherupon Gawly (leaste to be noted of discourteous) presently apeered, Clanricard shewed him all the courtesie possible, and made very much of him, almost all the time limited in the said safe conducte, and the remaine was spent in other extrauagant and crosse words betweene Gawly and Taafe, of sett purpose to delude the time. Clanricarde did sende priuat intelligence unto Lieut-Generall Purcell of the sett and limited howers specified in Gawlies safe conducte, wishinge him to be vigilant in the obseruation of their martiall lawe in that behalfe, and both punctually obserued the said howers by a sun diall, and now all spent, caused an ambushe to lay in waite of Gawly betweene him and the castle, that he may be surprised, (as non protected enemy) at his returne home. Gawly neuer mistrusted Clanricards words, neither obsearued the transgressinge the quillatts of the lawe in that behalf, now highly in drinke, though sensible enoughe takeinge his leaue of Clanricarde, was tould in his eare of the foresaid projecte, wherupon addressinge himself to Clanricarde, acquaintinge him thereof, settinge fourth his confidence in his lordship that it would not proue honorable, to surprise him by a stratageme, beinge sent for by his lordship, and spendinge all the while in his owne company, and still undertakinge to savve him from any such penalties incident to the transgressors of the like nature, all this and many other such he notified in his proper behalfe to Clanricarde.

Clanricard answered that he could not helpe it, that Purcell was a stronge partie there, and himself an ould souldier, and knewe best what belonged to the lawe of armes. But seeinge, said he, that it was your fortune to fall unto this exigent, or Diuine Prouidence, rather then any humaine industrie, for better ends, soe disposinge, I would aduice you freindly, to agree, (before you andanger yourself) for the surrender of the castle, upon faire and aduantageous tearmes, and the rather you should doe it, (though such a danger as the present did not hapen) that you should not expecte noe reliefe, for Owen Oneyll haue not 500 men at present, and is goen towards the countie of Ardmagh, you see, Captain Gawly, how the world goes, be wise in time, better take me to be your freinde, then expecte his freindshipe, or fauor, whoe can noe way relieue himself. I will giue you £500 readie monie, a towne lande, duringe life free from all charges, and a troupe of horse, pointe blanke, readie for seruice, in paye, if this you doe. I will (though a hearde taske) undergoe to savve you from the present danger, that waites on you, perfectinge those conditions here now, I will send a conuoy with you to secure your person, to the castle, soe, that next morninge by eight alocke you surrender

1648.

To Owen Oneyll destined.

This opinion of them but —

412.

The redd-coates putt to chase from Conaght tower.

Captain Gawly, upon a safe conducte, came to Clanricards campe.

How maliciously used?

Clanricards treacherie by Purcells meanes or rather proper inuention.

Gawlys speech unto him reasonable.

413.

His dishonourable excuse.

His treacherous deuice.

Offer of composition.

Unchristian information.

1648. the said castle unto my hands. All this was don, and Gawly, remitted to the
Clanricards castle, spoke neuer a worde that night to any his officers or souldiers, but mightie
coacted pensiuē, tumblinge in his bed. But if wise he might lawfully and easily avoide
conditions the said couenant, as forced unto, by treacherie and crueltie, and this with a safe
for Athlone conscience too, as timor cadens in virum constantem, as guiltie, in their sense, of
and thriued. cruentall doome of martiall lawe, fallere fallentem non est fraus. Next morninge
Athlone the centrie obsearuinge which, acquainted the Captain therof, whoe comanded them
yelded. to use noe acte of hostilitie, but permitt them drawe neere home. But the
Vlster souldiers that were there, did putt themselues in posture of seruice, to oppose
the enemie, and defende the place, wherupon the Captain did threaten them, if
they did not desiste, whoe durst not acte other, then obey, goinge therfore to the
doore, takinge the keye, did carie it to Clanricarde, leadinge him to the castle, and
thus the castle was both yelded and won by treacherie and foolerie.

414. Clanricarde now in possession of Athlone castle, did comande my lord Taaffe
An armie with his Monster forces and Insichuyns horse to Ballimore, where Dillons regiment
sent to of horse, Sir Phelim Oneyll, Sir James Dillon and seuerall others of the best note
Ballimore. of factionists were with their respectiue parties, comanded seuerall troupes upon
Their the straights of the Inhy, to keepe the Catholicke Generall from passinge to
oathe there. Linster, hauinge the bodie of their armie in Balimore aforesaide, where they
swearde a publicke oathe, to make the same passage good against Owen Oneylle,
or else perish in its defence. But as practitioners of periurie, did proue noe lesse
in this, as in due place will apeare. Clanricarde himself leauinge Athlone castle
in the hands of Athunrey, (who left there a garrison of two foote companies, one
Captain John Brimingham and Captain Daly), marched with the remaine of his
Brimingham and Captain Daly in armie to the countie of Roscoman. The castle of Molanaheny, neere Roscoman,
Athlone. beinge in possession of Donogh OConor, Huigh OConors son, which Donogh, was
of Owen Oneylls partie, and caried away one night from Taaffes Monster partie,
Clanricarde to 20 horse, hauinge a garrison in this said Mole, Clanricarde aproached thither with
Motanaheny. his armie, did leager the castle. The defendants amunition by some disaster tooke
fire, therupon cryed out for quarter, which of their liues onely was grannted,
The inhu- signed by the Earle, the castle was yelded and the men came to the campe, sixteene
manitie they were in number, their said quarter notwithstandinge, by Clanricards verditt
of Clan- were all hanged, excepte one that ouer ran all the camp and went unto a bogge, and
ricarde. soe savved himself.

415. Clanricard from thence marched, towards Huigh OConors house, as suspitious
His im- of his adheringe unto the Catholicke Generall, this gentlman preuidinge his
pious and destruction, to preuente the same, did send Clanricarde authentickly his submission,
dishonor- desiringe his lordship may be pleased to grannte his further concessions of safetie
able unto him his humble suppliant, that acted nothinge preiudicious to the present
actions. gouernment, which seene and perused by Clanricarde grannted him, by the returne
of the said addresse such vailable conditions, as he pleased to penn, which don
and accepted, were allowed and confirmed by Clanricarde. All which don, the
gentlman, as confident of all saftie, and mistrustinge nothinge, went unto the
campe to salute Clanricarde, but noe sooner seene there then clapt up in

restrainte, and remitted in the nature of a prisoner unto the Castle of Roscoman, 1648. yeldinge noe other reason, ceann coguir (ceann coguis) lawe, that he must pay for the 20 horse, his sone carried away from the Monster campe; O braue and truely faithfull peere. At this verie time, OConor Roe, that waited on the Catholicke Generall in the countie of Longforde, with a kinde of a regiment, all which by odd men stole away from the campe, and followed himself now, did sende for a safe conducte unto Clanricarde, beinge willingly grannted, and sent unto him, upon whose receipte, repaired unto the campe, but noe sooner there, then comitted to safe custodie, as remitted to the Castle of Roscoman, where Huigh OConor already was, wheare they both continued upwards of half a yeare, nor in this intrim were either examined, charged of any matter, nor once tould why soe much inhumanitie: Such faithlesse actions, such abominable deedes, heathise, and unchristian treacheries, are in the most clownishe behaiour and churlish extraction, great and transcendent blemishes, what then doe you thinke they are, in soe eminent a man? a Markesse by creation, a peere of two kingdomes by indemnitie, a gentlman by descente, a Catholicke by religion, a Generall of an armie by apointment, in such, vertues are of better lustre, and imbellishment, and soe are wicked, unchristian and impious actions, more foule and dishonourable in those then in others, as not onely professors, but patrons of Catholicke religion, in those dissembled hipocrisie, doubleth the iniquitie—usquequo, Domine, etc.

The
cruelties
of Clan-
ricarde.
●

CHAPTER XXX.

In a mediocritie of fortune, men haue measured thoughts and teddered within 416. the limitts of their meane estate: But hearde it is to forejudge of those men, how Cic. de Off. they will proue in their greater prosperitie: Soe dangerous a bolus this is to be Plin. swallowed, well digested, and turned to good humor; for it filleth every veine Thucyd. . in the hearte, with a windinesse of vaine glorie, and thirstinesse after more: ouer- Tacit. Hist. flowing the bonnds of reasone, equitie, and justice. Diu sordidi repente diuites, l. 1. mutationem fortunæ male tegunt, accensis egestate, cupidinibus immoderati.

The now relicte of the Supream Councill, a lay-malignant partie, as not able to swallows, digest well or turne to good humor, their now assuminge greatnesse and conterfete prosperitie, as bred and borne in a mediocritie of fortune, should haue measured thoughts, teddered within the poore limitts of their degree and estate, but are soe farr blowen with a windinesse of vaine glorie and couetousnesse, thirstinge after more, overflowinge hereby all bonnds, of reasone, equitie and justice, contrary to all the lawes diuine and human, doe intrenche (extrauagant to their former beinge of Catholicks) upon that diuine and supream power of Catholicke religion, sendinge their orders and comannds to any their ministers in the respectiue prouinces, that shakes off the sweete and easie yoke of churche obedience, to imprisone, and keep in safe custodie, such of the clergie, as did not adhere unto them in this their Henritian malignitie, and apostasie, and misdeceave all men, what they now intende, to giue an example unto others in the disrespecte of churche and its canons doe comitte unto safe custodie (in layinge excomuni-

The
hereticall
proceedings
of the
Councill.

1648. cated hands upon churchmen) My Lord Nuncios Dean against the lawe of nations, as sent thither, as agent from both Nuncio and Nationall Congregation, and Father Paule Kinge, Lector of Divinitie and Guardian of the Franciscan monesterie of Kilkeny, and by laicall authoritie did nominate and apointe, one Fr. Peter Walshe, an apostat frier from his Order, and incapax of suche incumbencie, (a son unto a poore and beggerly channtler in the Naasse, and one Goodie N. his mother a Protestant, an English drabbe) guardian therof, what disrespekte more to church rites? neither reasone, iustice or equitie warrantringe, noe precedent can they exhibitt, onely Henry the Eight, in the first yeare of his reuolution from church obedience though inuolued, by noe other former excommunication, here by this very acte doe incurr a Papall one, contained in Bulla Cœnæ Domini, as hereafter more at large will apeere.

The Dean
and Fr.
Paule
Kinge
remitted.

Peter
Walshe his
extraction.

417. About this very time, in pursuance of the former orders, (or to indeere himself unto this malignant Councell) one Colonell Richard, then major, son unto William Bourke m^cSheane na Seamast, did aprehende the Prouinciall of the Franciscans of Ireland, by name Fr. Thomas macKiernan in Killclare, within 4 miles to Galway, actually vissittinge his friers, accordinge the lawes and statutes of his said Order, whoe soe taken, was remitted in the nature of a prisoner to Clanricarde, (as I beleeve, by the same intent that our Sauour was remitted unto Herode) but Clanricard did turne him, (with the badge of a guilty man) a mittimus unto Sir James Dillon, as another Pilate (whom I neuer knewe untill now to be of those Dillons) as knowinge this man for his consanguinitie to churchmen to keepe this prisoner in safe custodie, where he endured much trouble, by his apostat friers, Fr. Patricke Plunkett and Fr. James Caron, euery daie resortinge towards him, not for any zeale or affection, either to himself or his cause, but tentantes eum, as the Jewes with our Sauour, those onely were admitted to haue accesse unto him (as beinge in the nature of a close prisoner) to vex and trouble him, to reduce or rather seduce him (seductores illi) unto the obedience of their then corrupt gouernment. Such was don unto him in this restraints by those apostat members, that his patience was well aproued, and some way came to the knowledge of his keeper Sir James Dillon, aforesaid (not that I judge this, or other such scene could be acted without the priuitie of this generous jailour) howeuer, for his future ease, gaue a rubb unto the further frequentinge of these sathanicall instruments of tentation and diuision, to this reuerend father whoe there continued for a longe time as hereafter will apeere.

Thomas
Mac ●
Kiernan,
Provinciall,
comitted by
Richarde
His suffer-
ings in
Athlone by
Patricke
Plunkett
and James
Caron.

James
Dillons in-
humanitie.

418. In the defeate of Lincehill, amonge the rest of prisoners was the Earle of Westmeath taken (as n^o 292 mentioned,) there was noe way to enlarge the Earle, other then by the exchange of My Lord Montgumry, whoe, haue beene, the Catholicke Generalls prisoner, since the battle of Benborbe (as n^o 223 touched,) but, the Earle, onely colonell of foote, and the other Generall of horse, was noe indifferent exchange or equalitie of enlargment, accordinge martiall lawe, wherfore the composition was, that, the Supream Councell (then existinge of the Kingdome mixture, and composure) gaue Generall Oneyll, the lordship of Reban, and Athy, in morgage of £2,000, as enemie lande (though gained by himself) untill by the kingdome payed, the said summ and giue his assente to the said

Earle of
Westmeath
and Mont-
gomry.

exchange of Westmeath and Montgomry, upon those tearmes both were enlarged; now, this malignant lay parte of the said Councell, assumeinge this omnimodum authoritie unto themselues, neuer regardinge their incapacitie for this or other acts, nor the injustice of the action, as against all lawes diuine and humaine, did send their comanndes unto Diego Preston (his father, the Generall, wearie, in Killeney, after his braue seruice in Athlone of plunderinge and pillaginge of poore orphans, widowes and nunns) to leager Athy, and take it from the hands of Generall Neyll, and soe defeate him of both prisoner, money and morgage, contrarie to the lawe of iustice, honestie, promise, oath, or what other religious obligation soeuer, of contractors.

Diego therefore, in obedience to the said mandat, marched thither with 5 or 6 regiments of foote and two of horse, about the last of July 1648, did besiege the towne on one side, the defendants in spite of his nose, did demolishe that parte of the towne betweene which and the castle did run the riuer Berowe in one intire bed, the bridge thereupon was broken by the said defendants, two foote companies onely they were. A stone house of a storie and halfe high was at the end of the said bridge on the campe side, and a greate ouen that Generall Neyll builded for amunition breade, was contiguume unto the said house, this house was maned by Captain Shean OHagan, gouernor of the towne and castle for the Catholicke Generall; The assaylants planted their ordinance against the said house and ouen, as beinge a blocke in their way, hinderinge the castle baterie, nor the said house could be much anoyed, without they first bater the ouen, as prime objecte unto the ordinance, to put this therefore out of the way, did discharge, with full leuell 18 shotts of greate ordinance against the ouen, but to noe purpose, as therby nothinge anoyed. The assaylants obsearuinge how illusive and vaine their labour had proued, and that the defendants of the said house did verie often issue, to the assayllants mightie preiudice, they with maine force, gaue an assaulte upon the house and ouen, not thereby intendinge to possesse them, but to scale a stronge sconce neere the walle, to blocke them up, and hinder thereby future salies and incursions. In this thriued so well, that they enioyed their desire in that behalfe then began to undermine the ouen wall, to leaue therein a ferkin of powder, and therby to blowe both ouen, house, and deffendants; but while they were thus intended, the defendants weré not idle within, (though not in counter-mine) yett makeinge spiks through the wall, which they finished at the same instante that the assaylants placed their ferkin of powder in the said meine, beinge not deepe enough, nor coueringe, or stoppinge it without side, the defendants began to play on them, through their new spikes made them understande, by the losse of bloude, that bulletts may passe a bricke walle. But the assayllants desirous to trie their meine effecte, gaue fire to the powder, which insteede of doinge hurte unto either buildinge or deffendants, did turne its force, unto the faces of the conthriuers, wherby, those that did not there perish, were signed for either fooles or slaues, and deserted the place, the defendants with greate courage, raisinge a huge cry and laughter, followed with fire and sword, forcinge them to forsake their sconces soe neere home, and beinge possessors thereof did burne and rase the same. This peece of seruice did highly dannte the assayllants and encourage the deffendants.

1648.
The coven-
ant and
morgage of
Athy.

Now
against all
lawes.

419.
Diego
Preston
doe leager
Athy.

Generall
Neylls ouen
its force.

Wise under
miners.

How
thriued.

Signed as
slaues.

The
courage of
the deffen-
dants.

1648.

CHAPTER XXXI.

420.
Plut. Re.
Cic. ad
Fratrem.
Sueto. fol.
126. in
Calig.
Senec. Suas.

Noble and generous spirits strive as much not to be overcome in courtesie, as the valiant and courageous not to be overthrowne in combat. Hence it is, that nothinge more obligeth the promiser to an unfeyned and free performance, then the free and confident assurance, which the promittee professeth to haue in the worde and offer made him; whereas on the contrary many haue taught others to deceaue, while they haue appeared too fearfull and jealous of beinge deceaued.

Qui timet amicum, vim non nouit nominis.

A poast
sent for
General
ONeyll

The gouernor of Athy did send a poaste to the Catholicke Generall residinge then in the countie of Longforde for reliefe, this poaste thither arriuinge, the Generall made himselfe readie for jorney to Athy. Taaffe, Dillon, Sir Phelim ONeylle, Sir James Dillon, and seuerall other comannders, with 3 regiments of horse, were in Balimore, all the passages of the Inhy guarded and made sure, as they thought, all, both comannder and other, sworne to make that passage good or perish in its defence (as aboue mentioned). The Catholicke Generall marcheinge towards the Inhy, upon whose sight all passadges were left naked, that he might passe without controlment, and the keepers retired to Balimore, as the chiefe place to acte a bloudie scene, accordinge oath, the Generall would passe noe other way then Balimore, as enformed of the said oath to try whether nowe or neuer they did proue true voters, marching in sight of Ballimore, at Shinlish, obsearuinge the multitude of men, was sure of battle, orderinge therefore his men in battle-araye marched with a goodly pace, whom, when those apostats from Catholicke religion espied did set spurs to their horses and ran away with all possible spide the way towards Baskny-arde. The Generall obsearuinge their sudaine and unexpected behauiour, did comannde some of his horse to followe and discouer the enemie motion, as fully perswaded that they had their foote in that vally, and dissemblinge that flight, to drawe him: the horse did gallope away, accordinge orders, and not by the enemie discouered, untill upon a hillocke, under whose foote in a vally was all the horse of that excommunicated crue, this Vlster horse noe sooner seene by them, then euery one began to saue himselfe the best they could, by the swiftnesse of their steedes, some the next way to Curkneagh, others the way of Mollinmichan, others to Knocastie waye, and from this towards the barony of Clunlonan, there you might see six horse of the Catholicke Generall pursuinge foure troupes, two horse, pursuinge two troupes, nay one trouper for two or three miles pursuinge 20 horse, none of these Censurists once offered to make a stande, if not for the Generalls comannde of not killinge other then in proper defence, they would like lambs massacre them. Soe embecile and cowarde they were, the verie troupers that pursued them did very often refresh their memories with their former oath at Balimore, crying after them, tary, tary, stand, stand, remember your oath to make good the passage, remember allsoe your oathe, to the hazard of your life to oppose Generall Neylle, here he is opposinge your Cessation and malignant Councell, what now? in soe shorte a time soe forgettfull? soe periurous? is this the honor of noblnen and gentlmen caualliers? to swear

Arriuinge
to Bali-
more.

The apos-
tats doe
flye.

The
Generalls
souldierlike
opinion.

In seuerall
wayes they
fly.

an oathe soe officiously with such ceremonies, soe publickly attested, by proclamations in printe or authenticke manuscripte, to bringe heauen and earth to beare testimonie of your seuerall and manifould attestations, and neuer yet complied with any? O braue Warriours, the Catholicke troupers crying all these and many more opprobrious (though true) words in their eares, were not of force once to make a stand, or looke after, to see how many did pursue: a Licut-colonell of horse of Insichuyns partie was there taken prisoner, a retraite sounded, the Catholicke armie came to a bodie, and marched that night to Kinaleagh, the barony of Moycashell. How well this excommunicated crue did comly with their last oathe! fy—fy!

1648.

Colonell of horse of Insichuynes taken prisoner.

Next morninge the Catholicke armie marched to Clonnagawny, where the petty garrison that was there, by My Lord of Clanmaliries apointment, did from the castle in bulletts shoute the forlorne hope of this Catholicke armie; the Generall herof aduertised mightie sensible of such an affronte offered (whereas he intended to offer none), did promise to demolishe the said castle, and to that purpose caused the bodie of his armie to marche thither. But My Ladie of Clanmalirie, cominge unto him in a most submissive maner, and verie suppliant upon her kneese, desired to be forborne, the rather that what was don was not by either lord or ladies comande, but rather poore ignorant people, out of their proper humour, not knowinge the consequence of such a busines, misbehaued themselues. The Generall desired these verie men in satisfaction of their transgression, My Ladie preyayed with the Generall, and had her requeste obtained, which was, that both towne and offenders were pardoned. But gave the Viscounte of Clanmalirie the worst language he could affoorde, tellinge my ladie her husbände was a base clowne, degeneratinge from all his name, in estimation of the malignant parte of Supreme Councell, was noe better then a pettie clarke, forcinge poore illiterate and innocent people to sweare their deuillish and hereticall oathe, that they neuer thought to imploy him in any honorable incumbencie, but in such irreligious, base, meccanicall, and supreamall oathe. The conclusion of those premisses did end in beare and aquavitæ, which done, and the ladie verie thankfull, the Generall tooke his leave.

421.

Clanmalirie how behaued himself.

Bad language.

The Catholicke armie now marched forward to Portnahensie, to arriue that night to Athy, and beate yonge Preston from the towne before he was aware of any such matter. But such a floude was then in the Berowe, that the natiues of them parts neuer (at any time of the yeare) sawe the like. All the cotts were shelltred by Clanmalirie and Captain Bernaby Dempsie, whose sent worde unto Diego Preston of Generall Neylls arriuall thither to reliue Athy, which was the cause that Diego stole away by night, and not as was giuen out, that his father did send him orders to raise the siedge, as enformed how the meine thriued, and not to expecte there the transfiguration of our Sauidour, which proued ominous unto him in Linchill; howeuer, he parted the caue of the transfiguration for want of the said cotts. The Catholicke armie continued there two nights, but seeinge the floude did continue greate, they made a shifte to wade ouer. The Generall did cause a greate oake, that from side to side couered the maine riuer, to be cutt, hauinge some caldrons, tyinge rope and whitte to either end thereof; upon the oke

422.

Clanmalirie and Bernaby Dempsie crost.

1648. and those caldrons all the armie, amountinge to 9 or 10,000 men, both man, woman, and garrsone did passe over the riuer, and non of the whole number
A miracle. miscaried but one ould woman (and the same by timeritie), which I take rather a miracle then any humaine industrie or dexteritie; wett both horse and man as they were, marched that night within a mile and a halfe to Athy, where he pitched his campe.

423. Diego Preston raisinge the siede, as aforesaid, his haste was such, that he neuer remembered to send order unto those employed in the sconces, or other centries, nay, those that were a sleepe in the campe, and many of the shuttlers remained, neuer knowinge of his departure, nor he aduertisinge them therof untill two howers at leaste after he was away; then some followed, and others did not. When Captain Shean OHagan, as a watchfull chieftaine, obsearued noe motion in the campe or trenches, he issued out with a choice company of musketires, cominge to the trenches, founde some asleepe and other awake, ceasinge on all, examininge what they were, of what province or partie; such as he founde asleepe he hanged for not complyinge with their dutie, as many Vlstermen as he founde amonge them he hanged, as fightinge against their owne people, religion, and contrimen, but the Linster men he pardoned, alleadginge they fought, whether right or wronge, in the behalf of their owne people and province, and the same daie enlarged them without ransome; goinge forwarde to the campe, founde there onely some country shuttlers, butchers, and poore people, gott some prouision and armes, and thus returned victorious home. And thus Diego Preston did raise his siede of Athy, the 5th of Aug., 1648, and thrived as aforesaid.

424. That all censer Catholicke, and all and singular indifferent judge may beare testimonie of the malice and iniquitie of this malignant Councell and its ministers towards Catholicke religion and all its adherents, nay, against Royaltie (though their lipps doe whisper nothings else then Kinge, Kinge), what a letter they wrote from this verie campe, you may peruse directed to Colonell Johns, Gouvernor of Dublin and all Linster for the Parliament, against Owen ONeylle and his abettors, which are onely the clergie, which tenor is as followeth, de verbo ad verbum.

Sir,

A letter
fraught
with trea-
son and
faction,
knaury
and per-
iurie.

Letters have been intercepted, which begetts in us a just suspition of your correspondencie with Owen ONeylle and his partie, which brought the British nation to their now sadd condition, and whose purposes unto themselves, at the end of this totall subuersion and ruyne, which beinge made manifeste unto us, wee haue taken armes to reduce him and his adherents. Sir, we are of opinion noe true-hearted Englishman, or any of that extraction, will joine with such a partie against us, whose intentions neuer swarued from mantaininge and submittinge unto the Gouverment his proceedings and intentions soe well knowen to be auersee unto that end, that the best and most of the same extraction with himself doe abominate him and his actions, and are as actiue as any towards his reducement. If, through your joininge or compliance with him, our partie may be preiudiced, you will therby certainly hasten your owne and our destruction, both which wee doubt preuented by your admittinge of a timely conference with such as wee shall imploy,

wherby you may be acertaind to deriue unto your partie more aduantage then 1648.
may be expected from soe false and perfidious a man as he is. Your speedie answer
here is expected, by your seruants.

From the campe, neere Athy, the last of Iuly, 1648.

Trimlettstowne.	Iveagh.	James Preston.	Pierce Buttler.
John Dowgan.	Dillon.	Richard Barnwalle.	Gerrot Walle.
	Robt. Thalbot.	Thomas Preston.	Slane.
	Pierce Fitz Gerald.	Thomas Esmonde.	Luke FitzGerald.

Copia uera : Anthony Geoghegan, Prothonotarius Apostolicus.

I am verily perswaded there is noe angelicall witt as void of all corruption that did genuinely peruse this letter, but did conceaue the authors totally for the Parliament of England, which they doe to the viewe of the world acknowledge themselues, in sayinge they neuer swarued from the gouernment in maintaininge and submittinge unto the same, it is true, if they meane by the worde Parliament that branche of it called Presbyterian faction, for whom they haue hitherunto sweated; but the Independencie is another branche, wherof is Colonell Iohns oppositt unto the former. Though they declare themselues in generall tearmes to be for the Gouerment, which is intended the Parliament, otherwise to noe purpose they make mentione in this bragginge maner of it to Iohns, but descendinge to particulars, of those two branches, it is impossible to be plyant to both (as not agreeinge amonge themselues), notwithstandinge they tearme his destruction and their owne one and the same indiuisible thinge; they edge him on, baptizinge him and themselues with that title of Englishmen, British nation, or English extraction. There is neuer a kingdome under the cope of heauen but haue for a sett rule and custome, that he that is borne or educated in a kingdome or place but is nominated from thence, as our Sauour is called from Bethlem or Capharnaum, where he was both borne and educated. Iuit in civitatem suam, said the euangeliste, and is reputed a natiue of that kingdome or countrie where he was borne (except a statute lawe in some kingdomes to the contrarie, against slaues, bondmen, etc.). It is true that some Acts were conceaued in both England and Ireland tendinge to the disparagment of the Irish nation, that noe Irishman, borne in Ireland, should be capable of any ciuill or martiall office under the Kings dominions. In vertue of this acte, many ladies and gentlwomen of qualitie went for England to be there delivered, therby to quaishe the said incapacitie as Englishmen borne, as the now Earle of Ormond, Castlhauen, and seuerall others, to be reputed Englishmen by reason of their said birth, though Irishmen by descente and education. This beinge soe, why should such as are onely borne in Ireland, by the succession of many ages, 200, 300, and 400 yeares, and now heard upon 500 years others, call themselues Englishmen? Those doe finde faulte with any Irish that did make or conceaue any difference or distinction betweene them and the ancient Irish, in all other acts, and in all other kingdomes they call themselues Irishmen, but in the present addresse you see what they call themselues. To examen here particularly the veritie of their assertion : As the prime familie of all

425.
An exposition of this letter.

Customs of nations.

Acts contrary to Irishmen or [those] so reputed.

426. .

1648. Had noe opposition, though the factionists gaue out the contrarie by publicke instrument.

437. Clanricards intente towards My Lord Nuncio. £3000 from the town.

The false gassetts and perjurous attestations of the factionists.

The Catholicke Generalls true intimation, contrarie unto the former.

Those are over, come by proper sensualitie, and other brutall passions.

the said contributione. However, the army marchinge from thence, Buttler was caried in the nature of a prisoner, where euer this armie then marched, had not the leaste opposition. Insichuynes, the onely man to giue it, was at present too weake against this armie, his beinge distracted, some with himself, and other some in Conaght as aboue mentioned, n^o. [blank]

At this verie time Clanricarde did leaguer Galway for noe other matter or intent but to haue My Lord Nuncio come to his owne hands, to haue his Lordship executed, in bondage, or to remitte him to the Parliament, but enformed of the Catholicke Generalls behauour in Monster, and fearinge would marche towards Conaght, and soe to relieue Galway, he craftiely did condition with the towne, and would raise the siedge; £3000 they gaue him, and soe raised the siedge, not in order of complianse of his said couenante (as neuer yett experimentinge in proper acte, the obseruation of either condition or couenant in martiall lawe), but fearinge the Catholicke Generalls arriuall thither, as aforesaide. The siedge therfore of Galway raised, Insichuynes, not of power to shewe his face against the Catholicke Generall, by reason of the distraction of his armie, as aforesaid, now not usfull in Conaght, did send for his partie thither, but not of power or courage to wade ouer the Shanon, the Catholicke Generall beinge verie stronge in bothe the countie of Tipprary and Limbricke; notwithstandinge this weaknesse of Insichuynes, the factionists did falsely brute by manie gassetts, both printe and manuscrite, secondinge the same with more then heathize oaths (wherof I am an eye wittnesse meself) that Insichuynes did route all the Catholicke armie, tooke his bagage, amunition, and field peeces, and Generall Neylle now did sticke unto a 100 foote onely. All the remaine of his armie did dayly flocke unto the Linster Generall; seuerall of theire prime comannders, and such in whom I had heretofore reposed some confidence of religion and honestie, did auer and swere the former intimation unto me owne self. But soone after questioninge Generall Neylle of the veritie of this subiecte, did sweare unto me, as a Catholicke and gentleman, that he neuer sawe Insichuynes since he marched to Monster, nor came within 10 miles to his armie, but one night came in person with 30 horse to giue an alarum in the campe, but discouered by some of the cintenells and poastes, followed him soe close that he narrowly escaped and went to his owne campe. And though at the instant ten miles from ours (said the Generall) remoued and went soe many more, and wisly, for the armie was timely next morninge in the same place, from whence he remoued, and neuer after either apered or was neered unto our campe then 20 miles—hitherto the Catholicke Generalls relation, which doubtlesse is true; wherby you may conceaue the deuillish invention of those leisinge spiritts, how they made it an arte to sell such rotten ware under the vizarde of truth and honestie, to deceaue and seduce poor inocent people; such are ouercome by theire proper passion, and therby lost the inward hould they some time enjoyed of pure affection, which renders them captiues of proper frayltie and sensualitie. But our Catholicke Generall may well recouer his losse and honor (if by those cycophants any thinge impaired) as still hauinge the same hearte and courage as at first, therby ouercominge in himself what passions or sensualities may oppose or contradicte the free judgment of pious and censer affections, which doe euer and

now aduice him to unmaske all blinde guides and to looke to that course which is most for his honor and saftie. 1648.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

PERFIDIOUS violation of oathe and couenante is as damnable as atheisme (if not more), because it willfully and wittingly abuseth and scorneth that dietie, which it necessarily, though unwillingly, acknowledged. But when it is accompanied with unnaturall lust and unhumane crueltie, hell hath not a fitt name, nor the world a sufficient punishment for it.

In prolem dilata ruunt periuria patris,
Et pœnam merito filius ore luit.

Preston, Generall and member of this malignant lay partie of the Councill, hauinge the Catholicke Generall out of his way, pipes out of his nuke, from his sanctuarie of Kinagh church in Kilkeny (the neerest the church the furthest from God, in him verified), to diuerte Generall Neyle, marched with his schismaticall armie towards Ballinakill in Leyse, where he continued for 3 weekes, impouerishinge all that contry, omittinge noe acte of hostilitie towards his owne Confederats, except the killinge of men, preyed, plundered, and pilladged all where he or his did goe unto; to shewe his power, uente his uenome, and exhibitte unto the worlds viewe the impious rankor of his cankred brest, did sende Colonell Walle with 1500 foote and 5 or 6 troupes of horse to Stradbally, seauen miles thence) wheare was none dwelling at present, but two poore men that depended on the fryers, for the pouertie and scarcitie of the countrie, noe fryer liued there, onely one Fr. Paule Geoghegan and Fr. James Geoghegan, whoe onely liued most beggerly like poore hermits, by the benefitt of a litle pease crope, garden, and poltrie, and all by proper industrie. Generall Preston enformed that those poore fryers did obeye the Lord Nuncio and clergie Congregations excommunication, and that such were the fryers there inhabitinge of the ancient Irish, thought himself not soe secure, untill assured of that monesterie by the exile or reducement of the said friers (against weake and imbecile people euer displays his colours), the troupes of that partie, as a forlorne hope, arriued to Stradbally, in a hostile maner ran upon the said friers geese, beinge all their cattle, and killed them all, to the number of 24 or 30. Fr. James hapninge to walke abroad as fearinge nothings, obsearuinge the misbehaiour of the trouper, could not preuaile to perswade them to the contrary; the other friers within ouerhearinge the voice as of some tumult abroad, and seeinge the rasinge of horses to and fro, with pistles and swords readie, and killinge onely geese (Fr. James, as aforesaid, walkinge in his proper weede amonge them, without any hurte don to his person) conceaunge them, by their behaiour, to be of Preston's armie, notwithstandinge, as deboiste, and may be without any comannder at present to crubb their further misdemeanor, offered to shutt the gate that they shoulde not inter, untill

438.
Bod. Rep.
l. 5.
Juven. Sat.
13.
Menander.
Arist.
Plut. ad
Alexand.
Claud.
in Curet.
Preston
tooke sanctuarie, if the lawe obserued as in Catholicke contries: that did not doe as beinge a traytor.
His power euer in distruction of poore men.
I mean Preston.
The condition of the poore friers of Stradbally in Leyse.

1648. O bloudie and cruell tiger. some comannder apeere ; butt a trouper of Captain Pierce Buttler, Galmoyes son and heire, cominge to the gate with his pistle spanded, did sweare he would kill the said father, unlesse he presently did open the gate ; the frier perswaded him to patience, promised to doe noe mischeife, cominge in by permittance upon that ciuill score, havinge one foote within, contrarie to his oath and promise, tooke his pistle by the boare of the barrell, offers to giue a maine blowe at the ould friers heade, whoe withdrewe himself a litle, and liftinge his hande to garde the heade from the violence and force therof, wounded him in the lift hande unto the verie bone, wherof issued bloude in abondance ; but in the said trouper was noe remorse of conscience, or the least pittie to the poore ould frier, rather instantly leppinge unto the orcharde, not onely fell downe the fruite, though not then mature or in season, but industriously brake downe the very boughs. The poore frier aforesaid, offered him to send some of his servants to bringe the fruite unto him in a ciuill way, by the garden doore ; whoe answered, swearinge a greate oathe, that if he did not auoide the place, would as willinglie kill him as a chickinn, and be confedent, said he, all the partie will be in this same place within an hower.
439. Faire wordes but abominable deedes. False promiser and worse compli-ance. The Vlster souldiers feare of beinge excommunicated. The temeritie of this other. Gods just judgment against this man, whoe desperatly died. The foote now arriuinge, the ould Fr. Paule, hopinge to haue some indifferencie there, applyed himself to the colonell, whoe gaue him verie good language and good hopes, as well to punish all former misbehaviour as to secure for the future, and leaste any such were offered, he promised to encampe abroade in the fields ; with this securitie desired the ould frier to content himself, and withdrew his person unto his monesteric, which very thankfull did obey ; but noe sooner within the walls, then all the whole partie came pell mell unto the outside bawon, to the garden and orcharde, and there snatched like devowringe, wild men, or rather beastes, all they hitted upon, and some for meere spitte pulled the verie hearbes by the roote, castinge it unto sincks and dunghills, others hurlinge with the heivves, such a hoise and noise they raised (as the Jewes at our Sauiors passion) as was admirable. Ould Fr. Paule, goinge amonge them to the garden and seeinge what they did, without the leaste opposition of comannder, was rapt in admiration, and hauinge not the courage to hinder any thinge (theire exorbitancie did growe to such a height), but tooke notice of a fewe foraigne beance he had in the garden, beinge of extraordinarie breathe and lenght, wherof was verie tender, now seeinge the souldiers pullinge the same altogether, ran after them, cursinge and banninge them against euery graine therof ; one Vlsterman that was amonge them, turninge to the said frier and offred him what he caried of the said beance ; the frier denied to receaue it ; nor I, said the souldier, with soe many curses and anathems ; another souldier, ouerhearinge what passed, turned backe and said, swearinge a great oath, I doe not care for your curses more then one beane, therefore, upon the same score and rate as my owne, I will haue this other ; which condition was accepted of both parties. But marke the just judgment of God against this souldier and blasphemous Catholicke. Two Captains came next morninge unto the ould Fr. Paule, and swcared unto him that this verie souldier that caried this double portion of the beance, offeringe to eate one onely graine therof, was chocked by the verie first, not able to utter other worde then a greate oathe, and soe died

(in what state this man was in you may guesse), to the noe small admiration of the behoulders ; wherupon such as did not eate their share did gather it to one bulke to restore it to the ould frier, and non durst taste of it after. 1648.

All the whole partie made their seuerall quarters in the garden, orcharde, and chaple, then the Colonell comanded the said Fr. Paule to be called for, whose aperinge, told him that it was conceaued necessarie for their saftie to haue their amunition within the monesterie, and some musketires to waite upon it. The frier answered that he would undertake to garde the same without any such partie to enter his monesterie, whose unchristianly alreadie abused his person and the imunitie of Holy Church; but, said the frier, if you please (and that you will not accept of any engagement for the securinge of your amunition) I will admitt both amunition and some of your chiefe comannders and yourself too to my monesterie, which I conceaue more ciuill and safe then otherwise ; but to admitte unto my monesterie such rable of men, of whose belife I am not sure, but to my smarte and losse haue had a tryall of their infidelitie. The Colonell, seeinge the fryers resolution, and that he could not be altered, drew out from his budgett Generall Prestons order to secure the monesterie for themselues, and if the fryers, said he, will oppose, use them like enemies : this was the summ of these orders, and signed Thomas Preston. You see, said the Colonell, what orders we haue, and though much is don, and you highly complaine, our warrant did impower us for much more, wherefore be pleased therto, or wee must, though hapily against our stamacke, putt the former in execution. The fryer desired to be at libertie to goe in unto his monesterie, and would answer them there, as in saftie, but was not, rather threatned to be remitted unto the generall, and to force intrance by fringe or breakinge the doore. Some freindly Captains there, more humane then the rest, brought the matter to an atonment, viz. that 12 musketires, with Leutenant-Colonell Synott, should inter the monesterie to garde the amunition duringe the parties aboade there, and then leaue the monesterie to the said fryers ; and in the interim none to inter but those onely, and those same or others to acte or comitte any trespasse, either within or without, in preiudice of any thinge or things that concerned the fryers, and to giue satisfaction in what was paste ; to all this the comannders and officers had sworne.

440.
The Colonell and Fr. Paules conference for the admittance of souldiers to his Abby.

Prestons impious order against the iminitie of Holy Church.

The fryers quarter swared, but not complied with.

In vertue of those conditions the gate was made open by ould Fr. Paule, wherunto they ran in heapes, and soe numerous that noe force of the said fryers was sufficient to hinder the multitude to inter, nor any comannder did euer offer to giue them the leaste rubb, though soe recently sworne to the contrary (such a habitt they made of periurie that they make not the leaste scruple of it, but is as comon amonge those treacherous factionists as to eate breade) ; hauinge now intred, and possessinge themselues of the house, they were as farr from complyinge with the said oath and couenant as he that never sawe it ; they must haue the gate open for the whole partie to come and goe at pleasure, did manage all things themselues, nothinge had the fryers to looke unto. Some did place themselues in the garden, others in the chaple, others in the mille, six seuerall fires had they in the chaple, like Turks and Pagans abused that sanctuarie, burninge the rooffe of the chaple, hauinge sufficient fewell beside at comannde, used the holy alter stone (though

441.

Periurie as comon with the factionists as to eate breade.

This is all the abomination that the very Turke could doe in such an occasion.

1648. covered with cloath to disdeceane the ignorant) as whett stones; nay, used the uerie alter insteede of both chamber pott and close stoole; as for the mill, though scrucible for themselues (duringe theire aboade there), burned the through, broke the kievve, demolished the house, and broke the water course in seuerall places, that it should not be usfull for the fryers; the garden and litle crope the fryer had was demolished, but what Captain Richard Geoghegan did by much toyle and labour defende: thus perfidiously haue they continued for 48 howers. Lieut.-Colonell Synott, insteede of preseruinge accordinge his oath, each hower did sweare he would remitte the said fryers to Kilkeny prisoners, for not admittinge him and his to masse (which was farr from the said fryers thought); ould Paule tould them openly he would rather admitte the grande Turke. The very morninge they marched away, two Captains and a Lieutenant came to Fryer Paule to take their leaue of him, deposed upon oathe that 500 of their men were wantinge since they arriued thither, whether all deade or what else became of them did not knowe, but sure, saide they, a world of them died; we haue now in our marche, said they, a captain caryinge his owne colours, neuer a souldier with him; another Captain with one onely man, some with 5, others with 12, and soe consequently that wee lost 500. S. Francis, said the Captains, is offended with this partie. God deffende us from his indignation, and doe desire you to be a mediator betweene us and him, and doe promise you by the first offered oportunitie to forsake them and their principles. The Colonell, contrary to his former oath, at his marche left 12 souldiers and a serjant for garrison in the monesterie; those, with the bodie of their armie and Generall, marched to leager Athy, as his son had don formerly.
442. Marchinge therefore to Athy, Woodstocke, where Doctor Owen Shiell did dwelle in their waie, made halte before the castle, and planted their ordinance in sight therof, a trumpeter was comanded with summons to the doctors wife (the doctor himself not there then), by name Catherin Tyrrell, ould Captain Tyrrells daughter, that she should surrender the said castle unto the Generall and would haue for quarter all that belonged unto her, within and abroade, without touche, and that the same castle would be restored unto her presently to liue in quietly, or such another at pleasure: this had beene the summ of his summons.
- Reiected. The gentlewoman answered that she neuer thought to betraye the trust reposed in her by Generall Neylle, in surrenderinge his castle to hisemie; this answer nothinge satisfactorie to Preston, he comanded the trumpeter the seconde time, desiringe a promise of its surrender upon the takinge of Athy. The gentlwoman briefly answered that before or after the takinge of Athy, would neuer gett her castle, other then by maine force. But not satisfied, must try the third time by another way. He comanded 3 Captains, such as he conceaued to be well wishers to both herself and her husbände, to perswade her for the surrender of her castle, but she, a most constant and generous woman, will not be perswaded away. The Captains returned to the Generall, rendringe an accounte of what passed, but he must trye the 4th; he writes her a kinde letter, settinge fourth his tender care of her saftie, and desired her to condescende unto his former conditions, as to her honorable and advantagious, desired allsoe her answer in writinge by a proper messenger (euery man would judge the same letter to be sufficient safe conducte).
- I.t.-colonell Synott, O braue instrument of per- iurie!
- Obserue the mira- cle, and Gods in- dignation.
- Cath. Tyr- rell, Dr. Shiells wife: Prestons offer unto her.
- Second time at- tempted: reiected.
- 3 attempt- ed.
- Reiected.
- 4ly, by a letter, at- tempted.

The gentlwoman penninge a shorte and rounde answere, desiringe him not to spare her, though neuer a man in the castle; but women and such heapes of stones as is here, would neuer surrender the same unto the uttermost tryall. With this letter (accordinge Prestons proper direction, in his said addresse), she sent a yonge man, by name Huigh Shiell, a nephewe unto the doctor, which letter noe sooner perused, then caused the bearer to be aprehended, and two carrs to be brought in sight of the castle, and sent a trumpeter to tell Mrs. Shiell that the Generall did sweare to hange the younge man, carier of her former resulte, unlesse she surrender the castle, whoe sent him this answere, that if he proved soe base and tyranicall as to execute such a man, sent as messenger from one enemie unto another, and by the consent of both, a thinge soe palpable against the lawes of both nation and armes, she would neuer ransom him at soe deere a rate, as therby to become a traytor and perfidious unto him that did repose his trust in her to keepe that house; nay, said she, tell the Generall from me, upon my credit, I sweare, if my very husband, and all the children I bore him, were to be hanged upon such a score, I would not hinder it, as beinge more tender of their good name then of their liues, as tainted with the ugly staine and character of treason and perfidie, complyinge with his desire. Preston herof enformed, madd angrie, did now in good earnest sweare he would hange the young man; the provost martiall was comanded to doe his office, the yong man on his kneese was comanded to ascende. But the major officers and comannders perswaded this cruell and tiranicall Generall to diswade from such a tragicall scene, that they could not brooke such inhumanitie, against the lawes of nation and armes. By this the execution was hindred, but the yong man, faste bounde like a malefactor, was guarded, and thus marched with the armie to Athy.

When Generall Neylle was here last (as no. 431 mentioned), left 4 foote companies; Captain Iohn Hagan, the Gouernors company; Captain Con Roe Oneylls company; Captain Daniell Ma Cana, and Captain Daniell OMellan; this last was left in Ballilehan, Ouentons Castle, by orders of the Gouernor of Athy, burned Ballilehan and brought his company unto Athy. Captain Con Oneylle did garde the monester of the fryers preachers of S. Dominicks Order, all which mounted to the matter of 200 souldiers. Thither now arriued Preston with his armie, plants his ordinance (with losse of men) against the castle, and directly against the staire case. Captain Hagans companie was in the castle, their couragious Captain did seuerall times issue unto the enemie to their mightie preiudice, and did beate him out of his verie sconces, himself receauinge noe hurte; the ordinance made a greate breache in soe much that none could either ascende or descende by the staire. Captain Hagan therby nothinge discouraged, made ladders from eache storie unto another, and in spite of the ordinance did stoppe the respectiue breaches with wolle, hides, stanes, and other such traissie, as supporters soe well knitt together, that they thought themselves safe enough there by that inuention, and soe proued. 18 shotts were discharged that way, they could not leuell lesse then a storie high aboue gronde, how greate soe euer the breache might be the enemie could not assaile it, the riuer beinge betweene him and it. Preston consideringe his labour lost, remoued his ordinance on the same side of the riuer as formerly, and planted

1648.

By a brave resolution reiected.

The crueltie and inhumanitie of Preston.

More then a womans courage.

O poore sickbrained Prestone.

443.

Captain Hagans courage.

The breache.

What Captain Hagan did acte against them.

1648.
A dis-
patche sent
for a reliefe.

it against S. Dominicks monesterie. When the Gouvernor, Captain Hagan, obsearued the enemie addressinge himself against the monesterie, he comanded present dispatches to the Catholick Generall, residinge then in Monster, for reliefe. The Generall, upon receipte of those dispatches, did send the matter of 200 foote by the noble and venterous sparke, Phelim mc Tuhill Oneylle, whom we leaue cominge to Reban and speake of Preston.

444.
The or-
dinance
against the
monestery.

A crosse
planted in
the steeple
by Fr. Tho.
Briming-
ham.

What doe
Preston
with the
crosse ?

How well
Preston
improved
in religion,
his opinion
of the
crosse.

Costillagh
became
gunner.

His joy for
killing
fryers and
breakinge
the crosse.

The Priors
attestation
touchinge
this pointe.

Preston now plantinge his ordinance against the holy monesterie, Fr. Thomas Brimingham, prior of that monesterie, a most reall and constant religious man, obsearuinge it, callinge all his fryers and souldiers to prayer in his chaple, which finished, caried a greate tough crosse with him up staires, and planted it on the highest place of the steeple wall, which don descended towards his souldiers, encouraged them. Your cause is just, God is obliged to helpe and asiste you, and I assure you, said he, as I am a religious man, your aduersaries will not win this place at this time; by these and such others speeches they were mightie comforted and encouraged. The ordinance now planted and charged. Some bodie came to Preston and tould him that a crosse was newly planted in toppe of the monesterie steeple, takinge a perspectiue glasse was therof confirmed; then swearinge a greate oath, said that theire charmes would not auayle them. This man halfe a yeare agoe was reputed a good Catholicke, but that holy roode by whom all mankinde was deliuered from the iawes of hell and hellish power, exemplare of the present, Preston doe giue it noe better epitome then charmes or witchcrafte, which the rankest hereticke that euer yett blasphemed against it, could not in t[r]iple voice ascende higher in its dispargment. Did not therefore Preston improue well in his religion this halfe yeare? that he willfully and wittingly abusethe and scorneth that dietie which he necessarily, though unwillingly, acknowledgeth. The ordinance mounted and charged, My Lord of Costillagh desired the Generall (seeinge the gunner did not aime aright either at monesterie or steeple, which I belieue was don of industrie), that he should leuell the gunn against the said crosse, and discharge one shott, and did undertake to breake the same downe, which was freely grannted, pursuant to his desire discharged, and the bullette did hitt within 4 foote to the crosse, and broke a litle gape in the battlment. This newe gunner Costillagh was soe extreame joyfull of this acte, that he cryed out aloude, swearinge a greate oathe that he killed with that shott 6 or 7 friers that stooode on the battlment, broke the crosse, and the rest of the multitude that stood there either were killed at present or violently tumbled downe; such smilinges and joylitie did those athiests shewe for the killinge of those poore and inoxious religious men, as if a greate defeate they had giuen the enemie. But sure there was none such don, for I examined the Prior meself concerninge that case, and did depose upon oathe, that since the time he plannted the crosse there, untill the said siedege was raised, neither fryer or souldier did mounte the battlment, neither did that shott (soe much bragged off) or any other before or after, breake or hitt the crosse, or came neerer then 4 foote unto it, all which I sawe and examined meself after to be true, for the said crosse remained in the self same place untouched, at leaste untill the next followinge yeare. What credence then would any true hearted man giue those voide of all credit and faithe?

When those malignant and impious Confederats forsooke both faith and religion, seuerall of the Parliamentaries, and specially those of Leyse, came from Dublin to joine with those their now associats, and inter possession of their respectiue estates, which was freely grannted by this suposed councill. Amonge those Puritants was one Francesse Cosby, late of Stradbally, an arrant knave and temporizer, whoe applyed himself to Preston, enformed him that upon the surrender of his house of Stradbally aforesaid, unto a partie of Owen Oneylls, under the leadinge of Colonell Lewes Moore, had a quarter of all his goods, and leauinge the said goods upon the hands of some freinds, expectinge conveniencie to carie it away, accordinge couenant, but the fryers of Stradbally, whether the partie (in whose hands those goods were) would or not, must render them the same, and caried it to Stradbally, alleadginge it to be a monesterie of their order, and holds the same euer since to my exceedinge preiudice, said he, and doe desire justice at your Lordships hands, etc.

1648.
445.
The accessse
of Puritants
to Preston.
Cosbys
misenfor-
mation.

Upon this false and bare Puritanicall misenformation, Preston did grannte him his orders to the comannder of Stradbally garrison to this effecte :

You are herby comannded upon sight, to see such things, as the bearer Mr. Cosby will auer to be unto him belonginge, and now in possession of the fryers of that place, to be putt unto his hands, and make an exacte tender of them unto him, and you to dispose of such, as he will haue you doe. And if any opposition be giuen you, or disobedience to our orders, we straightly charge and comannde you to remitte hither unto us such as will oppose, in the nature of prisoners, to be dealt with accordinge their deserts, as you are to answer the contrary at your perill.

Prestons
order
against
the fryers.

Signed, Thomas Preston.

The said Cosby, cominge with this order to the officer of Stradbally garrison, both officer and Cosby did shewe the said order unto Sir James, whoe caried it to Fr. Paule, then keepinge his chamber (as not to be amonge that excommunicated crue), consultinge of the matter and preuidinge the danger of non compliance, did make a tender of all unto the officers hands, desiringe him to keepe the same, as upon an indifferent hande, untill the Generalls minde were further knowne. This was don not in regard of the poore fryers requeste, but that Cosby had noe place wherunto he might transporte those, and beinge sure of the same house within fewe daies after, as there publickly affirmed.

The fryers
compliance
therto.

The fryers did petition Generall Preston, settinge fourth their grievances sustained by the former partie and garrison, with the misenformation of Mr. Cosby, as by the same quarter grannted him by Colonell Lewes Moore authentickly extant, anexed unto the said petition did apeere, and humbly desiringe redresse in the one and other, etc.

A petition
to Preston
by Fr.
James Geo-
hegan.

And that you may not doubte of Cosbys misenformation and of this Zeudo Catholicke Generalls impious proceedinge, giuinge sentence in a matter upon a bare information of an enemie both in action and religion, alia parte non audita, peruse the ensuinge, quarter, verbo ad verbum, grannted him by Colonell Moore upon the said surrender.

446.

1648. Article of agreement drawn by and betweene Colonell Lewes Moore and Frances Cosby, on the first of October, 1646 :

Cosbys quarter at the sur-render of Stradbally by Colonell Lewes Moore. First, it is agreeede the possession of the house of Stradbally be deliuered to the said Colonell Moore, and that he shall place Captain Richard Dwyne with a competent number of men for the safeguarde of the house.

Secondly, it is concluded that the said Frances, with all the rest that are in the house, shall goe away, with all such of their goods, bagg and bagage as they can at present carie with proper cariage, and all their horses, cowes, garrons, sheepe, and shwine.

Adam Loftus, solicitor for the quarter, and a brother in lawe to Cosby. 3^{ly}, it is agreed that the said Colonell Moore shall conducte and safely conuoy the said Frances, with as many of the rest as will goe with him, with all his lugages and cariage, to the Naasse, when he is able to goe within 5 daies, untill which time, if he continue, is to haue a roome in the house, and in the interim noe waste or spoile to be made of any prouision that now concerne him.

It is further agreeede that the said Frances shall marche compleatly with all his armes, and that he shall haue a competencie of what corne he hath, such as he shalbe able to carie with him. It is allsoe agreed that what number of the inhabitants and seruants of the towne and house shall desire to stay in the countrie, shalbe safely conuoyed to what place or houlte they shall demannde, with all their goods and corne.

Wittnesse my hand the day and yeare aforesaid.

Adam Loftus. =This man was the actor for Cosby.= Lewes Moore.

Copia vera. Attested by these former two gentlemen.

Generall Neylls donation to the fryers. All this quarter was punctually obscurd, as much of his goods as he for that present could carie alonge with him was in vertue of the said articles allowed him, and did putt it in execution, but what was left in the house was by couenant forfeited, and the Catholick Generall, upon viewe of the quarter, and information that it was complied with, did (as by the lawe of armes his) bestowe the fryers of the Order of Minors, to whom in suppression time did that place belonge. All which was in the foresaid petition, to be directed to Generall Preston. Father James, goinge with the said petition to the campe of Athy, to Generall Preston, as assured, though neuer soe ungodly, intended or disaffected to religion, would at leaste naturally condole the poore and tiranicall passadges therof.

447. The simplicitie of people. But (Mightie God, what is more eminent in those worldlings, either foolerie or simplicitie, that they doe suffer themselues soe farr miscade, and to deviat from all that is reasonable, as to beleue those pure-blinde cycophants to be for religion?) noe sooner did Preston espy the frier with his petition in hande, humbly cominge towards his Lordship, then questioned him whence he was? and what his demannde? tould that he was in Stradbally, and humbly desired his Lordship may vouchafe to peruse his bemoaninge petition. Gods wilkins, said Preston, and you of Stradbally fryers, and cominge to me with a petition; you come rather to seduce my men, and breede mutinie in my campe, if it were to you a £1000, that I may giue one glannce ont, I will not yeld you soe much pleasure. He presently comanded a captain to convoy the poore fryer out of the campe, and that upon paine of deathe. But My Lord Dillon in place, addressinge himself in a peremptorie maner unto the

Prestons behaiour towards the fryer.

Generall said, that if he were aduiced by him, would spoile the frier of his religious habitt, and hange him before the whole armie, as an example of other such (obsearue the cruell doome of this conterfeite heroes and baboone in veluet coate, onely for beinge obsearuant of his proper function and beinge), this verditte soe deliuered, turnes to the fryer, and asked him whether he did say masse for him then or noe? The day then, at leaste 3 or 4 aclocke in the afternoone, not expectinge the fryers resulte upon that heathize dileame, was by the Generall comanded, as aforesaid, to be conuoyed out of the campe, and arriuinge home, tould his comrade what passed. You see, reader, what Catholicke Generall we haue, and the doome of this newe reconciled Catholicke, Dillon Costllagh, the one rendringe soe bloudie a sentence against an inocent soule, against alle lawes diuine and humaine, onely as presentinge his intollerable griuances before those suposed rectifiers of abuses. The other granntinge his impious and subreptitious orders against poore priests and fryers and their monesterie, will not admitt their complainte, nor abide their onely sight in his campe, nor their residence in their proper monesterie, nor suffer or permitt their begginge in any his quarters (their onely patrimony), and will make much of Puritants and Parliament members, conceaue by orders against fryers, without admittinge the leaste information in the behalfe of iustice, forcinge against his oath and couenant this dunghill-broode of zaneese to liue, and pismires to be exalted, soe enablinge both himself and them, against kinge, religion, and nation; what doe you thinke of this mans crueltie, accompanied with perfidious violation of oath and couenant? Verily I conceaue hell hath not name, nor the world a sufficient punishment for him. Notwithstandinge all this wee must beleue he is for religion. O foperie and——

1648.
Dillons
verditte
against
the fryer.

His non-
sense in
religion
discouered.

Extraua-
gant pro-
ceedings
of Preston
and Dillon.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

As they say in schooles of art, it is easier to oppose then answere. Soe they finde by prooffe in the art of warr, that it is easier and safer to obuiat and meete danger in the way then to tary till it come home to our owne doores, for, besides that the seate of warr is alwaies miserable, there is euer more courage in the assayler and comonly better successe.

448.
Senec.
Cato.
Hanib.
spud Liv.
Livi. l. 38.
de Scipio.

Maior spes maiorque animus inferentis est quam arcantis.

This braue Generall, with his armie, on the wronge side, as aforesaid, of the riuer against the Dominican monesterie, did in vaine all the while, both their labour and amunition spende, now therefore remouinge unto the other side, to giue an assaulte unto the said religious house (as to haue both these pillars and luminaries of Gods Church, S. Dominicke and S. Frances, prime grandees and fauorittes in the courte of heauen, his sworne enemies), for he that persecuts those holy orders, or their monesteries, doe certainly persecute the patrons and fundators themselues, whose members these are, as our Sauour said to Saule: Saule, Saule, quid me persequeris, whoe was longe before then in heauen, and such as could not be persecuted by any humaine malice, notwithstandinge cryed to Saule that he persecuted him, because he persecuted him in his members and such as did

To be
against S.
Dominicke
and S.
Frances.
Act. 9.
Augt. in
Joan. tract.
28.

1648. beleue in him. What then? Preston and Dillon, doe you thinke those greate saintes wilbe your freinds, you persecutinge theire children, members and adherents? Noe, noe; but while they passe ouer the riuer and place themselues in posture of an assaulte-giuinge, Captain Hagan reccaued intelligence that Phelim McTuhill Oneylle with his forementioned relife arriued to Reban, whoe comanded a souldier, in a womans attire, that he should peremptorily take his course for Athy, as intended in the meane time to borowe it, did send a drumer, desiringe parley for an hower, as if to make his quarter, which grannted, desired that one of his captains should be admitted to the campe to capitulat for surrender of the towne; all his aime was to discouer as well the posture and strenght of that armie as to borowe time for the fourth-cominge of the said relife. Captain MaCana was admitted and imployed in this busines, but while this was on foote, malicious Preston, suspectinge some Eugenian stratageme, pursuant to this his surmishe, comanded McThomas, with his regiment of horse and a regiment of infanterie, to make good one onely passadge that was betweene Reban and Athy on the riuer Sowth, which was a foorde, the enimie foote on sconces lay heard by the same, and the horse lay at the verie descente of it. Notwithstandinge the said capitulation (soe thirstie was he of clergie bloude) Preston gaue order to assaulte the monesterie, where was noe opposition giuen to inter either bawon or garden, which in an instante were as full as euer they could hould. Some of those made some scruple, and were to fall backe from aduancinge towards the monesterie, which some of theire sub-diuiues of rennegat-natured-fryers, Fr. John Barnewall and Fr. John Dormer, the one Chaplaine Major and the other preacher to those magotts and free billiters of the comonwealth, did obscarue ran towards them, not to here theire confession in such an extremitie, but to eadge them on, exhorted them with all possible vehemencie to aduance bouldly, assuringe them by an irreligious oath that they did as much meritt in that acte as if they did in hearinge masse or in goinge the Stations of Rome, and all the sin and transgression you feare to incurr herby doe light on our soule and bodie, as the Jewes, sanguis ejus super nos, et super filios nostros; therfore feare nothinge, my heartes of gould; by this the poore simple souldiers were encouraged to aduance, but not in hearte or spiritte.
449. Aduancinge therefore towards the monesterie, with paterras and other ingins to hurle downe gates and doores; the cloyster was full, the poore fryers and theire foote companie within one doore, wheron was two spikes onely; the assayllants addressed themselues against the same accordinge orders, but noe sooner did any of them putt himself in posture of seruice, but was knocked downe by stones from the battlment, whether hittinge them or noe did (by the onely apprehension of the actors) tumble them downe. Theire Captains seeinge theire respectiue parties highly discouraged retiringe from theire seucrall poastes, others besmeared with the dirte (as if tumblinge in the dunghill), others bleedinge, and euerie one with a stareinge looke, gazinge up towards the topp of the steeple, asked what was the matter? or why soe amazed? Whoe answered with a trimblinge and faintinge voice, Doe not you see, said they, the fryer standinge on the battlment flin[g]inge of stones soe dexter, with such fiercess, and in quantitie soe innumerable, without intermission? and noe stone Scotte-free, that we rather see the strongest enimie
- The relife is sent for to Reban.
To borowe time a parley is had.
Prestons colusion.
His desire to drinke fryers bloude.
The Jewishe behauior of Fr. John Barnwall and Fr. John Dormer. Their blasphemies.
- A miracle.

upon indifferent ground against us then that onely fryer. If, Captains, said they, you kill us unto the last man, we will not gaine an ince of ground against the fryer, for we take it in farr better measure to die here sudainly by your bloudie sworde, then to contest with him, whose onely looke affoordeth time of euer dyinge death. The Captains herby mighty astonished, but with their proper eyes sawe what the souldiers did affirme to be true. But sure and certaine there was noe earthly fryer, but the patron of that monesterie, S. Dominicke, or other by his apointment and Gods permission to acte that scene on those misbeleueers, as wee may verily and piously beleuee; what nowe doe those anti-preachers say to the souldiers?

1648.

The
souldiers
answeare.S. Domin-
icke was
the fryer.

While this assaulte was afoote, against the lawe of nations, a parley actually existant, and consequently a cessation of armes in the interim; the couragious and noble Phelim McTuhill ONeylle was gallantly marchinge towards Athy, with his said reliefe on the Berow side sowth, as aforesaid, the floude extreame greate, of necessitie passe the foorde, where McThomas with his regiment of horse was, as aforesaid, tyinge their hoses to their neckes, soe closly marched that a man would judge a rope did come about them. John OHagan espyinge them soe cominge, with an undaunted courage addressed himself to relieue them, but they in the posture aforementioned, arriuinge to the foorde, all the said horse standinge at the very ascent therof; the reliefe gaue a voylly of foure score shott amonge them, whereupon all ran away as faste as euer they were able in a scatteringe way to the fields, and the reliefe passed the foorde though unto the brest therin, and others almost swimed, but all safe. By this Captain Hagan issued with 3 score musketeirs, not scene of the encmie untill fallinge on the regiment of foote in the reare, that lay on sconces to second the horse, whoe now flyinge as fast as their leggs did sustaine. Phelim and Captain Hagan passed the drawinge bridge. But Phelim went where the assaulte was in action, to the monesterie, directinge his course unto the garden, which was brimfull; he and his partie rushing amonge them like a hauke amonge a multitude of sparowes, made such a hauocke of them, without the leaste opposition, euery mothers child takinge the best paire of heeles he could borowe, neither cared whether, soe much celeritie, though to drowne themselues, thought this better cheape then to expecte the furie of those Catholicke faries; three score men (upon this choice) was drowned in the Berowe at presente, all the remaine of the garden were there perished, and tooke their flight, soe that the garden was now cleere of those suruiuinge weedes. This victorious reliefe inters now the monesterie cloyster (whose now tenants did forfeite the benefitt of sanctuarie) was as full as euer could hould, gazinge on one another (soe distracted they were by reason of the battlment fryer), in a moment was made voide by a glance onely of the aduance of this reliefe, whoe killed seuerall there; in all this seruice noe blowe was giuen in opposition; killed and drowned upwards of 7 score, tooke prisoners 3 Captains, 3 Lieutenants, 3 Insignes, and others by fauor there extant in restraints were released, as Sir Phelim Oneylls Major, etc.; he gott the patarras and other ingins, all the armes and amunition of those; the verie campe retired suddainely halfe a mile off, heareng of the hurly-burly of the monesterie seruice, if not that by some comannde of the Catholicke Generall, or some good

450.

Against the
lawe of
nations.Phelim
McTuhills
undaunted
marche.Horse and
foote putt
to flight.
Captain
Hagans
courage.O braue
Prestoni-
ans.Not worthy
sanctuarie.Seuen
score
killed,
prisoners
and their
spoile
taken by a
handfull.

1648. nature of his owne towards his contrimen, he might kill them as easie as sheepe. See how true our Aphorisme is, that there is more courage and better successe in the assayler, and specially in this warrior, your owne abominable sins, unchristian behavior, and heathize actions thereto ministringe fewell.
451. The Catholicke Generall dispatchinge the said reliefe, fearinge worste consequence, marched himself and armie towards the Nenagh in upper Ormonde, and though a verie stronge place did carie it, lefte there two companys under the comannde of Captain Hagan, and there left Richard Buttler of Tinakill ohogartie in the nature of a prisoner. There receaved intelligence that Falkland forte, alias Benchor, in Macoghlan's Country, and then in possession of John Coghlaïne, spoken of n^o 403. might be easily surprised, whoe not willingly did omitt such an occasion, did comannde his nephew, Roger Maguire, and Father Nicholas Byrne, Vicar Generall of the armie, with a partie thither, goinge all night, the matter of 17 or 18 miles, were there in ambushe timely; next morninge all the souldiers of that forte were surprised upon their bedds in the seuerall houses of the towne (except two or 3), all accordinge intelligence. Coghlan himself and these afore mentioned 3 was in the forte, whoe ouerhearinge some tumulte abroad, started out of his bed and upon the rampier in his onely shirte and drawers, cryed aloude for quarter; some of the comannders assuringe him therof, yelded the forte without a blowe, two stronge foote companies, and two Captains of the Maguires. What a wise Captain of a braue forte did this Coghlane proue in this occasion.
452. Noe sooner did the Catholicke Generall dispatche those as aforesaid, then marched himself to Birr, which was presently surrendered upon summons, which was kept, for Sir Phelim Oneylle, the Generall, left a garrison there, and Sir Phelims wife, but his sone and heire went alonge with the Generall. The partie in Falkland forte arriuinge to Birr all marched soe privat to Stradbally that noe notice was hearde of him untill within Stradbally. Major Owen ODogharty, with the forlorne hope, cominge to the monesterie, inquiringe for the garrison (which was goen away half an hower before them unknowen unto the fryers, and what way they tooke was not knowen. The Generall arriuinge did comannde his son Henrie Roc Oneylle with the horse to Athy, and there keepe Preston in action untill thither arriuinge himself, with the bodie of his armie encampinge there, did comannde by the sounde of a drumm that none under paine of death should touche any thinge of the poore reuersion left the fryers and their adherents; soe tender was this Catholicke Generall of the saftie of fryers. O Preston—Noe sooner was Preston beaten from Athy, as aforesaid, but sent his ordinance by water to Katarlogh, and that peece that shott against the monesterie was broken, and soe not seruicable was remitted to Kilcac. Next morninge after the defeate, comannded his foote to marche before him towards Katarlogh, and followed himself with his horse, a light marche. But Henrie Roe Oneylle arrivinge to Athy, enformed of Prestons departur, did send a partie of horse, under the leadings of Owen ODogharty, that by his light horse might ouertake the Prestonians, and intertaine them in some action, untill himself with there maine and the foote of Athy did followe. Away poasted Maier Dogharty, with much adoe could come within a muskett shott unto the enemye, so good a pace he kepte. Dogharty cryed
- Nenagh taken.
- Falkland forte taken, and how?
- Coghlan's cowardize.
- Birr taken.
- The garrison of Stradbally stole away.
- The Generalls proclamation.
- Prestons flight.

aloude unto that flyinge and excommunicated runawaies that they should not feare to make a stande, that he onely came to giue and receaue some freindly intercourse, if noe other to sporte themselues, to channce pistles would accept of it it as a fauour, and intertaine the tilter as a freinde; they will not accept of that motion, nor make as much stay as the turninge of a bridle or change of raines. Doghardy obsearuinge which, tould them that it was a comon brute, that the Linster horse did wishe to haue the Vlster forces upon plaine and champion grounde, where they hoped soone to decide the controversie betwixte them twaine. Now, Sirs, said the Major, this is one of the very best plaines for the purpose in all Linster; you shall therefore, to comply with your former wishes, stay a litle, and you shall meete with a handfull of the Vlster armie, to try what they can doe in a Linster plaine; but all in vaine, settinge spurs to their horses spoke neuer a worde, but galloped away as if the remaine of the Catholicke armie were at hande, and kept that disordered pace untill arriuinge to Katarlogh. Doghardy with his partie returned, wherin Henry Roe and all horse and relife repaired unto the campe to Stradbally, rendringe an accounte as formerly to the Catholicke Generall.

Preston, like a starulinge man, thinks any fare verie sweete, in the said timerous cowarde and disordered marche did not forgett that young man, Huigh Shiell, but brought him alonge, as if a greate bootie, euery day with a cruell resolution to hange this inocent lambe, and kept him unchristianly 48 howers without any kinde of meate or drinke. The Catholicke Generall informed of these emphaticall proceedings dispatched his proper addresses unto him, with this intimation, that he was ashamed that such a man of soe eminent a ranke, was soe oblivious of the lawe he professed of armes, soe often hertofore obvious unto him in the theoricke, as to keepe a publicke Mercurie, and by proper direction soe employed, prisoner; nay, to threaten him to death, against all lawes, diuine, ciuill and martiall; if you insiste to keepe him still, you may be pleased to send me worde what ransome either money or exchannce you desire for such a person, and [I] will see complied with, though against my stamocke, as to giue way to introduce such illigall proceedings insteade of former well grounded lawes. In case you accept non such, onely see him executed (as I here your words doe importe noe lesse) I vowe and proteste by the holy roode, there is neuer a man of yours that will hapen to fall unto my hands, or alreadie are my prisoner taken onely upon mercie and noe quarter, but will yelde them the same measure that you unto him, though he were your owne sone, and will use my best endeauours to be still before hand with you in this, your owne night-cape inuention, etc. By this letter Huigh Shiell was savved from hanginge. A captain of Generall Neylls partie, Daniell MaCana, hapened to be in restraints with Preston, whose occasion was thus. Preston himself did send a message unto this captain unto Athy where he liued, that he would willingly confer with him about serious affaires such a day in Katarlagh, and least he should suspect any thinge but freindly dealinges, I sende you a safe conducte (he thought he might drawe this captain to betraye the garrison unto him), he dessemblynge some busines (or by the comunication with the Gouvernor, John OHagan, to sounde Preston out and his drifetes to Katarlagh, was by the Gouvernor licensed. Noe sooner arriued thither then Preston certified, and by his direction apprehended,

1648.

Doghardys
speeche to
Preston
and his
party.Tongue
tyed,
dastardly
cowards.

453-

How
Preston
used
Huigh
Shiell.The
Catholicke
Generalls
letter unto
Preston.Prestons
continuinge
treacherie.

1648. disarmed, and comitted to prison; his safe conduct signed by Preston did not auayle: this captain soe treacherously taken, and Huigh Shiell will not be released by exchanncce lesse then a captain and two lieutenants, the Catholicke Generall was soe earnest in the behalfe of their enlargement that he condescended therto, and soe were enlarged.

CHAPTER XXXV.

454. THE Ethiopian yeale hath two hornes of a cubit longe, which he can in fight moue as he list, either both forward, or the one forward and the other backward, to both uses at once, soe should wise men apply their counsells and actions to the times: and either putt fourth the hornes of their power or pull them in, as present occasions are offered. For as the mariner changeth his course upon the change of the winde and weather, yett still houldeth his purpose of gettinge into the harbour: soe should stats-men upon euery newe occasion alter their sailes and veere another way: still makinge their course to the porte of publicke good and saftie.

Plin. Nat. Hist. lib. 8. c. 21.
Lip. Prol. l. 4.
Seneca.
Homer. Od. Sen. sent.
Adag.
...
Phocylid. Temporibus semper cautus seruire memento: nec reflare velis adversum flumina venti.

A runinge armie indeede. Our Catholicke Generall hath neede of more hornes then the two of this Ethiopian yeale, now lesse then half a yeare haue displayed his colours in the 4 prouinces of Irelande for the former two uses, though how numerous soeuer his enemies are, none durst abide his presence, now they rally their forces to circumuent him if possible. To this campe came intelligence unto him, that Insichuynne with all his armie marched after him the same stepps, and did leager and win Enagh, with the losse of heard upon 200 of his men. The case had beene, that the towne was soe soone, and with such a losse gained: unknowen unto the defendants there was a vaulte under grounde unto the castle, that none cominge therein was seene untill within the base-courte. The caues intrance was a muskett shott from the castle, some of the natiues herof, and soe had Richard Buttler prisoner there, as aforesaid, by whose intimation (as was giuen out) the enemy was both certified and encouraged to giue a tryall of the issue, plantinge his ordinance against the castle, made some breache neither considerable or assayllable; in the interim men were appointed to inter the said caue; the defendants suspectinge noe such matter, courageously behaued themselves, defendinge the breache to the extreame preiudice of the assaylants, but hearinge some tumulte behinde their backs, what did they see, but those Antipodes risinge from of the earth, wherupon, on both sides mouinge their hornes, both offensive and defensive, made good that place maugre all opposition, untill foringe an honorable quarter, granted and signed by Insichuynne, the castle was yelded, but the quarter not complied with, against all lawes and couenant, the defendants were disarmed, themselves putt unto sure garde, to be conuoyed, striipt and naked unto Kinsale, and from thence to be sent unto S. Christopher or A[1]gier as slaues, but many of them stole away, either by their proper dexteritie, or their keepers humaniitie.

Richard Buttlers treacherie.

Insichuynnes cruell and bloudie quarter.

The Generall herof certified, marched to Ballicullin in Iregan, did send comannds unto the garrison of Birr to demolishe the castle and marche to the field, which don except the gate house, the verie best peece in all the said castle was left untouched by meere simplicitie; he sent allsoe amunition to Benchore by Colonell Cahan. He lastlie sent messengers to Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall, that he should upon sight repaire unto the campe, beinge then and since his engagment to Clanricarde for 21 daies in the countie of Longforde, as no. [blank] touched. Seuerall letters passed betweene them in this interim, the Lieutenant still assuringe the Generall of his loyaltie towards him; but ministred sufficient cause unto the Generall, though not of suspition to the contrary, yett of jealousie of his crastinations, for upon that former score he spent now upwards of two monthes. In his instructions with the partie he now sent, promised to waite on him about Iregan, and not to face the enemye untill his arriuall, which was the cause that he did not marche towards Bellaghanohire to hinder both Insichuyne and Clanricarde to marche to Falklandforte, for if he went that way, the Lieutenant-Generall in his marche would be circumvented by the enemye (as any that knoweth the situation of them places may knowe). By those delayes Insichuyne, arriuinge to Birr, founde the same deserted, did garrison the same and marched to Bellaghanohire, and from thence in sight of the foresaid forte of Benchore, and pitched his campe at Streamstowne, John Coghlan's house, where Clanricarde and his Conaght forces came to him.

In this meane while, Preston with his Linster armie made himself readie to followe, and soe did Taaffe with his Monster forces, all those were drawinge towards Birr, onely expected Generall Neylls motion from Iregan, as aforesaid, Lieut-Generall Ferrall now arriuinge with his regiment and 4 troupes of horse, where he was welcome to the Generall. Next morninge after his arriuall from Monahorny they marched to Bellaghanohire, lodginge there, both Linster and Monster forces in contestation marched towards Birr. The Catholicke armie was now seated betweene 4 seuerall armies (in medio consistit virtus), two in the fronte and two in the reare, each daie their scouts had many bickeringes, but the enemye still had the worste on either side. Insichuyne did leager the forte, and plants his ordinance, began to bater, but to small effecte, did noe great hurte, mightie fearfull that the Catholicke Generall did interpose their proceedings with a rubb on Birr side, My Lord Dillon Costllagh, with the matter of 12 horse, scoutinge towards the Catholicke armie. Sir John Dungan and Morish FitzGerald of Allon in his company, the Catholicke scouts that way mette them, tooke Dillon, Dungan and FitzGerald prisoners, the rest saued themselues by the swiftnesse of their horses, those that tooke Dungan and FitzGerald, went straight to the campe to render an accounte of their seruice, but left My Lord Dillon on the hands of Captain Lisagh Ferrall, as comannder of that partie whoe made an escape, how I doe not well knowe, for seuerall relations I hearde of it, which doe not soe well knitt together, that a reasonable witt may inducte any seeminge demonstrative consequence, or morall belife of it, howeuer, whether right or wronge, the said Captain Lisagh was of partialtie highly taxed, if not desearuedly, at least might be placed in the ranke of simples, though not of exquisitt operation, but of weake and meane industrie.

1648.
455.Message
to Lieut.-
Generall
Ferrall.The
Catholicks
Generall's
suspition
of Lieut.-
Generall
Ferrall.His delays
the cause
of noe
seruice.Clanri-
card here
arriued.

456.

Linster and
Monster
forces to
Birr
marched.The siede
of Falk-
launde forte.Dillon, Sir
John Dun-
gan, and
Morishe
FitzGerald
prisoners.Lisagh
Ferrall
taxed for
my Lord
Dillons
escape.

1648. Dillon escapinge went late by night to one Richard McWalter Butlers house, two miles from Birr, west, from whence was conuoyed to Portumny and soe on the Shanon side of Conaght to Insichuayne and Clanricards campe.

457. Insichuaynes ordinance not thriuinge against the forte, his neuer faithfull abetter, that malliable-prooffe-hearted Clanricarde, to grable now with his squallid inuention and dow-baked policie, must fall to his ould treacherous tricks, to gett townes and fortes by faire promises of future great preferment attestinge the performnce with Belial obsecrations, but carringe his requeste or intendments to its wished period, neuer offered a worde of compliyanee, pursuant herunto he caused a safe conducte to be sent unto the chiefe comannder of the forte, Captain Maguire, whoe contrary to his obedience, and the honorable repute of a noble captain, answered that banfull invitation, and not onely once, but seuerall times resorted to the campe, spendinge the most of daies in drinke and familiar conuersation with those periurous peeres, which was an introduction and apologie of his disloyall surrender (upon what score other then ebrietie was not knowen), and himself this way inclined, drewe the rest his comrads (though thitherunto of a contrary sense) to be wholly of his opinion, which proues to be in uertue of some inticcinge baite, though kept under the cloude of neuer-seeinge-sune. This poore captain, thus undermined by his recourse abroade, not once dreaminge (as it seemes) of the enfamie of such an acte, not any way necessitated, for men, meate, amunition and a stronge fort was his buckler, neuer assayled nor any feare to be, as hauinge his owne stronge armie neere hande to relieue him upon the leaste ocasion, all these prime restraints notwithstandinge, did surrender that impregnable forte, upon condition (visible) of liues and armes; more might he haue, if either wise or honor-worthy or aduiced by his Generall, whoe was stranger unto all these perfidious proceedings, nor had the leaste suspition of it untill he sawe with his proper sight the said Captain with his men marchinge towards the campe, doubtlesse mightie offended; but soberly examininge the matter, found it to be as aforesaid, and not of power to yeld any reason but basenesse, cowardize, or selfwill, as guiltie by the verie doome of the lawe of armes. The Generall without further dispute or procession would putt the same in due execution, but that Colonell Roger Maguire, the Generalls nephewe opposed the delinquent beinge of his owne name and regiment wherupon by the distemper of the times, leaste worste consequence did followe, or a mutinie ruised in the armie, the matter was winked at by the Generall.

458. After yeldinge of the forte the enemy was in greate distresse, and mightie fearfull, did wish himself out of that nuke upon any score, swearinge one to another. Owen Roe would doubtlesse by his craftie stratagemes circumuent them in this agonie, like desperat men did send some of his foote in boggs and woodes untill arriuinge neere the Catholicke armie there lurkinge, some of the enemy horse poasted in a daringe maner towards the campe to discover the situation and composure therof. Some of the Catholicks espyinge the aduerse horse without comannde, and farr in drinke (as actualie at it) in aquauitæ tauerne, called for their horses by odd men mounted, and noe sooner mounted then galloped away towards the enemy, neuer questioninge how many he was, or once minded the number of their engagers, roade on, and not capable of feare or

Clanricards accustomed treacherie.

A foolish captain disobedient and treacherous.

Falkland fort yielded.

The iniquitie of the times did not give way for punishments.

The enemy feares.

The skirmishes.

A madd courage of drunken sotts.

mistrusting any aduantage of an ambush, verie couragious charged the enemie, that the fewe Irish there did force all the aduerse partie to stagger, killed some officers and troupers, and the remaine did putt to route, and likly were not for the said foote layinge in ambushe, and discouered the Catholicks did followe their victorie more then reasonable. But now in hott bloude and in action were awakd from the drowsinesse of their former liquor-slumber, and the aquauitæ somewhat digested, returned to their campe, but by their good leauē their rashnesse and distemper lost them worthe their liquor. Major Edmond Ferrall, though of a foote regiment, engaging himself beyonde his profession and comannde that daie (was killed) in horse skirmishe; Colonell Lewes Moore and Major Con Backagh Oneyll were both wounded; those comannders that should crubb others in disobedience, as contrarie to martiall discipline, beinge guiltie therof themselues, soe ill thriued.

1548.
But victors.

Decearued-ly mis-caried, and wounded Lewes Moore and Con O'Neylle.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE name of equality truely understoode is one of the most just and profitable things that is in a state, namely, when it is taken in a geometrical sense and proportion; for, as in matters of taxe or imposition, the best levy is not by the pole, but accordinge to euerie mans abilitie as in conferringe of dignities and offices, the best choice is accordinge to euerie mans worth and sufficiency for the place. Soe in the deliberation of state affaires, and decision of doubts of greatest consequence, the soundest judgment should haue the greatest stroke, and voices should be considered not by the number but by the weight; but in free states pluralitie of voices overswaies the strongest and best grounded reasons, and therefore this forme of government cannot be soe good as that of a monarchy.

459.
Sympos. l. 8.
Lip. Pol. l. 3.
Plut. de Lib. Educat. Senee. Thucyd. l. 1.
Plut. de Virt.
Hor. 2. Ser. 2.

Tres mihi convivæ propè dissentire videntur,
Poscentes vario multum diversa palato.

The former tryale as aforesaid ended, all the whole armie both horse and foote was in an uproare, most earnest for fight (the willingnesse of a souldier is a good presage) in soe much that the Generall had enough to doe to perswade them to the contrarie onely untill a councill of warr did sitt for the decision therof, which was extempore called for, the militia brookinge noe delaies; all the councill, major officers, comannders, captains, nay, the verie comon souldiers cryed out for battle, cuerie one respectiuey undertakinge a good issue; the enfanterie did publickly assure the Generall and the rest of the councill, and did engage their liues to beate the enemie horse (if, said they, in your opinion the stronger partie), and wilbe rempartite with proper horse against the enemie foote, soe that all the multitude, comons, and councill, except the Generall, Leut.-Generall, and Major-Generall were of that opinion, but these were of a contrarie sense, whoe behaued themselues in this businesse like monarchall gouernment, and not like free states or other petty councill of warr, where pluralitie of voices ouerswayes the strongest

The comon souldiers offer to beate the enemie horse, and parte of the foote. All the armie except 3 was for battle.

1648. and best grounded reasons. The Generall knew well that in the deliberation of state affaires and decision of doubtcs of greatest consequence, the soundest judgment to have the greatest stroke (and that to be where better witt and more experience doe meete), and voices should be considered, not by the number, but by the weight, as Seneca doe giue for a rule—chorus eius maior est, meus melius concinit.
460. When the Lacedemonians was a free state, without Kinge or monarche, used the equalitie of voices in their consistories and deliberation of doubtcs, with an arithmetically proportion, which is the pluralitie or popular sense, but when the legislator Licurgus ordained a monarchall gouernment, the former termes are transposed unto geometrical proportion, which is more consonant to an Imperiall gouernment, as Plutarchus auereth. This verie same rule haue the Catholicke Generall obscaued in this his counsell of war, did not consider the voices by their number but by the weight and reason wherupon styred eache opinion, the motiues of such as were for battle, to giue battle, said they, unto the enemy, was the grounde and motiue wee came this farr, in not giuinge the same now, will proue dishonorable, wee are farr stronger both in number and qualitie, wee know noeould comannder they haue, Clanricarde, a delicat courtier, and Insichuyn, whom wee already knowe, not be soe daring or braue as they painte him, the resolution of our armie extraordinarie, if we thriue and be victors this daie wee may for a longe time sitt still at ease, therefore we deeme it honorable, profitable, and easie.
461. The Generall to giue those comannders satisfaction, redargues what is said, and stands for the negatiue, his reasons. It is imprudence that we should offer to giue battle to Clanricarde and Insichuyn, hauinge a considerable partie of Linster and Monster horse at our backs, expectinge our onely motion forward, and the two armies of Linster and Monster in contestation marchinge to be in our reare. I suppose (though the fortune of warr is variable and God onely giueth the victorie) that we did offer to beate these fronte armies, the other two cominge in our reare is verie dangerous, and in beatinge either of both, the other surueives to seconde it, or in case you could at present beate all, which could not by humanly don without exceedinge losse of your owne, the whole kingdome beinge against you, may easilie recrute their armies, but you either beaten once or discomfitted, there is neither kinge, prince, or comonwealthe to seconde or asiste you, nor any abilitie left us to gather soe many more, and soe goode this yeare (you know what trouble and charges cost us our last recrute) withall, my masters, you may be assured we haue noe more amunition then three ferkins, except what the souldiers haue about them, if we spende all this one day with a battle upon such inequality, whether victors or vanquished, there is noe humane way left for us at present to gett any more, not to giue battle upon aduantage, haue euer proued honorable as Florus lib. 2. writeth of Fabius against Haniball, ouercome him, non pugnando, not by battle, but by cunctations and wearinge him out without a blowe, wherby gott from the Senat of Rome, that braue dignitie, Cunctator, neuer untill then inuented, vt qui frangi virtute non poterat, morâ cominueretur, if vanquished this day, then God by religion, Kinge, nation, and birth right, what fooles then were we to comitt all

The coun-
cell of
warre
motiues
for battle.

The Gen-
erals
speeche
redargu-
inge the
former in
a negatiue
sense.

this unto the sliperie hands of variable and unconstant fortune with soe much 1648.
disadvantage.

You knowe, sirs, the furious courser breaketh his winde and bursteth himself in the middest of his carriere: wheras the snaile comes to the toppe of the hill in her due time as well as the eagle. With time and strawe men ripen medlers, and their affaires with leasure and meanes; wherfore he that will doe a thinge well must haue patience to tarie untill it may be well don, for it hurteth as much to anticipate the occasion as to foeshowe it beinge offered, and to plucke her as fruite before she be reepe harmeth as much as to suffer her rott; men of hott spiritts err in the first, for scarce doe they perceaue the shadowe of her but they run to catche at it, and thinkinge to take hould of the solid substance embrace nothings but the empty aire; wheras the warie and well aduised comannder houlds it safer to wearie and weare out the enemy by cunctation and delaye then to putt all to hazarde by haste; in this is danger, in that a Fabian vertue.

Dum festino omnia celeriter percurrere, tardior sum.

Therefore it is neither wisdome, glorie, profitt, nor saftie to purchase the sweete fruite of reuenge against those refractorie persons with the manifest hazard of our whole armie, the onely in Ireland for religion, Kinge, and kingdome, as longe as wee hould in a bodie, though we neuer giue a blowe; the enemy will feare us. Therefore contente yourselues as longe as wee are twixt those hell-brand-enemy-armies, wee will use that Fabian vertue and giue noe battle, but will remoue from hence the high roade, that if Insichuynes were willinge to joine with those at our backe, and there make halte to drawe us on, then findinge them in one bodie, for your satisfaction, and in relation of the willingnesse of the militia, I will, under Gods grace, giue an attempte, and do confide in the diuine clemencie to be matchable unto them all in one bulke. These reasons could not but be admitted for sounde.

Wherfore dislodged, and came the matter of half a mile off to lett the passadge free, pursuant to his former intimation. Noe sooner was Insichuynes enformed that the passadge was cleere, as mightie wearie to continue wheare alreadie he was, for both men and horse did there starve, whips me away in all hast to Birr, and Clanricard, maninge the forte, passed the Shanon with his armie to Conaght; all the while the Catholicke Generall suspected that Insichuynes would there rally his men and confederats and force him giue battle, which was the least of his thoughts, but boasted to Kilkeny with his army to force meanes for his armie accordinge couenant, besides their meanes the councell and cittie must giue all his armie a liuerie of cloathes from topp to towe, which in a thrice was complied with. At his departure from Birr, left a garrison there, and for comannder and gouernor therof did apointe Major Richard Grace. The Catholicke Generall seeinge Insichuynes now departed marched towards Tullomore and encamped on its territorie for two nights, the third daye marched to Kilbegan, wheare continued for two nights more, and Cribegg soe many and then passed through Ballymore and to Baskniarde in Dillons contrie, where he intended to force redresse for some affrontes offered him by some of that familie, and specially by Costllagh and his uncle, Sir James Dillon, this for keepinge the Prouincial of the Minors this longe

462.
Plat. Rep.
7.
Tacit. Hist.
lib. 3.
Cic. ex
Enni.
Tac. de
Suet.
Florus 1. 2.

Hitherto
the Catho-
licke Gen-
erals
speche.

463.
The Catho-
licke armie
dialodged.

Insichuynes
proceed-
ings in
Kilkeny.

Kilbegan.

Crowe.

Bask-
neagh.

1648. while in durance (as no. 417), that for ceasinge on the horse and armes of a troupe of horse of Generall Neylls partie, against justice and equitie, as hauinge the councells orders for three nights billett in euerie baronie, upon the disbandinge of the supernumerarie forces of the Vlster armie, as no. 314 touched.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

464. NATURE, out of the riche treasure of her storehouse, hath furnished many armies
 Plin. Nat. of her creatures with armours of defence. But to all in generall she hath giuen a
 Hist. lib. 8. care of their preservation, and some smale meanes to auoide (if not resiste) a
 Valer. l. 2. danger. To man, lyable to more dangers, she hath been more plentifull of her
 Virg. meanes to escape them; and therefore when he feares a mischiefe from those whom
 Plut. he hath justly incensed against him, he faines all artifice of amends and semblance
 Lysan. of freindshipe, to auoyde that juste reuenge which they might worthylic inflicte and
 Ovid. Art. he necessarily expecte. A course though not of censeritie, yett of saftie, though
 3. not to be taught for a rule, yett to be excused for a necessitie.

Tuta, frequensque via est, per amici fallere nomen :
 Tuta frequensque licet sit via, crimen habet.

Offended
 by the
 Dillons,
 and how ?

Costellagh and all his name are fully perswaded that they haue highly iniured the Catholicke Generall, as prouinge euer yett both his publicke and priuat enemies, persecutinge and disarminge any his forces they mette upon aduantage. Hauinge alsoe the Provinciall of the Franciscans, Fr. Thomas Makyernan, actually in restraunte, as aforesaide, with many other publicke and priuat abuses of transcendent nature fomented against him; seeinge him, therefore, now att their verie doores with a flourishinge armie, and preuidinge their utter ruyn and destruction, to be justly at its last disposition, to auoide which worthyly hanginge ouer their heades, fained all semblance of freindshipe. Seuerall of the contrie gentrie arriuinge to the Generall in the nature of agents to agree and compose for a certaine summ of money to be giuen him in lewe of all former trespasses ministered unto any his partie, and upon the agreement now to deserte the countrie, these were their instructions. But the Generall would not admitt any conference or the said agents to his presence, untill the Franciscan Provinciall were first remitted unto him unto the campe, and this not fourthwith complied with, promised to ouer-run the whole barony with fire and rauage. The agents, fearinge the worst, shewed greate deale of willingnesse (though verily against the stamocke of both Costllaghe and his uncle, Sir James Dillon, and this by the priuat workings and surmishes of the aboue mentioned apostat fryers, Plunkett and Caron, his carnifices), went to Athlone, giue Costllagh an accounte of the Generalls proposall; upon intimation whearof the Provinciall was fourthwith enlarged and sent by the same agents unto the campe, wherin the Irish prouerbe is uerified,—*Ni nach fadhan an clog, do gheibh gob an ghadh*—whoe was most wellcome thither, where proued a good umpire for atonment.

The Pro-
 uinciall
 enlarged.
 Irish
 prouerbe.

Now they fall unto an agreement, £500 ster. was promised the Generall within a monethe, and Richard Dillon of Locbaskoreagh as pledge of performance, and the armie to marche thence next morninge, beinge there in all foure nights, consuminge noe lesse then worth £4000 of corne and other things, whoe marchinge accordinge couenante to the county of Longford, and their said pledge in their company unto Newtowne wheare Faghny McLisagh Ferrall offered to become bonnde upon the said Richard Dillon for payment of the said summ the aforesaid peremptorie daie, or in defaulte therof would pay it himself. The Generall did aduice Faghny not to inter the said recognizance, and suffer him alone to deale with those Dillons, and that he was to weake for them, and they too cuninge for him, full of pranks and deceite, and was perswaded they would neuer paye the said sume, notwithstandinge their pledge and authenticke instrument to the contrary, unlesse forced, which you are not able to doe. If you be not perswaded, I assure you, said the Generall, I will not call to noe bodie else for that money but unto you onely. All this was to diswade Faghny from the former engagement. But Faghny, too forwarde in the busines, and intimat with the Generall, thought to oblige that Dillon familie, his neighbours, and by all induction was assured of not beinge looser, howeuer, he gott his will of the Generall, wherupon Richard Dillon was released, and the Generall proued prophet. Thus with pranks the Dillons did free their present vexation, and neuer yett complied with the gentleman that lost both freinde and money to doe them a fauour. The Generall did disperse his armie upon winter quarter towards the borders of Sliuaniaruine, on that parte of the countie of Letrim, and another parte unto the countie of Cavan, and went himself to Lisomugaghan, in the said countie, this beinge about the later end of October, 1648.

1648.

465.

The composition.

Faghny Ferralls plainesse.

The Generall proued prophet.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

As sacred things should not be touched with unwashed hands, soe states matters should admitte noe vulgar handlinge: prayer is here the churchmans onely weapon. He must neither lift up his hande to reforme, nor his voice to reprove. To moue to trouble and commotion is a motion exentricke and out of his comission. They are all in these cases barred byc and maine, except they be of the Councell, and in Councell; for seditious preachers against the state politicke, and scandalous inueighers against the state ecclesiasticke under which they liue, bringe distraction in those states and distruction to themselues.

466.

Adagium Senec. Ep. 67 Nicephor. Lucret.

Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.

About the 25 of April last the Cessation with Insichuyne was published, and was to continue for six months (if wee may giue credence unto the periured contriuers), which were expired at the 25 of now October, but in regarde the clergie congregation opposed, excommunicated all and singular adheringe unto the same, some corrupt and penentiat members of both secular and regular clergie,

The Cessation continuance.

1648. to curry fauour and caducat profit at the hands of these separatists, begin to write some ill grounded Queres as to proue the lawfullnesse of the said Cessation with an hereticke against the comon sense and publicke vote of the clergie congregation to amuse by such a false surmishe, the factionists to continue their apeale and contumacie to Church decree. The author of these Queres was one Peter Walshe, a Franciscan fryer, deposed by lawfull doome from his lecturie of Diuinitie, by Thomas McKyernan, Prouinciall for the Fryers Minors of Ireland, and sent unto the conuent of Castle Dermott for domo disciplinæ, or prison, for signinge unto the calefication of Generall Thomas Preston, embracinge Clanricards engagment neere Dublin, as n^o 252 touched, and would not by comannde or intreatie of his superior recant, as the Generall himself had don; now the heauens angrie and the swellinge waues of furious distempers arisinge, comes out of his religious prison, offers himself and lucubrations to that malignant lay parte of the Councell, as a vendication against clergie and religion, and fathers those Queres upon the seconde infancie of the Bishope of Ossory, Daudid Rooth, whoe neuer yett in his daies shewed himself clement unto regulars, and much lesse now did villipend all clergie in generall, beinge upwards of foure score yeares ould and highlie traduced by a deade palsie, and consequently of noe abilitie, either to pen, studie, nay, nor understande any question or difference that did admitt the leaste difficultie, or sillogisticall inference. The grounds of these sage Queres were to proue the lawfullnesse of the said Cessation, ex diametro, against the Congregation assertion, and brings for instances, that the kings of Fraunce, Hungary, Polande and others, made not onely cessations of armes for a certaine limited time, but peace for soe many yeares, with the Great Turke and Sarazines, the comon and publicke enemies of all religion. . . This inference suites verie well with its childish (bis pueri senes) and paralticall author. I aske the reall or truely author of that Quere, whether those Catholicke princes, cited by him in the premisses of that said induction, were publickly sworne not to admitt any Cessation or peace with these pagan princes? or whether their said peace or Cessation was preiudicious unto both church and nation, they sworne to the contrary? or whether they therby did betraye church right and clergie, surrenderinge unto that enemie of religion what alreadie they enjoyed in quiet possession? or whether by such Cessations or peaces those Catholicke princes did forsake and relinquish their owne sworne, reall, faithfull, and Catholicke Confederats for those pagans? or whether these Catholicke princes were necessitated to conclude either a Cessation or peace with those infideles? or whether those Catholicke princes were tyed to the contrarie, by a higher power, by the mediation of oath and couenant? or whether those pagans did joine in vertue of the said peace or Cessation with the said Catholicke princes to be of one and the same partie for the furtherance of Catholicke religion (as therto sworne themselues) a thinge against their owne secte? or whether those princes were made stronger at that present, as concludinge the said peace or Cessation, then before when joined to their owne Confederats? or whether those princes concludinge peace or Cessation as aforesaid, in shakinge off their Catholicke Confederats, sworne for the furtherance of holy religion, more numerous, better souldiers, natiues, and lesse chargable, did here those pagan souldiers for the
- Peter Walshe, apostat fryer.
- The Queres were fathered upon the Bishope of Ossory.
- Queres against the authors Quere.
- Obscure those.

furtherance of the said end? All those doe concurr in our case, ad literam, and the grounds of the excommunication noelesse; but none of those conditions founde in the instances, foolishly produced as premisses, unto the said induction, therefore your quere haltes amaine. 1648.

There is neuer a man of any shallow witt, but will admitt peace or cessation of armes to be lawfull with any enimie upon good, honourable, and safe grounde, unlesse otherwise by oath or couenant obliged; but the Confederate Catholicks of Ireland were iointly and seuerally sworne by the oath of union and association, not to make any publicke or privat conditions, either of peace or Cessation with any enimie, in preiudice of Catholicke religion, and without the sense and aprobaton of both Nuncio and clergie Congregation, as aboue touched, and neuer to sheate their sworde untill they see the lustre of religion flourish in Ireland, as it did in England in Henrie the Second's time, beinge then all Catholicks, for infrenchinge this soe solemne an oathe, and for their periurie therein comitted (as in itself a mortall sin, and consequently grounde enough for an excommunication), the Congregation and My Lord Nuncio did fulminat the same, as aforesaid; This, or such another acte, did not apeere in the instances illusorily produced, by the author of the said queres in the Catholicke princes, concluding peace or Cessation with infidells whose onely obiecte was temporall busines; noe oathe or couenant to the contrary (as is here) lett any man judge whether plyable to the said oathe, to further religion unto that former splendor, to bringe in such associats whose are meere athiests, Puritants or Protestants, and cares not for any religion they be off, soe they be not Catholicks, which they abhor as the deuill the crosse, to bringe in those, I say, for the furtherance of Catholicke religion, meere antagonists therto, and shake off all confederacie, union, and association with such members of the same religion, as euer yett proued most reall and earnest in all paste ages, these 1500 yeares and upwards for its furtherance, us by the unall and records, both canon and prophane, upon searche may apeere to the dilligent reader.

467.
This is our case.

Stronge instruments for religion.

The continuance of Catholicke religion in Ireland.

Notwithstandinge those and thowsands more pregnant reasones (which for breuities sake I omitt) to the contrary, these supercilious authors, to indeere themselues unto this malignant parte of the Councell, and to amuse silly and illiterat people, doe write those queres, fathered as aforesaid, upon the second infancie or continued franticke and paraliticall prelate, and this Walsh, a Protestant English sluttis son, did sent for seuerall other fryers of the same Order of like education and extraction with him, to signe to those queres, by the name of diuines, the greatest parte wherof neuer saluted afarr off Pons assinorum, or therein miscaried; to each one did send a particular letter, comittinge soe important a negotiation unto their considerations, the malignant Councell did contribute towards the defrayinge the charges and costs of each particular; to one gaue £10, to another £8, to another £5, accordinge as they thought the parties qualitie and condition required; for they could not finde any men of Judgment or note other then those penitentia fryers, and incendarie members of base and irreligious extraction to signe unto those. As against the lawe of all religious people (though otherwise learned) to signe or aproue any booke, or printe instrument, without the consent of their respectiue superiors, wherof those are guiltie of disobedience.

468.

By it for to disparage that brans nation, but to enforme the poore extraction of this Walsh.

Poore beggers won by baites.

1648. This Walshe a fitt instrument of such a malignant lay Councell, to bringe in soe ill desearuinge members, as prime Doctors for the calefication of such a monster ; but sufficient enough for such a subiecte as they now fallacianly handle. Walshe is the Councells Judas, or pagador for those caytiffs, suborninge and seducinge many that euer yett loude inouation and libertie, by publicke and privat instruments, and aduicinge others to doe the like, as by one of his letters that hapned to fall unto my hands may apeere ; which is as followeth :—

469.
Walsh
his letter.

Reverend and my louinge father,
I reade your letter, and Father John Flatisburie together, and though I condole your case, yett can I but admire your simplicity that would obey such apresses ; but since you are soe weake in your selues, and many others of your condition, wee le endeavour to helpe you soone out of that thraldome ; in the meane time, doe what a religious man ought, but in this greate difference concerne the kingdome, be not slacke nor timorous, to speake publickly and privatly your minde, and to take notice of any man whosoever countenanceth the other way, for he shall be proceeded against soone, as betrayor of his country. All things for your satisfaction you shall see from the presse soone. Yesterdaie I preached at S. Kenyes church with soe greate audience as was neuer seene there in our memorie before, as euery one sayes ; the subiecte was this greate controuersie, withall the grounds, and euill and goode consequence of it. My dayly and mightie employment in writtinge of seuerall busines, for I am somtimes constrained to sitt 24 howers, consequently writinge hinders me from acquaintinge you with particulars. I am sorie Father Richard Synott hiered not a horse yesterdaie, if he be there yett lett him hiere one out of hande, and it shalbe payed for here ; pray to God, as our cause is most just, and our aduersaries most sinfull, and without any colour of iustice ; soe our endeaours for the publicke saftie may be most successfull, as in deede I hope.

Your Paternities most affectionat
PEDRO.

Post Scripta : Pray Father Pary goe to the Soveraigne, and desire him doe that fauor to Father Richard, and for the Supream Councell sake, and to send a horse with him presently ; there would goe a warrant downe for it, but that I beleue twile be otherwise don, by your onely desire of it.

For the Rev. Fathers John Pary, and John Flatisbury, at Rosse.
Kilkeny, this presente Munday.

470.
A comen-
tarie upon
the former
letter.

You see, reader, how this Luteran dogmatists perswades those his disciples to speake publickly and privatly what comes to their mindes, not to feare any. It seemes he willeth them, like those recent Puritants, to be totally guided by the spirit, to teache and preache what it moues, neuer examininge whether good or euill. He argues their simplicitie in obeying the prelate ordained ouer them by superiour authoritie, he and they, if religious, to obedience of that kinde sworne, which is the very chiefe pointe of the essence of religiositie. A braue diuine, that diswades him and brothers from complying with that solid and prime ground of all religious buildings rescinding wherof in the opinion of all Catholicke diuines

is impossible to continue religious. He condoles their case, at living under the sweete yoke of obedience to a lawfull superior. Thraldome doe call the same, beinge soe intimate to his former beinge, and essentiall unto his past vocation of regular, he promiseth to deliuer them of it, not otherwise, then to shake off all obedience, and consequently all religiositie, and fourthwith become apostats. Aduicing them to prey to euerie mans actions, to be enformers against them that are of contrary sense (id est, conformable to both conscience and vocation) in criminall causes, though alienat from priestly function, soe tender is he of kingdome saftie, that he dispenseth with his disciples to doe that bloudie information right or wronge, that both Gospell and canon lawe prohibitts. He promiseth the foresaid queres by that worde, all things from the presse; he glories in his sermon in S. Kenys church, all the subiecte therof onely raylinge, and amonge the rest preached that day that the Frenche nation beinge in warr with some neighbouringe princes, a mightie defeate was giuen the Christian Kinge; and other mortalitie after ensuinge, the number of their people did mightie decrease, and in a maner dispaired of beinge popular in many yeares after, if some remedie and salue were not applied. The Parliament of Paris sittinge upon this busines, bethought of a good and sounde aduice (said this preacher), which was to bringe the sacred virgins out of their cloisters and nunries, and marie them, or at leaste use that ancient rule given by God to our first parents for the procreation of the worlde, *crescite et multiplicamini*, for those canot choose but be founde, and apt for generation, and is farr lesse hurte to use this remedie, then suffer this flourishinge and Christian kingdome to be unpeopled of its owne loines. Walshe, in his said sermon, did repeate this same storie 3 or 4 seuerall times, and aproued the wisdome of such as conceaued that acte. Many did mutter that day that the preacher was in loue with some nunn, and for his said purpose produced that storie for proper calefication; if not for this reason, I knowe not to what purpose should he doe it, for there was noe such scarcitie of the Irish nation, that such a rule as that in the infancie of the world conceaued was necessarie, unlesse he meante by that example to cause the factionists of this Kingdome to multiplie their number for succeedinge ages, and continue that Jeroboam race (*qui peccare fecit Israel*) by the surfeite of that forbidden fruite, which he soe much comended.

Walsh his
hereticall
and er-
ronious
doctrine.

Gen. 2.

What would not this man acte against religion, that soe peremptorily and falsely preacheth such scandalous and fained doctrine, in disparagment of soe angelicall a state as virginitie is? followinge rather the stepps of Martin Luther that hearesi-arche, then any diuine that euer yett handled a penn? he must needes cause the nuns that are tyed to cloister to run apostats, as well as the forementioned his disciples. It is true, many of this sex were alreadie seduced by him and others of that Palestra, from due obedience unto lawfull authoritie; nay, for the most parte, all became reprobats in that sense, except Anably and Elish Tyrrell, ould Captain Tyrrells daughters, and two Reyllies, Huigh Reyllies daughters, all of the third order of S. Francis, whoe proued in this action the mirour of religious and obedient behauior, not onely there but in the whole kingdome. All the sermon of that daie, soe much boasted of, was of this and such other like stuffe, as not pleasinge or sauoringe unto Christian eares, I forbear to relate; he desires the prayers of those his abettors and alumnes, reputinge them saincts (but sure in Fox

471.
Against the
Gospell.

What
nuns
were obedi-
ente to
Superiors.

1648. his kallender) in behalf of his iuste cause against My Lord Nuncio and clergie Congregation, judginge them his aduersaries, all most sinfull, without justice or worthynesse. O Pharisaicall! Irregular religious are you soe soone oblivious of our sweete Sauours parable of the publican and pharessei, the one boasting of his owne prehemencie in vertuè (as you doe) villipendinge all others, and specially the deuout penitent and humble publican, whoe by our Sauours verditt, by his humilitie and humble acknowledgment of proper frailtie was justified, and the other your examplare, and his antigoniste prescited by those words, qui se humiliat exaltabitur, et qui se exaltat humiliabitur, which doctrine you or yours neuer yett was soe hapie as to putt in practise or execution. O vipers broode, whoe made you judge of all Gods Churche, and all Catholicke Uniuersities in Europe, by one indiscrepant note sings your confusion? whoe by that worde, aduersarie of yours, are understoode, they are all siners, because they oppose periurie, mantaine all lawes, naturall, written, evangelical, canon, and ciuill, stande to a lawfull and godly oathe, publickly and solemnly sworne and vowed, defende holy religion against athiests, royaltie against intruders and traitors and the libertie of a free borne nation against tyrants. Is not all this warrantable by Holy Writte? Fathers, Universities, and all diuine and humane lawe, beside those recent ones conceaued of late, to patronize horride treason against Gods anointed, judginge it a lawfull and gratfull sacrifice to beheade a Christian Kinge, and offer his inocent bloude a tragicall scene on the theater of humane bloudsuckers, as a member of this jurie, and a patronizer of that tragedie, you tearme all opposers of the same to be your and your adherents aduersaries.
472. Your persecutinge of braue prelates of Holy Churche, is inatiue in you as from your cradle, when but a slipp of a yonge fryer enformed the Protestant State of Dublin, in time of persecution against an apostolicall prelate, a true child of Dominicks Order, Rochus Geoghegan the Catholicke bishope of Kildare, sayinge that he was not Kildare but Tyrons bishope, to exasperat herby the State against this holy prelat, which cost him many a nights wall, now calls both Nuncio, Clergie, and laitie, as aforesaid, sinfull except himself and his adherents, which are most guiltie of the same themselues, accordinge Senecas opinion, malus ubi bonum se simulat, tunc est pessimus. O hirelinge wolfe in sheepe cloathing! O poore fellowe, whose periured tongue is tippt with siluer, and receaue Gould for your rewarde! O accursed that haue bene a singular prouoker of this ciuill warr! not to reforme or uphold religion, as you vainlie and falsly boast of, but to flay holy prelates out of their skins that you alone may eate their fleshe and render their names odious to the world by these enthusiasme or fire rapsodie queres, sullied with all kinde of banfullnesse, and poysoninge ingredience, flagitiously handled, like your uterine councitmen, that blasphemous thrashe, neuer squemishe of any your proceedings, will soone become another Corenthus, disputinge against the diuinitie of Christe, by whom all vertue is brought to such a deade necessitie, that loue to God lies bed-red, hope languisheth, ægrotaque fides etiam iam proxima morti, though you tearme yourself and yours the onely just. What pharesie or Puritant did euer extoll his proper merit, or could stande more stoutly to his owne justification then these our religious, that from a conceited perfection of a

Luc. 18.
Publican
and
Pharisey.

The reason
why all the
clergie are
sinfull.

Rosse
Geoghegan
persecuted
by Peter
Walshe.

Peruse this
against
Walshe
and his—

self-righteousnesse presumes to despise all Christian congregation except onely 1648.
 themselues. Come on then, blinde beetles, rustie hinges of these recent broyles,
 moles, and sons of the earth, the rowlinge Pilion upon Ossa, lett apeere your
 scelerous acte, your inimitable foperie, your high, heinous, and flagitious treason,
 whose father the deuill, pride and ambition her mother, all impieties her faouurers,
 and her followers without excuse, rarifie now to the worlds viewe your stoliditie,
 presentinge it, infernall hagggs, to your windy-lay patriarks; such as rushed, like a
 hearde of nastie swine, to signe unto those gallimawfrian and hodgepodge queres,
 under the name of euer ignoramus diuines, to giue a luster unto the author and
 his squalled inuentions, are as followeth:—

Professor of Diuinity, Fr. John Barnwall. Christopher Maurice, a Jesuit.
 James Thalbot, of S. Augus. Order. Laur. Archbold, V. Gen. of Gleandalagh.
 John Shee, Preb. of Main. Fr. John Dormer, Theologus. Luke Cowly, Arch-
 deacon of Ossory. Fa. John Flatisbury, Theologus. Fr. John Pary, Theologus.
 Fr. Antonius Sweetman, Theologus. Fr. Thomas Thalbot, the Queenes Chaplaine.
 John Roe, Provincial Carmel. James Sedgraue. Wm. Dillon, a Jesuit. John
 Usher, a Jesuit, Paul Nasse, Prebend. Wm. Shergoll. Peter Walsh, Lector of
 Diuinitie. James Thalbot, Doctor of Diuinitie. Henry Plunkett, Superior of
 Jesuits. Fr. Bonav. Geraldinus, Theologus. Fr. Lodovicus Geraldinus, Theologus.
 Fr. James Delamare, Theologus. Fr. Symon Wafer, Theologus. Laur. Mathewes,
 Præses of Carmel. Dauid Rooth, Episcopus Ossoriensis. Thomas Deaz, Medensis
 Episcopus. Thomas Roth, Dean of Kenys. Fr. Thomas Babe, Theologus. Fr.
 Paule Synott, Theologus. Robert Bath, a Jesuite. Wm. St. Leger, a Jesuite.

Walsh
his diuines.

Those be the braue authors that signes unto those queres, condemninge all Gods
 Church of impietie, iniustice and malignitie, reputinge themselues onely the pillars
 to uphold from fallinge this greate and stupendious machina of holy religion; as for
 Ossoriensis, upon whom these were fathered, was soe traduced (as aboue mentioned)
 that not onely was not of abilitie to understande or studie the matter in question;
 nay, could not doe soe much as to leaue his character upon any paper, such a deade
 palsie was he possessed of; now to the rest, numeratim, a litle touche. As for
 Peter Walsh the true author of these libellinge queres, to searche unto his actions
 is an-euer-finishinge labour, a toylsome laborinth of mischiefe, another Sauanarola
 in deportment and hope will be soe founde in his jornall. As for John Dormer,
 sure if his sense were desired in the bachanalian trade, was there soe excellent, that
 without further inquirie might for a legendarie Cathedraticke gaine supereminencie
 in that Universitie onely, whose onely competitor is Antony Sweeteman. If of
 ignorance, disobedience and apostacie, Delamare and Thomas Thalbot are the
 prime practitioners therof; if of contention, strife and debated, Walsh and Doctor
 Thalbot, this man neuer yett liued without those qualities euer contestinge with his
 metropolitan and ordinarie, the noble and godly prelate the Archbishop of Dublin,
 Thomas Flemminge. I doe not wonder that Paule Synot did call himself Diuine,
 and will aproue such a booke as the present against the clergie determination, for
 a disciple to such a master could not oterwise choose those, as beinge these many
 yeares possessed of an apostat spiritt, to the exceedinge trouble of Fr. John
 Esmonde, and others usinge many conjurations and exorcismes, notwithstandinge

473.
A descrip-
tion of
those
Diuines.

Peter
Walsh.
Iohn
Dormer.

Antony
Sweetman.
James
Delamare.
Thomas
Thalbot.
Doctor
Thalbot.
Paule
Synot.

1648. was neuer his owne man, such a mans aprobaton soe vehemently desired, beinge alias void of all Diuinitie, other then what was imparted him by this minister of wrath, lett any man judge what it should be deriuinge his ospringe from such a fonte; but good enough for such a subiecte. Symon Wafer, by the verie ethymologie of this mans name and sirrname you may prey to his actions to be most inconstant, his name doe importe obedience, but his sirrname doe transpose the same unto a thinge of nothings to an unlasting essence; he like an acrie kide speakinge still, but, but without sense, disobedient (I doe not meane the present acumulation of all contumacie), whoe miscariinge in Wexford conuent, the guardian comanded him to say his culpa next morninge in the refectorie (beinge the fryers custome), to receaue therby a reprehension for the parties future instruction, whoe answered like a toute, or a maddman, as he was, that he was for the Kinge, and therefore would not obey, what a foolish consequence; howeuer, a factious induction, this mans vote is good enough for the calefication of this booke, and condemne all the clergie in generall. Of those two Geraldinian pillars, I receaue as satisfaction for their misdemeanor and contumacie in obedience that they can neither preache or teache, and if euer they sawe pons assinorum, and offered to passe the same by timeritie, as sure as death was baptized there by the said pons, and soe doe euer since continue that name assini theologi. But good enough for the present purpose, to aproue the booke of such an athor. Thomas Babe (indeede soe) was a good simple man in the exterior habitt, and in the estimation of men a vertuous one, of the ranke of illiterat to be called Diuine (without disparagment to his person I say it), confessor for many yeares unto the nuns of St. Clare, both he and they in all the prouince (excepte one or two in Athlone conuent of the FitzGerald of Bellogh), did swarue from their obedience to lawfull superiors, he in them or they in him, workinge this obstruction, his pulse handled by Walshe, findinge him labouringe with the same lethargie, was sent for, and signed to those queres. But after questioned for such a lewde and irreligious deportment, truely, said he, it was for noe ill will, nor as affected unto that inouation, but a self mistake, for I assure you I neuer perused a worde of those queres, when I signed unto them, but desired to signe to that paper, and seeinge many hands before me in compliange of that request onely, haue putt my hande to it. O poore simple man. As for Thomas Deaz, Bishope of Meathe, he is a man that euer yett spent his time in jolitie, composinge of Irish reemes, more like libells then any exemplarie or vertuos myters (as the subiecte now offered), displayinge therein the secret faults or privat miscariadge of either sex, whether right or wronge, to the noe smale discreditt of noble personages of both encumbencie and extraction, was euer yett auerse unto the holy warr of this, an ill affected member unto the chiefe promoters and best seruitors of both kinge and kingdome, bearinge an inueterat hatred and malice unto the ancient Irish, disobedient to both Nuncio, provinciall and nationall congregations, wherby existed seuerally and nominatim excommunicated, and caused all his priests to run the same scene of disobedience, and his Vicar Generall, his owne nephewe Oliuer Deaz. Knowen unto the zeudo councell for such a temper, suitinge to their now times, was desired by their minister Walshe to signe to those queres, and though was, as aforesaid, he refused to doe it, but further solicited he signes, thus in a geeringe maner—*crostum as coir*.
- Symon Wafer.
- Bonaventura and Lodovicke Fitz-Gerald, Thomas Babe.
- Thomas Fitz-Gerald's daughters.
- Thomas Deaz, Bishope of Meathe, detractinge myters.
- Oliuer Deaz and the Clergie of Meath, except Daniell OMollhan, refractorie.

as cautelous, fearinge some ill consequence to followe, notwithstandinge Walshe did putt his hande unto the printe. All the rest that signed to the said queres, were of noe better qualitie or stuffe, then the formentioned. Judge then, indifferent reader, what credence should any man of understandinge giue this booke, calified and aproved by such authors? Sure it had been a disgrace to any man of repute (though the subiecte were aliàs reasonable, and by his superiors admittance) to signe unto it, in company of such a rable of men, the scum and froath of religions, in all the kingdome. I meane both presente and future that joines in this actione, a thinge beyond all ecclesiasticke comission, to reforme or handle lay busines, and speciall those of holy S. Francis rule, whoe should be meere strangers unto any such worldly pelfe, and those lay-patriarks that doe countenance those zeudo preachers and antidiuines to enueigh against ecclesiasticke and noblmen, will certainly bringe distraction upon the kingdome and distruction to themselues.

1648.

A disgrace
to any man
of worth
to signe
with this
rable.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

THE weapon of a Generall is his truncheon, of a souldier his sworde, he, onely to comannde, this onely to execute; for in this is the danger but of one mans life, but in that the hazard of all, that comannder whom his companion thought to outbraue, because he had receaued moe wounds in the warrs. And I (quoth he) hould this the greatest imputation which euer fell justly upon me, that in the siege of Samos, I aproached soe neere to viewe the fortification, as my life was in danger by a shott from the wall, wherfore a Comannder-in-chiefe should alwaies stande couered under the seauen fould shield of Ajax, and neuer expose his person to aparent perill, but in case of a generall overthrowe and manifeste defeate.

474.

Egesip.

Prob. d.

Ep.

Demet.

Plut.

Tacit l. 11.

Hom. Odis.

5.

Stetit sub Aiaci clypeo septemplici tectus.

The Vlster or Catholicke armie was on winter quarter towards Sliavaniaruine, (as no. 465 mentioned). Collonell Roger Maguire with 5 or 6 regiments of foote and some horse, marched to Jamestowne, did send sumons unto Teige ORuairke (whoe kept the same for Clanricarde), to deliuer uppe the same unto him, whose returne was, that if he did win Carradrumruiske, would himself become of his partie, and deliuer him the towne at pleasure; noble Maguire was herby satisfied, marched forwarde to Carradrumruiske, arriued thither about two aclocke in the afternoone, and upon sight did send sumons unto Colonell Richard Bourke, no. [blank] touched, that he should surrender him the towne. The defendant Colonell, well fortified, with horse and foote, amunition and provision plentifull, and a stronge forte, did not feare any runinge armie, and therefore returned a negatiue answeare, whereupon this braue warrior Maguire, comandedd fourthwith 1500 or 2000 fagotts to be brought, and therewith filled upp the sconce ditche on one parte, and comandedd a most couragious, nay, desperat assault to be giuen, the resistance proued heard in regarde of their number, and the strenght of their forte, was manly opposed, but the charge of the assaylants exceeded all mediocritie. This

Roger
Maguire
with some
of the
Catholicke
armie
marched
to James-
towne,
and what
there?

Carra-
drum
ruiske
besiedged.

1648. noble warrior was soe eager for the wininge of that place, that beyond the limitts of all reasonable discretion, gaue his owne armour of prooffe, to Captain Noisie McCamell, whoe leded the assaulte. But the Colonell went still naked and in action, forcinge by word and deede all the souldiers to aduance, but he by his actiuitie was noted, by the defendants aimed, shott, and killed, alas braue man, now to be numbered amonge the deade, whoe instantly was feared of the most valliant; if you did onely use your office of chiefe comannder in that fatall action, you did not come to soe untimely a deathe, and did proue more deere unto yourself, seuerall times before did your vncke giue you a checke for your forwardnesse in such an action, contrarie to the rules of armes, for the onely weapon of a chiefetaine is his truncheon, of the souldier his sworde, he onely to comannde, this onely to execute. If you had beene obscaruant of this, the danger had beene of one man, but in transposinge which the hazarde is of all; what will that poore partie doe now without their leader? and such a leader, as a flocke of sheepe without a hearde; nay, what will the poore Generall your vncke doe, that lost such a nephewe, his right arme, and onely stickler. O valiant Machebeyan broode, doleo super te, mi frater Jonatha, woe be unto the Catholicke armie, that lost such a member, and thrice moe unto that your noble familie now stickinge unto a fewe orphans of weake and tender age.
475. After the killinge of this noblman, the assaulte beinge soe hott on both sides that the assaillants neuer tooke notice of their comannders miscariage, untill the defendants were not able any longer to hould out, cryed for quarter, which was grannted onely of their liues, the assayllants now in possession of the forte, and victors, lookinge about them, missinge their leader, and upon inquirie, findinge him deade, lett any man judge what grieffe they conceaued. All their victorie and triumphe was turned to moane and lamentation, all their joy to sorowe, all their woundes to recent bleedinge, now there is noe memorie of past danger, noe sorow for other such as there perished, nothinge in all that accursed towne hearde, onely the repercussion of their martyrishd palmes, and from hills, dals, and rocks the reciprocall senseless sounde of continuall faintinge echoes keepeinge touche with their tyred clamours, tellinge truely and plainly to that high Jupiter that the verie second Astræa of Vlster (was there before their faces deade), as well by extraction, numerositie of men and warrlike feates; the excesse of their now greife was such that a man might thinke them deuoide of all Christian ciuilitie, rather blaspheminge against the diuine ordinance as of uniuste and unparaelled proceedings. But obsearue, in midst of these desearued sensibilities, how tender of their promise towards the deffendants quarter, that now seeinge him deade whoe had beene their lorde, master, and comannder, to whom, under God, they ought their beinge, neuer offered the leaste injurie unto the meanest of the vanquished in reuenge of this fatall scene, rather punctually obsearued the least condition in their quarter grannted, and soe with noe other losse of their men, leauinge a garrison there, marched with their chieftaines corps, Colonell Bourke and Lieutenant-colonell Kelly, and others prisoners in his company, towards Lisomuychan, where the poore Generall kept his residence, the prisoners (upon their arriuell) were remitted unto the defuncts proper house (beinge exceedinge
- A manly assaulte.
- Roger Maguire killed.
- His omission in relation to his office.
- 1 Mach. 13.
- The forwardnesse of the assaillants.
- Their consternations and lamentations.
- How tender of their promise.
- Obsearue the indicitie of those.

greate humanitie in those keepers not to destroye them, in reuenge of their lord and master), his corps was interred in S. Francis of Cauan, where we leaue him with a farewell of glorie to sleepe eternally in Abrahams bosome, and for a while doe forbear speakinge of his uncle and friends to giue way a litle to sobbs and teares, fruite of the first trangression, to try their patience in the losse of such a subiecte.

In this verie time Sheane OKenedy of Dunaraile, a reformed Colonell under the Catholicke Generall (by the surmishes of Donagh McHuigh Oge OConor, Colonell, inlisted in the said partie), promisinge a braue partie in Conaght to be in a readinesse against his cominge thither, marched with a partie of 600 foote and seauen score horse (in expectation of the said abettors) of the Vlster armie towards Breack Luaine, Thomas Dillon McThibotts house, uncle unto this Colonell Conor, the house was in the predicament of Cresus, arriuinge thither (none of that Conaght partie accordinge apointment did apeere) did send sumons unto the deffendants, whoe presently intertained parley, and promised within 24 howers to surrender the same if not reliued, this agreed upon, did send notice unto Clanricardes campe, horse and foote, within 5 or 6 miles unto the said place. Clanricard receauinge this intelligence, comanded a partie of horse and foote to marche unto the said deffendants reliefe; the horse made readie and away they wente, and the foote, under the leadinge of Laghlin ODonellan, followed; the Vlster partie trustinge to their securitie, hauinge noe fitt watche or scoutts, not fearinge any such irruption, was not aware vntill they sawe the enemie horse in a warlike posture marching towards them, hauinge had a skirmishe for an hower. The Vlster ouer swayed by the multitude, and fearinge the enemie foote, gaue grounde and retired to places of saftie, receauinge on either side noe considerable losse, but sure if the forementioned Donellan did marche timely with his foote as comanded, the Vlster partie (for wante of intelligence and too much confidence in the securitie of the place) did receaue a dangerous foyle, and be in an eminent danger. It was publickly bruted that he made halte seuerall times that day in his marche (as thought to noe purpose) to protracte time, as not willinge to offende the Vlster partie, this party marched to their proper quarter, and soone after the said Colonell Kenedie went to his natiue cuntry Upper Ormond. Not longe after this Major-Generall Huigh Oneylle went to Carradrumruiske, and there did apointe for chiefe comander Captain Huigh ORuairke. But Captain Teige ORuairke in Jamestowne neuer complied with his promise to surrender the towne unto the Vlster partie and become himself of their association; nay this very man that the Maior-Generall now employes, Gouvernor of Drumruiske, forsooke him soone after, and treacherously became a member of Clanricards partie, contrarie to honestie and the truste imposed on him by the Major-Generall. I see none of those Conaght as constant as gentlmen should be, in recompence wherof I meruayle but the diuine clemencie in his just judgment will permitte perfidious men to deale with them for a time, that will not keepe touche or performnce, that therby the punishment might be equialent unto the offence, the ordinarie course which, I feare, is drawinge unto its period.

1648.
In Cauan
interred.

476.
Sheane
OKenedy.
Donagh
OConors
deceite.

Laghlin
ODonellans
humanitie.

Colonell
Kenedy to
Uper
Ormond.

The
Captain
Ruairks
treacherie.

1648.

CHAPTER XL.

477. THE panther carries with him a sweete sent, but an ugly face; that inticeth beasts
 Tacit. *Hist.* after him, this affrighteth them: therefore he hides his heade till he haue the prey
 2. within danger. Soe is the sauor of soueraignty verie sweete, but the ugly face of
 Cic. *Cat.* 2. those meanes by which it is gotten men see not, and soe run unto the toyle, and
 Livi. *l.* 14. perishe in the pursuite; for beinge once embarked in soe bad a cause, the farther
 Senc. *Ep.* they wade the deeper they are drowned in the whirl poole of their owne errours:
 Plut. the more they weaue in the loome of such deceitfull plotts, the faster are they
 Plini. *Nat.* ensnared in the trape devised for others.
 Hist. *l.* 8.

Claud. 2.
 Ruff.
 [Juv. x.]

Quid Crassos? quid Pompeios, euertit? et illum
 Ad sua qui domitos deduxit flagra Quirites?
 Summus nempe locus nulla non arte petitus,
 Magnaque numinibus vota exaudita malignis.

Ormond
 very busie.

2 Reg. 15.

A brazen
 foreheade.

Deceitfull
 intimation
 of Or-
 monde.

His con-
 trarie
 oathes for
 Puritants,
 Protest-
 ants, and
 Catholicks.

You remember wee left Ormond in France, no. 378 touched, highly engaged in his negotiations for the Parliament of England with the Hugonets of France, My Lord German the Queens minion, the Parliament factor with the Queene and Prince by his mercurie Barry in Ireland, with Insichuynne and the malignant lay parte of the Councell, as aboue scuerally spoken off, where left neuer a stone untouched, noe witt unexamined, or noe pulse unfeeled by himself, abettors, and mercurie indeeringe himself unto all, pryinge to eache mans actions like another fratricide, Absolon sittinge at the publicke intrance and gates, where either English, Irishe, or Scotte might apcere, to insinuat unto them his desire to searue his Majestie and the royallists of the three kingdomes, if once enabled therto by the vote of the respectiue nations, and by her Majestie and prince inuested with power of Lord Leutenant in Ireland, a more fitt place to worke those intendments. By those shamelesse apologies, he acts his proper exaltinge by that sweete sent. But the ugly face of his hydeous treasons against his sacred Majestie in deliueringe unto the comon enemye all the royalties of Irelande doe hide untill due time, though knowen to the Christian world, how basely and treacherously he abused his Majestie in the lowest ebb of his fortunes, what then he surrendered by deceit and for moneye, intends now to regain by craft, to trafficke therein, noe doubt, better in the same arte, in the future. The guilt of his former acts, if any sparke of shame or honor did lye in his breste, did make him suspecte all men, and specially Generall Neylle, whom euer he founde auerse unto his principles: the five fingers therefore of this treasonable packe of longe hatched disloyaltie and faction arriued to poore Irelande and landed in Corke, about All Halantide, 1648, to bringe the knaue, the laycall parte of the Supream Councell, and the ace of hearts, Insichuynne, by cogginge play unto one and the same hande, to make it a sure game, where he infuses unto the cares of Insichuynne and his Puritants how capitall enemies the Neylls haue euer proued unto the Bryans, and to induce the Puritant and Protestante partie by a more sure tye unto him (though alreadie engaged to the Catholicks by publicke oath and couenant) against the Catholickes, now by a publicke printe

instrument did openly sweare to uphold, mantaine and propagate, the Puritant and Protestant religion to his power and best endeauor, not onely in the kingdome of Ireland, but in all the world beside, this had beene his first station and action in Ireland at his now landinge, which how true it can be, and how incompatible these oathes be, hoccus pocus may judge. 1648.

This first parte of his play acted, to the hearts contente of the then beholders, tooke his way from thence directly to his proper house of Carrignashurie, at present in Insichuynes possession, which fourthwith was deliuered up unto his hands, beinge the couenant betwecne him and this malignant lay-councell, makeinge some staye, while an assembly was (by non impowered withered members, by all lawes, their present composure considered, uncapable of such authoritie) gathered or called for, such of the kingdome as euer yett followed this stringe of disloyaltie and faction did peremptorily apeere, then all things readie for the receauinge of some royall person, or for a great Roman Captain after vanquishinge and subduinge foraigne nations, for triumphe, notice was sent unto this Amalecithes, that he begin his journey for Kilkeny, his resulte of compliyanse notified unto the Zeudo-Councell, all the nobilitie, gentry and Councell (then extant) roade from Kilkeny in a flourishinge equipage, the matter of 10 miles from the citty, to receaue and conducte this Dagon idoll unto his former Missænas the greate Castle of Kilkeny, where arriuinge in a ceremonious or gyrynge maner, tould his Excellencie they would giue him the possession of the Castle for 30 daies, and if in the meane time his Excellencie and the Catholicks did agree, he to continue the said possession, otherwise to deserte the same, and yeld it unto the hands of the Supream Councell, as at present. All which was foperie, and onely to deceaue and seduce poore ignorant people, for their couenant was such alreadie indorsed. Ormond now in possession of the castle, all the Irish there was packed out of doores, and reddcoate-Puritants introduced, to garde both cittie gates, castle, and his Excellencies persone, comittinge all maner of insolencie, none durst oppose them, as onelie rulers themselues, neither did those recent dieties Ormond and Insichuynes hinder their exorbitancie, such cruell and licentious behaiour was used, that the meanest witt did penetrate unto the depth of former squalled inuentions of these coridons of beastly iniquitie; the present metamorphosios of affaires in Kilkeny, any deseruinge spirit, such as can spie a knaue through a lesser hole then a sneakinge schismaticke will be glade to creepe unto, when his turne comes, haue kickt out of belife and fauor, as a monstrous chicken, hatched by a company of unlucky birds, whom a rare prosperitie and undesearued encumbencies haue confirmed miraculously impudent.

The assembly, as aforesaid, gathered unto Kilkeny (with the same indifferencie, as aboue mentioned n° 393) to agree with Ormonde, or rather confirme the same alreadie made by the two agents in France, those thought themselues validly impowered to oblige a whole nation, the best and most parte wantinge and opposinge, neuer as much as once dreaminge that their power of summoninge an assembly was confered vpon the Supream Councell of both spirituall and temporall mixture and composure, by the kingdome indifferently conuened, sworne for protection of religion, kings prerogatives and nation libertie, now hauinge violated that maine truste, against your protestations, oathes, vowes, couenants and ample 479.

The royall esteeme of the councell towards Ormond.

The Zeudo-councells colusion.

The metamorphosios of the gouernment by Ormond and his red-coates.

Assembly summoned by noe power, and therefore noe assemblye.

1648. declarations, doe stande convicted of periurie, fraude, and impious faction, and soe haue forfeited the acte that gave you power, as hauinge broken the conditions upon which it totally depended. You might remember, you sitt not in a royall chaire, nor the absolute kingdome styrers, but subordinat, but if your course pallats are now made soe dainty by the sweete rellishe of comannde, that you can taste noe other meate, then what is therby sawced, and must needes rule equally with your makers, be their riual, nay, superior in gouerment, then shall your owne hands testifie against you, where you subscribe your actes thus: By the Supreame Councell of the Catholicke Confederats, whoe then shall comence suite against you and your horrid actions? whose meere will is made the kingdomes rule, or rather semi-dietie forcing not onely our exterior consents, but our internall conscience to your more then humane worshipec, whose ordinances in that behalf haue roared soe loude and horribly, that all the Christian world doe echo therwith, and the weake voice of Catholickes is drowned in the thunder of them and growen soe hoarce with exclaiminge your madnesse, that now they can hardly whisper and not speake to be understoode, truely the whole nation must be the plaintiffe, and the action for makinge our habitations desolate and turninge this fruitfull land unto a barren wilderness. You terrifie poore simple soules with that name of Supreame Councell, to the viewe of the worlde, wantinge both heade and right legg, the spirituall and some collaterall members, and soe doe now consist with the onely trunke, with the gutts and excrements to make up that seeminge bodie.

The madnesse of this Zeudocouncell.

Whoe is onely a truncke.

480. This seeminge, or extrinsicall nominated assembly and members therof behaue themselues more like subiects unto their soueraigne, slaues unto their masters, then any way like free borne nation unto their fellowe subiects, a home-brede gentlman, or a bird of the same feather of theirs, with billets, petitions and genuflexions, did desire Ormond the benefitt of peace (cominge in as aforesaid, like a theefe not by the doore), havinge not as much as one sworde to drawe in their behalfe other then 5 or 6 that waited on his owne person, except what those plyant and humble suiters did now intrust him with, neither had sixpence of his moneyes to spende, ether in offensive or defensiu warr, all at their charges. About the time that these periured agents did agree in France with this peere, his extenuitie was such, that dubious, what to doe in the behalfe of proper subsistents, did petition the Courte of France, humbly desiringe the Christian Majestie to be pleased towards the reliefe of a poore banished peere of Ireland, to grannte him the honor of a foote Colonells place; though the suite was soe beggerly, as of our now greate Ormonde, was denied, as enforced of his former proceedings in this extreamitie, the factious councell, and periurous agents made him greate by their owne undertakings, by the sweate and labour of poore inocent people, not onely in the nature of a man, sent and authorised by a Kinge, but by the zeise of an absolute monarche, which I doe verily beleuee was noe lesse in his aime, or their idea, this was soe publicke that many of his faction did brute that ere longe the verie highest cedars in Ireland would soone submitte themselues upon their kneese unto Ormond, which ceremonie onely compiteth to kings and monarches. They spent greate time in those billets. An intimatt freinde of Clanricarde residinge in the country and desirous to knowe the proceedings in Courte, with this hyperbolical prince, after

The Anti Assembly doe behaue themselues like subiects unto Ormonde.

The pouertie of Ormonde.

The faction doe intend to make Ormonde kinge.

his said oathe in Corke, for Puritant and Protestant religion, what did he now promise the Church of Rome, this said partie desirous to knowe, beinge assured that Clanricard then in Kilkeny was the Bernardino da Corte in Ormonds packe, upon whose receipte Clanricarde satisfies him, as followeth.

Vpon consideration of debates had with certaine members of the assembly, and some signification of the sense therof on our answer to the 4 first propositions, inclosed in our letters of the 19th of December, directed to Sir Richarde Blake, we thinke fitt thus to declare ourselues and our intentions, which weare and are, that it be enacted to be passed in the next Parliament, that all and euerie the professors of the Romaine Catholicke religion shalbe free and exempte from all mulcts, penalties and restraintes and inhibitions, that are or may be imposed on them, by any lawe, statute, usage, or custome whatsoever, for or concerninge the free exercise of the Romaine Catholicke religion. And that it be likewise enacted, that the said Romaine Catholicks shall not be questioned or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for any matter or cause whatsoever, for concerninge, or by reason of the free exercise of their religion, by vertue of any power, authoritie, statute, clause or vsage whatsoever. And that it be further enacted that noe Romaine Catholicke in this kingdome shalbe compelled to exercise any religion, forme of doctrine, or diuine seruice, other then such as shalbe agreeable to their conscience, and that they shall not be preiudiced, or molested in their persons, goods, or estates, for not obsearuinge, usinge, or hearinge the booke of Comon Prayer, or any other forme of deuotion or diuine seruice, by vertue or color of the statute made in 2 yeare of Queene Elizabeth, intituled, etc., or by uertue or colour of any other lawe, declaration of lawe, statute, custome, or usage whatsoever made or declared, or to be made or declared. And that it be further enacted that the professors of the Romaine Catholicke religion, or any of them, be not bounde or obliged to take the oathe expressed in 2^o Elizabethæ c[ap]. i., comonly called the Oathe of Supreamacie, and that the said oath shall not be tendred unto them, and that the refusall of the said oathe shall not repende to the preiudice of them, or any of them, they takinge the oathe off alleigeance, in hæc verba, etc. But it is not herby intended by us, the Lord Leutenant, that any thinge in those concessions contained shall extende, or be construed to extende to the agrauatinge of churches or church livings, or the exercise of jurisdiction or authoritie, not extendinge soe farr, yett wee are authorised to giue the said Romaine Catholicks full assurance, that they shall not be molested in the possession which they haue at present, the churches or church livings, or the exercise of their respectiue jurisdiction, as they now doe exercise the same untill such time as his Majestie upon a full consideration of their desires in a free Parliament shall declare his further pleasure, which wee shall accordingly giue our assent unto, all other matters upon this treatie beinge first agreed upon.

These be the maine and totall concessions of Ormond and his de la Corte to the Catholicks, which you may without partialitie peruse, and by its perusall see how single the grannte, and how malicious the Catholicke, that penns such illusive offers to seduce ignorant and inocent men, thinkinge, what is here said, to be somethinge, whereas really is nihil onely repetition of words, nay under the vizard of

1648.

The Frenche did see call the knawe in their packe.

481.

These be the Articles granted by Ormond in his now peace to all Catholicks.

Worste then the oath of Supreamacie.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Ja. Dempsey, Vic: Generalis Kildar: Prothonotarius Apostolicus.

482.

This smoothe knawe and cyclophant Catholicke.

1648. religion this anti-Catholicke peere doe endeauor to bringe in all the Irish nation upon a stage to sweare an oathe equiualent to that of supreamacie, that he seemes to exclude, nay farr worste, as is noted, above, no. [blank], a Catholicke (if such he were) may disdaine to receaue such a condition in the behalfe of his religion from his equall, or inuolve it in his owne mouth, as reasonable, that calls the Comunion Booke or other prayers used by hereticks diuine or holy, what might wee expecte at the hands of such a petulent intruder of holy religion then what dayly we see him acte, the very poore concessions here grannted were neuer yett obsearued, as here after will apeere. These suposed Catholickes did in most submissiue maner implore his acceptation of theire submission, whoe though noe fardinge in his purse, was maintained like a prince, with such a retenue, a garde of horse and foote, that I doubt whether yonge Prince Charles in the verie best fortune of his father, was soe royallie searued, such a multitude of braue cavalliers, Puritants and Protestants flockinge unto him to waite upon him, all upon the poore Catholicke score, but our priests and fryers durst not be too publicke in the cittie, by the accesse of soe many ministers, Puritants, and Protestants, and specially such as opposed verbo et calamo Insichuyns Cessation, and would any way diswade from this Ormondian gouernment durst not shewe his face, this spurious, schismaticall and zeudo-assembly to indeere themselues unto this recent idol began publickly to persecute all religious people that did not adhere unto them in this newe doctrine and gouernment to this purpose issued a warrant to the High Sheriffe of the countie of Wexforde to aprehende the bodies of the Guardian of Iniskortie, Fr. Bonaventura Mellaghlin, and the Guardian of Newrosse, Fr. Iames Tyrrell, for treason, noe other then what alreadie touched theire warrant verbo ad verbum as followeth :

The alteration of religion in Kilkenny.

There treason is for obeyinge their Superiors.

483.

By the Generall Assembly of the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland.

The Council or rather the Assembly warrant against fryers.

For capitall and high crimes, wherwith they are respectiue charged, these are to will and comannde you imediatly to aprehende and in sure and safe maner in the directe way hither, to sende the bodies of Fr. James Tyrrell, guardian of Rosse, and Fr. Bonaventure Mc Mellaghlin, Guardian of Iniskortie, to be further dealt withall by this Assembly, or those to be intrusted with the gouernment as shalbe thought fitt, wherin on paine of £500 you may not fayle.

To the High Sheriffe of the Countie of Wexforde. Richard Blake, chairman.
Phillipe Cheevers.

Copia vera : Ita testatur, Fr. Joan : Esmond, Guardianus Wexford[iensis].

It is verie strange how those abortiue statists nourished euer before those comotiones by the deere brest of our sweete mother the Catholicke Church, and as such reputed, did breake out in the behalfe of theire inatiue religion against the thundring clouds of persecution hanginge ouer their heades, doe now soe highly degenerat from theire former education, and swarue from theire said first holy principles, traduced to the possitiue opposition therof, and are become hereticks, or at leaste erroneious schismaticks, shakinge off all obedience to the chiefe ministers of theire former belcefe the clergie, and makes noe scruple of the fearfull sworde of waringe excommunication, too often unsheathed against them, to diuerte their

headstronge and obstinat contumacie therin; not to speake here of seuerall excommunications published by the clergie Congregation in Kilkeny assembled, in the month of May, 1642, against all such as did agree either in peace or cessation of armes with any enemie, without the consent of the kingdome assembly and clergie Congregation, or did intermedle the manadginge of church liuings or tyethes, other then accordinge the Clergie prescription, etc., wherof nothinge was obsearued. Wittnesse the first Cessation with Ormond, 1643, both offensive and prejudicious to all well affected Catholicks, whose sense was neuer desired, but a handfull of corrupt members concluded the same, contrary to the former vote of both Assembly and Congregation, wherby they euer yett stande excommunicated by the said Congregation. As for the tyethes and church-liuings it is more then publicke, that the laytie onely had the handlinge therof, contrarie to the foresaid congregation decree, hauinge noe remorse of conscience to be soe often galed with soe manifould and deadly ruptures, but still continue in the same disobedience.

What will wee say of the Congregation of Waterforde, sittinge against the reiecte peace, wherin you were declared periured and excommunicated with all the conthriuers and abettors therof, in hac verba :

1648.
Excommunications
against the
Councell,
anno 1642.

Incurred
in the first
Cessation,
1643.

484.

By the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of the Clergie of Ireland.

Whearas dayly the proclamation of the peace and its publication, is insisted upon, by those of the late Supream Councell, noe regarde beinge had of our decree of the 13th of this present, wherby we haue declared all such of the Confederat Catholicks as adhere to that peace, which is contrarie to our oath of association, which wee haue taken to be esteemed guiltie of periurie. Likewise whearas those which haue accepted the said peace, and now asist at Kilkeny, as those of the late Supream Councell and the Comissioners of the Reuenewe, by their orders haue sent certaine companies of horse and foote unto the seuerall counties and colonies of the Confederat Catholicks, to exacte from the publicke Receiuers and from the dwellers, leuies, impositions and moneyes, despisinge our decree of the 17th. of this presente, wherby wee haue admonished all and singular debtors of the publicke, that henceforwarde they shall not send to the publicke treasurie monies out of the publicke leauies and impositions, because wee knowe well such monies are to be sent to the treasurie of Dublin, and left to the disposition of Protestants. Wee therefore hauinge a tender care of the consciences of the flocke, and desiringe to apply speedie remedie to soe greate an euill by this our present edict, wee declare, decree and ordaine, that it is and may be lawfull, to all citties, townes, and corporations, and all and singular the Confederat Catholicks that reiecte the foresaid peace, as allsoe all the Confederats denyinge to pay moneyes and leauies, as aboue, against all such as with force and violence inuade them, as well forcinge on the said peace, as for exactinge the aboue publicke leauies and monies, themselues to defende, and vim vi repellere, that is to putt backe force by force, accordinge the lawe of nature, which alloweth euery man to defende himself, in which matter wee doe vehemently perswade and desire that nought be don, but Christianly; et cum moderamine inculpatæ tutelæ. And likewise wee further declare, by this our decree, that all Comissioners and Receauers, and other persons whatsoever, that haue in their

Water-
forde Con-
gregation
against the
reiecte
Peace,
1646.

1648. hands the publicke leauies or moneyes, in deliucering up such moneyes, without our allowance, shall be excommunicated, and all such troupes and souldiers, or others whatsoever that will exacte, or by force take away such moneyes contrarie to the decree of the 17th of this present, shall likewise be excommunicated, of which wee praye all our flocke to be most carefull.

Dated at Waterford the 26 of August, 1546.

De mandato Illustrissimi Domini Nuntii et Congregationis Ecclesiae utriusque cleri Regni Hyberniae.

Nicholaus Fernensis, Cancellarius.

485.
The acts
herin in-
hibited;
comitted,
did incurre
the cen-
sure.

Will any man conceaue as an obiection against us that those here mentioned are not excommunicated, for the decree speakes of the time to come (shalbe excommunicated); as answere therto, I say that it is verie idle to conceaue it soe for comittinge or perpetratinge the acts herin expressed inhibited and forbidden doe actually and ipso facto incurre the said excommunication, though the decree in your sense doe speake de futuro, which should be referred unto the futurition of the acte, and consequently proues our intent, as grounded on the periurie in the same decree declared, wherof were neuer yett absolued, nay dayly incurres seuerall and sundrie others by Bulla Cœnæ and Canon Lawe, wherof you may haue a litle taste to your better instruction to be capable to judge of their proceedings which are,

1. first of Bulla Cœnæ, as followeth. First, aiders and abettors of hereticks or
2. schismaticks. Secondly, perusinge their bookes. Thirdly, searuinge under
3. hereticall ministers against Catholicks and Catholicke religion, asistinge them either with men, armes, amunition, moneyes, victualls, aduice, or counsaile.
4. Fourthly, in offendinge, persecutinge, or disrespectinge Cardinalls or other greate
5. prelates, deriuinge their power from the Sea Apostolicke. Fiftly, comandinge
6. ecclesiasticall persons to apoere and brought before secular tribunalls. Sixtly, takinge away churche or ecclesiasticall inunities and freedome, or in any wise
7. troublinge or enfrengeinge the same. Seauently, prohibitinge prelates the
8. executione and assecution of their respectiue encumbencies. Eightly, judginge them in laicall iudicature, or asistinge any that did it, either by aduice, fauor,
9. countenance, or otherwise. Ninthly, intrenchinge or usurpinge on the ecclesiasticall jurisdiction of any prelate, or sequestratinge his rents, reuenues, or other
10. casuall profitts. Tenthly, exactinge tyethes, aploiments, or any other charge
11. upon ecclesiasticall persons, religious monesteries, persons or goods. Eleuently, hauinge any hande in capitall or criminall causes against any ecclesiasticall person.
12. Twelfthly, possessinge churche lands, and usurpinge any papall or episcopall jurisdiction. Many other excommunications whereby those perjured persons are obnoxious may be scene plentifully in Clementinis et Extravagantibus, Cap. Inter cunctas, de libertate ecclesiastica; de tortura ecclesiastici: Cap. Universitatis, de sententia excommunicationis, et Cap. Quærenti de officio Delegati aut Nuntii; Decret. de immunitate ecclesiae, Cap. Conquest. decret. whoe injuriously persecuteth the Popes Legat or Nuncio, Cap. Quicunque excommunicationis in sexto: he or they that comitts Ecclesiasticall person or persons to jaile, prison, or any other safe custodie, either publicke or privat: Cap. Nuper, de sententia excommunicationis, he

The ex-
communica-
tions of
Bulla
Cœnæ,
Domini
and Canons
against the
Councell.

that attatched or arresteth, or causeth to take or arrest any churchman, or 1648.
 shutteth the doore of the house or chamber wherin he is, that he may not come or
 goe at libertie, or comandeth souldiers, sheriffes, or officialls to attatche, arrest,
 bringe to jaile, prison, judgment, or restraints, bounde or loose, or uncatholickly
 persecuteth him or giue aide, counsaile, or fauor, privatly or publickly, directly or
 indirectly to any the said acts, are ipso facto excommunicated, by Capt. Unica de
 clericis, in sexto, and the gloss in Cap. Si quis, suadente diabolo, and the Comis.
 Lateran. Cap. Non Dubium.

What then will these Jederitts, abusers of all that is religious and holy, and 486.
 blasphemous against Gods Diuine ordinance, say to these and thousands more
 (wherof are obnoxious), which for brevitie sake are passed ouer? will they appeale
 from these as illusorily and vainely they haue don from others of like nature,
 fulminated by My Lord Nuncio and his Congregation, onely cryers to publishe the
 former lawes? verily, as good grounde may they shewe for the one as for the other,
 should God then concurr with Diuine operation with such, to the cooperatinge of
 any action, morally good or meritorious? Soe often and seuerally by his onely
 spouse, our holy mother the Church, and its lawe, anathematized? What? may not
 they obsearue in the fore-cited lawes eache their transgressions ad vim (by that
 neuer erroneous and Diuinely-inflaminge spirit the Holy Ghoste, holy Church
 Dictator) to be comprehended? The former warrant that issued from the said
 Anti-Assembly against the forementioned religious men, onely for adheringe
 accordinge their regular vocation and rule to the papall authoritie, existinge not
 onely in his owne holy person, but allsoe in his dellegats, legats, nuncios and
 missionaries), doe confirme and aproue all their former excommunications and
 anathemas. But induratum est cor Pharaonis, their heartes are soe malliable and
 obdurat against penance, that they rather heape a world of Church censures upon
 that weake subiecte of their cautereat consciences, without the leaste sensibilitie or
 groane, scruple or remorse, then any way recante, become penitent, or obedient to
 their quondam mother the holy church. There is neuer a sentence, worde or
 phrase in the forecited lawes, wherin they are not inuolued to adhere unto hereticks
 against Catholicks and Catholicke religion, is as cleere as the sunn. To usurpe
 episcopall and papall dignitie is as plaine as the sun to be hott and warme.
 Witnesse the prieste, Laurence Archbold, apointed Vicar-Generall of the diocesse
 of Dublin, by this Assembly or their Comissioners, and depose Fa. Edmond Reyly,
 legittimat and lawfull Vicar therof, by the Archbishope legally assumed, noe other
 faulte or crime apeeringe in this Reyly, other then his due obedience to the
 Popes Nuncio, and to his proper metropolitan, and if other did apeere (as did not)
 it was beyond any secular power to alter the dignitie of such a place, and conferr
 it upon another, by sola laycall jurisdiction, to depose one that was well desearuinge,
 and canonically instituted, and institut another Henricianly subrogated, without
 euer aduicinge with the Archbishope then in Kilkeny, or with My Lord Nuncio,
 then in the kingdome, is not this palpably to usurpe papall and episcopall juris-
 diction? and consequently excommunicated by Bulla Cœnæ Domini. O poore soules,
 O infernall hagg that haue coniured one of the most faithfull nations under heauen
 unto a disloyaltie, and a preposterous obedience, whose reproache will neuer be

The
 Church
 Secretarie,
 or rather
 Dictator.

For the
 Assembly
 and Coun-
 cell are
 inuolued in
 the said
 Canons.

Edmond
 Reyly de-
 posed, and
 Laurence
 Archbold
 assumed
 by the
 Councill
 and
 Assembly,
 etc.

Num. 26.

1648. don away. Consider the example of Core, Dathan, and Abiron, heades of greate families, many of the people at theire deuotion, and famous in congregations, held a conspiracie, by the power of faction, against Moyses, to roote him up and radicat themselves, ticklinge the conceited people with a grosse but pleasinge flattery, which then (as now) was set in the van of all other pretences, that all the congregation, that euerie one of them was holy; what followed? a tragicall catastrophe gaue them the lye, for the earth was sudainly made an instrument to punish conspiracie and faction, beinge expresselic comanded to open her wide mouth, and either burie those traytors aliue in her owne dark intralls, or give them free passadge to goe downe quicke unto hell; was not Lucifer the most shininge peere of the creation, but grewe quarrelsome, and by like did fancie a channce and newe gouernment in heauen, must needs try masterie with God, not thriuinge, was reiected not onely unto hell, but allsoe unto a forme soe ugly to, equal by the rule of contraries his former beauties, as will astonishe a good faith, when it beholds him onely with the eye of contemplation; wee see he was made a deuill for his labour. O poore aspirers, if you did seriously consider this you might see your proper delinament and therefore feare the like successe, and though Gods judgment is retarded, sure it will come like a diluge to your destruction of both bodie and soule. How could those thriue? how could they doe well? beinge soe publickly characterized with the black staine and infamy of periured traytors against God, Kinge and nation, as hereafter will appeere.

Core,
Dathan,
and Abyron
swallowed,
Num. 16.

Lucifer
whirled
from
heauen.

Paternes
of the
Councell.

CHAPTER XLI.

487. As in man (the worlds epytome) one member hath neede of another, nor can the more noble parts execute theyre office, or facultie, without the assistance of the most base: soe in that greate world, prouidence hath seuerally dispensed her graces and blessings to seuerall countries, that standinge in neede of eache others helpe, there might be associable negotiation and freindly consociation betweene them. Hence is it that leagues are made betweene states for the mutuall supplment and superte of one another. But the colleagues haue comonly their owne particular ends, beside the generall good pretended.

Arist. de
Politie. l. 2
Esop. Fab.
15.
Vug

Et quid quæque ferat regio, et quid quæque recuset.

This malignant loyall Councell, soe often tumbled and besmeared in the fexe of periurie and anatheams, contrarie to their owne publicke and printe[d] declaration, outhe of association, and the publicke trust reposed in them by the kingdome, did now conclude peace with both Ormonde and Insichayne, they brute and infuse unto all mens eares, that this peace was concluded for the generall good of all Confederats, nay, of the whole kingdome, but sure eache of those conthriuers had his particular end, beside the generall good pretended, for Ormond (as aboue toucht) aimed at the royall crowne of Ireland to which was well perswaded, the

Peace con-
cluded with
Ormonde
and In-
sichayne

Clergie Congregation, the Catholicke Generall and their adherents to be auerse and pursuant to their oathe, to be most affected to both religion, Kinge and nation libertie, all which could not existe with Ormonds greatnesse), Insichuynes had his peculiar end, to be both chiefe of his owne name, the Bryans (for the Earl of Tomond was at present in England with the Parliament, a poore begger), and Lord President of Monster, soe apointed by Ormond. The anti-Councell, for their tender care of Ormonde, were confident to be remportides in the gouernment with him, and to acte this with some lustre, and to shake of all Confederacie, and to become publicke members of Sathan, as separated from holy union, they and Ormond both actiue and passive ministers, doe renounce their former owne, and are now baptized under the name of Comissioners Intrusted (which will proue a nicke name) by the gouernment; by this recent denomination, they forgoe that honorable, pious Catholicke and euer aduantageous title of honor, Supream Councell of the Confederat Catholicks, least to swarue any thinge from the Parliament, which calls its steeringe, gouernment, soe Ormonde and his now colleagues doe name theirs, gouernment, and forgoeth all other titles used by the Catholicks hertofore, from that day haue neuer thriued, either they, Ormond, or Insichuynes.

1648.

Each had his particular end.

The change of names is here from good to worste. Their consonance with the Parliament.

They conclude this peace upon soe base, treacherous and disuantageous grounds our greate and thundringe Supream Councell of Confederat Catholicks of Ireland, hertofore (portentious and terrible to attracte mens wonder and adoration, if but for feare), are now turned to be ciphers to Ormonds greatnesse, and are nominated by this Belial couenantier, Comissioners Intrusted by the gouernment (which hereafter must be their names, in the sequell of this storie), are now like Adams true descent, after comittinge his disobedience to Divine mandat in paradise, naked, as shakinge off that glorious inocencie attire), but none here apointed Comissioners of truste, other then such as proued themselues both refractorie and factious in all their former proceedings. Viscounte Costllagh was the first in this Comission, under the honorable name and title of Lord President of Conaght. My Lord of Athunrey, Sir Luke Dillon, Sir Phelim Oneyll, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Richard Everarde, Alexander McDaniell, Richard Bellings, Gerrott Fennell, James Cusacke, Kellagh OKellaghan, and Geffry Browne, Esqrs. By this now couenant, Ormonde could acte nothinge of any greate concearnment without the consent and aduice of these Comissioners, seauen or moe of them, such of the clergie as adhered unto them was provided for, as those gaue out, but false, noe other then what aboue mentioned by Clanricard; as for the regulars, noe worde spoken of them, but—

488.

Gen. 3.

The Comissioners by Ormonde intrusted to the Gouernment.

1648.

CHAPTER XLII.

489.
Salust.
Jug.
Bod. fol.
607.
Lucan, l. 5.

As in particular purchase, soe in partage of a kingdome, eache boundarie and buttinge must precisely be sett downe, and the names of places must be taken, accordinge to the latest and most vulgar acceptions; but yett with an alias dictus, and relation of their ancient appellation, to auoide all causes of litigious quarrell, either by the lawe, or the sworde, for such is the willfullnesse of couetous purchasers and ambitious princes, as these limitts are seldome soe perfectly butted out, but that they yeld matter of difference, and occasion of warrs to such as those, disposed euer to quarrell.

—Jam voce doloris
Utendum est, non ex æquo diuisimus orbem.

The
Assembly
omission.

After all was agreed with Ormonde, this impious and pernicious Assembly did remember an omission in the articles of agreement, that noe mention was made of the regulars of the whole kingdome, because they were seuerally sworne to the oppositiue, they forgott it, any thinge they will minde onely religion, the prime scope of their warrfare and chiefe pointe of their reiterated oathes. Now they petition Ormond to be pleased to giue the regulars satisfaction, whoe now invested with authoritie, hauinge all things now to his owne hearts desire, concluded and perfected, was verie nice and scrupulous, at length by many suites and intercessions grannted as foloweth :

490.
Greate
Ormondes
gyringe
grannte to
Regulars.

At the instance, humble suite, and earnest desire of the Generall Assembly of the Confederat Catholicks, it is concluded, accorded and agreed upon, that the Romaine Catholicke regular clergie of this kingdome, behauinge themselues conformable to these articles of peace, shall not be molested in the possessions which at present they haue of and in the bodies, scites, and precincts of such abbyes and monesteries belonginge to any Romaine Catholicke in the said kingdome untill settlment by Parliament. And that the said clergie shall not be molested in the enjoyinge of such pensions, as hitherto, since the warrs they enjoyed for their respectiue liulihoode from the said Romaine Catholicks. And the scites and precincts here intended are declared to be the bodie of the abby, one garden and orcharde to eache abby (if any there be), and what else is contained within the walls, mures or ancient fenches or ditches that doth supply the wall therof, and noe more.

Charles
the First,
Kinge of
Englands
raigne.

Dated 17th of Ian., 1648[9]. Caroli 24.

This grannte did come as shorte as the petitioners willingnesse to obtaine it, and as triuiall as the most issuinge from withered hands, for upon this score verie fewe were insayled in Catholicke hands, except such as Clanricard and Galmoy had, which was as farr from the regulars therein concerned as that which was in Ormonds hands; wherfore some of those reputed members of that Assembly as had a litle sparke of shame in them adressed themselues for a second suite unto that minion of treacherie and third greate trumpe of that disloyall packe of Ormondian

game, Insichuynes, whoe authentickly undertooke the compliance of the former grannte, and as an addition of proper beneuolence, such monesteries and abbyes as did belonge before, and in those comotions unto Protestants to runn the same race with others alreadie mentioned (which is like Clanricards engagment at Dublin aboue mentioned), how euer satisfactorie unto those periurous members, this was all they desired for the regulars, and this same soe untimely, that Insichuynes, how bad soeuer, proued the regulars best benefactor in this extenuitie of affaires, and this by some innatiue prouitie that way. The ambitious covetousnesse of this hyperbolicall prince is in this poore and beggerly grannte discouered, as noe certaine boundarie or buttinge is precisely sett downe, accordinge vulgar acceptions or ancient appellation, but runs from the worde precincte, unto bodies and scites of abbyes, and from what at present they enjoy, presently restrained unto the onely bodies of ould and ruyned walls of monesteries, and this hott podge of grannts, intendments and declarations therof, onely to render cause of littigious quarrells, either by the lawe or sworde, as it did in many and moste parte of the kingdome wherof I am an eye wittnesse. What then, may any man judge of this Assembly and Councell that did surrender unto this enemie of Kinge and religion all that was deere unto both intrusted on them by the kingdome, contrarie to oathe and couenant, and after sues him by a second revista, and obtaines by the perseuerance of many humble suites (as this Jeroboam doe falsly brute) what you here see, as in their owne articles of agreement additionally may apeere; loe, how willinge they had beene to shake of religion.

1648.
Insichuynes engagment as addition to the former.

By all, the Regulars are confined onely unto their monesterie walls.

Was the like passage euer scene?

CHAPTER XLII[A].*

THE discoursinge power of the soule is the most excellent of all her other parts, because the more it conceiueth, and the greater the subiecte is, the more purely it apprehendeth and the more perfectly it comprehendeth, whearas her other faculties are by the difficultie of the obiecte, or the assiduitie of the intention, dazled, dulled, and stupified. Hence it is that seconde considerations and resolutions are more wise and more safe then the former, because they are grounded upon reasons not at first considered.

491.
Arist. de Anima. l. 3.
Suet. de Aug. c. 25.
Scapula.
Senec.
Suas.

Secundæ cogitationes sunt sapientiores.
Velox consilium sequitur pœnitentia.

This philosophie generally is most euident and true, onely in this our late Supream Councell and now Comissioners intrusted, the first reiected peace, (wherof were once impeached, as n^o 246 mentioned) was nothinge worst then the present, nor the present any thinge better then it, nay this farr worste, for Ormond

This philosophy is false in those abortiue statista.

* The number XLII. at the head of this Chapter was apparently an error of the transcriber. It is here numbered XLII[A]. to distinguish it from the preceding Chapter XLII. commencing at p. 292.

1648. had then some abettors of his owne, the Kings garrisons and sworde in his hande, a magazine of armes and amunition, a plentifull quarter to mantaine his owne partie, now all those are wantinge. Insichuynes Puritant partie and Ormond inuitinge all Puritants and Protestants to come unto him, to searue under his colours, all which must be maintained upon the poore stocke of the Catholicks. The names of such Colonells as were here invited by Ormond, with their seuerall and respectiue regiments, all of the self same profession, and putt in posture of payment, are as followeth: Colonell Wogan with a regiment of Caualliers (when arriued to Kilkeny did looke like poore starulinge naked sneakes, but greate summs of money aplotted upon the poore Catholickes to furnish those with horse, armes, cloathes and money, that presently in shewe they proued such). Colonell Henberson, George Monroe, knighted and apointed Colonell by Ormonde, Colonell Treuers, Colonell Thresswell, Colonell Trafford, Colonell Walle, Colonell Birne, a Protestant; Captain Thomas Armstronge, a run-away from Dublin, not as tender of his Majestie's seruice, but assured of preferment by Ormonde upon his sole arriual from a Captain of horse, was out of hande apointed Colonell of horse, these 9 Colonells to make up their respectiue regiments, consistinge all of Puritants and Protestants, upon the charges of the Catholicks as aforesaid; euery one that was banished formerly by the Catholicks as enemies to both kinge and countrie and noted Parliament members since those comotions were now inuited by Ormonde, and the custodiams of their respectiue lands intrusted unto them, though they desired by any claime the bodies of monesteries, were allowed to inter possession therof (contrary to the former grannte unto regulars), noe worde comunicated to the Comissioners assumed for truste, as promised in the now couenant, but all don se solo; this was the seconde or after witt of those pismeeres (which accordinge our politicall Aphorisme should proue more wise and safe) as grounded upon reasons not at first considered; our late Councell did euer yett plead pouertie and disabilitie to pay the Vlster armie (their owne chiefe Confederats) any meanes or winter quarter, but must now be unwillingly pleased to giue both unto those 9 regiments and Insichuynes armie, enablinge them against themselues and their sworne cause, which if wise, loyall or Catholickly giuen, might easily and with a wett-finger preuent, but note—

Nine
Puritant
Colonells
newly be-
come of
Ormonds
partie to
aduance
holy re-
ligion.

492.
What the
lawes are
for.

Lawes are the ligaments of euery state, the sinewes of societie, the firme bands of unitie and comon concorde, and the high marshall of discipline and all comely order; by these the rich man is priuiledged from all theeues, putt himself and an euill conscience sleepe securely, leauinge his chest wide open and his angells to garde themselues. The poore labourer, rightly tearmed the rich mans asse and the worlde drudge, though he sigh under his burthen, yett carie it patiently, enforcinge honest paines to supply his wants and enlarge the smale talent of his fortune, meum et tuum, by nature enemies, of dispositions proude, encroachinge and cholericke, are taught to dispute their bounds without quarrellinge, and obsearue their mutuall distances. All which faire and intire felicities we owe under God to our former gouernment of the Confederat Catholicks, whoe had been most punctuall in the obsearuaunce of the fundamentall lawes of the kingdome, as a man would wishe (wherin if any thinge was don amisse, was by the ill conducte

of those withered members intrusted therunto) had their severall judicatures, 1648.
asseyses, terminiers, and essoyns, their judges, lawyers, clercks, and attorneyes
still attendante, their wages payed them out of the publicke exchequer. Sed All equities
olim meminisse juuabit. But noe sooner did this tyranizing Ormonde handle the banished
helme of this unfortunat-fluctuatinge kingdome, but turned all those blessinges by Or-
topsi-toruye (though sworne to the contrarie by couenant, banished all judicature, monde.
non such was now usefull, drewe all to himself, all was don now by paper O braue
petitions (beinge recent in mens memorie, this to be one of the chiefe articles royalliste!
for the beheadinge of Thomas Wentfourth, Earle of Strafford in England) 8.^a 6^d. The chiefe
for euery petition, noe orders therupon conceaued other then what George Lane, charge of
his Puritant Secretarie, did please to grannte by those meanes inriched both himself Straffords
and Lane, the judicature now uselesse, the best clarks and attorneyes are glade to behead-
be turned seruants unto Secretarie Lane. Upon a bare petition to Ormond, in inge.
matter of transcendent qualitie, by the onely enformation of the plantiffe, order
did issue against the deffendant to some prolinge officer (the said deffendant neuer
heard or summoned to apeere, or as much legalitie used as an affidaut that he was
searued) to cease upon the bodie and goods of the defensiuie partie untill the
querelant were satisfied of his said suposed claime; of severall such orders grannted
by him, I was an eye wittnesse to my grieffe, for some of my deere freinds were
inocently left beggers by the bargaine, where wee leaue him with his newe
gouerment a while and speake of the clergie faction.



APPENDIX.

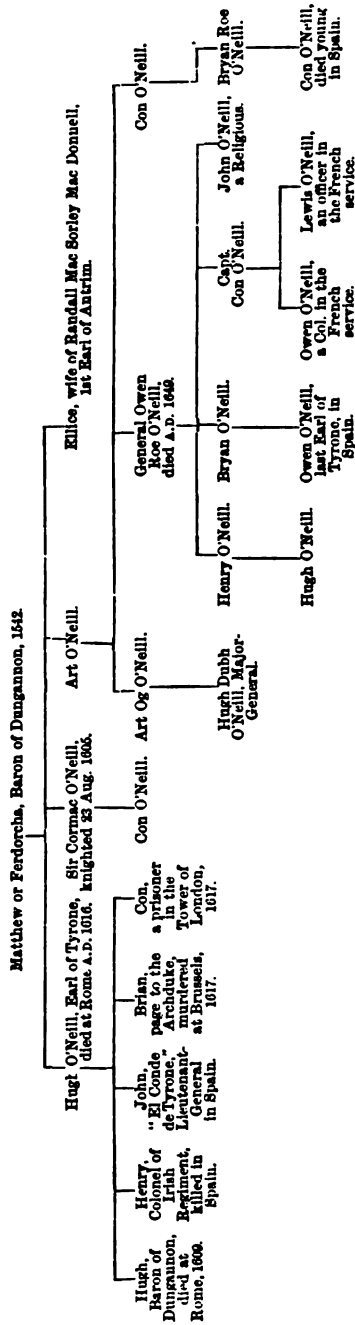
I.

1. O'NEILL GENEALOGY, FROM THE TENTH CENTURY.

1. Niall Glundubh, monarch of Ireland, A.D. 916.
2. Muirheartach, prince of Aileach, killed A.D. 943.
3. Domhnall, (Donnell) of Armagh, prince of Aileach, died A.D. 980.
4. Muirheartach, Midheach, killed by Anlaf, the Dane, A.D. 975.
5. Flaithbheartach "of the pilgrim's staff," died A.D. 1036.
6. Aed Atlaman, died A.D. 1033.
7. Domhnall.
8. Flaithbheartach.
9. Conchobhar (Conor) na Fiodhga.
10. Tadhg Glinne.
11. Muirheartach of Moylinny.
12. Aed Toinleac, died A.D. 1230.
13. Niall Roe, A.D. 1225.
14. Brian, "of the Battle of Down," slain A.D. 1260.
15. Domhnall, died A.D. 1325.
16. Aed Reamhar, died A.D. 1364.
17. Niall Mor, died A.D. 1397.
18. Niall Og, died A.D. 1402.
19. Eoghan (Owen), died A.D. 1456.
20. Henry, died A.D. 1489.
21. Con Mor, slain A.D. 1493.
22. Con Bacach, created Earl of Tyrone in 1542, died A.D. 1559.
23. Shane (John), the Proud, slain A.D. 1567.
23. Mathew or Ferdorcha, Baron of Dungannon, 1542.
25. Art.
25. Henry.
24. Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, died at Rome A.D. 1616.
26. Felim.

I.

2. O'NEILL GENEALOGY—continued.



Daughters of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone: I. Mary, wife of Sir Brian Mac Mahon of Monaghan. II. — wife of Donal Bainsch O'Chaban. III. Sarah, wife of Arthur Magennis, created Viscount Iveagh, 1622. IV. Margaret, wife of Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret.

II. ULSTER CHRONICLERS' ACCOUNT OF SHANE O'NEILL.

APPENDIX.

“O'Neill (Shane, son of Con, who was son of Henry, who was son of Owen) mustered a very numerous army, to march into Tirconnell against O'Donnell (Hugh, the son of Manus, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe), to plunder and ravage the country, as he had done some time before, when O'Donnell (Manus) was not able to govern or defend his principality or country, in consequence of his own infirmity and ill health, and the strife and contention of his sons. The place where O'Donnell happened to be with a few forces at this time, with Hugh Oge, the son of Hugh Roe, [and] with others of his relations, was Ard-an-ghaire, on the north side of the estuary which is called Suileach; and hearing that O'Neill had arrived with his forces in the country, he dispatched messengers to summon such of his chieftains as were in his neighbourhood, and he himself awaited them there [at Ard-an-ghaire]; they did not, however, come fully assembled at his summons. As they were here waiting, they received no notice of any thing, until, at break of day, they perceived, just within sight, on the other side of Fearsad-Suilighe, a powerful body of forces rapidly advancing towards them, in hosts and squadrons; [and] they stopped not in their course, without halting or delaying, until, without halting or delaying, they had crossed the Fearsad, for the tide was out at the time. When O'Donnell perceived this, he instantly drew up his little army in order and array, and dispatched a troop of cavalry, under the command of the son of O'Donnell (Hugh, the son of Hugh), to engage the van of the enemy, in order that he might bring all his infantry across the level fields into a secure position, where his enemies could not encompass or surround them. In the engagement which followed between O'Donnell's cavalry and the van of the cavalry of O'Neill, fell, by O'Neill's army, Niall, the son of Donough Cairbreach, son of Hugh Oge, son of Hugh Roe [O'Donnell]; Donnell Ultagh, son of the Doctor, Ollav to O'Donnell in physic; and Magroarty, who had the custody of the Cathach of St. Columbcille. Some, however, assert that Niall O'Donnell was slain by his own people. On the side of the O'Neills fell the son of Mac Mahon, and many others. When the son of O'Donnell (Hugh, the son of Hugh) perceived the numbers who were opposed to him, and that his lord had retired to a place of security, he followed him, in order to await the arrival of relief from his people. Nor was he long in a depressed state of mind, when he perceived numbers of his faithful people advancing towards him, and rejoiced was he at their arrival. Thither came, in the first place, Mac Sweeny-na-d Tuath (Murrough Mall, the son of Owen Oge, son of Owen); the sons of Mac Sweeny Fanad, Turlough Oge and Hugh Boy; and Mac Sweeny Banagh (Mulmurry, the son of Hugh, son of Niall). And when all had arrived at one place, they formed no very great force, for they were only four hundred in number. To these chiefs O'Donnell complained of his distress and injuries; and he protested to them that he would deem it more pleasing

1567.
Ulster
Chroni-
clers' ac-
count of
Shane
O'Neill.

11. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters. Edited by John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1848, iii. pp. 1611—23.

APPENDIX.
1567.
Ulster
Chroni-
clers' ac-
count of
Shane
O'Neill.

and becoming to full and to die in the field, than to endure the contempt and dishonour with which he himself, his tribe, and his relations, had been treated by the O'Neills, such as his ancestors had never suffered or endured before; but more especially the insult and indignity they had offered him on this occasion, by violently expelling and banishing him from his fortress. All the chieftains assented to the speech of their prince, and said that all the remarks and sentiments he had expressed were true, so that they resolved to attack O'Neill and his army. The resolution here adopted, of facing the great danger and peril which awaited them, was bold, daring, obdurate, and irrational; but the love of their proteges and inheritances prevailed in their hearts over the love of body and life, and they marched back with unanimous courage, in a regularly arrayed small body, and in a venomous phalanx towards the camp of O'Neill. When O'Neill perceived them [moving] directly towards him, he became disturbed in spirit, and he said: 'It is very wonderful and amazing to me that those people should not find it easier to make full concessions to us, and submit to our awards, than thus come forward to us to be immediately slaughtered and destroyed.' While he was saying these words the troops of the O'Donnells rushed vehemently and boldly upon the army of O'Neill; nor did O'Neill's soldiers refuse to sustain their onset, for when they [the O'Donnells] had come within sight of them, they began to accoutre themselves with all possible speed. Fierce and desperate were the grim and terrible looks that each cast at the other from their starlike eyes; they raised the battle cry aloud, and their united shouting, when rushing together, was sufficient to strike with dismay and turn to flight the feeble and the unwarlike. They proceeded [and continued] to strike, mangle, slaughter, and cut down one another for a long time, so that men were soon laid low, heroes wounded, youths slain, and robust heroes mangled in the slaughter. But, however, the O'Neills were at length defeated by dint of slaughtering and fighting, and forced to abandon the field of battle, and retreat by the same road they had come by, though it was not easy for them to pass it at this time, for the sea [the tide] had flowed into the Fearsad, which they had crossed in the morning, so that to cross it would have been impracticable, were it not that the vehemence of the pursuit, the fierceness, bravery, and resoluteness of the people who were in pursuit of them, to be revenged on them for their [previous] insults, enmity and animosity, compelled them to face it. They eagerly plunged into the swollen sea, and no one would wait for a brother or a relation, although it was no escape from danger or peril for them to have reached the dark, deep ocean estuary which was before them. This was not an approach to warmth after cold, or to protection after violence, for a countless number of them was drowned in the deep full tide, though it would be happy for them all, as they thought, to be permitted to approach it. Great numbers of O'Neill's army were lost here, both by slaying and drowning; the most distinguished of whom were: Brian, the son of Henry, son of Shane O'Neill, and his brother; Mac Donnell Galloglagh, constable of O'Neill, with many of the Clann-Donnell besides; Dubhaltach O'Donnelly, O'Neill's own foster-brother, and the person most faithful and dear to him in existence, with a great number of his tribe; also great numbers of the O'Coinnes and O'Hagans. In short, the total number of O'Neill's army

that were slain and drowned in that battle was thirteen hundred; some books [however] state that O'Neill's loss in this battle was upwards of three thousand men. As for O'Neill, he escaped from this battle; but he would rather that he had not, for his reason and senses became deranged after it. He passed privately, unperceived by any one [of his enemies] upwards along the river side towards its source, until he crossed Ath-thairsi, a ford which is in the vicinity of Sgairbh-sholais, under the guidance of a party of the O'Gallaghers, some of O'Donnell's own subjects and people; and he travelled on by retired and solitary ways, until he arrived in Tyrone. There were not many houses or families, from Cairlinn to the river Finn and to the Foyle, who had not reason for weeping, and cause for lamentation. Great and innumerable were the spoils, comprising horses, arms, and armour, that were left behind to the O'Donnells on this occasion. This defeat of Fersad Swilly was given on the 8th day of May.

APPENDIX.
1567.
Ulster
Chroni-
clers' ac-
count of
Shane
O'Neill.

After O'Neill had arrived in Tyrone, as we have already stated, he did not take ease, nor did he enjoy sleep, until he had sent messengers to Scotland, to invite Semas, the son of Alexander, son of Shane Cahanagh Mac Donnell [to come to his assistance]. It was an omen of destruction of life, and the cause of his death, that he should invite to his assistance the sons of the man who had fallen by himself some time before. They came hastily with a great marine fleet, and landed at Bun-abhann-Duine, in Ulster, where they pitched their rich, many-tented camp. As soon as O'Neill heard of the arrival of that great host, he did not consider his enmity towards them; he went under the protection of that fierce and vindictive host without surety or security, in order that [by their assistance] he might be able to wreak his vengeance upon the O'Donnells. And the reception he got from them, after having been for some time in their company (after having shewn [the causes of] their enmity and animosity towards him), was to mangle him nimbly, and put him unsparingly to the sword, and bereave him of life. Grievous to the race of Owen, son of Niall, was the death of him who was there slain, for that O'Neill, i. e. Shane, had been their Conchobhar in provincial dignity, their Lugh Longhanded in heroism, and their champion in [time of] danger and prowess. The following [Irish quatrain] was composed to commemorate his death:

*Secht mbliadhna, seiscatt, cúicc céil,
míle bliathain, is ní brécc,
co bás tseuin, mic mic cuinn,
ó thóidhecht Criost hi ceolainn.*

Seven years, seventy, five hundred,
And a thousand years, it is no falsehood,
To the death of Shane, grandson of Con,
From the coming of Christ into a body.

After the death of Shane, Turlogh Luineach, the son of Niall Conallagh, was styled O'Neill."

APPENDIX. III. EXTRACT FROM "ACT (xi. ELIZABETH. SESS. 3. CAP. 1.) FOR THE ATTAINDER OF SHANE O'NEILE, AND THE EXTINGUISHMENT OF THE NAME OF O'NEILE, AND THE ENTITLING OF THE QUEEN'S MAJESTIE, HER HEYERS AND SUCCESSORS TO THE COUNTRY OF TYRONE, AND TO OTHER COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES IN ULSTER."

1569. Act for Extinguishing the name of O'Neill.

Name of ONeyle extinguished; with the ceremonies of his creation.

Arrogating thereof, high treason.

Ulster exempted from all rule of ONeyle. [To] depend only upon, and yeild obedience and service to the Crown of England. Lands, etc., of Shane's adherents forfeited, and vested in the Queen.

II. And forasmuch as the name of ONeyle, in the judgments of the uncivill people of this realm, doth carrie in it scelfe so great a soveraigntie, as they suppose that all the lords and people of Ulster should rather live in servitude to that name, than in subjection to the crown of England: bee it therefore, by your Majestie, with the assent of the lords spiritual and temporall, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That the same name of ONeyle, with the manner and ceremonies of his creation, and all the superiorities, titles, dignities, preheminences, jurisdictions, authorities, rules, tributes, and expences, used, claymed, usurped, or taken by any ONeyle, as in right of that name, or otherwise, from the beginning, of any the lords, captaines, or people of Ulster, and all maner of offices given by the said O Neyle, shall from henceforth cease, end, determine, and be utterly abolished and extinct for ever. And that what person soever he bee that shall hereafter challeng, execute, or take upon him that name of ONeyle, or any superioritie, dignitie, preheminance and jurisdiction, authoritie, rule, tributes, or expences, used, claymed, usurped, or taken heretofore by any ONeyle, of the lords, captains, or people of Ulster, the same shall bee deemed, adjudged, and taken high treason against your Majestie, your crown and dignitie: and the person or persons therin offending, and being thereof attainted, shall suffer and sustain such pains of death, forfeiture of lands and goods, as in cases of high treason by the laws of this realm hath been accustomed and used.

III. And for the better extirpation of that name, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, That all the lords, captains, and people of Ulster, shall be from henceforth severed, exempted, and cut off from all rule and authority of ONeyle, and shall onely depend upon your imperiall crowne of England, and yeeld to the same their subjection, obedience, and services for ever.

IV. And where diverse of the lords and captains of Ulster, as the sept of the Neyles, which possesseth the country of Claneboy, O Cahan, Mac Gwylin, the inhabitants of the Glynnnes, which hath been sometimes the baron Missets lands, and of late usurped by the Scots, whereof James Mac Conyll did call himselfe lord and conqueror, Mac Gynnes, O Hanlon, Hugh Mac Neile Moore; the four septes of the Mac Mahounnes, Mac Kyvan, and Mac Can, hath been at the commaundement of the said traytour Shane ONeyle, in this sharp and trayterous warre by him levied against your Majestie, your Majesties crowne and dignitie; for whose offences, be it enacted by your Highnesse, with the assent of the lords spirituall

and temporall, and the commons in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authoritie of the same, That your Majestie, your heyres and successors, shall have, hold, possess, and enjoy, as in right of your Imperiall Crown of England, the country of Tyrone, the countrey of Claneboy, the countrey of Kryne, called O Cahans countrey, the countrey of Rowte, called Mac Gwylins countrey, the countrey and lordship of the Glinnes, usurped by the Scots, the countrey of Iveagh, called Mac Gynnes countrey, the countrey of Orry, called O Hanlons countrey, the countrey of the Fues, called Hugh Mac Neyle Mores countrey, the countries of Ferny, Ireel, Loghty, and Dartalry, called Mac Mahouns countries, the countries of the Troo, called Mac Kynaus, and the countrey of Clancanny, called Mackans countrey, and all the honours, manours, castles, lands, tenements, and other hereditaments whatsoever they be, belonging or appertayning to any of the persons aforesaid, or to their kinsmen or adherents, in any of the countries and territories before specified: and that all and singular the premisses, with their appurtenances, shall be, by authoritie aforesaid, forthwith invested with the reall and actuall possession of your Majestie, your heyres and successours for ever. And now most gracious and our redoubted sovereign lady, albeit that the said lords and captains be not able to justifie themselves in the eye of the law, for the undutifull adhering to the said traytour ONeyle in the execution of his false and trayterous attempts against your Majestie, your crown and dignitie, yet having regard to his great tyranny which he used over them, and the mistrust of your Majesties earnest following the warre, to deliver them from his tyrannicall bondage, as you have most graciously and honourably done, wee must think, that rather fear, than any good devotion, moved the most part of them, to stand so long of his side, which is partly verified in that, that many of them came into your Majesties said deputie, long before the death of the said traytour, and that after his decease, Tirrelaghe Leinagh, whom the countrey had elected to be ONeyle, and all the rest of the said lords and captains, came, of their owne voluntarie accord, into the presence of your Majesties said deputie, being then in Ulster, and there, with signs and tokens of great repentance, did humbly submit themselves, their lives and lands, into your Majesties hands, craving your mercy and favour, with solemne oathes, and humble submissions in writing, never to swerve from that their professed loyaltie and fidelitie to your imperiall crown of England. And therefore we your Majesties ancient, obedient, true and faithfull subjects of this your realm of Ireland, with these your strayed and new reconciled people, fleeing now under the wings of your grace and mercy, as their onely refuge, most humbly and lowly make our humble p̄tition unto your most excellent Majestie, that it would please the same to behold with your pitifull eyes, the long endured miserie of your said strayed people, and rather with easie remission, than with due correction, to looke unto their offences past, and not onely to extend unto them your gracious pardon of their lives, but also to have such mercifull consideration of them, as each according to his degree and good hope of deserte may receive of your most bounteous liberalitie such portions of their sayd several countries to live on by English tenure and profitable reservations, as to your Majestie shall seem good and convenient; in the distribution whereof your Highnesse said deputie is

APPENDIX.
1569.

Act for
Extinguishing
the name
of O'Neill.

But considering his great tyranny over them, and their mistrust of the Queen's following the war, that many of them came in before the death of ONeyle, and Tireelagh Leinagh, who afterwards was elected to be ONeyle, and voluntarily submitted.

Petition in their favour, for pardon and a portion of their several countries to live on by English tenure and profitable reservation.

APPENDIX. best able to inform your Majestie, as one, which by great search and travayle doth knowe the quantity of the said countreys, the nature of the soyles, the quality of the people, the diversitie of their lynages, and which of them hath best deserved your Majestie's favour to be extended in this behalfe.

1569.
Act for
Extinguishing
the name
of O'Neill.

IV. EDMUND SPENSER'S VIEWS ON ULSTER, A.D. 1596.

1596.
Edmund
Spenser's
views on
Ulster.

Eudorus. But now touching the arch-rebell himselfe, I meane the Earle of Tyrone, if he in all the time of these warres, should offer to come in and submit himselfe to her Majestie, would you not have him received, giving good hostages, and sufficient assurance of himselfe?

Irenæus. No, marrie, for there is no doubt but hee will offer to come in, as hee hath done diverse times already, but it is without any intent of true submission, as the effect hath well shewed, neither indeed can hee now if hee would, come in at all, nor give that assurance of himselfe that should bee meete: for being as hee is very subtle headed, seeing himselfe now so farr ingaged in this bad action, can you thinke that by his submission, hee can purchase to himselfe any safetie, but that heereafter, when things shall be quieted, these his villanies will be ever remembred, and whensoever hee shall treade awry (as needes the most righteous must sometimes) advantage will bee taken thereof, as a breach of his pardon, and he brought to a reckoning for all former matters; besides, how hard it is now for him to frame himselfe to subjection, that having once set before his eyes the hope of a kingdome, hath therunto not onely found encouragement from the greatest king in Christendome, but also found great faintnes in her Majesties withstanding him, wherby he is animated to think that his power is able to defend him, and offend further then he hath done, whensoever he please, let every reasonable man iudge. But if hee himselfe should come and leave all other his accomplices without, as ODonel, Mac Mahone, Maguire, and the rest, he must needs thinke that then even they, will ere long cut his throate, which having drawne them all into this occasion, now in the midst of their trouble giveth them the slip, wheroby hee must needes perceive how impossible it is for him to submit himselfe. But yet if hee would so doe, can he give any good assurance of his obedience? For how weake houlde is there by hostages, hath too often beene proved, and that which is spoken of taking Shane ONeales sonnes from him, and setting them up against him is a very perillous counsaile, and not by any meanes to be put in prooffe, for were they let forth and could overthrowe him, who should afterwards overthrowe them, or what assurance can be had of them? It will be like the tale in Æsop, of the wild horse, who having enmity with the stagge, came to a man to desire his ayde against his foe, who yeelding therevnto mounted upon his backe, and so following the stagge, ere long slew him, but then when the horse would have him alight he refused, but

rv. A View of the State of Ireland, written dialogue-wise betweene Eudoxus and Irenæus, by Edmund Spenser, Esq. In the yeare 1596. Dublin: 1633, pp. 78—90.

ever after kept him in his subjection and service. Such I doubt would bee the prooffe of Shane ONeales sonnes. Therefore it is most dangerous to attempt any such plot, for even that very manner of plot was the meanes by which this trayterous Earle is now made great. For when the last ONeale, called Terlagh Leinagh, began to stand upon some tickle termes, this fellow then, called Baron of Dunganon, was set up as it were to beard him, and countenanced and strengthened by the Queene so far, as that he is now able to keepe herselfe [in] play: much like unto a gamester that having lost all, borroweth of his next fellow-gamester somewhat to maintaine play, which he setting unto him againe, shortly thereby winneth all from the winner.

Eudox. Was this rebell then set up at first by the Queene (as you say), and now become so undutifull?

Iren. He was (I assure you) the most outcast of all the ONeales then, and lifted up by her Majesty out of the dust, to that he hath now wrought himselfe unto, and now hee playeth like the frozen snake, who being for compassion relieved by the husbandman, soone after he was warme began to hisse, and threaten danger even to him and his.

Eudox. He surely then deserveth the punishment of that snake, and should worthily be hewed to peeces. But if you like not the letting forth of Shane O-Neales sonnes against him, what say you then of that advice which (I heard) was given by some, to draw in Scotts to serve against him? How like you that advice?

Iren. Much worse then the former, for who that is experienced in those parts knoweth not that the O-Neales are neerely allyed unto the Mac-Neiles of Scotland, and to the Earle of Argyle, from whence they use to have all their succours of those Scottes and Redshankes. Besides all these Scottes are through long continuance intermingled and allyed to all the inhabitants of the north; so as there is no hope that they will ever be wrought to serve faithfully against their old friends and kinsmen: And though they would, how when they have overthrowne him, and the warres are finished, shall they themselves be put out? Doe we not all know that the Scottes were the first inhabitants of all the north, and that those which now are called the north Irish, are indeed very Scottes, which challenge the ancient inheritance and dominion of that countrey, to be their owne aunceintly: This then were but to leap out of the pan into the fire: for the cheifest caveat and provision in reformation of the north, must be to keep out those Scottes.

Eudox. Indeede I remember, that in your discourse of the first peopling of Ireland, you shewed that the Scythians or Scottes were the first that sate downe in the north, whereby it seemes that they may challenge some right therein. How comes it then that O-Neales claimes the dominion thereof, and this Earle of Tyrone saith that the right is in him? I pray you resolve me herein? For it is very needefull to be knowne, and maketh unto the right of the warre against him, whose successe useth commonly to be according to the justnes of the cause, for which it is made: For if Tyrone have any right in that seigniory (me thinkes) it should be wrong to thrust him out: Or if (as I remember) you said in the beginning that O-Neale, when he acknowledged the King of England for his Leige Lord and

APPENDIX.
1596.
Edmund
Spenser's
views on
Ulster.

Soveraigne, did (as he alleadgeth) reserve in the same submission, his Seigniorics and rights unto himselfe, what should it be accounted to thrust him out of the same?

Iren. For the right of O-Neale in the seigniory of the north, it is surely none at all: For besides that the Kings of England conquered all the realme, and thereby assumed and invested all the right of that land themselves and their heires and successours for ever: so as nothing was left in O-Neale but what he received backe from them, O-Neale himself never had any ancient seigniory over that country, but what by usurpation and incroachment after the death of the Duke of Clarence, he got upon the English, whose lands and possessions being formerly wasted by the Scottes, under the leading of Edward le Bruce (as I formerly declared unto you), he eft-soones entred into, and sithence hath wrongfully detained, through the other occupations and great affaires which the Kings of England (soone after) fell into here at home, so as they could not intend to the recovery of that countrey of the north, nor restraine the insolency of O-Neale, who finding none now to withstand him, raigned in that desolation, and made himselfe lord of those few people that remained there, upon whom ever sithence he hath continued his first usurped power, and now exacteth and extorteth upon all men what he list; so that now to subdue or expel an usurper, should bee no unjust enterprise or wrongfull warre, but a restitution of auncient right unto the Crowne of England, from whence they were most unjustly expelled and long kept out.

Eudor. I am very glad herein to be thus satisfied by you, that I may the better satisfie them, whom I have often heard to object these doubts, and slaunderously to barke at the courses which are held against that trayterous Earle and his adherents."—*Eudor.* But there is a band of souldiours layde in Mounster, to the maintenance of which, what oddes is there whether the Queene receiving the rent of the countrey, doe give pay at her pleasure, or that there be a settled allowance appointed unto them out of her lands there?

Iren. There is great oddes: For now that said rent of the countrey is not appointed to the pay of the souldiers, but it is by every other occasion comming betweene, converted to other uses, and the souldiours in time of peace discharged and neglected as unnecessary, whereas if the said rent were appointed and ordained by an establishment to this end only, it should not bee turned to any other, nor in troublous times upon every occasion, her Majestie, bee so troubled with sending over new souldiers as shce is now, nor the countrie ever should dare to mutinie, having still the souldiour in their necke, nor any forraine enemy dare to invade knowing there so strong and great a garrison, allwayes ready to receive them.

Eudor. Sith then you thinke that this Romescot of the pay of the souldiours upon the land, to be both the readiest way to the souldiers, and least troublesome to her Majestie; tell us (I pray you) how would you have the said lands rated, that both a rent may rise thereout unto the Queene, and also the souldiers receive pay, which (mee thinkes) wilbe hard.

Iren. First we are to consider how much land there is in all Vlster, that according to the quantity thereof we may cesse the said rent and allowance issuing therout. Vlster (as the ancient records of that realme doe testifie) doth containe

9000 plow-lands, every of which plow-lands containeth 120 acres, after the rate of 21 foote to every perch of the acre, every of which plow-lands I will rate at 40 s. by the yeare, the which yearely rent amounteth in the whole to £18000, besides 6 s. 8 d. chiefrie out of every plow-land. But because the countie of Louth, being a part of Vlster, and containing in it 712 plow-lands, is not wholly to escheate to her Majestie, as the rest, they having in all their warres continued for the most part dutifull, though otherwise a great part thereof is now under the rebels, there is an abatement to be made thereof of 400 or 500 plow-lands, as I estimat the same the which are not to pay the whole yearly rent of 40 s. out of every plow-land, like as the escheated lands doe, but yet shall pay for their composition of cesse towards the keeping of soldiers, 20 s. out of every plow-land, so as there is to bee deducted out of the former summe 200 or £300 yearely, the which may nevertheless be supplied by the rent of the fishings, which are exceeding great in Vlster, and also by an increase of rent in the best lands, and those that lye in the best places neere the sea-coast. The which eighteene thousand pounds will defray the entertainment of 1500 souldiers, with some over-plus towards the pay of the victuallers, which are to bee employed in the victualling of these garrisons.

Eudox. So then belike you meane to leave 1500 souldiers in garrison for Vlster to bee payde principally out of the rent of those lands, which shall be there escheated unto her Majestie. The which, where (I pray you) will you have them garrisoned?

Iren. I will have them divided into three parts, that is, 500 in every garrison, the which I will have to remaine in three of the same places, where they were before appointed, to wit, 500 at Strabane, and about Loughfoile, so as they may holde all the passages of that part of the countrey, and some of them bee put in wardes, upon all the straights thereabouts, which I know to be such, as may stoppe all passages into the countrey on that side, and some of them also upon the Ban, up towards Lough-Sidney, as I formerly directed. Also other 500 at the fort upon Lough-Earne, and wardes taken out of them, which shall bee layde at Fermannagh, at Bealick, at Ballyshannon, and all the streights towards Connaught, the which I know doe so strongly command all the passages that way, as that none can passe from Vlster into Connaught, without their leave. The last 500 shall also remaine in their fort at Monaghan, and some of them be drawne into wardes, to keep the kaies of all that countrey, both downwards, and also towards ORelies countrey, and the Pale, and some at Eniskillin, some at Belturbut, some at the blacke fort, and so along that river, as I formerly shewed in the first planting of them. And moreover, at every of these forts, I would have the seate of a towne layde forth and incompassed, in the which I would wish that there should inhabitants of all sortes, as merchants, artificers, and husbandmen, bee placed, to whom there should charters and fraunchises bee graunted to incorporate them. The which as it wilbe no matter of difficultie to draw out of England, persons who would very gladly be so placed, so would it in short space turne those parts to great commodity, and bring ere long to her Majestic much profit, for those places are so fit for trade and trafficke, having most convenient out-gates by divers rivers to the sea, and in-gates to the richest parts of the land, that they would soone be enriched

APPENDIX.
1596.
Edmund
Spenser's
views on
Ulster.

APPENDIX.
1596.
Edmund
Spenser's
views on
Ulster.

and mightily enlarged, for the very seating of the garrisons by them, besides the safetie and assurance which they shall worke unto them, will also draw thither store of people and trade, as I have seen ensample at Mariborough and Philipstowne in Leinster, where by reason of those two fortes, though there were but small wardes left in them, there are two good townes now growne, which are the greatest stay of both those two countries.

Eudox. Indeed (me thinkes) three such townes as you say, would doe very well in those places with the garrisons, and in short space would be so augmented, as they would bee able with little to in-wall themselves strongly, but for the planting of all the rest of the countrey, what order would you take?

Iren. What other then (as I said) to bring people out of England, which should inhabite the same, whereunto though I doubt not but great troopes would be ready to runne, yet for that in such cases, the worst and most decayed men are most ready to remove, I would wish them rather to bee chosen out of all partes of this realme, either by discretion of wise men thereunto appointed, or by lot, or by the drumme, as was the olde use in sending forth of colonies, or such other good meanes as shall in their wisdome bee thought meetest. Amongst the chiefe of which, I would have the land sett into seigniories, in such sort as it is now in Mounster, and divided into hundreds and parishes, or wardes, as it is in England, and layed out into shires, as it was aunciently, viz. the countie of Downe, the countie of Antrim, the countie of Louth, the countie of Armaghe, the countie of Cavan, the countie of Coleraine, the countie of Monaghan, the countie of Tirone, the countie of Fermannagh, the countie of Donnegall, being in all tenne. Over all which I wish a Lord President and a Councill to bee placod, which may keepe them afterwards in awe and obedience, and minister unto them iustice and equity.

Eudox. Thus I see the whole purpose of your plot for Vlster."

V. ULSTER CHRONICLERS' ACCOUNT OF DEPARTURE FROM IRELAND OF HUGH O'NEILL AND RURY [RODERIC] O'DONEL, A.D. 1607.

The age of Christ, 1607.

1607.
Departure
of Hugh
O'Neill
and Rury
O'Donel.

Maguire (Cuconnacht) and Donough, the son of Mahon, son of the Bishop O'Brien, brought a ship with them to Erin, and put in at the harbour of Suileach [Swilly]. They took with them from Erin the Earl O'Neill, Hugh the son of Ferdorcha, and the Earl O'Donell, Rury the son of Aed, son of Manus, with a great number of the chieftains of the province of Ulad [Ulster]. These were they who went with O'Neill, namely, the Countess Catherina, the daughter of Magennis, and her three sons, Hugh the Baron, Shane [John], and Brian; Art Og, the son of Cormac, son of the Baron; Ferdorcha, son of Con, son of O'Neill; Hugh Og, the son of Brian, son of Art O'Neill; and many others of his faithful friends. These were they who went with the Earl O'Donell: Cathbar [Caffar], his brother, and his sister Nuala; Hugh, the Earl's son, wanting three weeks of being one year old; Rose, the daughter of O'Doherty, and wife of

V. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters. Edited by John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1848, iii. pp. 2353-59.

Cathbar, with her son, Aed, aged two years and three months; the son of his brother, Donnell Og, the son of Donell; Nechtan, the son of Calvagh, son of Donogh Cairbreach O'Donell; together with many others of his faithful friends. They entered the ship on the festival of the Holy Cross, in autumn.

This was a distinguished crew for one ship; for it is indeed certain that the sea had not supported, and the winds had not wafted from Erin, in modern times, a party of one ship who would have been more illustrious or noble, in point of genealogy, or more renowned for deeds, valour, prowess, or high achievements, than they, if God had permitted them to remain in their patrimonies until their children should have reached the age of manhood. Woe to the heart that meditated, woe to the mind that conceived, woe to the council that decided on, the project of their setting out on this voyage, without knowing whether they should ever return to their native principalities or patrimonies to the end of the world."

APPENDIX.
1607.
Departure
of Hugh
O'Neill
and Rury
O'Donel.

VI. ULSTER CHRONICLERS' ACCOUNT OF THE DEATHS, AT ROME, OF RURY AND CATHBAR O'DONEL, AND HUGH O'NEILL, BARON OF DUNGANNON, 1608.

"Rury the Earl of Tirconnell, son of Aed, son of Manus, son of Aed Dubh, son of Aed Ruadh O'Donell, died at Rome, on the 28th of July, and was interred in the Franciscan monastery situate on the hill on which St. Peter the Apostle was crucified, after lamenting his faults and crimes, after confession, exemplary penance for his sins and transgressions, and after receiving the body and blood of Christ from the hands of the psalm-singing clergy of the Church of Rome. Sorrowful [it is to consider] the short life and early eclipse of him who was there deceased, for he was a brave, protecting, valiant, puissant, and warlike man, and had often been in the gap of danger along with his brother, Hugh Roe (before he himself had assumed the lordship of Tirconnell), in defence of his religion and his patrimony. He was a generous, bounteous, munificent, and truly hospitable lord, to whom the patrimony of his ancestors did not seem anything for his spending and feasting parties; and a man who did not place his mind or affections upon worldly wealth and jewels, but distributed and circulated them among all those who stood in need of them, whether the mighty or the feeble.

1608.
Death of
Rury
O'Donel.

Cathbar, son of Aed, son of Manus [O'Donell], a lord's son, who had borne a greater name, renown, and celebrity, for entertainment of guests and hospitality, than all who were in the Isle of Heremon [Ireland]; a second Cuanna-mac-Cailchinni, and a second Guaire-mac-Colmain for bounty and hospitality; and a man from [the presence of] whom no one had ever turned away with a refusal of his request; died at Rome on the 17th of September, and was buried with his brother the Earl.

Death of
Cathbar
O'Donel.

Aed [Hugh] O'Neill, the son of Hugh, son of Ferdorcha, Baron of Dungannon, and the heir of the Earl O'Neill, the only expectation of the Cinel-Eoghain [O'Neill clan] to succeed his father, if he had survived him, died, and was buried in the same place with his mother's brothers, the Earl O'Donell and Cathbar."

Death of
Baron of
Dungan-
non.

vi. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland, by the Four Masters. Edited by John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1648, iii. pp. 2365-69.

APPENDIX. VII. EPITAPHS IN CHURCH OF S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO, AT ROME, ON RODERIC O'DONEL, EARL OF TYRCONNELL, CATHBAR O'DONEL, 1608, AND HUGH O'DONEL, 1602.

1608.
Epitaphs
on
O'Donels.

D. O. M.

RODERICO PRINCIPI ODONALLIO
COMITI TIRCONALLIAE IN HIBERNIA
QVI PRO RELIGIONE CATHOLICA
GRAVISSIMIS DEFVNCTVS PERICVLIS
IN SAGO PARITER ET IN TOGA
CONSTANTISSIMVS CVLTOR ET DEFENSOR
APOSTOLICÆ ROMANÆ FIDEI
PRO QVA TVENDA ET CONSERVANDA E PATRIA PROFVGVS
LVSTRATIS IN ITALIA GALLIA BELGIO
PRÆCIPVIS SANCTORVM MONVMENTIS
ATQVE IBIDEM PRINCIPVM CHRISTIANORVM
SINGVLARI AMORE ET HONORE
SANCTISS ETIAM P AC D PAULI PP V
PATERNO AFFECTV SVSCEPTVS
IN MAXIMIS CATHOLICORVM VOTIS DE FELICI EIVS REDITV
SVMMVM DOLOREM ATTVLIT SVIS
ET MÆBOREM OMNIBVS IN HAC VRBE ORDINIBVS
IMMATVRA MORTE QVAM OBIIT III KALENDAS SEXTILES
ANNO SALVTIS MDCVIII ÆTATIS SVE XXXIII
QUAM MOX EO SECVRVS EODEM TRAMITE
VT EADEM CVM BEATITATE FRVERETVR
CALFVNIVS FRATER
PERICVLORVM ET EXILII SOCIVS
IN SVMMA SPE ET EXPECTATIONE BONORVM
DE EIVS NOBILITATE ANIMI
QUAM VIETVS ET OPTIMA INDOLES EXORNAVIT
SVI RELIQVIT DESIDERIVM ET MÆSTITIAM COEXVLIVS
XVIII KAL OCT PROXIME SEQVENTIS ANNO ÆTATIS XXV
UTRVNQUE ANTECESSIT ÆTATE ET FATI ORDINE
FRATER PRIMOGENITVS
HVGO PRINCEPS
QVEM PIE ET CATHOLICE PRO FIDE ET PATRIA COGITANTE[M]
PHILIPPVS III HISPANIARVM REX
ET VIVVM BENEVOLE AMPLEXVS ET IN VIRIDI ÆTATE
MORTVVM HONORIFICE FVNERANDVM CVRAVIT
VALLISOLETI IN HISPANIA III IDVS SEPTEMB A S MDCII
CORONET.
ISSUING FROM THE DEXTER SIDE OF THE
SHIELD A CUBIT SINISTER ARM RESTED,
THE HAND GRASPING A CROSS.

LION
RAMPANT.

BULL
RAMPANT.

VIII. EPITAPH IN CHURCH OF S. PIETRO IN MONTORIO, AT ROME, ON
HUGH O'NEILL, BARON OF DUNGANNON, SON OF HUGH, EARL OF TYRONE, 1609.

APPENDIX.

D O M

HVGONI BARONI DE DONGANAN
 HVGONIS MAGNI ONELLI PRINCIPIS
 ET COMITIS TIRONIÆ PRIMO GENITO
 PATREM ET RODERICVM COMITEM
 TIRCONALLÆ AVVNCVLVM PRO
 FIDE CATHOLICA QUAM MVLTOS ANNOS
 CONTRÀ HÆRETICOS IN HIBERNIA
 FORTITER DEFENDERANT RELICTIS
 STATIBVS SVIS SPONTE EXVLANTES AD
 COM[M]VNE CATHOLICOR AZILVM VRBEM
 ROMAM PRO SVA SINGVLARI IN DEVM ET
 PARENTES PIETATE SEQVVTO CVIVS
 IMMATVRA MORS SPEM DE EO
 RESTAVRANDÆ ALIQVANDÒ IN ILLIS
 PARTIBVS CATHOLICÆ RELIGIONIS OB
 EIVS INSIGNES ANIMI ET CORPORIS DOTES
 AB OMNIBVS CONCEPTAM ABSTVLIT AC
 DICTO RODERICO AVVNCVLO FATO SIMILI
 ABSVMPTO CONIVNXIT

1609.
Epitaph
on
Hugh
O'Neill.

ARMS :

LION RAMPANT. EIGHT-POINTED STAR. CORONET. A SINISTER HAND, AFFRONTÉ AND COUPED. EIGHT-POINTED STAR. LEOPARD RAMPANT.

OCCIDIT TÀM SVIS QUÀM TOTI CURIÆ
 FLEBILIS NONO CAL OCT MDCIX
 ÆTATIS SVÆ XXIIII.

viii. For the collation of this and the preceding epitaph with the original inscriptions, the Editor is indebted to the Rev. W. M. Brady, D.D., author of "The Episcopal Succession in England, Scotland and Ireland," 1876.

APPENDIX.

IX. ELEGY ON O'NEILL AND O'DONELS, 1609.

English version, by James Clarence Mangan, of Gaelic poem addressed to Nuala, sister of Hugh and Roderic O'Donel, by Eoghan Mac an Bhaird [Ward], their hereditary bard.

1609.
Elegy on
O'Neill
and
O'Donels.

“O, Woman of the piercing wail,
Who mournest o'er yon mound of clay
 With sigh and groan,
Would God thou wert among the Gael!
Thou wouldst not then, from day to day
 Weep thus alone.
'Twere long before, around a grave,
In green Tir Connell,¹ one could find
 This loneliness;
Near where *Beann Boirché's*² banners wave
Such grief as thine could ne'er have pined
 Companionless.

“Beside the wave, in Donegal,
In Antrim's glens, or fair Dromore,
 Or Killilee,
Or where the sunny waters fall,
At Assaro, near Erna's shore,³
 This could not be.
On Derry's plains—in rich Drumclieff—
Throughout Armagh the Great, renowned
 In olden years,
No day could pass but woman's grief
Would rain upon the burial-ground
 Fresh floods of tears!

ix. Original, in Irish, in Library of Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. *Nuala*, or *Fionnuala*—literally the fair-shouldered—was wife of Niall O'Donel, surnamed *garbh*, or “the rough”, who after having, in the English interest, opposed his relatives, was finally imprisoned in the Tower of London, where he died. The opening lines in Irish of the elegy are as follow :—

“A bhean fuair fail ar an bh-feart,
Truagh liom a bh-faghthaoi d'éisteacht;
Dá m-biaidh fiann Gaoidhiol ad ghar,
Do bhiaidh ad chaoineadh coghnámh.

Fada go bh-faghthaoi an fhail,
Dá madh t-siar a d-Tir Chonaill;
Lámh le sluagh Boirche da m-beath,
Ní faghthaoi an uaigh go h-uaigneach.

A n-Doire, a n-Druim-cliaibh na g-cros,
An Ard Macha as mór cádhos;
Ní faghthaoi lá an feart ar fail
Gan mná do theacht fá a thuairm.”

¹ Tir Conaill, the territory of the O'Donels, now the county of Donegal.

² Beann Boirché, the peaks of Boirché, now the Mourne mountains.

³ Assaro, now Ballyshannon, styled in Irish, *Eas Aedha Ruaidh*, the cataract of Red Hugh, one of the ancient Kings of Ireland, of the O'Neill and O'Donel race, who is said to have been drowned there.

“ O, no !—from Shannon, Boyne, and Suir,
 From high Dunluce’s castle walls,
 From Lissadill,
 Would flock alike both rich and poor,
 One wail would rise from Cruachan’s halls
 To Tara’s hill ;
 And some would come from Barrow-side,
 And many a maid would leave her home
 On Leitrim’s plains,
 And by melodious Banna’s tide,
 And by the Mourne and Erne, to come,
 And swell thy strains !

APPENDIX.
 1609.
 Elegy on
 O’Neill
 and
 O’Donela.

“ O, horses’ hoofs would trample down
 The mount whereon the martyr-saint
 Was crucified.¹
 From glen and hill, from plain and town,
 One loud lament, one thrilling plaint,
 Would echo wide.
 There would not soon be found, I ween,
 One foot of ground among those bands
 For museful thought,
 So many shriekers of the *caoine*²
 Would cry aloud, and clap their hands,
 All woe-distraught !

“ Two Princes of the line of Conn³
 Sleep in their cells of clay beside
 O’Donnell Roe :⁴
 Three royal youths, alas ! are gone,
 Who lived for Erin’s weal, but died
 For Erin’s woe !
 Ah ! could the men of Erin read
 The names those noteless burial-stones
 Display to view,
 Their wounded hearts afresh would bleed,
 Their tears gush forth again, their groans
 Resound anew !

“ The youths whose relics moulder here
 Were sprung from Hugh, high Prince and Lord
 Of *Aileach*’s⁵ lands ;
 Thy noble brothers, justly dear,
 Thy nephew, long to be deplored
 By Ulster’s bands.

¹ The graves are in the Church of S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome, which is supposed to stand upon the spot of St. Peter’s crucifixion.

² *Caoine*, funeral lamentation.

³ Conn, monarch of Ireland in the second century, a remote ancestor of the O’Neills and O’Donels.

⁴ O’Donel Roe ; Hugh O’Donel, surnamed “ the Red,” who died at Vallodolid, in 1602. See Epitaph, p. 310.

⁵ *Aileach*, near Derry, an ancient fortress of the O’Neills, who were occasionally styled “ Kings of *Aileach*.”

APPENDIX.
1609.
Elegy on
O'Neill
and
O'Donels.

Theirs were not souls wherein dull Time
Could domicile Decay or house
Decrepitude!
They passed from earth ere manhood's prime,
Ere years had power to dim their brows
Or chill their blood.

“ And who can marvel o'er thy grief,
Or who can blame thy flowing tears,
That knows their source?
O'Donnell, Dunnasava's Chief,
Cut off amid his vernal years,
Lies here a corse
Beside his brother, *Cathbar*,¹ whom
Tir Connell of the helmets mourns
In deep despair--
For valour, truth, and comely bloom,
For all that greatens and adorns,
A peerless pair.

“ O, had these twain, and he, the third,
The Lord of Mourne, O'Niall's son,
Their mate in death--
A Prince in look, in deed, and word--
Had these three heroes yielded on
The field their breath,
O, had they fallen on *Criffan's*² Plain,
There would not be a town or clan
From shore to sea,
But would with shrieks bewail the slain,
Or chant aloud the exulting *rann*³
Of jubilee!

“ When high the shout of battle rose,
On fields where Freedom's torch still burned
Through Erin's gloom,
If one, if barely one, of those
Were slain, all Ulster would have mourned
The hero's doom!
If at Athbuy,⁴ where hosts of brave
Ulidian horsemen sank beneath
The shock of spears,
Young Hugh O'Neill had found a grave,
Long must the North have wept his death,
With heart-wrung tears!

¹ *Cathbar* (*Caffar*): This name means also “a helmet,” to which allusion is made by the bard. In the epitaph, p. 310, the name *Cathbar* is latinized *Calturnius*; it was also written *Cathbertus* or *Cuthbertus*.

² *Criffan's Plain*, an ancient bardic name for Ireland, from *Crimhthan* (*Criffan*), one of the early Irish kings of the race of O'Neill and O'Donel.

³ *Rann*, a verse or stanza.

⁴ *Athbuy*—*Ath buidhe*—the Yellow Ford, near Armagh, where the English army was defeated by Hugh O'Neill, in 1598.

“ If on the day of Ballach-myre¹
The Lord of Mourne had met, thus young,
A warrior's fate,
In vain would such as thou desire
To mourn, alone, the champion sprung
From Niall the Great!²
No marvel this—for all the Dead,
Heaped on the field, pile over pile,
At Mullagh-brack,
Were scarce an *eric*³ for his head,
If Death had stayed his footsteps while
On victory's track !

“ If on the Day of Hostages
The fruit had from the parent bough
Been rudely torn
In sight of Munster's bands—Mac Nee's—
Such blow the blood of Conn, I trow,
Could ill have borne.
If on the day of Ballach-boy⁴
Some arm had laid, by foul surprise,
The chieftain low,
Even our victorious shout of joy
Would soon give place to rueful cries
And groans of woe !

“ If on the day the Saxon host
Were forced to fly—a day so great
For Ashanee—⁵
The Chief had been untimely lost,
Our conquering troops should moderate
Their mirthful glee.
There would not lack on Lifford's day,⁶
From Galway, from the glens of Boyle,
From Limerick's towers,
A marshalled file, a long array,
Of mourners to bedew the soil
With tears in showers !

“ If on the day a sterner fate
Compelled his flight from Athenree,
His blood had flowed,
What numbers all disconsolate
Would come unasked, and share with thee
Affliction's load !

APPENDIX.
1609.
Elegy on
O'Neill
and
O'Donels.

¹ Ballach-myre—*Bealach an Mhaighre*—the Moyry Pass, between Dundalk and Newry, where the English under Lord Mountjoy were repulsed with great slaughter by Hugh O'Neill and the Irish, A.D. 1600.

² Niall, surnamed of the Nine Hostages, monarch of Ireland in the fifth century, one of the ancestors of the O'Neills.

³ Eric, compensation-fine, under the ancient Irish law, for death.

⁴ Ballach-boy, or *Bealach buidhe an Choirrshleibhe*, literally, the Yellow Pass of the Coirsliah, or Curlew mountains.

⁵ Ashanee, *Ath Seanaiigh*—Ballyshannon, on the river Erne, in Donegal.

⁶ Lifford, one of the chief residences of O'Donel, and the scene of a fierce combat, A.D. 1600.

APPENDIX.
1609.
Elegy on
O'Neill
and
O'Donels.

If Derry's crimson field had seen
His life-blood offered up, though 'twere
On Victory's shrine,
A thousand cries would swell the *keen*,
A thousand voices of despair
Would echo thine!

"O, had the fierce Dalcassian swarm
That bloody night on Fergus' banks,
But slain our Chief,
When rose his camp in wild alarm—
How would the triumph of his ranks
Be dashed with grief!
How would the troops of Murbach mourn
If on the Curlew' Mountains' day,
Which England rued,
Some Saxon hand had left them lorn,
By shedding there, amid the fray,
Their prince's blood.

"Red would have been our warriors' eyes
Had Roderic found on Sligo's field
A gory grave,
No northern Chief would soon arise
So sage to guide, so strong to shield,
So swift to save.
Long would *Leath Cuinn*² have wept if Hugh
Had met the death he oft had dealt
Among the foe;
But, had our Roderic fallen too,
All Erin must, alas! have felt
The deadly blow!

"What do I say? Ah, woe is me!
Already we bewail in vain
Their fatal fall!
And Erin, once the great and free,
Now vainly mourns her breakless chain,
And iron thrall!
Then, daughter of O'Donell! dry
Thine overflowing eyes, and turn
Thy heart aside;
For Adam's race is born to die,
And sternly the sepulchral urn
Mocks human pride!

¹ Curlew Mountains, on the borders of Roscommon and Sligo, the place of an engagement between the Irish, under Red Hugh O'Donel, and the English, under Sir Conyers Clifford, in which the latter was slain and his soldiery put to flight.

² *Leath Cuinn*, the Irish name, applied the northern half of Ireland, meaning literally the half of Conn, ancestor of the O'Neills and O'Donels, and monarch of Ireland in the second century.

“Look not, nor sigh, for earthly throne,
 Nor place thy trust in arm of clay—
 But on thy knees
 Uplift thy soul to God alone,
 For all things go their destined way
 As He decrees.
 Embrace the faithful Crucifix,
 And seek the path of pain and prayer
 Thy Saviour trod ;
 Nor let thy spirit intermix
 With earthly hope and worldly care
 Its groans to God !

APPENDIX.
 1609.
 Elegy on
 O'Neill
 and
 O'Donela.

“And Thou, O Mighty Lord ! whose ways
 Are far above our feeble minds
 To understand,
 Sustain us in these doleful days,
 And render light the chain that binds
 Our fallen land !
 Look down upon our dreary state,
 And through the ages that may still
 Roll sadly on,
 Watch Thou o'er hapless Erin's fate,
 And shield at least from darker ill
 The blood of *Conn !*”

X. THOMAS BLENERHASSET ON ULSTER PLANTATION.

1. A Direction for the Plantation in Vlster. Contayning in it, sixe principall things, viz. :—

1. The securing of that wilde countrye to the Crowne of England.
2. The withdrawing of all the charge of the garrison and men of warre.
3. The rewarding of the olde Seruitors to their good content.
4. The meanes how to increase the reuenue to the Crowne, with a yearely very great somme.
5. How to establish the puritie of religion there.
6. And how the vndertakers may with securitie be inriched.

1610.
 Thomas
 Blener-
 hasset
 on Ulster
 Plantation.

To the Mightye and High renowned Prince, Henry, Prince of great Brittain, all happines.

Mightie and High renowned Prince, the fourth parte of Ireland, depopulated Vlster, but now redeemed, deliuered and quite acquitted by the Kinges Maiesties (your most louing Fathers) wonderfull wisdome and industrie, from the vsurping tyrannie of traytors, and from a long and a most lamentable captiuitie : Dispoyled, she presents her-selfe (as it were) in a ragged sad sabled robe, ragged

1. Imprinted at London by Ed. Alde for Iohn Budge, dwelling at the great South doore of S. Paules Church, 1610.

APPENDIX. (indeed) there remayneth nothing but ruynes and desolation, with a very little
1610. shoue of any humanitie: of her selfe she aboundeth with many the very best
Blener- blessings of God: amongst the other prouinces belonging to great Brittaines
hasset Imperial Crowne, not much inferiour to any. Then regard her, for vnto your
on Ulster Highnesse it belongeth chiefly to regard her. Fayre England, she hath more
Plantation. people than she can well sustaine: goodly Vlster for want of people vnmanured,
her pleasant fieldes and rich groundes, they remaine if not desolate, worsse.

Would your Excellencie with fauorable respectes, but countenance the action,
then the neuer-satisfied desires of a fewe, should not quite disgrace and vtterly
ouerthrowe the good and exceeding good purposes of many, but with an excellent
plantation it would be peopled plentifully, yea fortified and replenished with such
and so many goodly strong corporations, as it would be a wonder to beholde:
without which it is not possible (for I say what certainly I knowe) so sufficiently
to secure that wilde countrie any long time. The desire whereof hath caryed (or
rather violently drawne me to this presumption), I being a playne country-man
and one of the vndertakers in Farnannagh.

If my endeauours may in any respect be so available, that fayre successions, long
posteritie may at length beholde her with securitie in some proportion beautified,
then I shall be of many, the most happy, especiallie if your Highnesse shall giue
good acceptance to these my desires. The Almighty God of Heauen blesse and
preserue your Excellencie still and euermore, with those his super-exceeding
graces.

Your Excellencies
Most humble suppliant:
Thomas Blener hasset.

For the Plantation of Vlster.

Excellent and High Renowned Prince, since such time as it hath pleased the
Lord Treasurer to referre the Peticion of M. Henry Honnings vnto the Irish
Commissioners, for the vndertaking of threescore thousand acres of the escheated
lands in the north of Ireland, to bee planted by certaine English gentlemen, of which
my selfe being one, considering the greatnes of the action, to satisfie my selfe I passed
the seas, and not farre from the Lyfford I found that very worthy gentleman, Sir
Arthur Chichester, the Kings Lord Deputie with other Commissioners, surueying
those escheated lands from the Church lands, and from their lands who haue
hitherto bene loyall.

I being there conuersant with some of the chiefe knights and captaines, desired
of them to know the cause why they themselues were not forward to vndertake
those profitable seates and rich grounds: I was answered, that to build castles and
fortes was chargeable, neither then if there should be a mannor erected with
twentye or fortye tennants, would they and it secure their goods: for although
that castle or forte would serue for a sufficient refuge to preserue their liues vpon
any extremitie, yet the cruell wood-kerne, the deuouring wolfe, and other
suspitious Irish, would so attend on their busines, as their being there should be
little profitable vnto them. For an example: Sir Tobye Cawlfild he dwelleth in

Charlemount a forte of many other the best, and well furnished with men and munition: yet now (euen in this faire calme of quiet) his people are driuen euery night to lay vp all his cattle as it were in warde, and doe hee and his what they can, the wolfe and the wood-kerne (within calieuer shot of his forte) haue often times a share: yet I do verily beleeeue, no man keepeth better order, as well for the safeguard of himselfe and his neighbors, as for the gouernment of al those parts about him.

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

The like I haue obserued in many other places: and to speake the truth, all men there in all places doe the like, and that within the English Pale (as they a long time haue cald it) Sir John King he dwelleth within halfe a mile of Dublin: Sir Henry Harrington within halfe a mile on the other side thereof; fewe men that euer I haue seene better seated for much good soyle: they also doe the like, for those fore named enemies, doe euery night suruey the fields to the very wals of Dublin, whatsoever is left abroad is in danger to be lost: so they cannot for the foresaid causes contriue any thing to much profit, although it hath bene inhabited a long time.

The consideration whereof satisfied me with the impossibilitie of planting a mannor vnder the protection of any strong built castle; but after that I had trauailed amongst the meere Irish, and had sufficiently informed my selfe with their conditions, their nature, and manner of life, I found it most certainly impossible by such kinde of plantation to improue any thing with security, to any great profit, neither any with whome I conferred, would or could set downe how with security any thing might be vndertaken.

Therefore the principall studd of this frame must be wrought with a tennor more substantiall then hath bene hitherto by any one mencioned.

I acknowledge and see it sufficiently, that many castles and fortes well fortified, doth and wil restraine the violence of such a scattered people as they are, being at this present altogether without men of conduct or armour, but I thinke those castles and fortes more necessary in time of warre; for then therby the cattell of the rebels are cut off, and they are inforced to vnite themselues into many strong troopes, otherwise the garisons of those places would bereaue them of all their victuals, and hinder their commerce, and all their other intentions whatsoever, for they cannot be strong ynough at one instant in euery place to encounter the force of those millitary garisons, who are maintained at a great rate (as I thinke) out of the Exchequer: for these vndertakers to plant themselues so in this time of quiet, I doe verily beleeeue it would be to small auaille, and not the best way to secure themselues with their goods, and that wilde country to the Crowne of England; for although there be no apparant enemy, nor any visible maine force, yet the wood-kerne and many other (who now haue put on the smiling countenance of contentment) doe threaten euery houre, if oportunitie of time and place doth serue, to burne and steale whatsoever: and besides them there be two, the chief supporters of al their insolencie, the inaccessible woods, and the not passible bogs: which to subject to our desires is not easie, and that not performed, it is not possible to make a profitable improuement, no not by any meanes in any place.

Morcouer the frowning countenance of chance and change (for nothing so

APPENDIX. certaine as that all thinges are most vncertaine) doth also incite a prouident
1610. vndertaker to lay such a foundation, as it should be rather a violent storme then a
Blener- fret of foule weather that should any him. A scattered plantation will neuer
hasset effect his desire: what can the countenance of a castle or bawne with a few
on Ulster followers doe? euen as they at this present doe: which is nothing to any
Plantation. purpose.

What shall we then say? or to what course shal we betake our selues? surely
by building of a wel fortified towne, to be able at any time, at an houres warning
with fwe hundred men well armed, to encounter all occasions: neither will that
be sufficient, except that be seconded with such another, and that also (if it may
be, as easily it may) with a third: so there will be helpe on euery side, to defend,
and offend for as in England, if a priuy watch be set, many malefactors are
apprehended, euen amongst their cuppes: so there when the spaces in the woods
be cut out, and the bogges be made somewhat passible, then these new erected
townes intending a reformation, must often times at the first set a vniuersale great
hunt, that a suddaine search may be made in all suspitious places, for the wolfe
and the wood-kerne, which being secretly and wisely appointed by the gouernors,
they with the help of some Irish, well acquainted with the holes and holdes of
those offenders, the generallitie shall search euery particular place.

Hasset
Hunt.

For an example, the fourth day of March, the Lyfford, the Omigh, they in
Farmanagh, Donganon, and Colrayne, shall on that day send forth from euery one
of those places an hundred men; which fwe hundred men shall as then make
search in all, or in all the most suspitious places: and by being at one instant
dispersed with furniture fit for such busines, they shall discouer all the caues,
holes, and lurking places of that country, euen for an hundred miles compasse:
and no doubt it will be a pleasant hunt, and much preye will fall to the followers:
for what dooth escape some will fall to the hands of others, and bring such a
terror, that the wolfe himselfe will not dare to continue his haunt, where such so
suddaine incursions shall be vsed, although it be but once in a moneth: the charge
none, the pleasure much, the profit more: then may they make inclosures, and
venture their cattell abroad, for to starue in the night doth ouerthrowe the feede
of the day, with the generall improuement and chief profit, for the feeding of al
kind of cattle: then may they sowe, mowe, plant, thriue and be merry, for this
kind of planting wil not onely supplant those domesticall enemies, but there will
be out of those townes fwe thousand well armed men, to encounter any forraine
enemy, that shall offer arriual to inuade, whereby his Maiestie shall shortly haue
little neede of those so chargeable garrisons: for these vndertakers will easily
restraine the mutinies of them at home, and confront the power of any inuader
whatsoever, and those good fellowes in trowzes, I mean the euery where dispersed
creatures in the creats, seeing this course, they will no longer hearken after
change, nor intertaine the lurking wood-kerne, as now they doe.

Throughout all Ireland where there be fortes and garrisons in paye, if all those
places were planted with this kinde of vndertaking, and the old worthy soldiers,
who in those places haue garrisons in pay, with euery one of their soldiers, if they
were rewarded with the fee simple thereof, to them and to their heires, paying

after one life yearly vnto his Maiestie a fee-farme, as the other vndertakers doe: but these captaines and soldiers would haue their pay continued, otherwise they shall not be able to proceede with the charge of planting, and then other lands there next adioyning laide also to such places, that many might ioyn with them to erect corporations: which may be performed now ten times better cheape then it wil be heerafter: their security would be much better, and the societie farre excell, and so the charge of the garrisons might be withdrawne, the olde worthy warriour, who hath gone already through with the brunt of that busines, shall with a good satisfaction be rewarded, and all Vlster a whole hundred times better secured vnto the Crowne of England: for the generation of the Irish (who doe at this time encrease ten to one more then the English, nay I might well say twenty) will neuer otherwise be sufficiently brided: of all which I would satisfie your highnes by an example.

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

The Lyfford, whereas there be an hundred soldiers in pay, (as is reported) which cannot come vnto lesse then a thousand pounds yearly, and if there were in that kingdome many such, it would amount vnto a great somme by the yeare, and many of them peradventure like this, able indeed a smal time to withstand the first or second assault of a weake enemy. But if the Lyfford and the lands adioyning neere thereunto, were vndertaken by many, their many helping hands (euery man respecting his owne profit) they would not regard charge, nor be weary with labor and paines to frame a perpetuall security, and good successe to their businesse: and so there might out of dout by that goodly riuer side, be laid out so much land, (besides the gouernours and soldiers allowance) as the vnder-takers would cleere all that pay, and the like in many such other places: and giue vnto the Crowne a hundred pounds yerely for a fee-farme for euer, which would rise in that kingdome to a very great masse, and the great charge of the garrisons withdrawne. I might say the like of the Omigh, of Dongannon, and of many such other places, and so there would be instead of popery true religion; and a comfortable society, whereas at this present there is small apparance and much defect of them, and of all other the chiefest things to make the life of man happy, onely plenty of good victuall excepted.

How exceedingly wel standeth Ardmath, better seate for riche soyle there cannot bee, but so poore, as I doe verily thinke all the household stuffe in that citty is not worth twenty pounds, yet it is the Primate of all Ireland, and as they say for antiquitie, one of the most ancient in all Europe: it is also of so small power as forty resolute men may rob, rifle, and burne it: were it a defenced corporation it would soone be rich and religious, and the security would make one acre more worth then now twenty be. At this present it is a most base and abiect thing, not much better then Strebane, and not able to restraine, no, not the violence of the wolfe. Moreouer, many be the commodities of this kinde of vndertaking a scattered plantation, for many vndertakers to be dispersed three score miles in compasse, alas they shal be now at the first like the vnbound sticks of a brush fagot, easie to be gathered, hewen and had to the fire, neither shall there be true religion, sweete society, nor any comfortable security amongst them, no, nor any other the principall respectes and commodities that mans life desireth, as they

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

who there now doe liue do know very well: but in one and the selfe-same estate for many to be bound vp together in the band of one hope, so as all must be but one, it must be the power of some great monarch, who receiuing more blowes then benefites, shall buy the vnbinding of this fagot, at a much greater rate then will be for his gaine or reputation.

But some peradventure will say here is much speech of corporations, but nothing how the lands which lyeth farre remote, which these vndertakers must take vp, shall be vsed, for it will be very inconuenient that vnto this corporation all the commodities of that great quantity of ground shal be presently transported, both for the distance of the place, and other discommodities: and it is expected that there should be manors erected, and not that one corporation should containe so great a circuit. My answe is, that the corporation shall containe all that quantity of ground, for when they therein haue framed the country to their desires, then there shall be by these vndertakers many manors erected, and after the first or second yeare, most of the houses within this corporation built by these vndertakers, (for euery man according to the quantity of his land must put to his aide) although these houses shall be still their owne, yet then, when the great huntres before mentioned haue reduced the country to such passe, as in the seueralties of euery man, their cattell may be in security, then most of those buildings in the corporation shall be left, and euery man of the vndertakers shall build on his demesnes a strong manor house, and certaine tenements for his tenants about him, on such lands as he shall allot them by cobby of Court role, or otherwise, to them and their heires for euer: and within the corporation, euery one of the vndertakers shall stil retaino his mansion house, there to dwel at his pleasure, and all the other of his houses there, shall be set ouer vnto tradesmen; as shoemakers, smithes, carpenters, weauers, and such like: so in sommer he may remain with his tennants in the country, and in winter with his farmers the tradesmen in the corporation, which I hope to sec a faire well gouerned and a very strong citty, which will serue at all times to defend them and all their moueables, if inuasion or any other violent storme should come: so all the land farre remote shall be built and inhabited with good security.

Oh this word *Myne* is a strong warrior, euery man for his owne will aduenture farre, the Mercinary *Rutter* will often times haue his charge empty with men, when his purse shall be full with dead payes. This my valiant and prouident warriour *Myne*, he will rather increase then decrease his number, he doth watch and ward night and day without ceasing. Therefore in this our vndertaking, let all the people be such as shall enioy euery man more or lesse of his owne, and if they were such as had no other estate then there, it were the better.

But I feare, if many shall peruse this recital, most of them wil be vtterly deterred with the charge, saying, it is easie to be spoken, but to their capacitie very difficult to be performed, and so they will withdrawe themselues and their conceits from imbracing that which I would haue them entertaine cherefully in the best fashion. Therefore I doe incite them to consider, that all those great and sumptuous buildings which former ages haue left vnto euerlasting posterity, were not erected any where, where continuance of peace had improued all thinges to a

high rate and great price, but the originall of all nations, was where and when the lands and all the commodities of those places were of small worth. To enter into the perticular heereof would be rather tedious then necessary.

There be twelue of vs vnder the assignation of the right honorable, Gilbert, Earle of Shrewesbury, who intend by the help of almighty God to imploye a good part of our substance, and bestowe our best endeouours therein: for discoursing will not doe it, it must be a painful hand, and a discreet minde furnished with knowledge and much experience: we cannot enioy the happy Elizian fields, but by passing ouer the blacke riuer Stix: for heauen wil not be had without some tribulation, neither may we feede vpon the delicates prepared in a rich and plesant banquetting gallery, except we doe straine our feete to passe vpon the first and second staire: so difficult is the thing that we intend, *Dimidium toti, qui bene cepit, habet*. If any thing seeme difficult, rouse vp thy spirit, and put to both thy hands. Great thinges without much labor can not be obtained: Rome was not built in one day, but this in fiae yeares may be performed without admiration, especially if all these planters do draw closely together without dissention, or muteny: therefore there must especial regard be had, that in this corporation the chiefe gouernor be of wisdom, wealthe, and authoritie, such a one as wil be obeyed, yet will conferre with other, and not be too much addicted to his owne conceits: without gouernment there is nothing but confusion: so many heads so many opinions. Let all the vndertakers haue recourse vnto the consultations, the meanest may sometimes bring fourth a necessary knowledge, therefore let euery mans opinion be heard, but let the gouernor with his assistants determine, and let all the rest consent thereto, or endure condigne punishment.

And as for thee that putttest diffidence in the assurance, which thou shalt haue from his Maiestie, thou needest not trouble thy head therewith, there hath bene already two suruaies to know the parcels and precincts exactly: no doubt vpon the deuision there will be proclamation, that whosoeuer can iustly and apparantly claime any part of those lands to these vndertakers by pattent assigned, he shall then within some conuenient time put in his claime or else be silent for euer.

So before thou doost charge thy selfe any way, thy portion shall be cleere, or else thou shalt haue some other that shall be voide of all incombrance.

Furthermore, to comfort thy fearefull spirit, there thou shalt haue many good neighbors, for all they thy countrymen that are already there estated with part of those lands, of which there be many of the chiefe in that kingdome, they are hearty well willers vnto al vndertakers, both for that your good proceedings will second, and as it were fortifie their already beginnings: and they be indeed gentlemen of such sort and quality, as they speake alwaies what they thinke, and performe what they speake. They doe not after the fashion of this age carry bread in the one hand and a stone in the other; but they haue a sword alwaies ready to maintaine truth and equity; besides a very excellent course of proceeding by law: And to knit thy affection more firmly to the hope of thy well doing there, I doe insure thee, there be excellent warriors, and they such worthy men as wil willingly backe thy busines, and in time of need violently abate the violence of any that shal intend thy trouble: so Mars himselfe shall protect thee, and perhaps

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

Mercury too: and if thou beest honestly content with that which is thine, thou mayest there liue and neuer trouble the lawyer, and thou shalt finde it to be a great blessing. All which I haue written to encourage thy fainting spirit, which rather than faile wil obiect the charges thither, and the danger, which is nothing so much as amongst good fellowes it is, to be beastly drunke at home.

To conclude, what art thou? one whome kindenes, casualty, or want of wit hath decayed? make speede, get thee to Vlster, serue God, be sober, if thou canst not gouerne, be gouerned, thou shalt recouer thy selfe, and thy happines there will make thee reioyce at thy former fortunes.

Art thou rich, possessed with much reuenue? make speede without racking of rents, or other offenciue meanes; thou shalt doe God and thy Prince excellent seruice. Thou hast the three brayded bande which will binde beares, vse there thy talent, it will be quickly a million.

Art thou a poore indigent fellow? and hast neither faculty nor mony? goe not thither, for though there be plenty of all thinges, thou shalt starue there, loyterers and lewd persons in this our new worlde, they will not be indured. Art thou a tradesman? a smith, a weaver, a mason, or a carpenter? goe thither, thou shalt be in estimation, and quickly enriched by thy indeauours. Art thou an husbandman, whose worth is not past tenne or twenty pounds? goe thither, those new manor-makers will make thee a cobby holder: thou shalt whistle sweetely, and feede thy whole family if they be six for six pence the day. Art thou a gentleman that takest pleasure in hunt? the fox, the wolfe, and the wood-kerne doe expect thy coming: and the comely well cabbazed stagge will furnish thy feast with a full dish. There thou shalt haue elbowe roome, the eagle and the earne and all sorts of high flying fowles do attend thee. Art thou a Minister of Gods word? make speed, the haruest is great, but the laborers be fewe: thou shalt there see the poore ignorant vntaught people worship stones and sticks: thou by carrying millions to heauen, maiest be made an archangell, and haue whiles thou doost liue for worldly respects, what not. So Vlster which hath bene hitherto the receptacle and very denne of rebels and deuowring creatures, shall farre excell Munster, and the ciuellest part of all that country, and peradventure in ciuility and sincere religion, equal euen faire England herselfe, with a christian and comfortable society, of neighbourhood, and so they at the least* three hundred thousand soules, besides children (which are no lesse in number) may come vnto the true knowledge of God, and by faith in Iesus Christ may be freede from euerlasting damnation. So the kings maiestie shall be disburthened of a very great charge out of the Exchequer, the country safely secured vnto the crowne, and we his Maiesties subiects enriched by our endeavours, which God of his vnspeakeable mercy graunt, for his deere sonne Iesus Christ his sake. Amen.

* In all
Ireland.

The Conclusion, contayning an exhortation to England.

Fayre England, thy flourishing sister, braue Hibernia; (with most respectiue termes) commendeth vnto thy due consideration her yongest daughter, depopulated Vlster: not doubting (for it cannot but come vnto thy vnderstanding) how the long continuance of lamentable warres, haue raced and vtterly defaced, whatsoever

was beautifull in her to behold, and hath so bereaued all her royalties, goodly ornaments, and well besecming tyers, as there remaineth but only the Maiesty of her naked personage, which euen in that plite is such, as whosoeuer shall seeke and search all Europes best bowers, shal not finde many that may make with her comparison. Behold the admirable worth of her worthines! euen now shee giues the world to vnderstand by testimoniall knowne sufficiently to all that knowe her, that if thou wilt now but assist her with meanes to erect her ruynes, she will nourish thee with much dainty prouision, and so furnish thee, as thou shalt not neede to send to thy neighbour-kingdomes for corne, nor to the Netherlands for fine Holland: shee will in requitall of thy kindenesse prouide those thinges, with some other, such as thy heart most desireth. Art thou ouerchargde with much people? Vlster her excellency will imbrace that thy ouerplus in her amorous sweete armes: she will place them as it were by Euphrates, and feed thee with better Ambrosia than euer Iupiter himselfe knew.

APPENDIX.
1610.
Blener-
hasset
on Ulster
Plantation.

Then proclaime, and let all the inhabitants of spatious Brittane know, that (in respect euen of their own good), it is conuenient and most necessary that euery one of them should in some proportion put to his assistance: didst thou, and were thy people indeede willing? with horse, with men, with munition, and money, oftentimes, and euer anon to abate their insolency, whose pride sought to bereaue from thee and them, your right and interrest in her fields and forrests? true it is, and some thousands, no doubt thou didst imploy to keepe her from the captiuity of traytors: do then, and let thy people willingly finish the worke which you so valiantly haue (although not performed), yet brought to such passe as now there remayneth nothing but how to couer her nakednesse, and to furnish her coastes with corporations and other such meanes, as heereafter there shall be no doubt of change or chance, but that she may repose her selfe in such sweete security, as her beautiful bosome shall by peace and plenty abound with so many dainty goodly thinges, as it will be a wonder to behold. Some of thy most louing and well-beloued children, to their great glory and cuerlasting renowne, with feruent mindes, they haue taken this taske in hand, thinking it no small honor for them to adventure their liues, their liuings, and all their indeauours therein.

The county of Farmannagh, sometime Mack Guerres country, reioyce: many vndertakers, al incorporated in minde as one, they there with their followers, seeke and are desirous to settle themselues. Woe to the wolfe and the wood-kerne; the ilands in Loughearne shall haue habitations, a fortified corporation, market townes, and many new erected manors, shall now so beautifie her desolation, that her inaccessible woods, with spaces made tractable, shall no longer nourish deuowers, but by the sweete society of a louing neighbourhood, shall entertaine humanity, euen in the best fashion. Goe on, worthy gentlemen, feare not, the God of heauen will assist and protect you, the rather for that simply of your selues, you do desire to performe so honourable an action. And they the successors of high renowned Lud, will there reedifie a new Troy. Their spatious coffers haue the receipts of Englands treasure, and the continuall resplendancy of his Maiesties presence doth so illustrate with the neuer-discending-beames of his euor-respecting fauour, their super-exceeding good, that all, whatsoeuer by imagination may be thought of, or

APPENDIX. 1610. Blenerhasset on Ulster Plantation. The Riuer of the Band. by pollicy of man be deuised, so much absolutely haue they from thence, therefore they wil not capitulate the fresh and flourishing county of Colraine, with the exceeding bounty of the Band that may suffice. They haue Ocanes Country, and whatsoeuer Irelands Eden can affoord, and therefore euen in respect of their owne reputation, they of themselues wil performe this the most honourable action that euer they attempted. Therefore let Colraine reioyce, for the heart of England (London herselke) will no doubt make her more beautifull than many, and furnish Loughfoyle with a goodly flecte. O powerfull England! no doubt if thou wilt extend the bounty of thy liberall hand, to other lesse able to performe such designes, then they also wil vndertake the other counties, so as within three yeares their endeauours shall bring thee and thine altogether out of doubt, euer heereafter to be charged with any taxation for her defence: for certainly so she shall shortly be able rather to lend then to borrow aide.

Let not then these kinde vndertakers want any kinde of kindenesse. Little doe many of thy inhabitants care to spend a pound or two, passe away one houre (as it were) at a merry meeting; and presently it is forgotten. Let euery one of worth giue but his crowne to this honourable intencion and merry meeting, it shall remaine as a crowne of glory to euerlasting posterity, and free euery one of them peraduenture from the expence of many pounds. And this trophy of al thy triumphs the most renowned, obtained with the liues of many thousands of thine (as the euery where dispersed sculles of slaine men doe there at this present manifestly declare), if it be now neglected, they thy next neighbours and those of the princes and people far remote, wil suppose thee very poore both in power and pollicy. And thus (faire England) hauing laid before thy amiable eyes, how naked Vlster may be relieued, deckt, and richly adorned, and thy selfe certainly disburdened of much charge: I referre the effecting thereof to the kings most excellent Maiestie, who hath power to commaund, and will no doubt prouide for Vlsters prosperity.—Finis.

2. ACCOUNT, A.D. 1618-19, OF LANDS APPOINTED TO THOMAS, EDWARD, AND FRANCIS BLENERHASSET, IN THE COUNTY OF FERMANAGH.

The Precinet of Lurge and Coolemackernan appoynted to English Undertakers:

LIX. 1500 acres.

59.—Thomas Blenerhasset hath one thousand five hundred acres called Edernagh.

Upon this proportion there is a bawne of lime and stone, the length is seventy five foote, and the breadth is forty seven, and twelve foote high, havinge four flankers. Within this bawne there is a house of the length thereof, and twenty foote broad, two stories and a half high, his wife and bis famylie dwelling therein.

2. Breife viewe and survey of Ulster by Nicholas Pynnar, 1618-19. MS. Trinity College, Dublin. F. 1. 19.

He hath begun a church. He hath also a small village consisting of six houses built of cageworke, inhabited with English. APPENDIX. 1610.

I find planted and estated upon this land of Brittish famylies.

- Freeholders 4, viz.
- 1 having 80 acres.
- 1 having 46 "
- 1 having 22 "
- 1 having 60 "
- Lesees for years 3, viz.
- 1 having 60 acres.
- 1 having 26 acres.
- 1 having 8 acres.

In toto seven famylies, who with their undertennants can make, as I am informed, twenty six men; but I saw them not; for the undertaker and manie of the tennants, were absent.

Blenerhasset and Ulster Plantation.

60.—1000 acres.

This was Iohn Thurstons at the first.

Sir Edward Blenerhasset, and Thomas Blenerhasset have one thousand acres called Talmackein.

Upon this proportion there is nothing at all built, and all the land inhabited with Irish.

61.—1500 acres.

Francis Blenerhasset, son to Sir Edward Blenerhasset, hath one thousand five hundred acres called Bannaghmore.

Upon this proportion there is a strong bawne of lyme and stone, being eighty foote long, and sixty broad, and a stone house three stories high, all finished, himself and famylie dwelling in it. He hath also built a village neere unto the bawne, consistinge of nine houses of good cage work.

I find planted and estated upon this land of Brittish famylies.

- Freeholders 4, viz.
- 1 having 120 acres and a tenement.
- 1 having 120 "
- 1 having 60 "
- 1 having 50 "

There are divers other leasholders which I saw not; for the undertaker was in England, and I came suddainly upon them. But by a jurie I found the land to have twenty two Brittish famylies upon it, which with their undertennants were able to make forty men, and store of armes in his house, and I saw not one Irish famylie upon all the land.

APPENDIX. XI. AN ACT, xi. OF JAMES I., FOR THE ATTAINDER OF HUGH, LATE EARL OF TYRONE; RORY, LATE EARL OF TYRCONNEL; SIR CAHIR O'DOGHERTY, KNIGHT, AND OTHERS.

1614.

Attainder
of O'Neill,
O'Donel,
O'Doherty,
etc.

In most humble manner beseechen your most excellent Majestie, your most loyall, faithfull, and true hearted subjects, the lords spirituall and temporall, and the commons of this present Parliament assembled, That whereas Hugh, late earle of Tironc; Rory late earle of Tyreconnel; Hugh Oneyle, late Baron of Dungannon, and eldest sonne of the said earle of Tyrone; Henry Oneyle, second soone of the said earle of Tyrone; Sir Cahir Odogherty, late of Birtecastle in the county of Dunnegall, knight; Coconnaught Maguyre, late of Inniskilling in the county of Fermanagh, esquire; Oghy Oge Ohanlon, eldest sonne of Sir Oghy Ohanlon, knight, late of Tovery in the county of Armagh, esquire; Caffer Odonnell, brother to the late earle of Tireconnell, late of Caffersconse in the said county of Dunnegall, esquire; Caffer Oge Odonnell, late of Scarfolis in the said countie of Dunnegall, esquier; Donnell Oge Odonnell, late of Dunnegall in the said county of Dunnegall, esquire; Brian Oge Mac Mahowne, *alias* Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, late of Clonlecege in the Uppertrough, in the county of Monaghan, gentleman; Art Oge Mac Cormocke Oneyle, late of Clogher in the county of Tyrone, esquier; Henry Hovenden, late of Dungannon in the countie of Tyrone, gentleman; Mortogh Oquyn, late of the same, gentleman; Richard Weston, late of Dundalke in the countie of Lowth, merchant, John Bath, late of Donalonge in the countie of Tyrone, merchant; Christopher Pluncket, late of Dungannon in the said countie of Tyrone, gentleman, John Opanty Ohagan, late of the same, gentleman; John Ruth, late of Drogheda, merchant; Hugh Mac Donell Ogallachor, late of Dunnegall in the said county of Dunnegall, gentleman; Terrelagh Garragh Ogallochor, late of the same, gentleman, Phelim Reagh Mac David, late of Eloagh in the said county of Dunnegall, gentleman, John Crone Mac David, late of the same, gentleman, Edmond Grome Mac David, late of the same, gentleman, Matthew Oge Omultully, late of Dunnegall in the said county of Dunnegall, gent. Donough Mac Mahowne Obrian, late of Rathumlin in the said county of Dunnegall, gentleman, Teige Okennan, late of the same, gentleman, Henry Ohagan, late of Dungannon in the said countie of Tyrone, gentleman, Teige Ohagan, late of the same, gentleman, and Teige Modder Oquine, late of the same, gentleman, most falsely and traiterously, aswell by open rebellion in divers partes of this your Majesties realm of Ireland, as by sundrie treacherous confederacies and conspiracies have committed, perpetrated and done many detestable and abominable treasons against your Majestie, tending to the utter subversion and ruine of the state and common-wealth of this kingdom; of which treasons, the said Hugh, late earle of Tyrone, Rory, late earle of Tireconnell, Hugh Oneyle, late baron of Dungannon, Henry Oneyle, Coconnaught Maguire, Oghie Oge

xi. The Statutes at Large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland. Dublin: 1786. vol. i. pp. 438—41.

Ohanlon, Caffer Odonnell, Donell Oge Odonnell, Art Oge Mac Cormocke Oneyle, Henry Hovendon, Mortagh Oquine, Richard Weston, John Bath, Christopher Plunket, John Opanty Ohagan, Hugh Mac Donell Ogallachor, Terrelagh Carragh Ogallachor, Phelim Reagh Mac David, John Crone Mac David, Edmond Crone Mac David, John Rath, Matthew Oge O Multully, Donogh Mac Mahown Obrian, Teige Okenan, Henry Ohagan, Teige Ohagan, and Teige Modder Oquin, have been indicted, and by processe of outlawrie attainted, according to the course of the common lawes of this realm; and the said Sir Cahir Odogherty, and Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, have been slaine, being in actual rebellion against your Majestie; and whereas Sir Hugh Maguire, late of Iniskillin in the countie of Furmanagh, knight; Sir John Oreilly, late of the Cavan in the county of Cavan, knight, Philippe Oreilly late of the same, esquier; and Edmond Oreilly, late of the same, esquier; being in open action of Rebellion against the late Queene Elizabeth, of famous memorie, the said Sir Hugh Maguire, Philip Oreilly, and Edmond Oreilly were slaine in their said action of rebellion, and the said Sir John Oreilly, adhering to the said traytour, late earle of Tyrone, died in rebellion against the said late Queen Elizabeth, as by sundrie inquisitions remayning of record, in your Highness court of chauncerie in this your realm of Ireland, doth and may appeare. It may please your most excellent Majestie, of your gracious disposition, which your Highnesse doth beare towards the settling of this unreformed kingdome, and aswell for the comfort of your true and loyall subjects, as for an example and terrour to all rebellious and trayterous persons, that all and every the attaindours of the persons above named, bee approved and confirmed by the authoritie of this present Parliament.

APPENDIX.
1614.
Attainder
of O'Neill,
O'Donel,
O'Doherty,
etc.

Confirma-
tion of
attainders.

II. And be it further enacted by the authoritie aforesaid, That aswell the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone, Rory late earl of Tyrconnell, Hugh Oneile, late baron of Dungannan, Henry Oneile, Coconnaugh Maguire, Oghie Oge Ohanlon, Caffer Odonell, Donell Odonnell, Art Oge Mac Cormocke Oneile, Henry Hovenden, Mortagh Oquine, Richard Weston, John Bath, Christopher Plunket, John Opanty Ohagan, Hugh Mac Donell Ogallachor, Phelim Reagh Mac David, John Crone Mac David, Terrelagh Carragh Ogallachor, Edm. Crone Mac David, John Rath, Matthew Oge O Multully, Donogh Obrian Mac Mahown, Teige Okenan, Henry Ohagan, Teige Ohagan, and Teige Modder Oquin, as also the said Cahir Odogherty knight, Sir Hugh Maguire knight, Sir John Oreilly, Philipe Oreilly, Edmond Oreilly, and Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, and every of them, stand and be adjudged persons convicted and attainted of high treason; and that as many of the said offenders, and persons before named, as be yet in life, and not pardoned for the same offences, shall and may at your Highness will and pleasure, suffer paines of death, as in cases of high treason; and that all and every the said offenders, by this present act attainted for their said treasons, shall be declared and adjudged to have lost and forfeited to your Highness, and to your heires and successours, from the time of their severall treasons committed, all and every such honours, territories, countries, castles, manors, messuages, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, remainders, possessions, rights, conditions, interests, offices, fees, annuities, and all other their hereditaments, goods, chattles, debts, and other

Forfeiture.

APPENDIX. things of whatsoever names, maners, or qualities they be, which they, or any of them, had to their or any of their uses, or which any other had to their or any of their uses, on any the days of their said severall treasons committed, perpetrated or done, or at any time sithence.

1614.
Attainder
of O'Neill,
O'Donel,
O'Doherty,
etc.

Not to
prejudice
grants or
leases by
the King,
since said
treasons
under great
seal of
England or
Ireland.

III. Provided always, and nevertheless, be it enacted by the authority aforesaid, That this act, or any thing therein contained, shall not in any wise extend to make voyd any graunt, gift, lease, or demise, made by our sovereign lord the King, of any of the said honors, countries, territories, castles, mannours, messuages, lands, tenements, or hereditaments, to any person or persons, by letters patents under the great seal of Ireland, or under the great seal of England, at any time or times sithence the said treasons committed; but that the same gifts, graunts, and leases, and every of them, shall stand and be of force and effect in the law, to all intents and purposes; any thing in this act contained to the contrary thereof notwithstanding.

Letters
patent to
the Earl of
Tyrone,
etc., made
void.

IV. Provided nevertheless, that this act shall not extend to ratifie, confirm, or make good any letters patents heretofore made to the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone; Rory, late earl of Tyrconnell; Coconnaght Maguire, deceased, father of the said Coconnaght Maguire above mentioned; the said Sir Cahir Odogherty, knight, and the said Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, or to either or any of them, or to any person or persons to whom any estate is limited in and by the said letters patents; but be it enacted by the authority of this present Parliament, That all letters patents heretofore made unto the said Hugh, late earl of Tyrone; Rory, late earl of Tyrconnell; Coconnaght Maguire, deceased, father of the said Coconnaght Maguire first above mentioned in this act; Sir Cahir Odogherty, and the said Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, or to any or either of them; and all estates, gifts, or graunts in use, possession, reversion, or remainder, graunted, limited, or mentioned to be graunted or limited to any person or persons whatsoever, in and by any letters patents made unto the said Hugh late earl of Tyrone, Rory late earl of Tyrconnell, Connaght Maguire the father, Sir Cahir Odogherty knight, and Brian ne Sawagh Mac Mahown, or any or either of them, be utterly repealed, and from henceforth deemed and adjudged void; to all intents, constructions and purposes; anything in this present act contained to the contrary notwithstanding.



VGO
CONTE DI TIRONE,
GENERALE IBERNESE.

FROM "LA SPADA D'ORIONE STELLATA NEL CIELO DI MARTE
CIOÉ IL VALOR MILITARE DE PIÙ CELEBRI GUERRIERI
DE' NOSTRI SECOLI.... DA PRIMO DAMASCHINO," 1680.



XII. ULSTER CHRONICLERS' ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH OF HUGH O'NEILL, EARL OF TYRONE, AT ROME, A.D. 1616. APPENDIX.

O'Neill (Hugh, son of Ferdorcha, son of Con Bacagh, son of Con, son of Henry, son of Owen), who had been Baron from the death of his father to the year when the celebrated Parliament was held in Dublin, 1584 [*recte* 1585], and who was styled Earl of Tyrone at that Parliament, and who was afterwards styled O'Neill, died at an advanced age, after having passed his life in prosperity and happiness, in valiant and illustrious achievements, in honour and nobleness. The place at which he died was Rome, [and his death occurred] on the 20th of July, after exemplary penance for his sins, and gaining the victory over the world and the devil. Although he died far from Armagh, the burial-place of his ancestors, it was a token that God was pleased with his life that the Lord permitted him a no worse burial-place, namely, Rome, the head [city] of the Christians. The person who here died was a powerful, mighty lord, [endowed] with wisdom, subtlety, and profundity of mind and intellect; a warlike, valorous, predatory, enterprising lord, in defending his religion and his patrimony against his enemies; a pious and charitable lord, mild and gentle with his friends, fierce and stern towards his enemies, until he had brought them to submission and obedience to his authority; a lord who had not coveted to possess himself of the illegal or excessive property of any other, except such as had been hereditary in his ancestors from a remote period; a lord with the authority and praiseworthy characteristics of a prince, who had not suffered theft or robbery, abduction or rape, spite or animosity, to prevail during his reign, but had kept all under [the authority of] the law, as was meet for a prince.

1616.
Death of
Hugh
O'Neill.

XII. Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters. Edited by John O'Donovan. Dublin: 1848, iii. pp. 2373-5.

APPENDIX. XIII. NAMES AND MUSTER-ROLL OF "UNDERTAKERS" IN ULSTER:

Names and
Muster-
Roll of
"Under-
takers"
in Ulster.

CHIEF TENANTS, THE QUANTITIES OF LAND THEY HELD, AND
THE NUMBER OF ARMED MEN MUSTERED BY THEM.

THE COUNTY OF CAVAN.		Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Sham- (ance).	Halberds.
Sir Steaphen Butler his undertakers lands	2000	64	31	7					
Sir Frauncis Hammilton out of his undertakers lands	3000	13	24	25	6	1	9		1
Sir James Cragg out of his undertakers lands	2000	54	16	15	6				
Sir Archbald Atchison out of his undertakers lands	1000	20	14	8				5	
Sir Edward Bagshaw out of his undertakers lands	1500	32	5	3	1		4		
The Ladye Waldrum out of her undertakers lands	2000	54	5	4			1		
Mr. Taylor out of his undertakers lands	1500	85	15	11	1		10		1
Mr. Moynes out of his undertakers lands	2000	28	4	1	1	3	1		
Mr. Amis and Mr. Greenham out of their undertakers lands	1500	9	5	4	1				
Sir Henry Pearce out of his undertakers lands	3000	16	7	6		2			
Mr. Iohn Hammilton out of his undertakers lands	1000	44	10	3	1	1	6		
Mr. William Bayly out of his undertakers lands	1000	34	5	3			2		
Mrs. Hammilton, widdow, out of her undertakers lands	1000	5	5	3			2		
Sir Edward Fish out of his undertakers lands	2000	48	7	2			5		
SERVITORS AND CHURCHLANDS :									
The Earle of Fyngall	1500	28	4						1
The Bishop of Killmoore his Churchlands	2000	36	4	2		1			1
The towne of Cavan	1000	18	3	1			1		
The Churchlands of Drumgowne	300	7	2						
		795	166	00	17	8	46		3

THE COUNTY OF ARDMAGH.		Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Sham- (ance).	Halberds.
Anthony Coape, Esqr., out of his undertakers lands	3000	155	18	7	5	2	4		
Mr. Iohn Dullon out of his undertakers lands	1500	34	6	2	2	2			
Mr. Waldrum out of his undertakers lands	2000	45	9		2		5		
Mr. Stanway out of his undertakers lands	1500	16	2	1			9		
Mr. Satcheverall out of his undertakers lands	2000	104	3	8		1	9		
Mr. Richard Coape and Mr. Obbins their undertakers lands	2000	24	8	2		3	4		
Sir William Brunlagh out of his undertakers lands	2500	42	27	16	1	8	4		
The Lord Mountnorrice, his undertakers lands	1000	33	11	3		3	4		
Sir Archbald Atchison out of his undertakers lands	3000	56	4	28		7	2		
Mr. Iohn Hammilton out of his undertakers lands	2500	113	53	42	2	7	9		
The Lord Grandison out of his undertakers lands	1000	31	9	1		3	3		
SERVITORS CHURCHLANDS :									
The Lord Grandison	1500	21	5		1		2		
Sir Henry Boocer	2000	10	4						
Sir Charles Poynes	500	27	9	2		1			
CHURCHLANDS :									
The Lord Primate	5000	127	70	11	3	4	15		
The Lord Calfeild	3000	56	56	23	12	9			
Mr. Richardson, Minister	300	8							
		902	295	146	28	50	70		

THE COUNTY OF FARMANNAGH.	Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Snaph. [pieces].	Halberds.
The Lord Balfoure out of his undertakers lands	5000	95	37	11			3	
Sir William Coale out of his undertakers lands	1000	58	49	14	3	7		
Mr. Archdall out of his undertakers lands	2000	41	20	1	3	7	2	
Mrs. Hammliton, widdow of the late Archbishop of Cashall, out of her undertakers lands	1500	24	22	14		1		
Sir John Hume out of his undertakers lands	3500	88	52	37		1	5	2
Mr. George Hume out of his undertakers lands	1000	28	21	7	1		7	
Sir Gerrard Lowther out of his undertakers lands	2000	47	40	17	9	13		
Mr. Hannings out of his undertakers lands	1000	24	12	8	1	2	2	
Mr. Flowerdew out of his undertakers lands	2000	30	10	7	1	3	2	
Mr. Francis Blennerhasset out of his undertakers lands	1500	24	4	6			1	
Mr. Leonard Blennerhasset out of his undertakers lands	2000	21	8	6			2	
Sir Hugh Woorrell out of his undertakers lands	1000	19	6	1			2	
The Bishop of Kelfanorah out of his undertakers lands	1000	22	13	10			3	
Mr. Waterhouse out of his undertakers lands	1000	12	3	3				
Mr. Hatton out of his undertakers lands	1000	24	15	19		2	3	
Mr. Sudburroh out of his undertakers lands	1000	16	6	11		1	3	
Sir John Dunbar out of his undertakers lands	1000	10	10	5	4		1	
Mr. Adwick out of his undertakers lands	1000	6	1	2			3	
Sir Steaphen Butler out of his undertakers lands	3000	92	22	9			12	1
The towne of Eueskillin		32	32	10		5	1	2
THE SERVITORS, NATIVES AND CHURCHLANDS PLANTED WITH BRITISH.								
The Lord Dullon out of his servitors lands	1500	27	16	5				
Sir William Coale out of his servitors lands	1000	13	13	5			1	
Captaine Roger Atkinson out of his servitors lands	1000	25	8					
Sir Ralph Gower out of his servitors lands	1000	31						
CHURCHLANDS :								
The Lord Hastings out of his churchlands	1500	41	15	4		2		
Mr. Archdall his churchlands	1000	14	5	4				
Mr. Leonard Blennerhasset out of his churchlands	500	7						
The Lady Brewerton out of her churchlands	2000	15	11	6				
Lieutenant Graham out of his churchlands	200	8	8	3	2	2	1	
Mr. Fullerton out of his churchlands	120	2	2				2	
Mr. Willobye out of his churchlands	500	6	4	3				
Mr. Hugh Montgomery out of his churchlands	500	11	7	2				
	913	476	224	24	24	46	56	5

APPENDIX.
Names and
Muster-
Roll of
" Under-
takers "
in Ulster.

THE COUNTY OF TYRONE.	Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Snaph.	Halberds.
Sir James Erskin out of his undertakers lands	3000	138	58	27	3	7	4	
Sir William Steward out of his undertakers lands	4000	130	64	32	7	11	8	
Sir Henry Tychbourne out of his undertakers lands	2200	54	28	3		4	4	
Sir William Parsons out of his undertakers lands	1500	59	31	8			2	2
Mr. Richard Coape out of his undertakers lands	1500	28	16	5		1	1	
Mr. John Leigh out of his undertakers lands	2000	17	8	4	3		1	
Mr. Archbald Hammliton out of his undertakers lands	1000	25	21	5	2		3	
Sir Andrew Steward out of his undertakers lands	4500	93	86	45			20	1
Mr. Henry Steward out of his undertakers lands	1500	46	27	7	3	3	7	
	590	339	66	66	9	26	50	3

APPENDIX.
Names and
Muster-
Roll of
"Under-
takers"
in Ulster.

THE COUNTY OF TYRONE.		Acre.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Callovers.	Snaph.	Halberts.
Captaine Sanderson out of his undertakers lands	1000	590	339	166	19	26	50	3	
Mr Symmonton out of his undertakers lands	1000	34	18	9		1	4		
Mr. Richardson out of his undertakers lands	1000	28	8	3			4		
Mr. Lyndsay out of his undertakers lands	1000	26	10	4			4		
The Lord Hastings out of his undertakers lands	1000	65	22	7		1	7		
Sir Pearce Crosby out of his undertakers lands	2000	25	18	3	2	1	8		
Captaine Mervin out of his undertakers lands	3000	47	28	5			4		
Mr. Dromond out of his undertakers lands	6000	57	40	16	8		8		
Sir George Hammlton out of his undertakers lands	1000	15	15	11		1	2		
The Countess of Abbercorne out of her undertakers lands	2500	54	50	8		3	7		
The Mr. of Abbercorne out of his undertakers lands	2000	40	36	7			10		
Sir William Hammlton out of his undertakers lands	2500	51	39	10	1	1	14		
The towne of Straban	2750	43	42	22		1	18		
SERVITORS AND CHURCHLANDS :		208	121	43	5	8	47	2	
The Lord Primats churchlands	4000	58	18	5			8		
The Bishop of Clougher out of his churchlands	3000	64	22	10	4		4	2	
Mr. William Hammlton out of his churchlands	1000	14							
The Lord Viscount Chichester out of his towne of Dungan- gannon and the rest of his servitors lands	2000	31	10		1		1		
The Lord Viscount Powrscourt out of his servitors lands	2120	46	33	1	1	4	10		
The Lord Calfeild out of his servitors lands	1240	12	12	1		2	2		
Sir Bayerley Newcom out of his servitors lands	2000	30	15	10	1	4	3		
		1538	896	341	42	53	197	7	

LONDON DERRY.		Acre.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Callovers.	Snaph.	Halberts.
THE NAMES OF THE CHIEF TENANTS WHO HOULD THE PLANTATION LANDS IN THE COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY BELONGING TO THE COMPANIES OF THE CITY OF LONDON :									
The City and Libertyes of Londonderry	2000	599	333	55	77		6	4	
Sir Robert Macklelan	6000	192	118	54	1	14	20	1	
Mr. Harrington	3000	57	44	11	1	10	18	1	
Mr. Freeman, the elder, his men appeared with the Cytty and Libertyes of Londonderry	3000								
Mr. Freeman, the younger	3000	42	19	6		2	12		
The Lady Cooke	3000								
Mr. Wall, Mr. Hartops son-in-law	3000	48	29	9	15	1		1	
Mr. Caning	3000	122	85	61	26	1		3	
Mr. Church	3000	87	52	21	2	30	3		
Mr. Conway	3000	102	52	12	1	6	6		
Mr. Barker	3000	45	16	1		2	1		
Mr. Whistler	3000								
The towne and Libertyes of Colerayne	1500	357	251	69	48	38	53	8	
THE SERVITORS NATIVES AND CHURCHLANDS IN THE COUNTY OF DERRY WHERE THE BRITISH INHABIT :									
Sir Thos. Phillops serv. lands	3000	121	89	16	3	44	25		
Mr. Gaid his natives lands	1000	10	3				3		
		1782	1101	315	174	148	132	18	

LONDON DERRY.					Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Snaph.	Halberts.
The Lady Maccheldans church lands	2000	1782	1101	315	174	148	132	18				
Mr. Barrasfoords natives lands	1000	48	35	12	4							
The Lord Primats churchlands	1000	36	6	4								
Mr. Dawsons	500	11	4	1					1		2	
Magharrah and Desert Martin out of their lands and servitors lands	700	13	3	1							2	
		40	25	3							2	
		1930	1164	335	178	149	152	18				

APPENDIX.
Names and
Muster-
Roll of
"Under-
takers"
in Ulster.

THE COUNTY OF ANTRYM.							
	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Calivers.	Snaph.	Halb.
THE NUMBER OF MEN MUSTERED IN THE BOUESAID COUNTY, BUT THE PARTICULAR QUANTITE OF LANDS THERE ARE NOT DEVIDED INTO THOUSANDS OF ACRES AS IN THE SIX ESCHEATED COUNTYES.							
The Earle of Antrim out of his lands beinge half that county	947	418	6	1	3	1	1
Out of Mr. Adares lands, Lord of Kinhilt, appeared ...	135	76	36	2	1	15	
Out of Mr. Edmoustons lands there appeared	151	79	56			1	
Out of Mr. Peter Hill his lands there appeared	11						
Out of Mr. Reddings lands there appeared	15						
Out of Mr. Dallawayes lands there appeared	38						
Out of Sir Iohn Clotwoorthy his lands there appeared ...	229						
Out of Mr. Uptons lands there appeared	92	2	4				
	1618	575	102	3	4	17	1

THE COUNTY OF DONNAGALL.								
	Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Musk.	Call.	Snaph.	Halberts.
The Duke of Lennox out of his undertakers lands ...	4000	166	100	14			25	
Sir Iohn Conningham out of his undertakers lands ...	2000	124	70	38	3	2	8	1
The Ladye Conningham out of her undertakers lands ...	2000	66	33	10		1	8	
Sir Iohn Kingsmell out of his undertakers lands	2270	45	40	8			1	
Captaine Mansfeld out of his undertakers lands	1000	16	10	2		1		
Sir Iohn Willson out of his undertakers lands	2550	66	52	9	1	2	5	
Mr. Benson out of his undertakers lands	1500	39	21	4	1		2	3
Mr. Steward, lord of Dunduff, out of his undertakers lands	1000	61	44	14	1		8	
Mr. Cahoume, lord of Luce, out of his undertakers lands	1000	9	6	4			8	1
Captaine Davis out of his undertakers lands	2000	25	13	5		1	3	
Mr. Harrington out of his undertakers lands	4000	57	55	16	7	1	18	
Mr. Alexander Steward out of his undertakers lands ...	1000	32	17	9	1		5	
Mr. James Conningham out of his undertakers lands ...	1000	59	31	10			12	
Mr. Iohn Steward out of his undertakers lands	1000	13	8	1				
The Earle of Annandall out of his undertakers lands ...	10000	143	4				1	
Mr. William Farrell out of his undertakers lands ...	1500							
		921	504	144	14	8	104	5

APPENDIX.
Names and
Muster-
Roll of
"Under-
takers"
in Ulster.

THE COUNTY OF DONNAGALL.		Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Call.	Snaph.	Habberts.
SERVITORS AND CHURCHLANDS :			921	504	144	14	8	104	5
The Bishop of Rapho his church lands	...	2700	150	95	12	1	1	14	
The Deane of Rapho his church lands	...	300	7	5				1	
The churchlands of Taghboyne	...	200	6	4	2			2	
The Lord Chichester his servitors lands in the barrony of Eneshone	...		174	128	4	5		8	3
			1258	746	162	20	9	119	8

All the rest of the servitors in the county of Donnagall who inhabit in the barrony of Kelmacrenon and the barrony of Terhow caused not their Brittish to appear at the generall Muster at the tymes and places appoynted according to the warning geuen them.

THE COUNTY OF DOWNE.		Acres.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Call.	Snaph.	Habberts.
THE NUMBER OF MEN AND THEIR ARMES MUSTERED IN THE COUNTY OF DOWNE ; BUT THERE IS NO DECUISION INTO THOUSANDS OF ACRES OF THE LANDS IN THAT COUNTY.									
The Earle of Kildare out of his lands there appeared	...		125	78					
The Lord Crumwell out of his lands there appeared	...		480	229	106	25	2	2	10
The Lord Viscount of Ardes his men and armes	...		1317	757	399	113	1	2	14
The Lord Viscount of Clannyboyes his men and armes	...		1778	1588	1107	247	60	172	
The Lord General belonging to his iron woorkes there appeared	...		28						
The Bishop of Downe out of his lands and out of the Savages lands being natiues there appeared	...		93	47	9	1		1	2
The Bishop of Drummoore out of his lands there appeared	...		156	133	8				1
Mr. Robert Melvin out of his lands there appeared	...		52	16	4				
Mr. Ward out of his lands there appeared	...		8						
Lieutenant Burris out of his lands there appeared	...		8						
6 great horse and men compleatly armed out of the Lord Clannaboyes his outrisings.									
			4045	2848	1633	386	63	177	27

THE COUNTY OF MONNAGHAN.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Snaph.	Call.	Lances.
NATIUES, SERVITORS, AND CHURCHLANDS :							
Sir Robert Loftus out of his Abbah lands in Clunis	14	2	4				
Mr. Art Oge McMaughen out of his outrisings ...	6 foote, 3 horse	9	4	1			3
Cullo Mc Euer Mc Maughan out of his outrisings	8 foote, 4 horse	8	6		2		4
Patrick Duff Mc Cullo Mc Maughan out of his outrisings	2 foote, 1 horse	2	2				1
Ross Brann Mc Maughan out of his outrisings ...	1 horse						1
Art Roe Mc Maughan out of his outrisings ...							
Neal Mc Kenny out of his outrisings	4 foote, 2 horse	5	1			1	2
The Britnish of the towne of Monnaghan	14	2	4				
Mr. Acklish Britnish tenants out of his churchlands							
Mr. Auldridg his Britnish tenants out of his natuiens lands	45	32	21	1		1	
	93	11 horse	60	42	2	2	11

APPENDIX.
Names and Muster-Roll of "Undertakers" in Ulster.

THE TOTALL OF EVERY PERTICULER COUNTY WITHIN THE PROVINCE OF ULSTER.	Men.	Swords.	Pikes.	Muskets.	Call.	Snaph.	Halberts.	Lances.
In the County of Cavan	795	166	100	17	8	46	3	
In the County of Ardmagh	902	295	146	28	50	70		
In the County of Farnannah	913	476	224	24	46	56	5	
In the County of Tyrone	1538	896	341	42	53	197	7	
In the County of London Derry	1930	1164	335	178	149	152	18	
In the County of Antrim	1618	575	102	3	4	17	1	
In the County of Donnagall	1258	740	162	20	9	119	8	
In the County of Downe	4045	2848	1633	386	63	177	27	
In the County of Monnaghan	93	60	42	2	2	2		11
The Total ...	13092	7226	3085	700	384	836	69	11

APPENDIX. XIV. A DISCOURSE CONCERNINGE THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIUES IN THE PROVINCE OF VLSTER.

Discourse
on
Ulster
Irish.

The Brittish undertakers, by the Artickles of the Plantation of the Prouince of Vlster, are bound to bringe howseholds out of England and Scotland, to poeple theyr lands, which unlesse they doe, that can neuer bee a good plantation; and they will neuer doe it as longe as they may keepe the Irish natiues upon theyr lands for these reasons.

First. Because the bringinge of such famelies thither, out of England and Scotland, would bee very chargeable unto them, as the natives are not beeinge fownd there.

Secondly. Because they are not willing to make estates for lives or yeares, as they must doe to the Brittish tenaunts, untill such time as they haue improved theyr lands to as great a value as they can.

Thirdly. Because the Irish tenaunt is more seruile then the Brittish; will giue more customes and answeere more rents.

Now because that Plantation can haue noe good progresse if the natiues bee still permitted to stay upon the Brittish vndertakers lands, and that the forcinge of the poore people from thence beefore they are otherwise prouided for, would breed an exceedinge great clamor and confusion, if not a present rebellion, it were fitt that such a course were taken for them that they themselves might with all willingnes leaue the lands of the Brittish vndertakers, which may bee done by this meanes:

His Majesty hath given large scopes of land to (1) the Bushops of Vlster; (2) Seruitors; (3) some of the Natiues.

None of which three sorts of men are to performe the same conditions as the Brittish vndertakers are, but may receyue the Irishrye vpon theyr lands. Nay to say truth, theyr lands were cheefely giuen them to that purpose; and these lands would, if not altogether, yet within very little, receyue as well those natives which are now upon them as the others which doe yet inhabite the Brittish vndertakers proportions, if care might bee taken in the well disposinge thereof amongst them; and noe man haue a larger scope assigned him then hee can conveniently manure and stock.

For the better performance of which service his Majesty may bee pleased to give authoritye to certeyne discrete Commissioners, to whome booth the country and people are well knowne, as well to veiwe what lands are yet unplanted amongst the sayd bushops, seruitors, and natiues, as to take notice what number of people are now unsetled, and doe live upon the Brittish vndertakers lands. After which severall surveyes soe made, then are they to haue places assigned them by the sayd Commissioners, some of them greater, some of them lesser, accordinge to euery mans qualetye and meanes. And the natives, seruitors, and bushops are to be commaunded expresly from his Majesty to admitt them upon theyr lands, soe

assigned to them by the sayd Commissioners, and to make them eyther leases thereof for yeares, or estates for lives, at such rents as are now reserved, or such as shall bee thought reasonable, by the Commissioners for that Plantation.

Which when the people shall understand, they are alreadye soe bitten with the tyrannye of theyr landlords, the uncerteynty of theyr abidinge in any place, havinge noe residence but at pleasure, and theyr expence and continuall vexation in seekinge new habitations, and fearinge to loose theyr old, that they shall not need to bee compelled to leaue the British vndertakers lands; for they will goe of themselves to these new assigned lands, whereof they may bee assured to haue estates. Or if any of them should bee soe sencelesse as to refuse soe great a good, yet most of them will cherefully embrace it, and such as are obstinate amongst them may then bee compelled to leaue the sayd lands with more coulour of justice, when there is care had for theyr settlement, rather then now to turne them from theyr habitations beefore any provision bee made for them, or course taken where they shall plant themselves. And because this will bee a worke of great paynes and expence to the Commissioners that shall undertake it, whose charge there is noe reason his Majesty should defray, consideringe that it doeth principally tend to the good of others, his Majesty therefore may bee pleased to giue direction that the sayd Commissioners may receyve from the natives that are to bee settled as aforesayd, for every ballyboe, quarter, poll, or tathe of land six shillings 8^d sterlinge, and soe ratably for lesse or greater proportions, as they shall bee estated in them; or if this shall seeme too muche, it may bee left to the Commissioners of that Plantation to apoynt what reward euery natiue that is to bee settled should giue to the Commissioners that are to take the paynes in it. The fittest men to undertake this busines as Commissioners, and to whome the country is best knowne, are, in my opinion, Sir Iosias Bodley, Sir Edward Doddrington, Mr. Parsons, his Majesty's Surveyor of Ireland.

APPENDIX.
Discourse
on
Ulster
Irish.

Reasons to induce his Majesty to commaund a settlement of the natives of Vlster, upon the natives, bushops, and British vndertakers lands in that province.

1. It will be a worke of great pietie and honor for his Majesty to commaund a settlement of those people by certeynty of estates, under the vndertakers there, whoe haue humbly and quietly submitted themselves and theyr possessions to bee disposed of by his Majesty, whereby they are utterly destitute of all habitation or abode other then at the will of others.

2. It will bee a meanes of bringinge great profitt to his Majesty, for as now the case standeth, if all the natives of Vlster whoc haue noe lands should goe into rebellion and bee attaynted, his Majesty onely must bee at the charge to reduce them into obeydienco, and yet gayne nothinge by their attaynder; whereas if they were estated by longe leases or freehold for lives, his Majesty should haue many forfeitures thereby, beesydes his casuall recueneues, as well in subsidyes, as fines, amercements, the proffitts of sutes, and other benefitts of law proceedings, accordinge to the course of England which amongst those Irish can never bee raysed as longe as they live this vncertaine course of life.

APPENDIX.
Discourse
on
Ulster
Irish.

3. It will assure the peace of that country, for when they which had hitherto noe places of residence, but were accustomed upon all occasions to runn into rebellion with theyr lords, upon whome they did depend, shall by this settlement bee drawne from them and find the contentment of a civell life, they will then endeouour to improve theyr lands, increase theyr stocks, and get goods about them, which upon any ill attempt they will be loath to lose.

4. His Majesty shall by this meanes bee the author of that great worke of vnitinge the English and Irish together, which yet could never be done, because they did never live together as landlord and tenant, eyther in perpetuityes or longe leases.

5. It will bee an assured meanes by peace and good order to reclayme that people to civillitye, religion, and obeydience, which will bee a worke of greate glory to his Majesty then if he had brought a new people into theyr places.

6. The auntient tyrannye of holdinge them in slavische tenancye at will shalbee hereby removed, and the minds of that people set at libertye, which were heretofore burthened with the feare of beeing put out of theyr lands; which feare made them follow theyr lords into all theyre desperate and disloyall courses.

7. It is a matter of necessitye for his Majestys service in juryes and other country occasions; in which case the service is now often supplied with tenants at will, and those such as are barbarous and unskillfull; whoe must doe as theyr lords commaund them, though agaynst the knowne truth; which though it bee much complaind of by the Judges and Justices, yet can it not bee remedied, the Brittish undertakers and tenants being soe few.

8. By this course his Majesty shall doe that peaceably and with consent and prayers of the people, which hitherto could not be done, nor cannot, but with contention, clamors, and great greevances boeth of the Brittish vndertakers and Irish inhabitants, if they should bee compeld to leave theyr lands beefore they are provyded for.

9. By this remoue of the Irish from the undertakers landes, the great worke of the plantation will bee made perfect; which is to bring Brittish inhabitants thither, and for which onely end his Majesty gave away such large possessions for soe smale a value by the yeare.

10. If his Majesty will endeavor a reformation in religion, that worke will bee of lesse difficultys, when the people are gathered together into townships, and settled in seuerall parishes; whereby the Minister may know his parishioners and they him, by havinge residence amongst them; which as longe as they continue this wandringe course of life can never bee done. But after the settlement it may not be doubted of; for to say the truth, most of the people are not vnwillinge to goe to church, if they might bee soe provided for, that they neede not feare theyr lords displeasures for doeing it.

11. Whosoever doeth know Vlster, and will deale truely with his Majesty, must make this reporte of it, that in the generall apearance of it, it is yet noe other but a very wilderness: for although in many of the proportions (I meane of all kinds) there is one smale township made by the undertakers, which is all, yet the proportions beeing wyde and large, the habitation in all the province is

scarce visible ; for the Irish, of whome many townships might bee made, doe not now dwell together in any orderly forme, but wander with theyr cattle all the sommer in the mountaynes, and all the winter in the woods. And untill those Irish are settled in this manner, the English dare not live in those parts, for there is noe safty eyther for theyr goods or lives, which is the mayne cause, though other reasons may bee giuen, why they doe not plentifully goe thither and cherefully plant themselves in that province.

APPENDIX.
Discourse
on
Ulster
Irish.

12. At the time of the Plantation many of the best bloud of the people of that province were settled, yet for the most parte they were such as in time of warr had relation to this state, and for theyr inclininge that way, neyther had nor have any power with the Irish to bringe them into any civill order though they should endeavor it. But there are others, some of them heads of septs, some cheefes of creates, and some principall followers to the rebellious lords, in whome alone the power of those lords consisted, and whoe did onely supporte them in theyr warrs. For the lords themselves had little benefitt out of theyr lands and noe goods at all, but these men enjoyed, or at least commaunded all there were, and are they which haue power over the bodies of the people, and can commaund theyr dependance upon whome they please. And these men haue noe lands, but are left at large with theyr fellowes ; whoe, now they see the times fall out soe contrary to theyr expectations, would willingly settle themselves, and for the good of the country it were requisite that the[y] should ; for by them the rest of the people shall bee assured, for noe stealth can bee done but they know it, nor any mischeefe plotted but they can discover it : yet in this settlement theyr owne dependants would bee scattered from them as much as may bee and others mingled amongst them.

13. By this settlement the Irish gentlemen whoe had lands assigned them in the Plantation shall vent theyr multitudes of idlè followers which yet doe hange upon them, of whom they have neyther corne nor moneye. Which is the cause that for theyr present relefe given to these fellowes they doe sell away theyr lands by peeces, and soe in shorte time all beeing sold, they will beecome rebells agayne, for nothings doeth conteyne them soe much in obeydience as the certenlye of theyr estates. And therefore it was one of the greatest pollicyes that euer his Majesty put in practise in their kingdome when hee graunted his Commissions for surrenders, for the settling of the Irish in theyr auntient possessions. As by a late letter hee hath beene graciously pleased to doe the like for the poore inhabitants of Conaught.

14. Lastly, boeth the habitt, language, and manners of the English shall by this meanes in time bee brought in amongst them, which untill it bee done they can never bee a civell people or any good bee expected out of that province, notwithstandinge the Plantation as now it is.

Endorsed : Concerning the settling of the Natives in the province of Vlster.

APPENDIX. XV. GRANTS FROM CHARLES I. TO SIR BRIAN MAGUIRE, 1627-8.

- I. ROYAL LETTER DIRECTING PAYMENT OF PENSION TO SIR BRIAN MAGUIRE ;
WITH COMMISSION FOR HIM TO RAISE AND COMMAND A COMPANY OF HORSE
OR FOOT FOR THE KING'S SERVICE ; AND AUTHORIZING HIS CREATION AS A
PEER OF IRELAND, WITH TITLE OF BARON OF ENNISKILLIN, IN THE COUNTY
OF FERMANAGH, 1627-8.

1627-8.
21. Jan.
Royal
Grants
to
Brian
Maguire.

Charles R[ex] : Right trustie and welbeloved cosen and councillor, wee greet you well : In consideration of the manifold acceptable good service done unto us and our Crowne by Sir Connor Magwire, knight, deceased, and by our trustie and welbeloved Sir Brian Magwire, his sonne and heire, effectualle recomended by your lettres unto us and our Counsell, which uppon view thereof and of the certificate of our Comissioners for the affaires of that our kingdome, was well approved and recomended by our Privie Counsell, wee are graciouslie pleased and doe hereby require and authorise you to give speciall warrant to our Vicethreasurer of that our realme to make present payment unto the said Sir Brian Magwire of the arrerages of his pention of one hundred pounds sterling by the yeare, which he holds by lettres pattents dureing his life, out of any our revenues of our county of Fermanagh, and that his groweing pention may be hereafter from tyme to tyme duly paid unto him out of any our rents and revenues of the said county of Fermanagh, notwithstanding any former restraint or inhibition whatsoever to the contrarie, the said pention being granted unto him for a valuable consideration by our late dear royall father, King James of blessed memorie.

And alsoe to give the said Sir Brien Maguire Comission to raise a company of one hundred foote or fiftie horse, and to have the comaund of them in our pay, when there shalbe occasion thereof for the furtherance of our service. And likewise wee are graciouslie pleased for the said Sir Brien Magwire, his better encouragement to doe us further service, to make a grant by lettres patents under the great seale of that our realme, in due forme of law, with the advise of some of our learned counsell there, from us our heires and successors unto the said Sir Brien Magwire and his heires of a Court in the nature of a Court Baron, and a Court leete to be held within all his lands in the barony of Magheresteffanagh, in the said county of Fermanagh, and twoe faires yearelie, and a markett weekelie, att such tymes and places as the said Sir Brien Macguire shall nominate unto you within any part of his lands where the same may not be preiudiciall to other marketts and faires already granted, together with the profitts of the said Courts, faires, and markett, yeilding therefore unto us our heires and successors the somme of fortie shillings English yearelie, payable att the feasts of Easter and Michaelmas halfe yearelie to the Vicethreasurer and Receivor generall of us our heires and successors for the tyme being, and a graunt of free warren within all his lands in the said barony of Magheresteffanagh, and power to imparke twoe thousand acres or lesse of his owne lands where he shall thinke fitt.

And further, it is our will and pleasure, and wee doe hereby require you and our Counsell there from tyme to tyme to countenance and support the said Sir Brian Magwire favorable as a well deserving servitor in all his occasions, and to take speedie order that he and his heires, may enioy all such lands in the said barrony of Magheresteffanagh as are mentioned in our said fathers lettres pattents, granted to his said father, Sir Connor Magwire, and his heires under the yearlie rent of twenty pounds Irish, if they have not been passed to other men by former lettres Pattents, paying onlie such countrie chardges from tyme to tyme as shall proportionable growe due for the said lands in his possession; and moreover wee doe hereby require you to give direction to the officers of our Court of Exchequer, and to all other our officers to whome it may apperteyne, that the said Sir Brian Magwire and his heires may be discharged of all arrerages of rents due to us before the last Plantation for the lands holden by his said Father in the said county of Fermanagh by any former lettres pattents, the said Sir Brien Magwire making a grant and surrender unto us our heires and successors of such former lettres pattents as he hath, and conveying by fyne and such other assurances as our learned Counsell shall devise all the lands and hereditaments in the said County of Fermanagh, excepting all such lands and hereditaments as the said Sir Brien Magwire holdeth by lettres pattents from our said late deare father to him and his heires in the said barrony of Magheresteffanagh, under the yearelie rent of twenty pounds Irish, and alsoe excepting the lettres Pattents whereby the same were granted unto the said Sir Connor Magwire and his heires by our said late deare Father.

And our further pleasure is, and wee doe hereby require and authorise you as an extraordinarie marke of our especiall grace and favor towards the said Sir Brien Magwire for his Fathers and his owne merritts and faithfull loyalties and service to our Crowne, and for an encouragement of him and his posteritie and others of the natives of that our kingdome, to endeavor the like hereafter by like lettres pattents to grant unto him the said Sir Brien Magwire the honor, stile, dignitie, and place of Baron of Eniskillin in the said County of Fermanagh, to have and to hold the said honor, stile, dignitie, and place of Baron of Eniskillin unto the [said] Sir Brien Magwire and the heires males of his bodie lawfully begotten and to be begotten, with all priviledges, preheminences, and rights belonging to the state and degree of a Baron and Peere of that our kingdome, in as ample and beneficiall manner as any baron of that our realme doth hold or ought to hold and enioy the like degree; and theis our lettres, notwithstanding any former restraint or direction to the contrarie, shalbe aswell to you our Deputy and Comissioners for the custodie of our great seale there now being as to the Deputy, or other Cheife Governor or Governors, Chauncellor, keeper or keepers, of the Great Seale of that our kingdome which hereafter for the tyme shalbe, and to all other our officers and ministers there to whome it shall or may apperteyne, and to everie of them sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalfe. Given under our signett, att our pallace of Westminster, the one and twentieth day of Ianuarie, in the third yeare of our raigne [1627-8].

To our right trustie and welbeloved Cosen and Counsellor, Henrie, Viscount Falkland, our Deputy Generall of our realme of Ireland, and to the Comissioners

APPENDIX.
1627-8.
21. Jan.
Royal
Grants
to
Brian
Maguire.

APPENDIX. for the custody of our Great Seale there now being, and to the Deputy or other
1627-8. Cheife Governor or Governors, Chauncellor, keeper or keepers, of the Great Seale of
21. Jan. that our kingdome, which hereafter for the tyme shalbe, and to all other our officers
Royal Grants and ministers there to whome it shall or may appertaine, and to everie of them.
to Memorandum quod vicesimo die Februarii, Anno Domini 1627[-8], Hugo
Brian Mc Mahon generosus venit in Cancellariam domini Regis regni sui Hibernie et
Maguire. petiit litteras supradictas irrotulari, ad cuius requisicionem irrotulantur de verbo in
verbum prout superius.

2. PATENT OF CREATION FOR BRIAN MAGUIRE AS BARON OF ENNISKILLIN, 1627-8.

1627-8. Carolus, Dei gratia, Anglie, Scocie, Francie, et Hibernie rex, fidei defensor, etc.
3. March. Archiepiscopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, episcopis, baronibus,
Patent for militibus, prepositis, liberis hominibus, ac omnibus officariis, ministris, et subditis
Barony of nostris quibuscunque ad quos presentes littere pervenerint, salutem.
Ennis- Quandoquidem honos et splendidi tituli cunctis aliis premiis et beneficiis ante-
killin cellunt quibus principes servos de se optime meritos gratiose remunerare solent eo
for Brian quod perpetuum perhibent testimonium prestantissimarum et immortalium illorum
Maguire. virtutum que non solum ipsismet qui hec obtinent aut possident decori ac ornamento
sunt verum etiam efficiunt eximiam felicitatem in alios sue posteritatis et sanguinis
in plurimas subsequentes etates et futura tempora redundare.

Nos idcirco recogitantes et in mentem revocantes singulares ac probatas virtutes et
benemerita nostri nuper dilecti fidelisque subditi Cornelii Maguire, militis hominis,
eximia fortitudine et animi vi magnaue iudicii ac experientie militaris facultate et
dexteritate aliisque inclitis, cum animi tum corporis dotibus ac virtutibus predicti prout
perspicue et sepissime indicavit et comprobavit bono suo et pergrato officio et obsequio
prestato eque tempore proxime elapsi bella intra hoc regnum nostram Hibernie
regnante olim charissima nostra sorore Elizabetha, celeberrime memorie, debellando
et abacindendo rebellatores ac hostes illorum temporum intra regnum nostrum ac
placidis et inturbidis temporibus nostri nuper dilecti patris immortalis et felicis
memorie quibus accedit bona opinio quam concipimus et gratuita benevolentia qua
prosequimur perdilectum et fidelem nostrum subditum Bernard alias Brian Maguire,
militem, filium et heredem dicti Cornelii, et ut illi animus addatur retinendi ac
perpetuo in se fovendi heroicam fortitudinem res gestas et virtutes memoria dignas
predicti sui defuncti patris; Necnon perseverandi in iisdem benemeritis erga nos
cuius rei gratia eum arbitramur dignum in quem nos ampliorem honorem conferamus.
Sciatis igitur quod nos in grati animi nostri testimonium, et quia volumus hunc
præfatum Bernard alias Bryan Maguire, militem, pro suo iusto merito et ex virtu-
tibus suis amplioris honoris titulo et favoris nostri charectere ornandum de gratia
nostra speciali ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris de assensu perdilecti et fidelis
consiliarii et consanguinei nostri, Henrici domini Vicecomitis Falkland, Deputati
nostri generalis dicti regni nostri Hibernie, ac secundum tenorem et effectum qua-
rundam litterarum nostrarum manu nostra propria ac sub signeto nostro datas apud

pallacium nostrum Westmonasterii, vicesimo primo die Januarij anno regni nostri Anglie, Scocie, Francie, et Hibernie tertio, ac in rotulis Cancellarie nostre dicti regni nostri Hibernie irrotularum et de recordo remanentium predictum Bernard alias Brian Maguire, militem, ad statum, gradum, dignitatem, titulum, et honorem domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin, in comitatu Fermanagh infra dictum regnum nostrum Hibernie ereximus, prefecimus et creavimus ipsumque prefatum Bernard alias Brian Maguire, militem, dominum Maguire, Baronem de Eneskellin predictum erigimus, preficimus, constituimus et creamus per presentes eidemque Bernardo alias Brian Maguire, militem, nomen, statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum, et honorem domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin, predictum imposuimus, dedimus, et prebuimus ac per presentes imponimus, damus, et prebemus et ipsum Bernard alias Brian Maguire, militem in eodem nomine, gradu, stilo, titulo, honore, et dignitate domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin realiter et ad plenam investimus habendum et tenendum eundem statum, gradum, stilum, dignitatem, titulum, et honorem domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin prefato Bernardo alias Brian Maguire, militi, et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis et procreandis imperpetuum. Ac ulterius volumus ac per presentes pro nobis, heredibus et successoribus nostris concedimus prefato Briano Maguire, militi, et heredibus masculis de corpore suo legitime procreatis et procreandis, quod ipse prefatus Bernardus alias Brian Maguire, miles, et heredes sui masculi predictum nomen, stilum, gradum, statum, dignitatem, titulum, et honorem predictos infra predictum regnum nostrum Hibernie successive gerant et habeant et eorum quilibet gerat et habeat. Et per nomen domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin, predictum infra predictum regnum nostrum Hibernie successive vocentur et nuncupentur et quilibet eorum vocetur et nuncupetur et in omnibus ut Barones dicti regni nostri Hibernie teneantur, tractentur, et reputentur, et eorum quilibet teneatur, tractetur, et reputetur, habeantque teneant et possideant, et eorum quilibet habeat, teneat, et possideat, sedem, locum, et vocem in Parliamentis et publicis consiliis nostris, heredum et successorum nostrorum, infra regnum nostrum Hibernie inter alios Barones dicti regni nostri Hibernie. Necnon gaudeant et utantur et eorum quilibet gaudeat et utatur ut Barones dicti regni nostri Hibernie per nomen domini Maguire, Baronis de Eneskellin, predictum, omnia et singula talia, jura, privilegia, prehemencias, et imunitates statui baronis dicti regni nostri Hibernie in omnibus rite et de iure spectantibus qualibus et quibus ceteri barones dicti regni nostri Hibernie ante hec tempora melius honorificentius et quietius usi et gavisii fuerunt, seu in presenti gaudeant et utantur. Eo quod expressa mencio, etc.

In cuius rei testimonium has litteras nostras fieri fecimus patentes.

Teste prefato Deputato nostro generali regni nostri Hibernie apud Dublin tertio die Marcii anno regni nostri tertio. Virtute litterarum domini Regis ab Anglia missarum et manu sua propria signatarum.

APPENDIX.
1627-8.
3. March.
Patent for
Barony of
Ennis-
killen
for Brian
Maguire.

APPENDIX. 3. SIR BRIAN MAGUIRE, BARON OF ENNISKILLEN, SURRENDERS TO CHARLES I.
THE TERRITORY CALLED FERMANAGH, OR "MAGUIRE'S COUNTRY," IN ULSTER,
1628.

1628.
11. July.
Surrender
of Fer-
managh by
Sir Brian
Maguire.

To all Christian people to whome these presents shall come Sir Brian Magwyre, knight, Lord Barron of Eniskellin, sendeth greetinge in our lord God everlasting: whereas the late moste excellent Prince of blessed memorie, and our late dread Soueraigne Lady, Quene Elizabeth, by her highnes lettres pattents under the Greate Seale of Ireland, bearinge date at Dublin the twentieth daie of February, in the three and forteeth yeare of her raigne of England, Fraunce, and Ireland, did giue and grant unto Connor Roe Magwire, of Eniskillin, the Captein of his Nation or Sept. within the province of Ulster, all that territorie or country called Fermannagh alias Magwyres cuntrye in the province aforesaid, and all and singuler lordshippes, mannors, territories, castles, houses, edifices, lands, tenements, rents, reversiones, and services, moores, meddowes, feedings, pastures, woods, underwoods, mountaines, heathes, breweries, waters, watercourses, mills, courts leete, faires, vyewes of frauncke pledg, and all thinges which to viewes of francke pledge belongeth and all other hereditaments with all and singuler the rights members liberties and appurtenances in Fermannagh aforesaid which then were or of right ought to have been in the hands of our said late Soueraigne Ladie, and which by any meanes whatsoever thentofore came or ought to have come unto her Highnes; To have and to houlde the said territorie or cuntrye called Fermannagh alias Magwyres Cuntrye and all and singuler the before mentioned premisses unto the said Connor Roe Magwyre and his heires males for euer; To be houlden by knights service in capite and yealdinge therefore yearly the yearly rent or somme of one hundred pounds sterlinge of good and lawfull money of and in England as in and by the said recited letters pattentes amongst divers other thinges therein conteyned the same more at lardge it doth and may appeare: Nowe knowe yee that the said Sir Brian Magwyre, Lord Baron of Eniskellin, sonne and heire of the said Connor Roe Magwyre, for diuers good and valluable consideracions him thereunto moovinge and especially for and in perfourmance of the intencion of our nowe dread Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, signified by his Highnes letters signed with his signe manuell and sealed with his privie signett, bearinge date at Westminster, the one and twentieth daie of January, in the third yeare of his Highnes raigne of England, Scotland, Fraunce, and Ireland, unto the Right Honorable Henrie, Lord Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputie Generall of this kingdome of Ireland, and others, directed, hath graunted and surrendered and by these presents doth graunt and surrender unto the High and Mightie Prince, our said Soueraigne Lord, Kinge Charles, his heires and successors, all that the said cuntrye or territorie called Fermannagh, alias Magwyres Cuntrye, in the province of Ulster and all and singuler the said Lordshippes, mannors, territories, castles, houses, edifices, lands, tenements, rents, reversiones, and services, moores, meddowes, feedings, pastures,

woods, underwoods, mountaine grounds, heathes, brueries, watters, watercourses, mills, courtes leete, faires, viewes of francke pledge and all things which to viewes of francke pledge belongeth, and all other hereditaments whatsoever, withall and singuler the rights, members, liberties, and appurtenances in the nowe countie of Farmanagh to the said Connor Roe Magwyre given or granted by the said recited letters pattents and all the estate, righte, title, and interest of him the said Sir Brien Magwyre, Lord Barron of Eniskellin, of and in the same together with the said recited letters pattents excepted and allwaies foreprised out of this present graunt and surrender all such mannors, castles, lands, tenements, and hereditaments in the barrony of Magheristephanaugh in the said countie of Farmannagh as were graunted unto the said Connor Roe Magwyre and his heires by our late dread Soueraigne Lord, Kinge Iames, of blessed memorie, by his Highnes letters pattents bearinge date the 27th day of May, in the tenth yeare of his raigne, under the yearly rent of twentie pounds Irish to be paid for the same, and which are now occupied and enjoyed by the said Lord Barron of Eniskellin by any right of discent, or any other title by, from, or under, the said Connor Roe Magwyre, and the said Sir Brien Magwyre Lord Baron of Eniskellin doth covenant, promisse, and graunt for him, his heires, executors and administrators, to and with the Most Excellent Prince our said Soueraigne Lord, Kinge Charles, his heires and successors, that his said Highnes, his heires and successors, shall and may quietly and peaceably haue, hould, possesse, occupie, and enioy the said territorie of Farrmannagh and all and singuler the premisses by theise presents before graunted and surrendred or mencioned to be graunted or surrendred unto his Highnes, his heires and successors, without the lawfull lett, trouble, denyall, mollestation, or interruption of the said Sir Brien Magwyre, Lord Baron of Eniskellin, and his heires and of all and everie other person and persons clayminge or to claime any estate, right, title, interest, rent, or profitt in or out of the premisses, or any parte thereof, from, by, or under the said Sir Brien Magwyre, Lord Baron of Eniskellin, or of the said Connor Roe Magwyre, deceased, or under their or either of their rights, titles, or estates, cleerly acquitted, exonerated, and discharged, or otherwise uppon reasonable request well and sufficiently saued and kepte harmlesse of and from all mannor of former and other graunts, bargaines, sales, feoffaments, dowers, estates, rents, iudgments, executions, and other incombrances whatsoever, had made, done, comitted, acknowledged, executed, or willinglie suffered, by the said Sir Brien Magwyre and Connor Roe Magwyre, or either of them, or by their or either of their consents, acts, meanes or procurements, and the said Sir Brien Magwyre, Lord Baron of Eniskellin, doth covenant, promisse, and graunt for him his heires, executors, and administrators, to and with our said dread Soueraigne Lord, Kinge Charles, his heires and successors, by theise presents that he the said Sir Brien Magwyre and his heires and all and everie other person and persons whatsoever clayminge or to claime any estate, right, title, or interest, of or in the premisses, or any parte thereof, from, by, or under the said Sir Brien Magwyre and Connor Roe Magwyre, or either of them, or to the theire or either of their uses, shall and will from tyme to tyme, and att all tymes hereafter, for and dureinge the space of three yeares next ensueinge the date hereof, make, doe, acknowledge, execute, and

APPENDIX.
1628.
11. July.
Surrender
of Fer-
managh by
Sir Brian
Maguire

APPENDIX. suffer, all such further and other reasonable acte and acts, thinge and thinges, devise and devises in the lawe, assurance and assurances whatsoever, for the further and better assuringe and sure makeinge, haueinge, holdinge, possessinge, and enjoyinge, of the premisses, and of everie parte thereof, unto his Highnes, his heires and successors, be it by fyne or otherwise, with warrantize onely againste the said Sir Brien Magwyre and Connor Magwyre, their heires and assignes, as by his said Highnes, his heires and successors, or by his Highnes, or their Counsell learned in the lawe, shalbe reasonably devised, advised, and required, for the doeinge whereof the said Sir Brien Magwyre shall not be enforced to travell further then to the cittie of Dublin: In wittnes whereof the said Sir Brien Magwyre, Lord Baron of Eniskellin, haue heareunto put his hand and scale the [blank].

1628.
11. July.
Surrender
of Fer-
managh by
Sir Brian
Maguire.

Brian Mc Guire B his marke.

Perused and aproved by me, his Majesties Attorney generall,

William Ryves.

Memorandum quod infranominatus Brianus Mc Guire, miles, Baro de Iniskillen, personaliter comparuit undecimo die Iulii anno Domini 1628, annoque regni Regis Caroli quarto, coram prenobili Francisco domino Aungier, Barone de Longford, Magistro Rotulorum Cancellarie dicti domini Regis Regni sui Hibernie et deliberavit hoc scriptum ut factum suum ad manus dicti domini Aungier ad usum dicti domini Regis et coram dicto domino Aungier, recognovit hoc ut factum suum, et humiliter petiit ut hoc factum irrotuletur in rotulis Cancellarie Hibernie, de qua deliberacione et recognitione predictus dominus Aungier acceptavit et mandavit quod hoc scriptum in rotulis dicte Cancellarie irrotuletur.

Fr: Aungier.

XVI. LANDS IN ULSTER RESUMED BY CHARLES I. BECAUSE THE UNDERTAKERS HAD SET THEM TO THE IRISH, 1631.

1631.
30. Dec.
Ejection
of Irish
tenants
in Ulster.

Charles by the grace of God Kinge of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, etc. To all men to whome these presence shall come, Greeteing: Whereas sundrie balliboes, tryans, parcells of Tryans lands, tenements, and hereditaments, lying in the severall Counties of Donegall, Tyrone, Fermannagh, Cavan, and Ardmagh, are and have beene lately seised and taken into our hands, uppon sundrie Inquisicions taken in the severall counties aforesaid, fyndinge our title thereunto or to the rents, issues, and profitts thereof, for that the said lands, tenements, and hereditaments, were and have beene demised or some agistment therein graunted unto the meere Irish by the severall undertakers and grauntees thereof, contrary to the condicions in their severall Letters Patents respectively contained, to be held and enjoyed by us, our heires and successors, for all such time or terme as the same were graunted to or occupied by the said Irish, the particulars of which said balliboes, tryans, parcells of tryans lands, tenements, and

xvi. Patent Roll of Ireland, vii Charles I., part 3.—“A grant to Sir William Stewart and Sir Henrie Tichborne, of all rents and profitts of certen forfeited lands in Ulster in satisfaccion of all their arreares due for their intertainments. To be held duringe pleasure.”

hereditaments, hereafter ensue: that is to say, the tryan of Cashelnegore, the fourth parte of the lower tryan of Creggan, the halfe tryan of Dromboe parcell of the lower halfe of the tryan of Cregan, the eight part of the lower tryan of Dromboe, fowre balliboes of the quarter of land of Callan, twoe balliboes of the said quarter of land of Callan, all scituate, lieinge, and beinge within the great proporcion of Tawnaferis, in the precinct of Liffer, in the Countie of Donegall, the halfe quarter of land called Ardnekillen, the tryan of Glancharne, parcell of the quarter of land of Castletowres, more then halfe two balliboes of the quarter of Lurga, two balliboes of the quarter of land of Listellane, all scituate, lieinge, and beinge, within the proporcions of Dromore and Lurga, or one of them, in the said precinct of Liffer and Countie of Donegall the halfe quarter of land of Capragh furthest off[f] from the quarter of land of Cashnegore, lieinge and beinge within the aforesaid great proporcion of Tawnaferis, halfe a tryan of the quarter of land of Taunyvyunny, lieinge and beinge within the said proporcion of Dromore, a parcell of land called Lure, lieinge and beinge within the greate proporcion of Corlacky, in the said precinct of Liffer and County of Donegall, the tryan of Altnepest, the tryan of land of Cashell, the halfe of the tryan of land of Corlacky, likewise lieinge and beinge within the said proporcion of Corlacky, the halfe tryan of Aghagalty, lyinge and beinge within the said precinct of Liffer in the barony of Raphoe and Com. aforesaid, the ballyboe of Tireammaddan, the balliboe of Litterbrett and Dorragh, the halfe balliboe of Monehiccannon, the balliboe of Athnacree, the balliboe of Leacke, the halfe of the balliboe of Loughes, the balliboe of Gorten, the balliboe of Leanamoore, lieinge and beinge within the smale proporcions of Killeny and Tedan, in the barony of Strabane and County of Tyrone, the balliboe of Bealtany, lyinge and beinge in the proporcion of Lislapp, in the said baronie of Strabane and countie of Tyrone, the balliboe of Roscam, the balliboe of Berhagh, the balliboe of Aughiegary, the balliboe of Cloghfynn (except the fift parte thereof), the balliboe of Cavanreagh, the balliboe of Tonregae, the balliboe of Eskermore Tatekerron Lisboy Ballinenagh, lyinge and beinge in the great proporcion of the twoe Fewes and Ballitakin, in the baronie of Omagh in the said countie of Tyrone, the balliboe of Ardnarver, alias Edinreagh, the balliboe of Creeduffe, the balliboe of Corigchochin, Carnegervagh, and Aughemellagh, beinge two balliboes three partes of the sessiogh of Lecktonycan, the third parte of Lectonican, the halfe sessiogh of Lislehard, the halfe of Lishelin, the balliboe of Dumresse, the halfe of the towne of Drumbarsy, lyinge and beinge within the twoe smale proporcions of Clonaghmoore and Garnetagh, in the said baroney of Omagh and countie of Tirone, the balliboe of Roneagh, the balliboe of Graghrafynn, the balliboe of Graceholy, the towne and balliboe called Lissnely, the balliboe of Lisrareese, the balliboe of Derryward, the balliboe of Garvullagh, lyinge and beinge within the middle proporcion of Derribard and Killany, in the baronie of Clogher, in the said countie of Tirone, the balliboe of Ballynorrnan, lyinge and beinge in the proporcion of Ballikwkgur, in the said baronie of Clogher and countie of Tyrone, twoe tates of the three tates of Ballagh, one other tate of Ballagh called Lemill, the tate of Kernemore, twoe third partes of the tate of Drumgallen in three partes devided, the tate of Ardloone, lyinge and beinge in the proporcion

APPENDIX.
1631.
30. Dec.
Ejection
of Irish
tenants
in Ulster.

APPENDIX.
1631.
30. Dec.
Ejection
of Irish
tenants
in Ulster.

of Ardmagh, in the countie of Fermannagh, halfe the tate of Lamragh, halfe the tate and quarter of a tate of Rossmore, the quarter of tate of Dulrush, lyinge and beinge in the middle proporcion of Bannaghmore, in the said countie of Fermannagh, one third parte of the tate of Aghablene to bee devided into three partes, the halfe tate of Tullyhoman, halfe the tate of Garnery, the fourth parte of the tate of Lawry, lyinge and beinge in the said middle proporcion of Bannaghmore, the poll of Dromhillagh, the twoe polls of Aghrane lyinge and beinge in the greate proporcion of Lishreagh, in the countie of Cavan, the halfe poll of Tullylurkan, lyinge and beinge in the smale proporcion of Killiclogh, in the baronie of Clunchie, in the said countie of Cavan, the poll of Correderrallis, the poll called Pollrea, the poll of Collgagh, lyinge and beinge in the proporcion of Dromany, in the said countie of Cavan, the poll of Dromhillagh, the poll of Lishneclea, the poll of Knapagh, the poll of Kinea, the poll of Cornelyon, the twoe polls called Killmakilran and Cornecarrow, the poll of Aghletiga, the gallon of Corkler called Lissdromfadd, the poll of Keskeane, the twoe polls of Dromdryny and Dromnanoyle, the halfe poll of Tipperluane, alias Aghrabegg, lyinge and beinge within the mannor of Gierscourte, in the baronie of Clanchie, in the said countie of Cavan, the fourth parte of the towne land of Tobberhoune, the towne land called Derryennerr, the halfe of the towne and lands of Ballynemony, lyinge and beinge in the proporcion of Dowcarran, in the baronie of Nellan, in the countie of Ardmagh, the halfe of the towne and lands of Neynore parcell of the middle proporcion of Ranewgollagh, in the said baroney of Nelan and countie of Ardmagh, and one quarter of the towne and lands of Mullaleglissh parcell of the proporcion of Mullaleglissh, in the said countie of Ardmagh; All which said lands are by the said Inquisicions extended and valued at the yearely rate of foure hundred and thirteene pounds five shillings, sterling, or thereabouts, as in and by the said severall Inquisicions duely taken and returned, and nowe remayninge of record in our High Courte of Chauncery, more at large may appeare :

Now knowe yee that wee, of our especiall grace, certen know[1]edge, and meere mocion, and accordinge the tenor of our lettres under our hand and privie signett, beareing date at our Pallace of Westminster, the twelveth day of Iulij in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and thirtie, grownded upon the advise and reporte of our Committees for Irish affaires in England: And by the advise and consent of our right trustie and welbeloved Cosins and Councillors, Adam, Lord Viscount Loftus of Ely, our Chauncellor of our said kingdome of Ireland, and Richard, Earle of Corke, our Justices of our said realme, Have given, graunted, demised, and confirmed, And by these presents doe give, graunt, demise, and confirme unto Sir William Stewart, of Aghatiane, in the countie of Tyrone, Knight and Baronett, and Sir Henry Titchborne, of Liffer in the countie of Donegall, Knight, aswell all the by past rents, issues, and meane proffitts of all and singular the premisses that have growen due or of right appertained unto us ever sithence our first title of entrie and percepcion of the proffitts thereof unto us accrewed by breach of the said severall condicions, or any of them, as alsoe all the future and groweing rents, issues, and proffitts thereof, in as large and ample manner as the same doe or shall any wise of right belonge unto us; To have and to hold

unto the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, for and dureinge our will and pleasure, unto theire owne proper use and behoofe, for and towards the satisfacion of all areares of the entertaynements due unto the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, and theire companies of soldiers, from us, since the first time of theire entertaynements in this kingdome untill the feast of Saint Michaell tharchangell, which was in the yeare of Our Lord God one thousand six hundred twentie nyne, without yealdinge or payinge any other rent or proffitt whatsoever unto us out of the same :

APPENDIX.
1631.
30. Dec.
Ejection
of Irish
tenants
in Ulster.

Provided alwayes that the rents, services, and duties, heretofore reserved upon the undertakers graunts of the premisses by our late Letters Patents shalbe still duely answered and satisfied unto us without any abatement or diminucion, soe that if any parte or parcell thereof cannott be duely and legally levyed upon the said undertakers or theire assignes, that then for soe much the same shalbe answred and paid by the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, theire executors and assignes, out of the issues and proffitts of the premisses ; And the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne for them theire heires executors and administrators doe covennant promise and graunt to and with us, our heires and successors, by these presents that they, the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henrie Titchborne shall from time to time, and at all times hereafter, and soe often as they or either of them shall in our behalfe be thereunto required, make a due, exact, and just accompt of all and singular the rents, issues, and proffitts which they or either of them shall receive of the premisses by vertue of this our present graunt ; And that they shall not release, discharge, compound for, or agree with any person or persons whatsoever for the by past rents and profitts of the premisses or future and groweing issues and profitts of the same nor make any underhand composition for the same nor use any covinence touchinge any the forfeitures or breach of condicions in any of the said undertakers graunts ; but that all and every the rents, issues, and proffitts thereof, aswell such as shalbe received or compounded for, or which might any wise haue beene iustly and duely levyed and taken out of the same, shalbe brought into the said accompt, and they to charge themselves therewithall towards the satisfacion of the arreares of theire said intertaynements as aforesaid :

And the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, for them, theire heires, executors, and administrators, doe further covennant promise and graunt to and with us, our heires and successors, by these presents, that they, or either of them, shall not make, or suffer to be made, any stripp, wast, or wilfull spoile, in any of the lands, tenements, and hereditaments, whereof the rents, issues, and proffitts are by theis presents graunted unto them ; but that they, and every of them, shall husband and improve the same to the best they cann, duringe theire interest therein hereby graunted unto them :

Wee will alsoe and by these presents firmlye inioyne, aswell the Threasurer, Chauncellor, and Barons of our Exchequer, in our said realme of Ireland, for the time beinge, as all and singular Receivors, Auditors, Escheators, Sheriffes, Balliffes, and other officers and ministers of us, our heires and successors of our said realme of Ireland, for the time beinge, that they and every of them, upon

APPENDIX. the onely produceing and sheweing forth of theis our lettres patents, or the
 1631. Inrollement of them, without any other writt or mandate to be any wise obtained
 30. Dec. from us, our heires or successors, doe make and from time to time cause to be
 Ejection of Irish made forth unto the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henrie Titchborne, theire
 tenants in Ulster. heires, administrators, and assignes, and every of them, a full, perfecte, and due
 allowance and absolute discharge of the said rents, issues, and meane proffitts of
 the premisses before mencioned, and of every parcell thereof towards the satisfacion
 of the said arreares of the entertaynements of the said Sir William Stewart and
 Sir Henry Titchborne as aforesaid: And these our lettres patents, or the enroll-
 ment of them, shalbe yearely and from time to time, aswell to our said Treasurer,
 Chauncellor, and Barons of our said Courte of Exchequer, as to all and singular
 Receivors, Auditors, Escheators, Sheriffes, Bayliffes, and other officers whatsoever
 of us our heires and successors in our said Realme of Ireland for the time being, a
 full and sufficient warrent in that behalfe:

And, further, of our more abundant grace, certen knowledge, and meere mocion,
 wee will and by theis presents for us, our heires and successors, wee doe graunt
 unto the said Sir William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, theire executors,
 administrators, and assignes, that theis our lettres patents, or the Inrollment of
 them, shalbe in all points firme, good, avayleable, sufficient, and effectuell in the
 lawe, against us, our heires, and successors, aswell in all the Courtes of us, our
 heires and successors, as elsewhere in our said realme of Ireland, and elsewhere
 wheresoever, without any further confirmacion, licence, or toleracion, hereafter to
 bee procured or obteyned from us, our heires or successors, by the said Sir
 William Stewart and Sir Henry Titchborne, theire executors, administrators, or
 assignes, any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, or provision, or any other cause, matter,
 or thinge whatsoever to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstandinge. In
 Wittnes whereof wee have caused these our letters to be made Pattents: wittnes
 our said Lord Justices of our said Realme of Ireland, at Dublin, the thirteenth day
 of December, in the Seaventh yeare of our Raigne.

XVII. ARTICLES FOR SURRENDER OF ARRAS, BETWEEN THE GENERALS OF
 LOUIS XIII. AND OWEN O'NEILL, COMMANDER OF THE TOWN FOR
 PHILIP IV., KING OF SPAIN, 9th Aug. 1640.

1640. Articles accordés par les Generaux de l'armée du Roy, à Eugenio Oneil, Mestre
 Aug. 9. de camp d'un régiment Irlandois pour le service de sa Majesté Catholique, et
 Eugenio Commandant les gens de guerre dans Arras.
 [Owen]
 O'Neill
 at Arras.

I. Que ledit Mestre de camp Dom Eugenio Oneil et autres Mestres de camp,
 Gouverneurs, Capitaines tant de cavallerie que d'infanterie, Officiers, soldats et tous
 gens de guerre, et tous ceux qui sont à la solde de sa Majesté Catholique, tant
 Ecclesiastiques que seculiers, sortiront ce soir dans les dehors de la ville: Et

xvii. Le Siège d'Arras en 1640, d'après la *Gazette* du temps. Par M. Victor Advielle, d'Arras. Paris
 et Arras: 1877, pp. 54—56.

pourront les Officiers demeurer dans les maisons : et seront tous demain conduits à Douay par le plus court chemin, avec quatre canons et un mortier ; Sçavoir : deux pièces de 16 livres de bale, et deux de six ; bale en bouche, tambour batant, mesche allumée et enseigne déployée, comme ils ont accoustumé de marcher à la guerre.

II. Que lesdits gens de guerre seront conduits en toute seureté par deux cents Chevaux François naturels, jusques à ladite ville de Douay, en deux jours ou en vn s'il se peut ; Et on commettra quelque Officier pour la garde de la personne dudit Mestre de camp, en donnant ostages pour la seureté du convoi.

III. Sera permis, à ceux qui voudront, de laisser des meubles en telle maison qu'ils verront bon estre, avec toute sorte de seureté : Et leur sera donné passeport pour les faire conduire ou bon leur semblera ; ensemble pour les blessez et autres qui voudront y séjourner ; mesmes vn Officier que l'on laissera à cette fin.

IV. Que les prisonniers pris durant le siège, tant de part que d'autre, seront relaschez, mesmes Monsieur le Duc de Virtemberg.

V. Que ceux qui sont an service de sa Majesté Catholique et qui sont presentement dans la ville, y ayans quelques biens, meubles on immeubles, auront vn an pour faire vendre par procure leurs susdits biens, et s'ils y veulent retourner, le pourront faire dans six mois, et auront lors les mesmes privileges que les habitans de ladite ville, en preserment de fidelité.

VI. Et si quelques-vns desdits gens de guerre estoient mariez, ils pourront laisser leurs femmes dans la ville pour songer à leurs affaires.

VII. L'on ne visitera aucun bagage ni ouvrira aucun cofre, sous quelque pretexte que ce soit, notamment celui de Monsieur le Comte de* : Et sera son bagage et celui de ses domestiques transporté en toute seureté jusques à ladite ville de Douay ; Et ledit sieur Colonel asseurant qu'il n'y a aucuns François cachez, ni aucunes armes et munitions.

VIII. L'on ne pourra redemander ni repeter aucuns chevaux, habits ou autre butin pris devant et durant le siège : Mais le tout demeurera en la possession de ceux qui les auront pris ou achetez selon les droits ordinaires de la guerre.

IX. Aucun soldat ne pourra estre arresté pour dette particuliere.

Fait au camp devant Arras le 9^e Aoust, 1640.

XVIII. STATEMENTS BY OWEN O'CONNOLLY.

22 October, 1641. The examination of Owen Connallie.

Who being duly sworne and examined, saith, That hee being at Monnimore in the countie of Londonderry on Tuesday last, hee received a letter from Collonel Hughe Oge Mac Mahown, desiring him to come to Connagh in the county of Monaghan, and to be with him on Wednesday or Thursday last, whereupon hee this examinat came to Connagh on Wednesday night last, and finding the said Hughe come to

1641.
22. Oct.
Statements
by Owen
O'Connolly.

* "Ce nom est en blanc dans la *Gazette* ; mais nous savons par d'autres documents qu'il s'agit ici du Comte d'Isembourg."—Victor Advielle.

XVIII. MS. Trinity College, Dublin. F. 2. 2. p. 155.

APPENDIX. Dublin, followed him hither: Hee came hither about six of the clock this evening,
1641. and forthwith went to the lodging of the said Hughe, to the house near the Boot
22. Oct. in Oxmantowne, and there hee found the said Hughe, and came with the said
Statements Hughe into the towne neere the Pillorie to the lodging of the Lord Mac Gwire,
by Owen where they found not the lord within, and there they drank a cupp of beer, and
O'Con- then went back again to the said Hughes lodging.
nolly.

Hee saith, That at the Lord Mac Gwires lodging the said Hughe tould him, that there were and would be this night, great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the Irish Papists, from all the parts of the kingdome in this towne, who with himselfe had determined to take the Castle of Dublin, and possess themselves of all his Majesties ammunition there, and to-morrow morning being Satherday; and that they intended first to batter the chimnies of the said towne; and if the city would not yeeld, then to batter down the houses, and so to cut off all the Protestants that would not joine with them.

Hee saith further, That the said Hughe then tould him, that the Irish had prepared men in all parts of the kingdom to destroy all the English inhabitants there tomorrow morning by ten of the clock, and that in all the seaports and other townes of the kingdom, all the Protestants should bee killed this night, and that all the posts that could be, could not prevent it.

And further saith, That hee mooved the said Hughe, to forbear the executing of that business, and to discover it to the State, for the saving of his own estate; who said, that hee could not help it, but said, that they did owe their due allegiance to the King, and would pay him all his rights, but that they did this for the tirannical government was over them, and to imitat Scotland, who gott a priveilege by that course.

And he further saith, That when he was with the said Hughe in his lodging the second time, the said Hughe swore that hee should not go out of his lodging that night, but tould him, that hee should go with him the next morning to the Castle, and said if this matter were discovered, some body should dye for it, wheruppon this examinat feigned some necessitic for his casement, went down out of the chamber, and left his sword in pawne; and the said Hughe sent his man downe with him, and when this examinat came downe into the yard, finding an opportunitie, hee this examinat leaped over a wall and two palcs, and so came to the Lord Justice Parsons.

Wm. Parsons.

Owen Connelly.

Tho. Rotherham.

Rob. Meredith.

Endorsed: Coppie of Owen Conallis Examinacion.

XIX. STATEMENT ASCRIBED TO HUGH MAC MAHON.

APPENDIX.

23 October, 1641. The examination of Hughe Oge Mac Mahonn of Connagh in the county of Monaghan Esquire, aged 35 yeares or thereabouts, taken before the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Councell.

The said examinats saith, That he thincks there wilbee trouble this day through-out all the kingdome of Ireland; and that all the fortifications of Ireland wilbee this day taken, as he thincks: And hee saith, that hee thincks, that it is so far gone, by this time, that all Ireland cannot helpe it; hee saith that hee was tould this by Capten Brian ONele; hee saith, that Capten Brian ONele, and Captain Hughe Birne were designed for surprizing the Castell of Dublin, and that if hee this examinats were one for surprizing the Castell of Dublin, those two Captens were principally therein; Hee saith, the place of meeting was to bee at this examinats lodging; He saith, that twenty prime men out of every county in Ireland were to bee at Dublin this last night concerning this matter, and that they were to consult of it this morning at the examinats lodging. Their weapons were to be swords and skeanes, and that the Captens that were raising men in the Irish countreyes were they that should send men hither to second the busines: Hee saith, when they had Dublin, they made sure of the rest, and expected to be furnished with more armes at Dublin, Hee said, I am now in your hands, Use me as you will, I am sure I shalbee shortly revenged. And being demanded whether the Lord Maguire was one appointed to this busines, he, at last, said hee thought hee was.

1641.
23. Oct.
Statement
ascribed to
Hugh Mac
Mahon.

Wm. Parsons. Jo: Borlase.
R: Dillon. Ad: Loftus. J: Temple.
Tho: Rotherham. Rob. Mercedith.

Endorsed: 23 October, 1641. Examinacion of Hughe Oge Mac Mahown.

XX. OWEN O'CONNOLLY.

Proceedings in House of Commons, London.

1.—Die Lunæ, primo Novembris, 1641.

Resolved, upon the question, That Owen Connelles, who discovered this great Treason in Ireland, shall have five hundred pounds presently paid him, and two hundred pounds per annum pension, until provision be made of inheritance of a greater value; and to be recommended to the Lord Lieutenant-general of Ireland, for some preferment there.

1641.
Nov.
Owen
O'Con-
nolly.

Resolved, upon the question, To desire the Lords, that a Committee of their

APPENDIX. House may be nominated, to take the further examination of Owen Connelles, upon oath, upon such interrogatories as shall be offered unto them by a Committee of this House, and in the presence of that Committee.

1641.

Nov.

Owen
O'Connolly.

2.—Die Martis, 2 Nov. 1641.

Mr. Whitlocke reporteth the Conference last night with the Lords, concerning the affairs in Ireland.

“The Lord Keeper said, the Lords did take in good part our care in the speedy provision of fifty thousand pounds; and for the prevention of further danger in Ireland: They commanded him to return their Lordships answer. 1. That they had appointed a select Committee of twelve members of their House, to meet with a select Committee of a proportionable number of this House, to go into the City, for the providing of monies. They have also appointed twenty-six of their House, to meet with a proportionable number of this House, to consider of the affairs in Ireland. 3. (*sic.*) They do agree to the reward to be given to Owen Connelles. 4. They appoint the said Committee of twenty-six to take the further examination of Owen Connelles, upon oath, in the presence of the Committee of this House. And, for the securing of the persons of Papists, he said, they were of two sorts; persons convicted, and others not convicted: For those convicted, they agree unto; for the other, they refer it to the consideration of the Committee. And, lastly, they agree to a Proclamation to issue forth, for the calling back by Proclamation those English Papists, that have gone over to Ireland within one year.”

Sir John Clotworthy, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Hollis, Mr. Pym.

These four are to prepare interrogatories, to be administred to [Owen O'Connolly,] the servant of Sir John Clotworthy, that discovered the treasons of Ireland.

Interrogatories to be administred to Owen Oconnolly.

What ground had you to suspect, that the Papists had any design upon the State of Ireland?

What have you heard any priests, or others, say, concerning the promoting of the Romish religion?

What discourse have you had with Hugh Ogh Mac Mahoun, concerning any such design in Ireland?—Declare the whole matter.

Have you heard of any design of the like nature in England or Scotland? What is it you heard?—Declare your whole knowledge.

3.—Die Mercurii, 3 Novembris, 1641.

Mr. Pym presents the examination of Owen Oconnally upon oath, concerning the rebellion in Ireland: Which was read: And then he gives account of such foreign intelligences that came to the Committee, that might have any relation to the affairs of Ireland.

4.—Die Sabbati, 6 Nov. 1641.

Owen Oconnollis, who discovered the treason in Ireland, had five hundred pounds appointed him, in part of recompence: It is now ordered, that Sir Ro. Pye,

and Mr. Wheeler, and the treasurers at Westminster for the poll-money, do forthwith pay unto the said OConnellis, the said five hundred pounds.

APPENDIX.
1641.
Nov.
Owen
O'Connolly.

5.—Die Mercurii, 29 Decembris, 1641.

The petition of Owen Oconnellys was this day read: And it is ordered, that Mr. Cromwell, and Mr. Hotham, do repair unto the Lord Lieutenant; and, from this House, recommend the said Oconnellys unto the Lord Lieutenant, according to a former resolution of this House; and acquaint his Lordship, that they know his deserts so much, that they expect his Lordship should give him the command of a troop of dragoons, according to the former desires of this House, in regard he was recommended before any other for that province.

6.—Die Veneris, 31 Decembris, 1641.

Mr. Hotham reports, that he delivered the message of this House to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, concerning Owen Oconnelly, Mr. Jepson, the President of Munster, and the President of Connaght; and that this House did expect his readiness in assenting thereto: But received no answer.

Ordered, that Mr. Hotham and Mr. Cromwell do again repair to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and desire a speedy answer concerning the said parties.

The Lord Lisle informed the House, that he had spoke with the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland concerning the message delivered by Mr. Hotham: And the reason wherefore he gave no answer was, because it was a command of the House; and, by the effects, there should [have] been seen an observance.

XXI. RELATION BY OWEN O'CONNOLLY.

A treu relation of the treacherous designe of the Irish in Ireland on the Castle of Dublin, at the beginnige of the Rebellion there, and of the particular passages in the discouerie of that plott, and of what I heard of their intention there anent halfe a yeare before from the sd Capt. Hugh oge Mc Maughon, that did discover the plott to mee.

Relation
by Owen
O'Connolly.

1. Beinge in company with the sd Hugh oge in Dublin, hee being my neere kinsman and intimate friend, he tould me that he was mightly troubled with the proud and haughty carriage of one Mr. Aldrige, that was his neighbour in the county of Monnoughan, who was a justice of the peace, and but a vinntner or tapster fewe years before, that he gave him not the right hand of fellowship neither at the Assises nor Sessions, he beinge also in comission with him. I wished him that he would not thinke of that and that he would consider that the Irish were subordinate unto the English, in regard they were conquered by them; he tould mee that he hoped it should not be soe longe, and that he hoped that wee should soone be deliuered from bondage and slauerie, under which wee groned. I demanded of him which way, and tould him that I thought it was an impossible thinge; he replied that there was a nationall oath to be taken by all the Irish in

APPENDIX.
Relation
by Owen
O'Con-
nolly.

* Albeit
for my soul
I would
not beleue
that any
thing
would or
durst be
attempted.

* The
date of the
letter the
18th of
8ber.

the kingdom against English gouerners, upon which I desired him, as he tendred his own goode the preservation of his [life] and estate, that he would in no sort intermeddle with it or assent therunto. And that he would doe very well to acquaint the Lords justices therewith, which would redounde to his great honnour. And that for my parte the verry mention of such a businesse was very unsauorie to me, espetially to heare it out of his mouth, urginge him either to reueale it himselfe, or to binde himselfe by promise neuer to have any hand in it by beinge aidinge or assenting thereunto.* He perceiuinge how distasteful the report of this horrid intended treacherie was unto mee, made large promises with protestations utterly to desert the businesse. So I took my leaue of him and returned into the North where my habitation was, acquaintinge scuerall magistrates there with this accidentall discourse, which they conceived to be a matter of no moment, and not any ground for the apprehension of a generall insurrection of the Irish, so I hearde nothing more of him untill the 18 of 8ber, 1641, which was about half a yeer after, when hauing occasion to traueil againe to Dublin, and beinge 20 miles onward on my journey at Draperstoune, in the county of London derrie, I received a letter from him, the contents wherof as followeth :—

* Cussen Owen, as you tender your own good and my love fail not to be with me at my house in the county of Moonoghan on the 20th or the 21th of this instant. My answer was that I could not possibly come to his house, but would meet him in Dublin if his occasions called him thither or else when I had dispatchd my business, in my retorne would visit him at his own house. This answer returned him, I went onward towards Dublin, and lodging at Dunganon that night I could not rest sattisfied until my firm resolution in goinge to Dublin before I saw him was changed, and I anew resolved to see him at his house firste as he desired. The next day being the 21th I rode to his house in the county of Monnohan, and found him not there, he beinge gone the same morninge towards Dublin, as his people towld mee, and alsoe that he left wordo in case I came, I should either stay there for his retourne or imediately followe him, he haueing not receiued my letter before his departure. The 22th being the next day I rode to Dublin, a journey of 60 Irish miles, it beinge about 7 of the clocke at night eere I could reach thither. And alighting at the house where he usually lodged, he mett me at the dore and towlde me I was a wellcome guest unto him. And so far that I had seen him I desired respite whilst the next morning to wayte upon him, for that I had some businesse that required present dispatch, which he altogether refused, tellinge me that I must go with him to the Lord Mc Guires lodginge into the citty, upon businesse of great consequence, which there should be communicated unto mee. And accordingly wee goinge thither found not my Lord Mc Guire, but resolved to stay his cominge in. And so sittinge doune, called for some beare, and shewing him his letter, wherein he writte so earnestly for my cominge to his house, desired to knowe what that businesse was, wherupon he desired about 8 more, which besides myself were present, to leave the roome, and then towld me as followeth : This is the businesse, the Lord Mc Guire, myself, and 4 hundred more are come to the towne this night, a party beinge out of every province in the kingdome, and our designe is to take the Castle of Dublin, which wee can easely doe, they being

secure, and destroy the warders, they being ould silly men, and that this night between 8 and 9 of the clocke all the English towns in the whole kingdom will be surprised by our party, which wee have designed in euery county to their seuerall places, and so all the English on a suddaine shall be cut off, which donne and wee once possessed of the Castle of Dublin, the kingdom is our owne; he towld mee further that there was besides great artillery, powder, and ammunition in the castle to furnish out compleately 30,000 men, which my Lord of Strafford had brought over the year before from Holland, and that the greatest party in the toune beinge Irish papists would joyne with them, so they conceiued the opposition that would arise there would [be] very small, and that upon the Monday following they would call out of the seuerall provinces so many per [cent] to receive armes as should make a considerable strength to fall upon such places in the severall provinces of the English [*oblit.*], in the severall provinces in case they should misse the surprisall of any upon the first attempt. This beinge donne will free us from that tirany and bondage wee lye under, and setle the kingdome in our own quiet possession. And whereas you have of long tyme binne a slaue to that puritane, Sir John Clotworthy, I hope you shall have as good a man to wayt upon you. Hee hauinge thus finished his present discourse, that I might haue the better pretence to get from him, desired him to lett one of his men ryde presently doune with me to the country for the preservation of my wife, and I would rewarde him well for his paynes, upon which he replied that your wife must no more trouble your thoughts, for all the posts in Christendome would come to late for safety, so by this tyme it beinge tenne of the clocke at night, and the Lord Mc Guire not come to his lodginge, wee weere rose up and went to a tauerne in Wine Tauerne Streete, where he had appointed meeting with some other of his comrades, but they beinge not there wee two with 8 more before in company at my Lord Mac Guires lodging sate doune and called for one quart of sack, being the more willinge to drinke with them if so any occasion might be offered for my escape, but after wee had druncke that quart of sacke [*oblit.*] I desired him that wee might goe to oure rest, in regarde I had rode a great journey that daye, and that wee might be the better fitted to goe about oure occasions the next morninge, which motion he very well liked off, and first wee went to goe unto his lodginge at St. Mary Abby, and in our waye pretendinge to make water, the said Mc Moughan and the rest passed by me, and leauinge me behind there gaue opportunity for my escape from them, the night beinge very darke withall. So I presently repaired to Sir Will. Parsons, one of the Lords justices, who then liued on the Marchants Kea. And diuers gentlemen being in company with him, I desired to have some priuate speech with him, upon which he withdrew himselfe from the company, and receiued my information of all the preceding passages, unto which he would hardly giue creditt, untill I tould him that I had discharged my duety, and that as he tendred the preseruation of himselfe, the citty and the liues of the British Protestants there and in other parts [*oblit.*] that he would thincke upon some speedy course to preuent the surpris of the Castle and Cittie of Dublin.

APPENDIX.
Relation
by Owen
O'Con-
nolly.

XXII. REMONSTRANCE OF CATHOLICS OF IRELAND.

The Generall Remonstrance or Declaration of the Catholikes of Ireland, received of George Wentworth, 28. Decemb: 1641, who received it from the rebels when he was prisoner with them.

1641.
23. Oct.
Remonstrance of
Catholicks
of Ireland.

Whereas we, the Roman Catholikes of this kingdom of Ireland, have been continuall loving and faithfull subjects to his sacred Majesty; and notwithstanding the generall and hard oppressions suffered by subordinate Governours, to the ruine of our lives, honours, and estates, yet having some liberty of religion from His Majesty out of the effluence of his princely love unto us; we weighing no corporall losse in respect of that great immunity of the soul, are inviolably resolved to infix our selves in an immutable and pure allegiance, for ever to his said Royall Majestie and successors.

Now so it is, that the Parliament of England maligning and envying any graces received from his Majesty by our nation, and knowing none so desired by us as that of religion; and likewise perceiving his Majesty to be inclining to give us the liberty of the same, drew his Majesties prerogative out of his hands; thereby largely pretending the generall good of his Majesties kingdoms. But we the said Catholikes and loyall subjects to his Majesty, do probably finde as well by some Acts to passe by them the said Parliament, touching our religion, in which the Catholikes of England and Scotland did suffer; as also by threat to send over the Scottish army with the sword and Bible in hand against us. That this whole and studied plot was, and is, not only to extinguish religion (by which we altogether live happy;) but likewise to supplant us and raze the name of Catholike and Irish out of the whole kingdom. And seeing this surprize so dangerous, tending absolutely to the overthrow of the liberty of our consciences and country, and also our gracious Kings power forced from him, in which and in whose prudent care over us our sole quiet and comfort consisted: and without the which the year of our present ruines did prescribe opinion, and premonish us to save our selves. We therefore, as well to regain his excellent Majesties said prerogative, being only due to him and his successors; and being the essence and life of monarchy, hoping thereby to confirm a strong and invincible unity between his royall and ever happy love unto us, and our faithfull duty and loyalty to his incomperable Majesty; have taken armes and possessed our selves of the best and strongest forts of this kingdom, to enable us to serve his Majesty and defend us from the tyrannous resolution of our enemies. Thus our consciences, as we wish the place of the same to our selves and our posterity, is the pretence and true cause of our present rising in armes, by which we are resolved to perfect the advancement of the truth and the safety of our King and country. Thus much we thought fitting in generall to publish unto the world, to set forth our innocent

and just cause, the particular whereof shall be speedily declared. Dated the 23. October, 1641.

God save the King.

We do declare unto God and the world that what we do or have done is for the maintenance of the Kings, and our religion ; and for fear these our doings should be misconstrued by our over zealous particulars, we thought good to make known unto the world by this our declaration or remonstrance.

1. The severall private meetings of factious and ill-disposed people, unto all government and common-wealth at severall places, plotting and devising our utter ruine, and the extirpation of this our religion.

2. Severall men employed by them, with instruments ready drawn for to get hands thereunto, to be preferred to the Parliament of England ; whereby they would have the Papists, as they call them, and the Protestant Bishops of this Kingdom, when they joyn with the Papists, and have, as they hate, the Papists the Bishops to be deposed and the Papists banished, or otherwise rooted out of this kingdom.

3. The government of this kingdom successively put into the hands of so many needy and poor ministers, who for raising of themselves, have by scruing inventions, poll'd the gentry and commons of this kingdom, that no man was secure of any thing he had.

4. We saw his Majesty, to whom we thought to addresse our selves, was so oppressed by the arrogancy of such fruitlesse and disloyall subjects, and as it were cut off from all prerogative, that we could not expect any release as long as they ruled in His kingdom as now they do.

All which we taking into our serious consideration did fear we should be circumvented upon the suddain ; and for our securitie did think fit to arm our selves for our own defence and safety of his Majestie from such wicked perturbbers of all common wealths, where they get any superiority that they will not admit either of the Kings or Bishops. As well witnessse Germany as many other places, which we will yeeld up when his Majesty pleaseth to command us, and take a course for securing of us and the Protestants of this kingdom, who are only his true and obedient subjects. And such factious and seditious Puritans, but disturbers of all states, and had brought the like misery on Queen Elizabeth and King James, had they not been by them and their wise councill prevented : Which we thought fit to intimate unto the good subjects, that they may the more willingly assist us, untill we be at better leisure to make our great grievances known unto his Majesty, and he have more power to relieve us.

Endorsed : Remonstrance off Ireland.

APPENDIX.
1641.
23. Oct.
Remonstrance of
Catholics
of Ireland.

APPENDIX. XXIII. HENRY LESLIE, BISHOP OF DOWN, TO VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ARDS,
IN ULSTER.

I.

Right Honorable,

1641.
23. Oct.
Bishop
Leslie
to
Viscount
Mont-
gomery.

There is newly come into Lisnegarvy a trowper post who assures vs that this last night Charlymount was taken, and Dungannon by Sir Phelome ONeale, with a huge multitude of Irish souldiers, and that this day they are advanced as farre as Tonreege. Captayne Sir John fled, his trumpeter slayne, and all the countrey fleeing before them. This night we are putting our selves all in armes. I pray your Lordship to thinke of some course to be taken for making head against them, and let My Lord of Claneboyes know so much. I am now likewise sending poast to My Lord Chichester. So in great hast I commend your Lordship to Gods grace, and rest,

Your Lordships most affectionate servant,

Lisnegarvy, 23. Octob: 1641.

Hen: Dunensis.

To the Right Honorable my very good Lord, the Lord Viscount Montgomery of Ards.

Endorsed: The Bishop of Downes letter receaued on Satterday the 23th of October at 9 houres at night concerning Sir Philome Oneale.

2.

My very good Lord,

Your Lordship will perceive by these inclosed letters of one Garby to Mr. Hill, and of Mr. Hills unto me, that the newes which I sent unto your Lordship but about 4. houres agoe are too true, and a great dale worse then I then understood. For the Newry is taken and we expect them here this night or to morrow, and cannot hold out long without helpe from those parts which your Lordship commands. So in great hast, I beseech Allmighty God to blesse your Lordship and to be our defence.

Your Lordships most affectionate servant,

Octob. 23, 1641.

Hen: Dunensis.

Satturday at 10 of clocke at night.

To the Right Honorable my very good Lord, The Lord Viscount Montgomery of Ards.

Endorsed: A lettir of the Bishop of Doune, 23th October, 1641.—resevid from the Buschope this Sunday morning the 24th of October, 1641.

XXIV. PROCLAMATION BY SIR PHELM O'NEILL, 24 OCT. 1641.

APPENDIX.

Theise are to intimat and make knowne unto all persons whatsoever in and throughout the whole conty, that the true intention and meaning of vs, whose nam[s] are hereunto subscribed, that the present assembling and meeting of [us] and others is noe wayes intended against our Soueraine Lord the King, nor the hurt of any of his subiets, eyther of the English or Schotish nation, but onely for the defence and liberty of our selues and the Irish natiues of this kingdome : and wee herby further expresly declare, that whatsoever hurt hitherto hath beene done to any person or persons whatsoever shalbe presently repaired : and wee will that euery person forthwith, after proclama[tion] hereof, make theyr speedy repaire unto theyr one houses under paine of death, and that no further hurt bee done unto any one under the like paine : and wee further require and command every person to take present notice hereof, and that thes bee publiquely proclamed in all places.

1641.
24. Oct.
Proclama-
tion by
Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

Given under our hands att Donganon the xxiiij of October, 1641.

Phelomy O'Neale.

Copia vera.

Endorsed : Coppie of the Proclamation.

XXV. VISCOUNT MONTGOMERY OF ARDS, IN ULSTER, TO CHARLES I.

Most sacred Sovereaigne,

I did this last night and this morning receave advertisements that the Irish in diverse parts of this province of Ulster are risen up in armes, and that they have seazed upon severall tounes, defeate[d] some garrisons, surprised one of your Majesties magazines which is within this countie, and that they are marching on to make spoyle of the rest of the countrie. It is verie like that this revolt is either generall or verie farre spred, and that it is cheefelie supported by those who under cullor of going to serve the King of Spaine had commissions to leavie forces ; but neither the service I owe to your Majestie nor duetie to the safetie of this kingdome would give me leave to delay longer tyme to enquyre further untill I did acquaint your Majestie with what is already come unto my knowledge, which for your Majesties further satisfaction I have herewith written more fullie unto the Chiefe Secretarie attending your Royall person, and doe earnestly and humblie attend and pray your Majesties directions herein, who shall be readie to sacrifice my selfe and all that I have in your Majesties service, not having any desyre or ambition so great as to be esteemed

1641.
24. Oct.
Viscount
Mont-
gomery
to
Charles I.

Your Majesties most faithfull and obedient servant,

October the 24th, 1641.

Montgomerie.

Endorsed : The Lord Ards to his Majestie, of the 24th October. R[ecieved] the 27th att Edenb[urgh], 1641.

APPENDIX.

XXVI. CON. MAGENNIS TO COMMANDERS IN COUNTY OF DOWN.

Deere friends,

1641.
Oct. 25.
Magennis
to
Com-
manders
in Down.

My loue to you all, although you thincke it as yet otherwise, true it is I haue broken Sir Edwarde Treuroes letter, feareinge that any thinge should be written against us, wee are for our liues and liberties as you may understand out of that letter, wee desy[re] noe blood to be shede, but if you meane to shed our blood be sure wee wilbe as ready as you for the purposse. This being all in hast, I rest

Your assured frend as I am still

Newry, the 25th of October, 1641.

Conne Magneise.

Endorsed: For my loueing and worthy friends Captain Veaghan, Marcus Treuor, and all other Comanders of Downe, these be [delivered].

XXVII. REMONSTRANCE FROM COUNTY OF CAVAN TO LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL AT DUBLIN, 6th Nov. 1641.

1. The humble Remonstrance made by the Gentry and Commonaltie of the countie of Cavan, of their greivances common with other parts of this kingdome of Ireland.

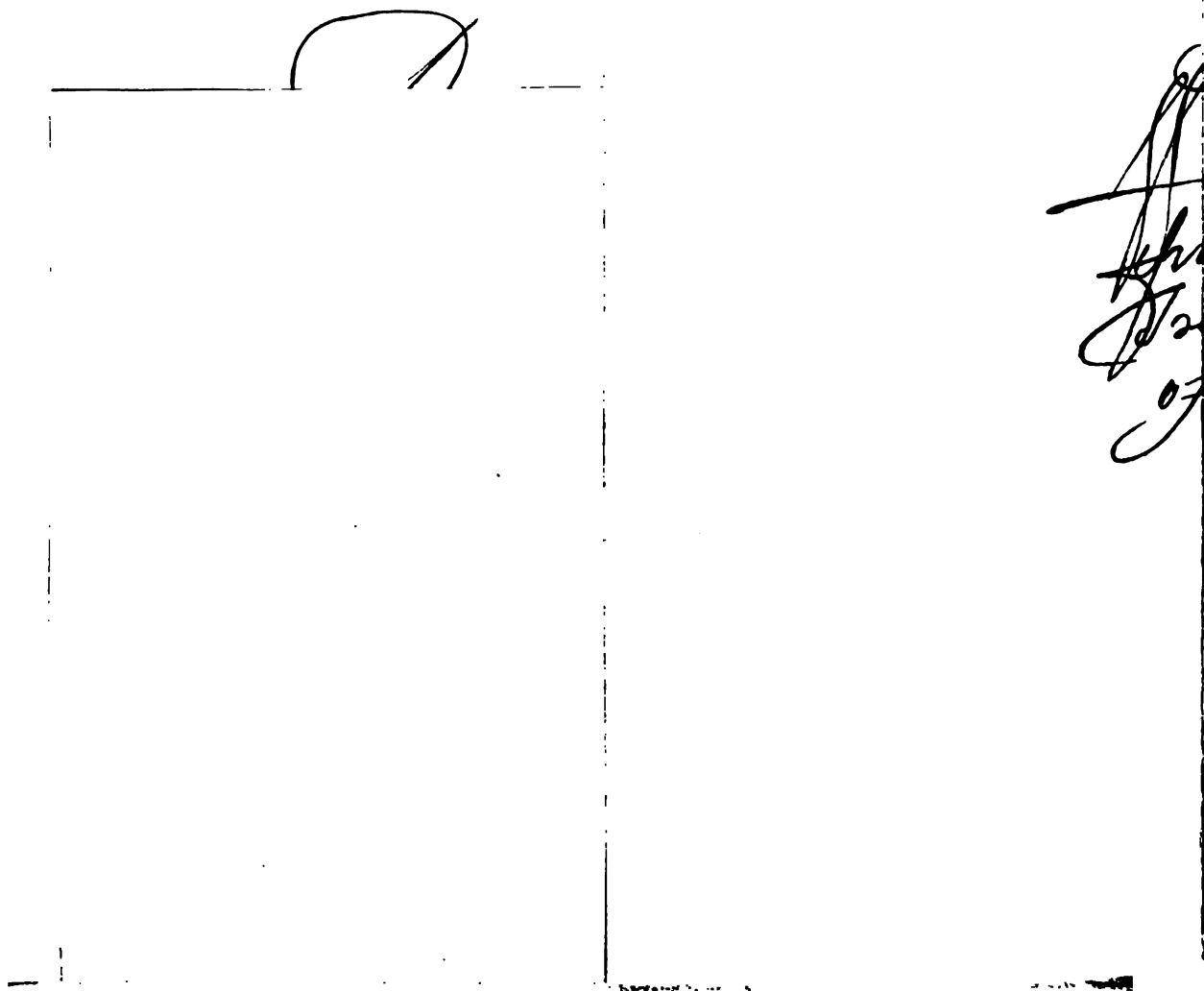
1641.
6. Nov.
Remon-
strance
from
Cavan.

To the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Councill.

Whereas wee his Majesties loyall subjects of his Highnes kingdome of Ireland have of long tyme groaned under many grievous pressures occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us, as respected more the advancement of their owne private fortunes then the honnor of his Majestie, or the welfare of us his subjects, whereof wee have in part in humble maner declared ourselves to his Highnes, by the Agents sent from the Parliament the representative body of this kingdome. Notwithstandinge which wee find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either to the captivating of oure consciences, our looseinge of our lawfull liberties, or utter expulsion from our native seates, without any just grounds given on our parts to alter his Majesties goodnes soe longe continued unto us; of all which wee find greate cause of feare in the proceeinges of our neighbour nations, and doe see it already attempted upon us by certaine petitioners, for the like course to be taken in this kingdome; for effectinge whereof in a compulsory way, rumors hath caused feare of invasion from other parts, to the dissolveinge the bond of mutuall agreement, which hetherto hath bin held inviolate betweene the severall subjects of this kingdome, and whereby all other his Majesties dominions have bin till nowe linked in one.

For preventinge therefore of such evils groweing upon us in this kingdome, wee have, for the preservation of his Majesties honnor, and our owne liberties, thought

Facsimile of Let



Handwritten text, possibly a signature or initials, written vertically along the right edge of the page.

APPENDIX.
1641.
10. Nov.
Answer
from
Lords
Justices.

First, that as in the begininge of theis tumults the actors therein scandalized his Majesties sacred name and the State of England and Ireland as a cullor to countenance theire disorders, whereas wee doe declare in his Majesties name that they had noe such power or authoretie from his Majestie or any of his Ministers, soe nowe theis petitioners have assumed a power to use the names of the gentry and comonaltie of the countie of Cavan, whereas wee well knowe that there are many of the gentry and comonaltie of the countie of Cavan whoe gave the petitioners noe such power, nor are any way consentinge to the petitioners proceedeinges. And the petitioners have alsoe made mention in theire said Remonstrance of the other severall counties of this kingdome, whereas it is well knowen to us that many other counties of the kingdome neither gave the peticoners any such power nor are any way consentinge to theire proceedeinges, and perticularly all the English Pale have since theis comotions begun petitioned this Board, and like good and loyall subjects declared that they are none of that faction or confederacie, but are altogether averse and opposite to all theire designes and all others of like condicon as theire auncestors have formerlie bin in all ages, which they are redy to manifest with the hazard of theire estates and lives, which loyaltie of theires wee doe value as becomes us, and they will find comfortable fruits of it.

Secondly, that the petitioners mention some feares they apprehend of greate and greevous vexacions, whereas there hath bin noe just cause given whence the petitioners should apprehend such doubts or feares, but those feares wee conceive are nowe mentioned to cullor such tumults and depredations as have bin and are attempted.

Thirdlie, although the petitioners pretend that theire takeinge into theire hands certeine forts and places of strength was for his Majesties use and service, yett the petitioners and all men well knowe that by the lawes and statutes of this kingdome noe subject ought to take into his hands any forts or places of strength of his Majesties or any others in this kingdome without the expresse authoretie in that behalfe of his Majestie, soe as the petitioners acts therein are high presumptions unwarantable and against all lawes.

And albeit theis proceedeinges of the petitioners and theire adherents, aggravated with the robbinge and spoyleinge of many of his Majesties good subjects, and theire presuminge to take up armes and to assemble forces without authoretie from his Majestie, or us his Justices, are acts of disloyaltie in them against his sacred Majestie, his Crowne and dignitie, yet in compassion of the petitioners, And for that wee are informed that those whoe subscribed the said Remonstrance have not had theire hands in blood, and whome therefore wee desire to reclayme, and to avoyde the effusion of blood, which may followe by sendinge his Majesties forces against them and theire adherents to reduce them to due obedience to his Majestie and his Royall authoretie; wee are pleased hereby to declare that if the petitioners and theire adherents in the county of Cavan will imediately peaceably retorne home to theire owne dwellinges, as becomes dutifull and loyall subjects to doe, and to theire power procure restitution and satisfaction to bee made to those whome they and theire adherents have robbed of theire lands, goods and chattels, and forbear to proccede hereafter in any acts of hostility or disturbance of the

publicque peace or anoyance of his Majesties good subjects, which perticulers wee doe hereby in his Majesties name and by his Majesties authoretie charge and comaund them to doe accordingly, and thereof forthwith to give us advertisement, Wee will then transmitt the said writeinge subscribed by them to his Majestie, and humbly expect his Royall pleasure therein.

APPENDIX.
1641.
10. Nov.
Answer
from
Lords
Justices.

Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin, the tenth of November, 1641.

Lancelot Dublin.	Ormond, Ossory.
R. Dillon.	Cha : Lambert.
Ad : Loftus.	Jo : Temple.
Cha : Cootc.	Rob : Merydith.

Ex : per Paul : Davys.

Endorsed : 10 Nov. 1641. Coppie of the answere to the Remonstrance of the Rebellis in the county of Cavan.

XXVIII. O'FARRALLS OF LONGFORD TO VISCOUNT DILLON OF COSTELLO GALLEN.

Our very good Lord,

Our alliance unto your Lordships ancestors, and your self, and the tryal of your and their performance of trust unto their friends in their greatest adversity, encourageth 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 Councel (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.

1641.
Nov. 10.
O'Farralls
to
Viscount
Dillon.

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 sign'd with our hand, and seal'd 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 dis-favour in the commutative, which rais'd 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

XXVIII. "A copy of a letter directed to the Lord Viceco. [Dillon of] Costillough from the Rebels of the County of Longford in Ireland, which he presented to the State in their behalf. Novemb. 10. 1641."—History of the Irish Rebellion. London: 1680. Appendix, pp. 25-6.

APPENDIX. for confirming our estates, his broad seal being the pawn betwixt his Majesty and
1641. his people.

Nov. 10. Fifthly, the restraint of purchase in the meer Irish of lands in the escheated
O'Farralls counties, and the taint and blemish of them and their posterities doth more
to discontent them than that plantation rule; for they are brought to that exigent of
Viscount povertie in these late times, that they must be sellers and not buyers of land.
Dillon.

And we conceive, and humbly offer to your Lordships consideration (Principiis obsta) that in the beginning of this commotion, your Lordship, as it is hereditary for you, will be a physitian 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: And it will be recorded, that you will do service unto God, king, and countrey; And for salving every the aforesaid soars 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 Majesties 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 Majesties dominions instead of division, a comfort in desolation, and a happiness in perpetuity for an imminent calamitie. 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 Iove 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 Mac Teig Farrall, his mark.
James Farrall.	Morgan Mac Carbry Farrall.
Bryan Farrall.	Donnagh Mac Carbry Farrall.
Keadagh Farrall.	Richard Mac Conel Farral.
Edmond Mac Cael Farrall.	William Mac James Farrall.
John Farrall in Carbuy.	James Farrall.
Garret Farral.	Faghna Mac Rory Farrall.
Lisagh Mac Conel Farrall.	Cormack Mac Rory Farrall.
Bryan Mac William Farrall.	Conock Mac Bryne Farrall.
John Mac Edmund Farrall.	Keadagh Mac Lisagh Farrall.
John Farrall.	Connor Oge Mac Connor Farrall.
Roger Mac Bryne Farrall.	Edmond Mac Connor Farrall.
Barnaby Farrall.	Cahel Mac Bryne Farrall.

XXIX. NATIVE IRISH IN ARMS IN ULSTER, 1641.

APPENDIX.

“The names of the chieftains and septs of the meer Irish, who have taken arms in Ireland, and rebelled against his Majesty, and the Crown of England, in the province of Ulster. 1641. Ulster Irish in arms.”

Sir Phelomy ONeil, called by the Irish, Phelomy Roe ONeil, Captain-general of all the rebels, and chieftain of the ONeils, OHagans, OQuyns, OMellans, OHanlons, OCorrs, Mac Cans, Mac Cawells, Mac Enallyes, OGormeleyes, and the rest of the Irish septs, in the counties of Tyrone and Ardmagh.

Tirlagh ONeil, brother of the said Sir Phelomy, is his chiefest Councillor, and is a very sad man, well seen in the Laws of England, which he studied in Lincoln's-Inn and was of good repute there.

Both these are extracted from Con More ONeil, the father of Con Bacagh ONeil, the first Earl of Tirone, whereby Sir Phelomy is reputed by the Irish, to be the rightful ONeil, which title and appellation, with the dignities and jurisdiction conceived to belong thereunto of old, he hath now assumed.

Captain Rory Maguire, brother of Conner Lord Maguire, Lord Baron of Eniskilin and Donogh bane Maguire, their vncle, are chieftains of the Maguires, and all other the Irish septs in the county of Fermanagh; he is of a cruel and bloody disposition, and hath shed much English blood, as is reported.

Brian Mac Collo Mac Mahon, Brian Mantagh Mac Mahon, and Neil Mac Kenna of the Trough, are chieftains of the Mac Mahons, Mac Kennas, Mac Ardells, OConnellies, the ODuffies, and all other the Irish septs, in the county of Monaghan, the former of those three is a soft elderly man, the two latter are young and rude, though each of them hath been brought up to civility and learning, being wards to the King.

Inquire of the Lord Blaney more particularly, who are the most eminent men of those rebels of Monaghan.

Sir Con Magenys, knight, and his brother Daniel, sons of old Sir Arthur Magenys, late Lord Viscount Iveagh, and vncles of the now Viscount, are chieftains of the Magenyssees, Mac Cartans, and all the other Irish septs in the county of Down.

Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O'Rely is chieftain of the O'Relyes, OGownes, Mac Cabes, Mac Echies, the Bradies, and all the other Irish septs in the county of Cavan.

This Philip Mac Hugh Mac Shane O'Rely for his estate and parts is made chieftain, but Edmond O'Rely is the chiefest of the O'Relyes, and Edmonds brother Philip Mac Mullmore O'Rely, is a more active and experienced man, and hath done some courtesies to the distressed English, for which, they say, he is made prisoner by the other Philip, but it is more probable there is emulation between

XXIX. “An Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State. By John Nalson, LL. D. London: 1683,” vol. ii. p. 888. In reference to this document, Nalson wrote: “I will present the reader with a list of the principal rebels, which I found among the papers in the Clerk of the Commons House of Parliaments office.”

APPENDIX. them, Mullmore O'Rely, son of the said Edmond, being sheriff of the county of
1641. Cavan when the rebellion began, and commanded all the country in the King's
Ulster name, by vertue of his office to rise, and take arms, and continueth still a captain
Irish in of the rebels; Shane Mac Philip Mac Mullmore O'Rely, son of the said Philip Mac
arms. Mullmore O'Rely, is a captain of the rebels.

Tirlagh O'Neil, grandson of Sir Tirlagh Mac Henry O'Neil, and the son of Hugh Boy O'Neil (whose name Sir Faithful Fortescue knoweth) are captains of the O'Neils of the Fues, a baroni in the county of Ardmagh, within six miles of Dundalk, in the county of Louth, which town was never taken by the rebels in any former rebellion, but now* is surprised by the O'Neils of the Fues."

XXX. ORDER FOR CONFERENCE WITH IRISH IN ARMS.

Die Martis scilicet xvj. die Novemb. Anno Dom. 1641, Annoque Regni Regis Domini nostri Caroli xvij^o.

1641.
Nov. 16.
Order for
conference
with Irish
in arms.

Whereas sundrie persons have traiterously and rebelliously taken armes in Vlster, and by their petition to the Right Honourable the Lords Iustices of this kingdome, have prayed that their grievances might be removed by the advice of the present Parliament. It is ordered by the Lords, Spirituall and Temporall and Commons in Parliament assembled, that the persons under-named, they first receiving His Majesties directions and authoritie, or the directions and authority of the Chief Governour or Governours, and Councill of this kingdome therein, shall haue power to send forth, and to confer withall the persons now in armes in Vlster, and other parts of this kingdome, and euery or any of them, wherefore they haue presumed to take up armes, and touching such other matters, as they shall be authorized and directed, as aforesaid, during which time, the said persons now in armes, and all other His Majesties subjects of this kingdome, are hereby commanded to forbear all acts of hostilitie, or entring upon any other His Majesties castles or forts, or marching, or comming into any other the parts of this kingdome, and during the said conference, the persons who shall be trusted therein of either side, and their necessarie attendants, are to have safe conduct, untill the said conference be concluded, or broken off, and foure dayes after. And it is further ordered, that the said persons undernamed, or any three, or more of them of the Lords House, with any five or more of them of the House of Commons, shall haue full power from time to time to make knowne to his Majestie, or the chiefe Governour or Governours, and Councill, and the Parliament of this kingdome, all such matters as shall be propounded at the said conference, and to proceed therein according to

* "There lay now [at Dundalk] a foot company of the old army, but the Lieutenant who commanded it, having neither his men in readinesse, nor armes or munition, made little or no resistance, easily giving way to the forward affections of the inhabitants who delivered up the town into the possession of the ebels about the beginning of November, 1641." "The Irish Rebellion." By Sir John Temple, 1646, p. 44.

His Majesties good pleasure, or the direction of the said chiefe Governour or Governours, and Councell of this kingdome. APPENDIX.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|---|--|
| Earle of Antrim. | Sir Charles Coote, Knight and Baronet. | 1641. |
| Earle of Fingall. | Sir Pierce Crosbie, Knight and Baronet. | Nov. 16. |
| Viscount Gormanston. | Sir Richard Barnewell, Baronet. | Order for conference with Irish in arms. |
| Viscount Moore. | Nicholas Plunket, Esquire. | |
| Viscount Baltinglas. | Sir James Dillon, th'elder, Knight. | |
| Lord Bishop of Kilmoore. | Sir Christopher Bellew, Knight. | |
| Lord of Slane. | John Bellew, Esquire. | |
| Lord of Dunsany. | Bryan O Neale, Esquire. | |
| Lord Lambert. | Sir Iohn Dongan, Knight and Baronet. | |
| | Thomas Bourke, Esquire. | |
| | Tibbot Taaffe, Esquire. | |
| | Richard Belling, Esquire. | |
| | Sir Luke Fitz Gerald, Knight. | |
| | Patricke Barnewell of Kilbruc, Esquire. | |
| | Hugh Rochford, Esquire. | |
| | Sir Robert Forth, Knight. | |
| | Sir Lucas Dillon, Knight. | |
| | Captain John Piggot. | |

XXXI. TORLOGH O'NEILL TO SIR ROBERT KNIGHT.

Noble Sir,

I am sorie that yow should thinke I wold use your freindes muche more my kindred ill, and I protest unto yow, that your brother hade and hes as muche libertie as I have hade, and are as well provyded for as my wyfe is, which was done pairtlie for their owne sakes, bot muche more for yours, for I protest befor God, that your forthe hade ben sett upon the first night, Bot that a great noble man of this kingdome did hender it, And did under take that yow wold not onlie favor this bissines, Bot that yow wold take pairt withe those that hade a hande in it, and lyk wayis I protest that no Scottsman should be touched by any of the Gentry, and what hurt others should doe them should be repaired to the uttermost of our powers. Bot for that ill favored massaker neere Augher, of those that wer first takin to mercie, which did since cost muche blood, and it wer better that bothe the nations being formerlie on should still so continow, and lyk bretheren then to be att variance togither, which I think might be done by James Gallbraithe, and some other freindes for to meet in some saife place, and he knowethe our gentry that he will desyre for to meete him, which if it might be done it wer a deed of charitie. This proposition I make of my self without other

1641.
22. Nov.
Torlogh
O'Neill
to
Sir Robert
Knight.

APPENDIX. advyse, Bot if yow have occassion for to send hither any more yow sall know
1641. more from

22. Nov.
Torlogh
O'Neill
to
Sir Robert
Knight.

Your assured loveing
Cousing and servant,
Torloche O'Neill.

Ardmaghe, 22 Nov^r. 1641.

I pray yow present my humble service to my cousing your noble lady.
For Sir Robert Knight att Keilmor. thes.

Endorsed : Letter [of] O'Neale, 22 Novemb. 1641. Torloche Neals letter.

XXXII. SIR PHELM O'NEILL TO SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

"Honoured Sir,

1641.
Nov. 23.
Sir P.
O'Neill
to
Sir Wm.
Hamilton.

I have appointed Captain Turlogh O'Neale, with his forces to go down
into your parts, to defend and maintain the Catholick religion ; wherefore I would
intreat you, if you give us no help (as all other Catholicks in England and Ireland
do) to keep yourself quiet at home, and to send the said forces your best advice ;
you shall receive no hurt, where I can do myself or you good ; and so with my
service unto your self, and my honoured Lady of Strabane, unto whom I shall be
ready to perform any service

In the power of
Phe. O'Neill.

23th November, 1641.

I am to be with the forces of Evagh, Monaghan and Cavan, to meet our Conaght
Lords at Dery very shortly.

Superscribed : For his much honoured and very loving friend, Sir Will.
Hamilton, Knight, these with my service, Pass.

XXXIII. IRISH PROTECTION FOR LADY FORBES AND SCOTS.

1641.
Dec. 27.
Irish pro-
tection
for Lady
Forbes
and Scots.

"Good cossin,

I intreat you of all loue to shew all the respect unto the Lady Forbesse,
whoes feare [fair] careadge in all hir lyfytyme amongst us doeth deserve all favor,
and lykwayes the noble careadge of hir son Sir Fran. Hamiltone in these trublesum
tymes does secundlie deserve no les, and last the requeist off

Your loveinge cousen,
Phillipe Reyllie.

xx7 of xbr. 1641.

xxxii. Impartial Collection, by John Nalson, LL. D. London, 1683, ii. p. 895. Nalson mentions that
this letter came to his hands "in searching amongst the wast papers of the Clerks Office in the Commons
House." "It is," he adds, "a letter under Sir Phelim O'Neals own hand, and the very original letter,
which was sent by the person to whom it was written, as I suppose, to some of the Scottish Nation, and
by them handed to the Commons House."

xxxiii. MSS. of Earl of Granard, Castle Forbes, Ireland.

I am sure you know, coussin, that it is gevin out that you ar not to meddle with anie of the Scotishe natioun except they give cause, the which this good ladie will never give, etc.

Endorsed : To his noble coozein and freind, Cormicke Farall, Esqre, thes.

Longfourd.

Good coozein,—I intreat you of all love to shew all respect unto the Ladie Forbesse, whoes feare careadge in all hir lyfftyme amongst us doth deserve all favor, and lykwayes the noble careadge of hir sone Sir Francis Hamilton in thes troublesome tymes, doth secundlie deserve no les, and lastlie the requeist of

Yor lovinge coozein,

xx7 of xbr. 1641.

Phi. Reylie.

I am sure you know, coozeine, that it is gevin out that you ar not to meddle with anie of the Scotishe natioun, except they give cause, which I know this good lady will never give, &c.

Endorsed : For his lovinge freinds and coozeins,

Con. ORorke and Owen ORorke, these.

XXXIV. COMMISSION FROM SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

Whearas for the greate trust, confidence, fidelyty and circumspective conscyonable, relligious, vallerous, and courragious care and dillygence we repose in our trusty and welbeloved freind Hugh Murrey ODevyn, gent[leman], have by these presente constituted, nominated, ordeyned and appointed, licke as by these our Lettres Pattent doe constitute, nominate, ordayne and appoint him the said Hugh Murrey ODevyn to be captayne of one hundred of foote company within the province of Ulster, and of so many more as he cann rayse for this presente expedicion and service for the upphouldinge and mayntayninge of his Majesties prorogative, his Crowne and dignity, and the libertyes and privyldges of this his Highnes realme of Ireland, and the deffence of the ancyeut holy Romayne Catholique Relligion, he the said captayne receavinge such paye for himselfe and company, as other captaynes of his degree within the said province of Ulster shall heerby graunting and givinge full power and authority unto the said captayne to ellect, nominate, ordayne, and choose all such inferryour officers fitt and nessessary for his said company, as he in his discreete discrecon shall thincke most convenyent, the said captayne havinge the keepinge and guardinge of the castle of Dunemanagh, late possessed by Sir William Hamylton, Knt., duringe my pleasure; he the said captayne, dischardginge, performinge and full[fill]inge all such thinge or things to his place and office appertayneth and belongeth, accordinge to his power with skill and understandinge.

Given under our hand and seale at Donganon Castle, this twentyeth eight day of January, Anno Domini, 1641[-2].

For Cap^{tn} Hugh Murrey ODevin, these.

Phe : O'Neill.

Endorsed : Captain Hugh Murrey ODevyn his pattent.—O Neales Comition

xxxiv. State Papers, Ireland, 1641, No. 272.—Public Record Office, London.

APPENDIX.
1641.
Dec. 27.
Irish protection
for Lady
Forbes
and Scots.

1641-2.
28. Jan.
Commission from
Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

APPENDIX. XXXV. REMONSTRANCE OF SETTLERS IN ULSTER AGAINST ANGLICAN BISHOPS, 1641.

The humble petition of the Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, etc., part of the province of Ulster, in the kingdome of Ireland, as it was humbly presented to the Right Honourable assembly of knights, citizens, burgesses in this present Parliament, and accepted of that Honourable House.

Your Petitioners,

1641.
Remon-
strance
of Ulster
Settlers
against
Bishops.

Humbly representeth unto your grave wisdomes, and judicious considerations, that your petioners having translated themselves out of several parts of his Majesties kingdomes of England and Scotland, to promote the infant Plantation of Ireland, wherein your petitioners by their great labour and industry, so much contribute to the settlement of that kingdome: As they were in a most hopefull way of a comfortable abode, and when they expected to reape the fruit of their great and long labour, partly by the cruell severitie and arbitrarie proceedings of the civill magistrate, but principally through the unblest way of the Prelacy with their faction, our soules are starved, our estates undone, our families impoverished, and many lives among us cut off and destroyed.

The Prelates (whose pretended authoritie, though by some published to be by divine right, as wee humbly conceive is directly against the same) have by their Canons of late, their fines, fees, and imprisonments at their pleasure; their silencing, suspending, banishing, and excommunicating of our learned and conscionable ministers, their obtruding upon us, ignorant, erroneous and prophane persons to be our teachers, their censuring of many hundreds even to excommunication, for matters acknowledged by all to be indifferent and not necessary, their favouring Popery (in this kingdome a double fault), their persecuting puritie, and indeavouring to a livelesse formalitie, divers of them being notorious incendiaries of the unquietnesse and unsettled estate betweene these kingdomes, with many the like, too tedious to relate, as more fully in our insuing grievances doth appeare. These our cruell task-masters have made of us, who were once a people, to become (as it were) no people, an astonishment to ourselves, the object of pittie and amazement to others, and hopelesse of remedie, unlesse hee with whom are bowells of compassion worke in you an heart to interpose for your petitioners reliefe.

They therefore most humbly pray that this unlawfull hierarchicall government with all their appendices may bee utterly extirpate, such course laid downe, as to your great wisdomes shall seeme meete, for reparation in some measure of our unutterable damages sustained by the parties thus injuriously grieved; your petitioners settled in a way, whereby their persecuted ministers may haue leave to

xxxv. The humble petition of the Protestant inhabitants of the counties of Antrim, Downe, Tyrone, etc., part of the province of Vlster in the kingdome of Ireland concerning Bishops. Expressed in thirtie one heads of grievances, by reason of their overruling lordly power, as it was presented to the Right Honourable assembly, the knights, citizens, and burgesses, of the House of Commons in this present Parliament, and accepted of that Honourable House. London, printed 1641.

returne from exile, and bee freed from the unjust censure imposed on them, and an open doore continued unto us for provision of a powerfull and able ministry, the onely best way to promote Plantation, and settle the kingdome in the profession and practise of true religion ; which as it is the earnest expectation, so it shall be the daily prayer of many thousands your petitioners, who will ever intreat the Lord for your direction herein, and in all other your weighty and important affaires, as becommeth your poore petitioners, etc.

APPENDIX.
1641.
Remonstrance
of Ulster
Settlers
against
Bishops.

A particular of manifold evils, and heavy pressures caused, and occasioned by the Prelacie and their dependants.

1. Before they had so much as a pretended canon, for their warrant the prelates urged their ceremonies with such vehemency, that divers of our most learned and painfull ministers for not obeying them were silenced, and many of us for the like oppressed in their courts.

2. In the yeare 1634 they made such canons and constitutions ecclesiasticall, as enjoyned many corruptions in the worship of God and government of the Church, which exceedingly retarded the worke of reformation to the true Protestant religion, animated Papists, and made way for divers Popish superstitions.

3. Our most painfull, godly, and learned ministers were by the bishops and their commissaries silenced and deprived for not subscribing and conforming to the said unlawfull canons ; yea through the hotnesse of their persecution forced to flee the land, and afterwards excommunicated, to the danger of all, and losse of some of their lives.

4. In their places others were obtruded, not onely ignorant, lazy, and lukewarme, but many of them unsound in doctrine, prophane in life, and cruell in persecution.

5. Many, though sufficiently furnished, were not admitted to the ministry, onely for not swallowing downe their groundlesse innovations, yea some, though conforme, yet for strictnesse in life were likewise kept out.

6. Good and painfull ministers are not suffered to exercise that function which God hath called them unto, nor suffered to enjoy any living, whereas the bishops doe hold by commendam many livings, besides those proper to their bishopricks ; and doe conferre livings upon their children and retainers, *studendi gratiâ* (as is pretended) and divers benefices, as foure, five, sixe, or more upon their favourites ; Hence,

7. The cure of soules are committed to hyrelings, who receive 5, 6, 8, or 10 pounds by the yeare for their cures ; divers of which are put together to the charge of some illiterate curate, by which meanes the people perish for want of food, through the parson or vicar, through connivance of the bishop is utterly non resident, and by each one of the many benefices he enjoyeth, hath a competent allowance for a moderately-minded man, to maintain himselfe and family upon.

8. Whereas the bishops should give all good example, by painfull preaching and holy conversation, they preach very rarely themselves ; and like these in the Gospell, who will neither enter themselves, nor suffer others to enter, they have suppress divers others from preaching, both on the afternoone on the Lords day, and in many places where weekly lectures were maintained, either by the free-will

APPENDIX.
1641.
Remon-
strance
of Ulster
Settlers
against
Bishops.

of the minister, or cost of the people, they have utterly forbidden the same, and showne all manner of discountenance to those who were forward therein, so that a lecturing minister appeared before them, under more prejudice then a Popish priest, or undermining Iesuite.

9. Lest those who could not bee admitted into the ministry, undertaking to teach schoole, should there lay impressions of piety and good learning, they urge on the very schoolemasters a subscription beyond what is enjoyn'd by their own canon, and punish by excommunication and otherwise the refusers thereof; so as the schooles formerly much frequented, are now utterly desolate, to the spoyle of youth and promoting of prophanesse and ignorance.

10. Thus while they proceed so severely and unjustly in punishing the refusers to their unlawfull commands, though otherwise never so honest and able men, they favour Popery to the continuance and great increase thereof; Hence,

11. Popish titulary bishops are by them winked at in the exercise of jurisdiction from forraine power; Masse priests are frequent, and pretend a title to every parish in the kingdome, Masses publikely celebrated without controlment, to the great grieffe of Gods people, and increase of idolatry and superstition.

12. They permit frieries and nunneries to bee within their diocesses, whereby they continue and increase of late in many places, yea, divers of them suffered to remaine in the very places where some of the bishops have their speciall residence.

13. In many places of the land where Protestants are forbidden and restrain'd Papists are permitted to keepe schooles; unto some whereof such multitudes of children and young men doe resort, that they may be esteemed rather Universities, teaching therein not onely the tongues, but likewise the liberall arts and sciences.

14. They set forth and suffer to bee published wicked libells and ungodly pamphlets, tending to sedition, faction and disunion of the Brittish inhabitants, such as Examen conjurationis Scoticae, Lysimachus, Nicanor, etc. And in their sermons, prayers, and ordinary table-talk, divers of the bishops in matters quite besides their calling, have not desisted to rayle, curse, and most bitterly inveigh against the kingdome of Scotland, and all their proceedings labouring to make them odious, thereby proving themselves firebrands of sedition betweene the two nations; yea, proclaiming their prophanesse by drinking healths to the confusion of that nation.

15. The most learned and seemingly moderate and pious of the prelates, publikely in sermons at Dublin, exclaimed against, and condemned the Scottish Covenant and religion profest in that kingdome with most invective tearmes. And in the Starre Chamber in Dublin, at the censure of Henry Stewart, esquire, his wife and two daughters, and James Gray, for refusing to take an oath, for which there was no other ground then the Earle of Straffords command, which was against the Covenant of Scotland, uttered these words, These people with Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, doe withstand the ordinance of God, and therefore I leave them to the judgement of Corah, Dathan, and Abiram.

16. They have frequently made symoniacall pactions and bargaines in the conferring of benefices, and ordinarily permit ministers to exchange their livings,

thereby to nullifie leases of tithes, which the former incumbent ministers have let at certaine rates.

17. The Prelates have usually appointed such men to be their commissaries, officialls, and registers, who altogether neglecting the punishment of vices cognizable in their Courts looke onely to their owne gaine; Hence

18. Though they pretend themselues the advancers of vertue, and punishers of vice, yet they usually without further satisfaction absolve the most scandalous persons for a summe of money, and often question not at all such from whom they privately before hand receive such a summe, which is a cause that many wickednesses doe more and more abound.

20. [*sic*]. If any bee presented by their apparitors (who are usually Papists), if it bee but for nonpayment of the clerkes groat, or not observing some one of their most frivolous injunctions; yea though the party presented bee not found culpable, yet they require most excessive and unjust fees; And if their demands bee not satisfied (though never so great poverty might plead for mercy), they presently proceed to the censure of excommunication, thus vainely and blasphemously abusing the high ordinance of God, so many hundreds of us remaine under that censure, and multitudes constrained to run out of the land, to the undoing of them and theirs.

21. The Prelats that they might manage Peters sword as well as his keyes have some of them procured that most unlawfull writ of assistance, whereby his Majesties officers and ministers are required to yeeld assistance unto the bishop his officiall, or any deputed by him, which writ is by their officers most notoriously abused, and many times put into the hands of their apparitours, who under colour thereof apprehend honest men and women, casting them into prison, untill they be forced to free themselves by an heavy composition.

21 [*sic*]. They charge Churchwardens with articles farre beyond their understanding; to every particular whereof, if they refuse to answer or present, then are they bound to answer for it at Councell table, or high Commission court, or both, and though there acquitted, yet no remedy left them for their great damages.

22. They force Churchwardens to attend all their visitation and circular courts; And there, for their articles, oathes, admissions, and discharges, they make them pay most excessive and undue fees, never before practised or required.

23. The communications for penance, which either should not be at all, or if exacted, then set apart for the poore, and other pious uses commeth either to the prelates kitchin and commissaries purse, or both;

24. The prelates and their faction, as they inherite then [*sic*] superstition of the Papacy, so of late they exact with all severity the absolute customes of S. Marygallons, mortuaries, portions, etc., which as they were given by superstition and used to idolatry, so now they are taken by oppression and applied to riotousnesse.

25. They have also constantly practised and suffered the buying and selling of the sacraments, which is an heavy burden. And where the poore have not to pay the minister and clerkes fees, they will not marry them, nor suffer their dead to be buried.

APPENDIX.
1641.
Remon-
strance
of Ulster
Settlers
against
Bishops.

26. In the high Commission court against all law and equitie, they sit as judges in their owne cause, and take cognizance of the highest and smallest matters, going therein without controll. Hence

27. In the said Court they usurpe with an high hand the judicature of civill causes, impose fines, beyond all bounds, and imprison at their pleasure, whereby many have beene utterly undone.

28. They proceed in the same Court, by way of most cruell and lawlesse inquisition, not onely into mens actions and words, but reaching even to their very thoughts, in imposing that most unlawfull oath Ex officio, to force to accuse, not onely others, but likewise their owne selves, contrary to law, and the very maximees of nature; And if any refuse to take this oath, then are they imprisoned, and fined beyond measure, to the ruine of all that fall under the weight of their indignation.

29. Divers of the Prelates did joyntly frame and wickedly contrive with the Earle of Strafford, that most lawlesse and scandalous oath imposed upon the Scottish-Brittish among us, who were Protestants, for receiving all commands indefinitely; And some of the Prelates were the occasion, that women and maids should be forced thereunto; Hence Commissions issuing to all places for the exacting of it, they were persecuted with so much rigour, that very many, as if they had beene traytours in the highest degree, were searched for, apprehended, examined, reviled, threatned, imprisoned, fettered together by threes and foures in iron yoakes, some in chaines carried up to Dublin, in Starre chamber fined in thousands beyond abilitie, and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment; Divers poore women but two dayes before delivery of children were apprehended, threatned, and terrified; others of them two or three dayes after child-birth, so narrowly searched for, that they were faine to flee out of all harbour, into woods, mountaines, caves, and corne-fields, and many dayes and nights together absent themselves, to the inpayring of the health of very many, the death of divers, and losse of their goods, which the enemy at their pleasure made havocke of. These, with many more un-expressible, have beene the wofull effects of the oath drawne up by advice of the Prelates, and so unjustly prest by authority of the Earle of Strafford.

30. The Prelates with their faction have beene injurious, not onely to the spirituall, but also to the temporall estates of most men, for under colour of Church lands, they have injuriously seized into their hands, much of the best lands in every county, so that there is scarce a gentleman of any worth, whom they have not bereaved of some part of his inheritance, few daring to oppose their unjust demands; and if any did, yet none able to maintaine their just titles, against their power and oppression.

31. By their wayes haue they enivated and undone many families, destroyed and cast away thousands of soules, and moreover in their owne persons have beene a scandall to the Gospell, and a stumblingblocke even to the common enemy, by their swearing, cursing, drunkennesse, Sabbath-breaking, etc., having such servants usually in their families, as are the most prophane in the kingdome, few others countenance by them, but such, and if any seeme to be of an holy life, he is scorned and persecuted by them.

Thus they publishing and proclaiming themselves the children of Ishmael and Esau, wee most humbly beseech you, as the true sons of Israel, to take order with them, as God shall direct, whom wee shall ever pray to be ayding, and assistant unto you in this great and glorious worke of reformation.—Finis.

APPENDIX.
1641.
Remonstrance
of Ulster
Settlers
against
Bishops.

XXXVI. EARL OF CLANRICARDE AND THE IRISH OF CONNACHT.

“The same day [2nd Feb., 1641-2] I received letters from Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh Oge OConnor, desiring a safe conduct, to impart unto me some propositions from the county of Roscommon; and upon my sending a safe conduct to them, they repaired the next day unto me, and delivered this following letter :

1641-2.
2. Feb.
Earl of
Clanricarde and
the Irish
of Connacht.

A letter from the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, directed unto me, dated the 23d of January, received the 3d of February.

Right Honourable,

We, in behalf of ourselves, and the major part of the inhabitants and free-holders of this county of Roscommon, upon serious consultation and weighty motives, have made bold to employ Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh Ogo OConnor, to acquaint your lordship with some resolutions which we have taken concerning the state of the said county, and to offer to your lordship’s view and consideration the causes necessitating us at the present to rise in arms, and to unite some number of forces within the said county; as likewise to signify to your lordship, that in the great confidence we have in your lordship’s zeal to his Majesty’s service, and the good of this poor afflicted nation, we haue made choice of your lordship to govern and command those forces in chief, to regulate and order, with the assistance of council, the affairs of the country, to represent unto his Majesty the heavy pressures and grievances under which we groan, and to sollicit redress and reformation from his sovereign goodness, whereunto is our only appeal, and to none other under God.

May it please your lordship, we conceive that such is the obligation you owe to the country from which you derive your birth,* and as you will give all the concurrent helps you can tending to the conservation thereof, and consequently will correspond with us in all our just designs, being very hopeful that the rest of the province will make the same application to your lordship, that so we may, with hearts and hands, join unanimously in one right way, faithfully and loyally

xxxvi. Memoirs and Letters of Ulick, Marquis of Clanricarde and Earl of St. Albans, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. London: 1757, pp. 67—69.

* In the margin here, Lord Clanricarde wrote as follows: “I was born in Clanricarde-house, Great Queen Street, Lincolns-inn-fields, London, not in the castle of Athlone, in the county of Roscommon, as these gentlemen suppose; however, in these dangerous times, I judged it prudent to keep them in temper, therefore did not contradict their opinion.”

APPENDIX. to serve God, the King, and country, wherein we beseech the Divine Omnipotence
1641-2. to guide your lordship and us, who are

2. Feb.
Earl of
Clanri-
carde and
the Irish
of Con-
nacht.

Your lordships most humble servants,

Hugh OConnor. Cha. OConnor Dun.
Wm. Delahoid. Cha. OConnor Roe,
and many others.

Upon discourse with these two gentlemen that brought the letter, they made great protestations of their loyal and dutiful intentions, that mere necessity inforced them to take arms, being left subject to the spoil and destruction of the forces in action in the counties of Leitrim and Sligoe, oppressed and mistrusted by the English garrisons in their own county; withal they were informed from other parts of the violent resolutions of the Parliament of England, and State of Dublin, to make a general destruction upon the nation and religion; that they could find no means to represent their grievances to his Majesty; neither had the puritan faction left his Majesty any power to redress; and, in conclusion, either through craft or affection, or both, they did privately assure me, that it was the resolution of the united forces of the province to fall upon me, if I did not correspond with them in their request to me.

Upon consideration thereof, finding my own small strength to resist such forces, that the passages to Dublin were all block'd up, and no assistance to be expected from thence, and indeed, by several observations, having cause to mistrust that the state did not much care if this government were destroyed, or myself forced into action, I thought it best, by some moderate expressions, to gain time, in hope of some relief by sea out of England; and thereupon I wrote this letter following:

My letter to the gentlemen of the county of Roscommon, dated the 4th of February, 1641.

Sirs,

1641-2.
4. Feb.
Clanri-
carde to
gentle-
men of
Roscom-
mon.

Your letter sent to me by Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh OConnor I have received, which gives me good occasion by them to return you many thanks for the great respect and affection you have hereby shewed unto me; and the confidence you repose in me doth easily invite me, together with his Majesty's service, to have a particular care and regard of you, and a fit consideration how my advice and assistance may be most useful to you in those times of distemper and distraction. For the first proposition, to take upon me the government of that county, and to command the forces raised there, I conceive at this present it can no ways stand with my duty to the King, nor will agree with what you have farther proposed unto me, to take that command upon me (being in another's hand, established and settled by the King's authority) without order and direction from the King, or some other, that derives a power from him, would put me into a condition, that would render impossible all mediation, or interposing of mine either in your behalf, or the rest of the kingdom; none since the beginning of those distempers having attempted to take a government upon them, though some have taken arms in opposition to the proceedings of the present government; and though

your intentions and mine might both be very good for prevention of disorders, and preservation of the country, yet it would meet with that construction, as would totally divert my careful endeavours for yours, and the general good, wherein these noble gentlemen can in part inform you. And I truly protest unto you there hath no pains, nor industry, been omitted by me, as his Majesty's favour, my interest in many noble and powerful friends, or my own judgment could guide and direct me; and it is my desire that it should appear without ambition, or particular aims, or ends of my own. I have been, and shall ever be ready to serve God, my King, and my country, with all true faith, duty, and affection.

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
4. Feb.
Clanricarde to gentlemen of Roscommon

By what I have expressed, I hope you will take in good part my not entertaining, at this present, that command you have with so much kindness and confidence offered me; since I assure you if I could dispense with my duty therein to his Majesty, as it hath merely relation to yourselves, according to those rules I have set down in my own apprehension for your future good and benefit, as affairs now stand, I should not think fit to take it upon me. For the present, in discharge of my duty to the King's commands, I am to offer to you the benefit of his Majesty's gracious letter directed unto me, the copy whereof I send you here inclosed; and your former taking arms may be well excused by the danger of your neighbours coming upon you, to suppress the unruliness of the common sort of people, greedy of booty and prey, and upon some mistakes and suspicions between you, and those in garrisons; and for the better representation thereof, and for mediation for obtaining the benefit of those graces, or remedy of other grievances, I could wish that my Lord President and myself should be joined, and he, undertaking it with me, I am confident he will cordially perform it, I having, as I conceive, a very great and particular interest in him; and upon knowledge of your resolution therein, I can employ to his lordship a worthy and able friend of mine that is powerful with him, and bears good affection to you, and the welfare and preservation of this province.

This will be a work of great and good example to the rest of Conaght; by that means the province may be again settled, and united by themselves, the trouble and compulsion of English and Scottish forces prevented, and the country fairly and securely preserved; and be assured, whatever might be the intentions of those that took arms in other parts of the kingdom, it hath been, and could no otherwise be, than a great prejudice and disadvantage to this poor province, so near a happy settlement, which, by reasonable direction, may yet be brought to perfection.

Having thus discharged my duty to his Majesty, and expressed my present apprehensions unto you, I will add nothing more at this time, but to give you notice, that I am now going to Galway, where upon further conference with persons of ability there, if I meet with any thing of further use, or benefit to you, I shall send you their opinions, and my advices, with a constant regard to the King's honour and service and your preservation. And if God of his infinite mercy send a blessing thereto, I hope you will very speedily have the good effects thereof, and that there shall be no failing in me to approve myself

Your assured loving friend,

Loughreagh, the 4th of February, 1641[-2]. Clanricarde and St. Albans.

APPENDIX. The same day, after the departure of Sir Lucas Dillon and Mr. Hugh OConnor,
1641-2. I received a letter from my Lord Viscount Gorman's-town, accidently delivered
4. Feb. me, not sent by any express from himself.

XXXVII. DEMANDS OF IRISH, 1641.

The Rebels Demands.

1641[-2]. Wee in the name of all the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of Ireland, before
3. Feb. God, and all the world: as most reasonable in the sight of all good and indifferent
Demands men: Wee the above-written doe require of the Crowne of England, and that
of Irish. Crown[']s ministers of State that doe officiate in this kingdome in that kingdomes
behalf, these particulars:

For the Church.

I. Because as good Christians wee ought in the first place to have the chiefest care of our soules, which care we can no way better expresse then in pure and constant profession of Christs ancient, onely true and Catholique religion, we therefore the earles, barons and gentlemen under written doe demand the full, free, open, generall, and uncontrollable profession of the ancient and onely true Roman Catholique religion in this ancient kingdome and dominion of Ireland.

II. Knowing that we cannot enjoy our religion and the publique profession of it in a universall nationall way, as by us is ment and intended, except we may likewise have our churches, oracles [oratories] and convenient temples and chappels, We therefore demand all our churches, chappels, oracles, temples, as well private parishes, as generall and city cathedralls, to be given up to our use the native inhabitants of this kingdome.

III. Sceing that religion cannot be enjoyed or exercised but by the men of learning, and abilities fitted to that purpose, nor learning cherished, but by maintenance and revenue, we therefore demand restauration of all religious houses, whether abbeyes, priories, monasteries, or ancient universities, their ancient lands and demeanes.

For the Kingdome.

I. That all lands and livings bee restored unto those owners if yet living, or to their undoubted heires, and very necest of kin that were taken away either in Queene Elizabeths, or King James his dayes.

II. That the children and heires of the nobility, that neither [in either] of those foresaid princes raignes suffered either losse of life or honour, be restored to their former dignities.

III. That the Scots be removed out of the north of Ireland, and the right owners

XXXVII. The demands of the rebels in Ireland, unto the State and Councill of Dublin, February 3, 1641[-2.] The names of the chiefe of them are these: The Lord Mount Garret, Delvin, Don Luce, Cargena, Limbrey, Oncale, with divers others. Containing fiftene severall heads, all which are most vnrasonable and impudent. London, Printed for Iohn Thomas, 1641[-2.]

which now begge about Ireland in great want and misery, though of most high blood and birth, among the nobles of that countrey. **APPENDIX.**
1641[-2].

IV. That the King intrust with his magazins, forts, castles, and block-houses of Ireland, Catholique commanders, and those that may be well relished and liked of the countrey, as hee sets over his militia of England and Scotland, Protestants and Puritans. **3. Feb. Demands of Irish.**

V. That the King set over them a Deputy professing the Roman Catholique religion.

VI. That for what hostilitie hath beene summoned there may not onely be a pardon, but an act of oblivion.

VII. That the merchants and traders of the Irish nation may be as free in their trade, and have as much priviledge and favour in their customes either in England or Scotland, as the Scots of late are granted in England, or the English in Scotland.

VIII. That the Earle of Corke in particular bee caused to render backe, if not all, yet a considerable portion some way valuable toward the maintenance of poore impoverished children of the nobility and gentry undone by him, it being his vsuall course first to entitle the King, and then to seize mens estates.

IX. That they may enjoy entirely all the priviledges and franchises granted them by Edward the Fourth.

X. That no companies or troopes of theirs be hindered from going over to serve the King of Spaine, or any other Catholique Prince, the King of England having no need of them, and they not having any employment or meanes to live upon in the countrey.

XI. That no Irish passing beyond sea be forced to take any oath, containing clauses in it contrary to the profession of his faith, and perswasion of his conscience.

XII. That they may have a trienniall Parliament as in England, and that the Catholiques may haue the choice of their Parliament men.—Finis.

XXXVIII. PROCLAMATION BY LORDS JUSTICES AND COUNCIL AT DUBLIN, 1641-2.

By the Lords Iustices and Councill.

W. Parsons. Jo. Borlasse.

It is well known to all men, but more particularly to his Majesties subjects of this Kingdom, who have all gathered plentifull and comfortable fruits of his Majesties blessed Government, how abundantly carefull his Majesty hath been in the whole course of his Government, of the peace and safetie of this his Kingdome, 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 **1641-2. 8. Feb. Proclamation by Lords Justices and Council.**

xxxviii. The Particular Relation of the Present Estate and Condition of Ireland, as it now stands . . . With those Battels and overthrows lately given to the Rebels to the 16 of this present February. As also a Declaration or Proclamation set forth by authoritie, declaring the names of the chief persons that are in Rebellion, with the sums of money which are to be given to him or them that can bring in any of the Rebels therein named, either dead or alive, are expressed. Published by Authoritie. London, Printed for Joseph Hunscoott. 1642. pp. 6—16.

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Procla-
mation
by
Lords
Justices
and
Council.

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 rebells now in arms were conspiring mischief against him, and his Crown and Kingdome, he was then exercising acts of grace and benignitie towards them, granting to his subjects here the fulnesse of their own desires in all things, so farre as with honour or justice he possibly could, and particularly when the Committees of both Houses of Parliament here this last Summer attended his Majestic in England, at which time, amongst many other things graciously assented to by him, he was content, even with apparant losse 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 continued goodnesse to this people, and his princely care of their prosperitie and preservation shall (to the unspeakable joy and comfort of all his good subjects) render him glorious to all posteritie, so the wicked ingratitude and treacherous disloyaltie of those rebells 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 pitie them in their transgressions. And although the said persons now in rebellion were in no degree provoked by any just cause of publique grief received from his Majestic, or his Ministers, to undertake such desperate wickednesse, neither can justly assigne any severitie or rigour in the execution of those Laws which are in force in this Kingdome against Papists, nor indeed any cause at all, other then the unnaturall hatred, which those persons in rebellion do bear to the Brittish and Protestan[t]s, whom they desire and publicly professe to root out from amongst them. The more strange in that very many of themselves are descended of English, whence is the originall and foundation of all their estates, and those great benefits which they have hitherto enjoyed, and whence their predecessours, and others then well affected in this Kingdome, have been at all times since the Conquest cherished, relieved, countenanced, and supported against the ancient enemies of the Kings people of England, many of the Irish also having received their estates and livelihood from the unexampled bountie and goodnesse of the Kings of England. Yet such is their inbred ingratitude and disloyalty, as they conspired to massacre us the Lords Iustices and Councell, and all the Brittish and Protestants universally throughout this Kingdome, and to seize into their hands, not onely his Majesties Castle of Dublin, the principall Fort in this Kingdome, but also all other the fortifications thereof, though (by the infinite goodnesse and mercy of God) those wicked and divellish conspiracies were brought to light, and some of the principall conspiratours imprisoned in his Majesties Castle of Dublin, by us by his Majesties authoritie, so as those wicked and damnable plots are disappointed in the chief parts therof, His Majesties said Castle of Dublin, and Citie 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 hostile manner, with banners displayed surprised divers of

his Majesties forts and garrisons, possessed themselves thereof, robbed and spoyled many thousands of his Majesties good subjects, Brittish and Protestants, 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 nakednesse, cold and famine, as they thereof dyed, imprisoned many others, some of them persons of eminent qualitie, laid siege to divers of his Majesties forts and towns yet in his Majesties hands, and committed many other barbarous cruelties and execrable inhumanities, upon the persons and estates of the Brittish and Protestants, men, women, and children, in all parts of the Kingdome, without regard of qualitie, age, or sex. And to cover their wickednesse, in those cruell acts, so to deceive the world, and to make way (if they could) to the effecting of their mischievous ends, they adde yet to their wickednesse 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 Royall Crown and scepter, and his just soveraigntie over this Kingdome and nation, and to deprive him, and his lawfull ministers of all authoritie and power here, and to place it on such persons as they think fit, which can no way stand with his Majesties just prerogative, nor can any equall minded man be seduced to beleve that they can wish well to his Royall person, or any thing that is his, who in their actions have expressed such unheard of hatred, malice, and scorn of the Brittish nation, as they have done. And such is their madnesse as they consider not, that his sacred Majestie 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 Kings prerogative, much lesse these, who (under countenance thereof) labour to deface and shake off his Government, and extirp his most loyall and faithfull subjects of his other kingdomes and here, whose preservation (above all earthly things) is and alwayes hath been his Majesties principall studie and endeavour, which even these traytors 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 Kingdome, shewing that whereas a late conspiracie 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 conspiracie was perpetrated by Irish Papists, without distinction of any, and they doubting that by those generall 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 alleadged they were none of the old Irish nor of their faction or confederacie, but (as they then pretended) altogether averse and opposite to all their designes, 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 29. 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 Vlster, as were then actors in that treason, and others, who adhered to them;

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Proclamation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Procla-
mation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

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 fidelities to the Crown, and having experience of the good affections and services of their ancestors, in former times of danger and rebellion. And indeed, so beleiving were we in their faithfulness and loyalty to the Crown, as we then also represented it into England for their advantage, and thereupon in the Order of the Lords and Commons in the Parliament in England concerning Ireland; His Majesties loyall subjects of English blood, though of the Romish religion, being ancient inhabitants within severall counties and parts of this realm are mentioned, as those who have alwayes 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 severall counties of the English Pale, the better to enable them to discharge their duties in defending those parts, and his Majesties good subjects therein, against the rebels, upon deep professions of loyalty made by them, and their seeming detestation of the loathsomenesse of the crimes, and bloody guilts of the rebels, which they for their parts professed (with many oaths and protestations) to abhorre, and promised to oppose and resist them, with all their power. And we issued arms also to 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 equall 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 Councill Board, many of those, as well whole counties, as particular persons entrusted with those arms, revolted to the rebels, carried His Majesties arms with them, and so the arms which were trusted into their hands, for the protection of His Majesties 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 ioyned with them, and they and the rebels assembled in arms in 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 Majesties burroughs, walled and unwalled, and in committing murders, spoyles, robberies, and many detestable cruelties on His Majesties good subjects. And although 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 Majesties forces, and against His Majesties 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 severall 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 ungratefull to His Majesty for the great and abundant benefits and favours from Him, and His Royall Father, and Predecessors derived to them, so insensible of the happinesse 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 Loghnelan 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 ó Rely of Ballinecarrig in the county of Cavan,
 Philip mac Mulmorry ó Rely of Lismore in the said county,
 Mulmorry mac Edmond ó Rely of Cavet in the said county,
 Hugh Boy mac Shane ó Rely of Kilmore in the said county,
 Owen mac Shane mac Philip ó 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 ó Neal of Kinard in the county of Tyrone, knight,
 Tirlagh Roe ó Neal, brother to the said Sir Phelim,
 Tirlagh Groom ó Quin of Donoghmore in the said county,
 Cormock mac Owin oge ó Hagan of Mullinecor in the said county,
 Patrick Modder ó Donelly of Crosskanena in the said county,
 Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry ó Neal of Devernagh in the county of Armagh,
 Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh ó Neal of the Fues in the said county,
 Hugh oge ó Neal, of Aghadamph in the said county,
 Donogh oge ó 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,
 Cooilo mac Ever mac Mahowne of [blank] in the said county,
 Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art Moyle mac Mahowne of Fanahah in the said county,
 Captain Hugh mac Phelim Birne late of Ballinecor in the county of Wicklo,
 Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne late of Carrigocroe in the said county,
 Luke alias Feagh ó Toole of Castlekeven 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 Bullidony in the county of Wexford,
 Lewis alias Lisagh mac Owny Dempseie of Rahynne in the Kings County,
 Art ó Molloy of Rathlyan in the said county,
 Hubert Fox of Kilcoursie in the said county,
 Owen ó Molloy of Clonekeene in the said county,
 Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick of Castle-Town in the Queen's County,
 Barnabie Dempseie of Knockardegur in the said county,

APPENDIX.
 1641-2.
 8. Feb.
 Procla-
 mation
 by Lords
 Justices
 and
 Council.

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Procla-
mation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

Daniel Doine of Tenehinche in the said county,
Barnabie Fitz-Patrick of Raghdowny in the said county,
Iames mac Fergus mac Donell of Taghnekilly in the said county,
Francis mac Faghny ô Farrall of the Mote in the county of Longford,
William Farrall of Ballingtobber in the said county,
Iames mac Conell Farrall of Tenelecke in the said county,
Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald of [blank] in the said county,
Pierse Fitz-Gerrald of Ballysonan in the county of Kildare,
Maurice Eustace of Castle-Martin in the said county,
Nicholas Sutton of Tipper in the said county,
Roger alias Rory ô More of Ballynah in the said county,
William Fitz-Gerrald of Blackhall in the said county,
Robert Preston brother to the Lord Viscount Gorma[n]stown,
Iames Flemen late of Slane in the county of Meath, brother to the Lord Baron
of Slane,
Patrick Cusack of Gerrards-Town in the said county,
Edward Betagh of Monalty in the said county,
Gerrald Leins of the Knock in the said county,
Luke Netervill of Corballies in the county of Dublin, sonne to the Lord Viscount
Netervill,
George Kinge of Clontarfe in the said county,
Richard Barnewall of Lespopell in the said county,
Colonell Richard Plunket late of Dunsoghlie in the said county,
Mathew Talbot late of Kilgobban in the said county,
Iohn Stanley of Malletts-towne alias Marletts-town in the county of Lowth,
Iohn Bellew of Willets-town in the said county,
Christopher Barnewall of Rathaskett alias Rathasker in the said county, and
Oliver Cashell of Dundalk in the said county :

Instead of that duty and loyalty which His Majesties 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 publike peace, and
happinesse 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 Maicsties good and faithfull subiects therein, whereby they have shewed
themselves to be most ungratefull, detestable, vile, and unnaturall traytors and
rebels. We therefore according to the custome of this Councill Board in cases of
this nature (though no former rebellion can paralell this for acts of cruelty and
horrid crimes) do by this present Proclamation in His Maicsties name, and by his
Maicsties authority, declare, publish and proclaim them, the said

Sir Con Magonis,
Art oge mac Glasny Magonis,
Rory mac Brien oge Magonis,
Phillip mac Mulmorry ô Rely,
Hugh Boy mac Shane ô Rely,
Rory Magwire,

Patrick mac Cartan,
Ever mac Phelim Magonis,
Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane ô Rely,
Mulmorry mac Edmond ô Rely,
Owen mac Shane mac Phillip ô Rely,
Donogh Bane Magwire,

Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire,	Sir Phelim ó Neale,
Tirlagh Roe O Neale,	Tirlagh Groom O Quin,
Cormock mac Owin 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 mac Art Moile
Captain Hugh mac Phelim Birne,	mac Mahowne,
Luke alias Feogh O Toole,	Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne,
Redmond mac Feogh Birne,	Luke alias Feogh mac Redmond Birne,
Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh,	Phelim Mac Redmond Birne,
Art O Molloy,	Lewis alias Lisagh mac Owny Dempisie,
Owen O Molloy,	Hubert Fox,
Barnabie Dempisie,	Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick,
Barnabie Fitz-Patrick,	Daniel Doine,
Francis mac Faghny O Farrall,	James mac Fergus mac Donell,
James mac Conell Farrall,	Will. Farrall,
Pierse Fitz-Gerrald,	Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald,
Nich. Sutton,	Maurice Eustace,
Will. Fitz-Gerrald,	Roger alias Rory O More,
James Fleming,	Robert Preston,
Edw. Betagh,	Patrick Cusake,
Luke Netervill,	Gerrald Leins,
Richard Barnewall,	George King,
Matthew Talbot,	Colonell Richard Plunket,
John Bellew,	John Stanley,
Oliver Cashell,	Christopher Barnewall,

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Proclamation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

and every of them, and all their and every of their partakers, ayders, maintainers, comforters, confederates, complices and associats, apparant notorious, ungratefull, wicked, vile and unnaturall traytors 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, etc., His Royall Crown and Dignity of this realm, and malitious oppugners of His Maiesties Royall sovereignty, preheminences and prerogatives, willing therefore, requiring, warranting and authorizing all His Maiesties good and loving subiects, to pursue and plague with fire and sword, apprehend, destroy and kill, by all the wayes and means they may, all the said persons, their partakers, aiders, maintainers, comforters, confederates, complices and associats, as apparant notorious, ungratefull, wicked, vile, detestable and unnaturall traytors and rebels.

And we do hereby make known to all men, as well good subiects as all others, that whosoever he or they be that shall betwixt this and the five and twentieth

APPENDIX. day of March next, kill and bring, or cause to be killed and brought unto us, the
1641-2. Lords Justices, or other chief Governour or Governours of this Kingdom for the
8. Feb. time being, the head

Procla-
mation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

of the said Sir Philem O Neal,
or of the said Sir Con Magenis
or of the said Rory Magwire,
or of the said Phillip mac Hugh mac Shane O Rely,
or of the said Collo mac Brien mac Mahon,

who were of the principall conspirators, and have been the first and principall 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 Governour or Governours of this Kingdom, as aforesaid, as followeth: viz.

for the head of the said Sir Philem O Neal one thousand pounds,
for the head of the said Sir Con Magenis 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 Rely 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 said time, by any means slay or kill, as aforesaid, the said

Sir Philem ó Neale,
Sir Con Magenis,
Rory Magwire,
Philip mac Hugh mac Shane ó Rely,
and Collo mac Brian mac Mahowne,

or any of them, though such person or persons, so slaying or killing the said traytors, 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 traytor or traytors; yet being justly proved, shall forthwith upon proof so made, receive the reward, viz.

for the said Sir Philem ó Neal, eight hundred pounds;
for the said Sir Con Magenis four hundred pounds,
for the said Rory Magwire four hundred pounds,
for the said Philip mac Hugh mac Shane ó Rely, four hundred pounds,
for the said Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne four hundred pounds,
and pardon for all his or their offenses, that shall so kill the said last mentioned persons, or any of them.

And forasmuch as the other rebels above named, have most trayterously combined in the wicked and abominable counsellors of the said five other persons last above named, and have been partakers with them in this their most bloody design, for the extirpation 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 to all men, as

well his Majesties loving subjects, as all others, that whosoever, under the degree of a knight, other than the said Philip mac Hugh mac Shane ó Rely, and Collo mac Brian mac Mahowne, and other than the said Luke Toole, and other than the children and grand-children of the late trayterously descended traytor, Feagh mac Hugh Birne, and other than the said Rory alias Roger ó More, (We not holding it fit that the most malignant conspirators should obtain pardon for so high and heynous offenses, and the causelesse destruction of so many thousands of innocents, upon the onely service of cutting off persons of no greater consideration) shall, betwixt this and the five and twentieth 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

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Procla-
mation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

Patrick mac Cartan,
Ever mac Phelim Magenis,
Phillip mac Mulmorry ó Rely,
Hugh Boy mac Shane ó Rely,
Donogh Bane Magwire,
Tirlagh Roe ó Neale,
Cormock mac Owin oge ó Hagan,
Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry ó Neale,
Hugh oge O Neale,
Neale mac Kena,
Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art
Moyle mac Maghowne,
Shane mac Brien mac Phelim Birne,
Luke alias Feagh mac Redmond
Birne,
Phelim mac Redmond Birne,
Lewis alias Lisagh mac Owny
Dempsie,
Hubert Fox,
Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick,
Daniel Doine,
James mac Fergus mac Donell,
William Farrall,
Oliver Boy Fitz-Gerrald,
Maurice Eustace,
Roger alias Rory ó More,
Robert Preston,
Patrick Cusake,
Gerrald Leins,
George King,
Colonell Richard Plunkett,
John Stanley,

Christopher Barnewall and
Art oge mac Glasny Magenis,
Rore mac Brian oge Magenis,
Mulmorry mac Edmond ó Rely,
Owen mac Shane mac Philip ó Rely,
Brian mac Cowcannaght Magwire,
Tirlagh Groome ó Quin,
Patrick Modder ó Donnelly,
Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh ó Neal,
Donnogh oge ó Murchie,
Koolo mac Ever mac Maghowne,
Captain Hugh mac Phelim Birne,
Luke alias Feagh O Toole,
Redmond mac Feagh Birne,
Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh,
Art ó Molloy,
Owen ó Molloy,
Barnabie Dempisie,
Barnabie Fitz-Patrick,
Francis mac Faghny ó Farrall,
James mac Conell Farrall,
Pierse Fitz-Gerrald,
Nicholas Sutton,
William Fitz-Gerrald,
Iames Fleming,
Edward Betagh,
Luke Netervill,
Richard Barnewall,
Matthew Talbot,
John Bellew,
Oliver Cashall,

APPENDIX. 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, 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 be brought in, the said head or heads, and whosoever under the degree of a Knight, as aforesaid, other than the said
1641-2. Philip mac Hugh mac Shane ô Rely,
8. Feb. Collo mac Brien mac Mahowne,
Procla- Luke Toole,
mation by Lords and the children and grand-children of Feagh mac Hugh aforesaid,
Justices and the said Rory alias Roger ô More,
and Council. shall by any means, within the said time, slay or kill the said traytors, viz.
Patrick mac Cartan, Christopher Barnewall, and
Ever mac Phelim Magenis, Art oge mac Glasny Magenis,
Philip mac Mulmorry ô Rely, Rory mac Brien oge Magenis,
Hugh Boy mac Shane O Rely, Mulmorry mac Edmond O Rely,
Donogh Bane Magwire, Owen mac Shane mac Philip O Rely,
Tirlagh Roe O Neale, Brian mac Cowconnacht Magwire,
Cormock mac Owen oge O Hagan, Tirlagh Groome O Quin,
Art mac Tirlagh mac Henry O Neale, Patrick Modder O Donnelly,
Hugh oge O Neal, Tirlagh mac Henry mac Tirlagh O Neal,
Neal mac Kena, Donnogh oge O Murchie,
Art Roe mac Patrick mac Art Collo mac Ever mac Mahowne,
Moyle mac Mahowne, Captain Hugh mac Phelim Birne,
Shano mac Brien mac Phelim Birne, Luke alias Feagh O Toole,
Luke alias Feagh mac Redmond Redmond mac Feagh Birne,
Birne, Dermot mac Dowlin Cavenagh,
Phelim mac Redmond Birne, Art O Molloy,
Lewis alias Lisagh mac Owny Owen O Molloy,
Dempsie, Barnabie Dempsie,
Hubert Fox, Barnabie Fitz-Patrick,
Florence mac Shane Fitz-Patrick, Francis mac Faghny O Farrall,
Daniel Doine, James mac Conell Farrall,
James mac Fergus mac Donell, Pierse Fitz-Gerrald,
William Farrall, Nicholas Sutton,
Oliver Boy Fitz Gerrald, William Fitz-Gerrald,
Maurice Eustace, James Fleming,
Roger alias Rory O More, Edward Betagh,
Robert Preston, Luke Netervill,
Patrick Cusake, Richard Barnewall,
Gerrald Leins, Matthew Talbot,
George Kinge, John Bellew,
Colonell Richard Plunket, Oliver Cashell,
John Stanley,

or any of them, though such person or persons, so slaying or killing the said

Traytors, 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 Traytor or Traytors, 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 offenses, that shall slay or kill the said traytors, or any of them.

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
8. Feb.
Procla-
mation
by Lords
Justices
and
Council.

Given at his Majesties Castle of Dublin the 8 day of February, 1641 [-2].

Ormond Ossory.	Cha. Coote.
R. Dillon.	Tho. Rotheram.
Cha. Lambart.	Fra. Willoughby.
Ad. Loftus.	Rob. Meredith.

J. Temple.

God save the King.

XXXIX. SIR PHELM O'NEILL.

1. The true demands of the rebells in Ireland. Declaring the causes of their taking up armes. Sent into England by Sir Phelom O-Neale, their Generall: To the Honorable and High Court of Parliament. Vlster, February 10, 1641[2].

The Irish Rebells unreasonable Demands.

My Lord,

I am commanded by the noblemen, knights and gentry of our army now resident within the provinces of Leinster and Vlster, to give your Lordship an account of the reasons that have induced us to take armes, that the same might bee presented to the rest of the Lords of the Councill of this kingdome; by which meanes our desires might be made knowne to the King and State assembled in Parliament in the kingdome of England, hoping thereby to procure redresse of our manifold grievances and oppressions, wherewith wee have been for a long time together afflicted, and could never yet obtaine any remedy of the same, neither by our humble petitions, nor otherwise; wee never having beene desirous to use violence to obtaine the same untill now of late. This State assembled for the most part of English, and them of the Irish nation, ioyned as members thereof with them, being altogether disaffected to our religion, have endeavoured, what in them lay, to take from us our liberties and lawes formerly enacted by Parliament, with the consent of several Princes and Parliaments in England; whereby wee have used and exercised our religion according to the due rites, and holy and necessary ceremonies thereof, which served as decent ornaments to set forth the honour and glory thereof, whereby we suppose God is honoured, and with it well pleased.

1641[-2].
10. Feb.
Sir Phelim
O'Neill.

1. Published for preventing false copies already extant, or that may be hereafter printed. Avowed by R. P. Gent. London, Printed by John Hammond, 1641[-2].

APPENDIX. Which to defend and preserve, being now ready to fall to decay, and bee brought
1641[-2]. to destruction : We have been forced to betake ourselves to our armes, to defend
10. Feb. our religion and liberty : And if the same may bee againe restored, and our
Sir Phelim religion tolerated, we shall willingly lay downe our armes in such manner as
O'Neill followeth.

1. We desire the lawes of Queene Mary concerning our religion in the use and exercise thereof, may be againe renewed, and now againe by Act of Parliament, as well the Parliament of England as this kingdome, may be established, and confirmed to us and our posterity.

2. That the lawes and statutes made and enacted in the reigne of Queen Elizabeth and King James against us and our religion, may be by the Parliament of both kingdomes, repealed and annihilated, viz.

I. That all statutes made and enacted in either kingdome against any in holy orders of the Catholicke religion, as priests, Jesuites, monkes, friers, capuchins, and the like, either for their execution or banishment, may be repealed, and an ordinance by Parliament of this kingdome made, whereby they may have free liberty in any parte of the kings dominions, to use and exercise their seuerall functions to educate, teach and instruct all such as are descended of Catholicke parents, or are inclinable and desirous to bee of the Romane religion, without incurring any punishment either corporall or in their estates, or by imprisonment, banishment, or the like.

I [*sic*]. That all Acts and statutes against publike recusants, taking away their means and land may be repealed, and that they may freely and publicly professe their religion, without such trouble and punishment.

II. That those lawes made for the abolishment of abbyes, pryories and monasteries, may be repealed, and an Act of libertie made by this State to all holy and devout men, that will build and up-reare the same againe, to doe it without any let or impediment, and that the ancient demeanes and revenews of right appertaining and belonging to the same, may be againe to them restored to the mainteynance of those orders of holy men, for which they were first ordained and erected.

IV [*sic*]. That wee may haue free correspondency by Embassages, or otherwise with his holinesse at Roome, touching any thing concerning our religion, that wee may haue at all times a Nuntio resident amongst us to informe us of His Holinesse pleasure upon all occasions tending to our soules good, and salvation.

V. That all lawes and ordinances hereafter enacted in this kingdome, may be by select Councells of Romane Catholikes for the Romish religion. And only of Protestants for theirs, and ioyntly together in matters concerning the civill and politicke government of the State.

VI. That wee may no more bee subject in this kingdome to the Crowne of England, and the lawes and statutes of the kingdome ; but altogether governed by this State, and may have placed over us such a Governor, or Viceroy, as may bee well accepted of by us, that wee may willingly submit ourselues to his subjection and obedience.

My Lord,

These are the particulars of our demands, which I am commanded to present to your Lordship, and which are desired may be consented unto, ratified and confirmed; which if reiected and refused, wee doe intend to the uttermost of our power, to the losse of lives, and fortunes, to maintaine.

APPENDIX.
1641[-2].
10. Feb.
Sir Phelim
O'Neil.

Your Lordships to command,

Ulster, Febr. 10, 1641[-2].

Phelom O'Neale.

[HOUSE OF LORDS, LONDON.]

2. Die Lunæ, 7 Martii, 1641[-2].

Another letter was read, directed to the Lord Lieutenant, from the Council of Ireland, dated the 27th of February. The chief particulars were: 'That Sir Phelim O'Neale stiles him[self] Earl of Tyron: That Sir Richard Greenville and Captain Muncke are arrived at Dublin, with fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse: That there is there great want of money, the soldiers being seventeen weeks behind in pay; also the great want of corn and provisions, both for men and horse; desiring that arms and cloaths for the soldiers may be speedily sent, and more men.'

Ordered, That this last letter is referred to the Committee for the Irish Affairs, to be speedily considered of.

Next, was read a copy of a Pass given by Sir Phelym O'Neale: videlicet.

'Whereas we are pleased to take into our protection the bearer hereof, John Greir; we therefore pray all our Colonels, Captains, and other inferior officers of our armies, and all others to whom these presents shall happen to come, to suffer and permit the said John Grier to pass and re-pass, about his and our lawful affairs, he behaving himself soberly and honestly, without his taking up arms against us; which we require all the aforesaid officers to take notice of this our warrant, as ye or any of you will answer to the contrary. Given at Ardmagh, this 14th of November, 1641.

Phelim O'Neill.'

[HOUSE OF COMMONS, LONDON.]

3. Die Martis, 8 Martii, 1641[-2].

Ordered, that it be referred to the Committee for printing, where Mr. White has the chair, especially to consider of the printing of a pamphlet, intituled, A Declaration of Sir Philem Oneil, Knight, General of Ireland, to the High Court of Parliament, etc.; and that they doe take some speedy course herein for repairing the honour of the Earl of Ormonde, much wounded by this pamphlet; and for the corporal punishment of the printer, and the contriver; and that they make a speedy report hereof.

2. Lords' Journals, iv. p. 632.

3. Commons' Journals, vi. p. 472.

APPENDIX. XL. EXAMINATION OF HENRY CARTAN, QUARTER-MASTER OF COLONEL OWEN O'NEILL'S REGIMENT IN FLANDERS, 1641-2.

The examinacion of Henry Cartan, taken before Sir Gerrard Lowther, Knight, Cheife Justice of his Majesties Court of Comon Pleas, and Sir Robert Meredith, Knight, Chancellour of his Majesties Court of Exchequer, of his Majesties Privie Councill of the Kingdome of Ireland, by direction of the Right Honorable the Lords Justices and Councell xij^o. Febr., 1641 [-2].

1641[-2].
12. Feb.
Examina-
tion of
Henry
Cartan.

Whoe beeing sworne and examined saith that about nine yeares since, hee this Examinee left the Kingdome of Ireland and went into Flaunders, vnder the comaund of James Fitz-Gerrald of Ballisonan, in the county of Kildare, and at his said Captens landing in Flanders, hee and his company were putt into the regiment of Owen Roe O'Neile, Collonell vnder the Cardinall, where this Examinee serued for about two yeares of the said time vnder the said Capten Fitz-Gerrald, and then was transferred vnder the comaund of Capten Con O'Neile in the same regiment; and afterwards was preferred by the said Collonell Owen O'Neale to bee his Major Domo, which office is of the nature of Steward of his house; and after was by the said Owen made Quarter-Master of his regiment, in which imployment hee this Examinee remained vntill hee was now sent into this kingdome by the said Collonell Owen O'Neale.

And this Examinee all soe saith that Sir Phelim Roe O'Neale, Knight, sent a table with a character from this kingdome of Ireland vnto Collonell Owen O'Neile into Flaunders. The which table was lost at the seidge of Ayre, and for the losse of which character hee, this Examinee, heard the said Collonell lament much, saying that all the great townes, portes, prouinces, and remarkeable places and persons in this kingdome of Ireland had their particular names deciphered in that table. After which time, the said Collonell receaued from Capten Conn O'Neile, nephew vnto him, the said Owen, one other table of characters of the like contents; and the said Capten Conn was sent from Flaunders into England, about Lent last, by the said Collonell, to obtaine leaue for the raiseing of men in this kingdome of Ireland, vnder pretence of carrying the said men soe to bee raised into Flaunders, the true intention of the raiseing of those men beeing to sett on foote the rebellion in Ireland, which hath since accordinglie beene done.

And the said Conn haueing spent about six weekes in England, returned vnto Flaunders vppon pretence of furnishing himselfe with money for the raiseing of the said men, but before hee the said Conn returned backe for England, the said Collonell Owen beeing on a iourney vnto the seidge of Ayre, there repaired vnto him, Hugh Mc Phelim Birne, now a Collonell amongst the Rebels of this kingdome of Ireland, whoe formerly had beene a Capten in Tyrones regiment in Spaine. And the said Hugh remained with the said Collonell Owen about foure and twentie houres, most of which time they spent in priuat conference. In which discourse hee, this Examinee, ouerheard the said Hugh say, wee are to adventure our liues

for the succouring of a scabbed towne of the King of Spaines, where wee may happily loose our liues, and wee can expect noe worse then death if wee goe vnto our owne country and succour it.

And the said Hugh, leaveing the said Collonell in his iourney towards Ayre, went vnto Dunkerke and from thence into England. And soone after, at the campe of Ayre, there came vnto the said Owen an Irish fryer, one of the ONeales, disguised, whoe after much priuate conference with the said Collonell for about six daies, the said fryer departed thence for England, together with Capten Edward Birne and Capten Brian ONeale, a kinsman of the said Collonells and a Capten of his regiment and now in Ireland amongst the Rebels; and at the said Capten Brians departure from the Collonell, hee, the said Collonell, presented him with a case of pistolls.

And shortlie after, the aforementioned Capten Con ONeale was againe sent into England, and from thence hee the said Capten Conn wrote into Flaunders vnto the said Collonell Owen, that Hugh Mc Phelim Birne, Capten Brian ONeale, and the aforesaid fryar, weare gone for Ireland, and that hee, the said Conn, had receaued a letter out of Ireland from President Rosse (by which name in their table of characters is vnderstood Sir Phelim ONeale), and that the said President Rosse went very well on in his businesse, by reason that Brabant and Valons weare fullie resolued to ioyne together (by which Brabant and Valons are vnderstood, in the aforesaid table of characters, Ulster and Leinster); and did further write at the same time that hee, the said Conn, expected Lewis Lanois his coming into England (by which Lewis Lanois in their table aforesaid is vnderstood Daniell ONeale, brother to the said Conn, now in restraint in England) and for whom hee had staid, and was in feare of staying ouer long least hee should bee intrapped, and desired his vncler, the said Collonell Owen ONeale, to send some one from him vnto the said President Rosse into Ireland, with his resolution and instructions what to doe, which the said President dayly expected; which letters was sent from the said Conn vnto him, the said Owen, into Flaunders by a speciall messenger; at which time one Bryan Mc Phelim Birne came out of England vnto the said Collonell Owen and staid with him a few daies and had conference with him and soe returned backe for England, and after, in October last, the said Collonell Owen ONeale sent one Art Mc Gennis, a fryar, beeing his nephew, into England, who at Dunkirke mett with a Jesuite, who, as this Examine was tould, was a sonne of the Lord Viscount Netterfelds, which came together with him into England, and soe for Ireland.

And this Examine further saith that in Nouember last newes came vnto the said Collonell Owen ONeale that there was an enterprise to bee made on the castle of Dublin, for the takeing of the said castle by the Lord Magwyre, Mc Mahowne, one of the Neales and others, which plott beeing discouered the said Lord Magwyre, Mc Mahowne, ONeale with others weare imprisoned. And that neuerthelesse the Irish had raised a great companie of men and possessed themselues of the Newry, Dundalke, Ardmagh, Monaghan, and seuerall other countrie townes, and that they had taken prisoners the Lord Caulfeild, the Ladie Blaney and her children, and that their numbers did daylie encrease. And beeing demaunded how they could

APPENDIX.
1641[-2].
12. Feb.
Examina-
tion of
Henry
Cartan.

APPENDIX. haue the said newes soe soone in Flaunders, answered that they had that and
 1641[-2]. most of the newes of Ireland out of England, and that it was noteable to
 12. Feb obserue with what speed and certaintie the Irish in Flaunders receaued the newes
 Examina- of Ireland out of England. Vppon receipt of which newes the said Collonell
 tion of was in a great rage against the discouerer [O'Connolly] and said hee wondered
 Henry how or where that villaine should liue, for if hee weare in Ireland, sure they would
 Cartan. pull him in peeces there; and if hee liued in England there weare footmen and
 other Irishmen enough to kill him.

And hee further saith that the said Collonell Owen acquainted the Generall,
 Franciscoe de Melloe, with the said newes, woe tould the said Collonell that hee
 had vnderstood as much before. And therevppon the said Collonell desired licence
 to departe for Ireland, and likewise that hee might haue armes and munition to
 carry thither with him, wherevnto the said Generall answered that the said
 Collonell should not want either armes or munition or any thing else that hee
 could furnish him with all, if hee the said Collonell weare sure of any port where
 they might bee safelie landed in Ireland, and therevppon the said Generall aduised
 the said Collonell to send one of trust into Ireland, without letters, to bee informed
 thence which weare the safest and best portes in Ireland where armes and munition
 might bee landed, and to direct that some fryar or preist might for that purpose
 bee sent backe into Flaunders to certifie them of those portes; and likewise that
 same person of spetiall trust should bee sent into Fraunce, Roome, and to the
 Emperour, to negotiate with them, and to desire there assistance for the Irish in
 defence of their religion.

Therevppon the said Collonell designed for that negotiation one Ever Roe
 [Mac Mahon] titular Bishopp of Downe. And by reason that hee, this Examinee,
 and the spetiall employments which hee had vnder the said Collonell, and the trust
 reposed in him by the said Collonell, weare knowne vnto the said Conn O'Neale,
 Brian O'Neale, and diuers others of the Rebels now in Ireland, hee, the said
 Collonell, chose this Examinee to send into Ireland with the said message and
 these instruccions: that hee, this Examinee, should repaire vnto Sir Phelim
 O'Neale, Conn O'Neale, Brian O'Neale, and Hugh O'Birne, and to acquaint them
 that hee, the said Collonell, was purposed to come from Dunckerke for Ireland with
 all expedition, and to bring with him three shippes, wherein should bee three or
 foure hundred comaunders and officers with munition and armes for horse, and
 foote for the supplie of such companies of soldiers as weare or could bee raised in
 Ireland by those of the Catholique League for the prosecution of the warre there.
 Next, that hee the said Collonell expected to bee forthwith advertised and aduised
 from them in Ireland by some fryar or preist, to bee sent from thence for that
 purpose what porte in that kingdome hee should land in, and directed the sending
 of the aforementioned Ever Roe, Titular Bishopp of Downe, into Fraunce vnto Rome
 and the Emperour, to sollicite there aides for the defence of the religion in Ireland.
 And likewise further advised that the Lords and great Comaunders of the Catholique
 league in that kingdome, should by all meanes avoyde to fight any battailes with
 the English or Kinges army, vntill the said Collonells arriuall in Ireland, and they
 weare better furnished with armes and munition; and that in the meane time and

vntill his comeing, if there weare any noblemen or gentlemen in Ireland, whoe would not ioine with them in this warr, they should proclaime the said parties vnnaturall members of that nation and kingdome and enemies vnto that religion, and allsoe that the goodes and landes of those whoe would not ioine with them should bee giuen vnto him or them of that house or familie, whoe would accept thereof and ioine with them. And allsoe that vntill his comeing and vntill they weare better furnished with armes, they should not giue the Kinges army any meeteing in the day time, but should sett vpon them in their quarters by night, when they weare wearyed by marching abroad in the countrie or vpon other occasions. And another of this Examinates instructions was to perswade them by all meanes that they should not mistrust or doubt his [Owen O'Neill's] comeing, for hee would bee with them ere long, and that hee had taken a great oath that if hee could not obtaine leaue munition and armes from the Generall, yet if all failed hee would adventure himselfe and his whole estate in that seruice, and that if hee liued hee would assuredly bee with them within tenn weekes and would bring with him myners, cannons and cannoneers, and such other instruments as should bee necessarie for them; and that hee did wonder, although there weare noe myners there, that his countrymen did not imploy and sett on worke such persons as digged for iron-myne or coales.

And further that the Lordes and Comaunders of the Catholique League in Ireland should send one Patricke Heggertie, a fryar, whoe had spent much time in Scotland, to sollicite for them there, and to putt the Scotts in minde that they weare for the most parte discended from the Irish, and that the Irish neuer drew any of their blood, and therefore that they should not offer the Irish any iniurie but keepe themselues quiet in their owne countrie, not helping the one parte or the other. Another of his, this Examinates, instructions was to perswade the Lordes and great Comaunders of the League, that they should hold firme together and not bee deceaued by the faire promises of the English or of the State in Ireland, as Tyrone and Tyreconell weare, whoe, after they had submitted, weare forced to fly the kingdome, and many others beheaded, and others restrained in the Tower of London vntill they there dyed and lost their lands, and that they should not doubt of succour.

And further saith that hee was directed by his said Collonell to impart these his instructions and message vnto such Lordes, Comaunders, and gentlemen in Ireland as the said Sir Phelim O'Neale, Conn O'Neale, Brian O'Neale and Hugh Birne should direct and aduise him vnto. And that at his departure from his said Collonell, hee, the said Collonell, called for a glasse of wine and dranke the health of the said Capten Hugh Mc Phelim Birne, whoe hee said was designed Gouvernor of the fort of Duncannon, in the countie of Wexford.

And this Examine further saith that hee beeing directed with a letter, in December last, from his Collonell vnto one Brian Birford, a fryar and resident at Dunkerke, for the helping of him this Examine to a passage for Ireland, the said fryar acquainted this Examine that hee, the said fryar, would make a iourney forthwith vnto Collonell Owen O'Neale, and from him vnto Collonell Preston to labour the ioyning together of the said Collonells to goe into Ireland, to further

APPENDIX.
1641-2.
12. Feb.
Examina-
tion of
Henry
Cartan.

APPENDIX. with all the force and aide they could make the prosecution of the present warr
 1641-2. there. And further saith that in his, this Examinates voyage for Ireland, hee, with
 12. Feb. a fryar in his companie, was landed at Dover before Christmas last, where they the
 Examina- said parties remained for three weekes, noe examinacion or notice beeing taken of
 tion of either of them there, and from thence the shipp beeing bound for the port of
 Henry Watterford, the same landed him, this Examine, and the friar at the port of
 Cartan. Youghall about the begining of January, where they were brought before the Earle
 of Coreke and by his Lordship sent by sea vnto the city of Dublin.

And further this Examine saith hee conceiueth that the said Collonell Owen
 [O'Neill] may bee easily surprized in his passage for Ireland if hee bee laide for with
 good advisement, the said Owen purposcing to come with his men munition and
 armes vnto Bargam within a mile of Dunkerke, which place he intends to gaine for
 his garrison, and from thence to carry in lighters the said armes munition and men
 as secretlie as hee may by night vnto the shippes at Dunkerke without shewing
 himselfe there; and his pretence wilbee that hee is imployed into Spaine; and the
 said Collonell purposeth to bring with him all the Irish mariners which may bee
 had about Dunkerke where there are store and in spetiall one Capten Donnell, a
 sea captene, and soe to come for Ireland either by Dover or if hee see cause by the
 north of Scotland.

And this Examine further saith that hee the Examine durst not refuse to
 goe into Ireland with the said message and instructions for feare of his said master,
 Collonell Owen ONeale, well knowing of his seueritie, but this Examine intended
 to discover the same when hee thought hee safelie might.

And hee saith that hee doth not knowe or hath heard of any other that was sent
 from his said Collonell into Ireland of this message besides himselfe, but beleiueith
 that some messenger might bee sent from Collonell Preston vnto the Lordes of the
 Pale and other Comaunders in the prouince of Leinster as well as hee was sent by
 his Collonell vnto Sir Phelim ONeale and those of Vlster.

Hee allsoe saith that the principal Comaunders and Captens of the Irish in
 Flaunders are these whose names are vnderwritten, vizt. Owen ONeale, Collonell;
 Patricke Donnelle, Sericant Maior; Conn ONeale, Capten; Brian ONeale, Capten;
 which Conn and Brian are now in Ireland, Comaunders with the Rebels. The
 rest of the Captens that are now in the Low-Countries of the said Collonell Owen
 ONeales regiment, are these (vizt.); Melaughlin OMoore; Griffin Cavanagh;
 Donnogh Lalor; James Dillon; Stephen Delahoide; Nicholas Dalton; George
 Hovenden; Richard Bourke; Gerrald Fitz-Gerrald; Dermott Conseden; Neale
 ONeale; John ONeale; Henry ONeale; Conn Me Neale ONeale; Brian Roe
 ONeale; John Donnelle, Adiudant; Maurish OHoan, Adiudant; Henry Neale,
 sonne to the said Collonell Owen, Capten of a troope of horse; Dauid Browne,
 Cornett to the said Capten; Edmond Loughran, Auditor in the said regiment.
 Capitaines of particuler companies not of any regiment, vizt: Collonell Preston;
 William Butler; Maurice Mc Donnell; James Geffry and one Capten Taylor

HENRY MC CARTAN.

Gerrard Lowther. Rob: Meredith.

Concordat eum originali. Ex. per Paul Davies.

1