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CONTEMPORARY HISTORY

OF

AFFAIRS IN IRELAND,

1641—1652.

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

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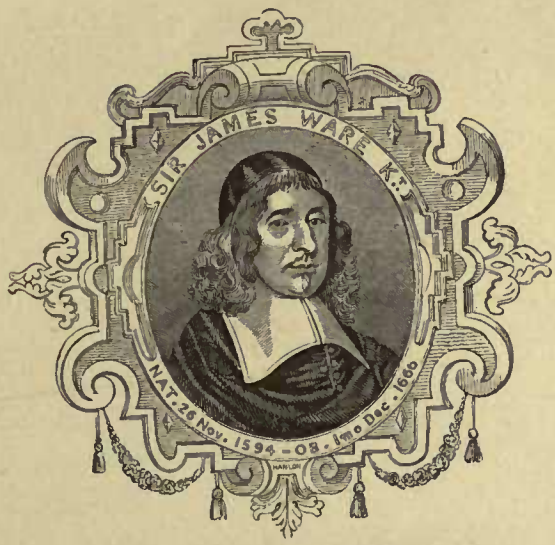

VOL. II.

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

The first portion of this volume contains the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery," in two divisions, followed by twenty-five chapters of the fifth book. The narrative opens in 1649, and extends to the latter part of the year 1651.

The subjects which principally occupy the author's attention in this part of his work are the rout of Ormonde and his forces by the Parliamentarian Colonel, Michael Jones, near Dublin, in August, 1649; the death of General Owen O'Neill, in November, 1649; the election of Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, to succeed him as General of the Irish of Ulster; the movements of Oliver Cromwell in Ireland; the capture by him of Drogheda, Wexford, Ross, and Kilkenny; and the successful defence of Clonmel against him by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, nephew to General Owen O'Neill.

The author describes the further efforts of Hugh O'Neill, and the Irish, in the Royal cause, after the departure of Cromwell; the defeat of the Ulster forces in 1650, under their General, Emer Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, followed by the execution of that prelate and of Owen O'Neill's son, Henry Roe O'Neill.

In other sections of the narrative are noticed the transactions between Commissary Redmond Caron and his brethren of the Franciscan Order in Ireland; the declaration of the Roman Catholic clergy against the continuance of the authority of King Charles in the person of the Marquis

of Ormonde as Viceroy; the unconciliatory demeanour of his Deputy, Clanricarde, and the latter's kinsmen and "factionists"; the correspondence of the bishops with Rome, and the negociations with the Duke of Lorraine in reference to his undertaking the "Protectorship" of Ireland.

In connection with the matters mentioned in the narrative, much authentic and important material is furnished by the many original documents in our Appendix, which are now for the first time printed.

Among these are letters from Charles II., the Duke of Lorraine, the Marquis of Ormonde, Oliver Cromwell, Colonels George Monk, John Hewson, and John Reynolds, Lords Inchiquin and Dillon, General Owen O'Neill, Colonel Daniel O'Neill, Major-General Hugh O'Neill, Sir Phelim O'Neill, Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Walter Butler, Sir Charles Coote, George Monro, the Roman Catholic Archbishops and Bishops, Dean Michael Boyle, Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall, Colonels Philip and Myles O'Reilly, and other commanders of the Irish of Ulster. In addition to these, we have here printed, for the first time, various papers, both lay and clerical, of a confidential character, articles of agreement, military commissions, muster-rolls, lists of officers and garrisons, and miscellaneous writings, illustrating the history of the period.

The "Aphorismical Discovery" does not supply specific information with regard to the overtures which, from other sources, we find were at this period actively made by General Owen O'Neill to ecclesiastical authorities on the Continent, as well as to Parliamentarians and Royalists both in England and Ireland.

Rinuccini, after his departure from Ireland, wrote as follows from France, on the 14th of April, 1649, to Cardinal Panzirolo: "Concerning the journey to Flanders and remaining there for a short period, I consider it requisite for the Irish business, as it is most important to learn the resolution which O'Neill may come to, and of what Crelly may have done in London, because if O'Neill come to terms with Ormonde, we shall have

only to recommend Ireland to the mercy of God; but if he has taken the field, much may yet be recovered."[1]

In a "Relation," taken at Havre-de-Grace in April, 1649, preserved among the papers of Chancellor Clarendon,[2] and written partly in cipher, we find statements respecting the existence of a "private confederacy or friendly understanding," between Michael Jones,[3] Colonel of the Parliamentary forces, and General Owen O'Neill, carried on through the agency of the Vicar-General of the latter's army. "But," adds the "Relation," "neither Colonel Jones nor Owen ONeill dare be known to their parties that they have any intelligence or confederacy at all with each other, for then their men would soon quit them, as some have lately done in considerable numbers . . There is also now at London one Abbot Crelly (who was with the Marquis of Antrim at Paris) treating with the Rebels in England, being, as it is verily believed, sent thither by Owen O'Neill, not without the privity of Jones." On this hitherto obscure matter some light is thrown by the following statements of the Republican commander, Edmund Ludlow:

"About this time an agent from Owen Roe ONeal came privately to London, and found out a way to acquaint the council of state, that if they thought fit to grant him a safe conduct he would make some propositions to them that would be for their service. The council, to avoid any misconstruction of their actions, refused to hear him; but appointed a committee to speak with him, of which I was one, ordering us to report to them what he should propose. His proposition was, that the party commanded by ONeil should submit to, and act for, the parliament, if they might obtain indemnity for what was passed, and assurance of the enjoyment of their religion and estates for the time to come. We asked him, why they made application to us, after they had refused to join with those who had been in treaty with the king? He answered, that the king had broken his word with them; for tho' they had deserved well of him, and he had made them many fair promises, yet when he could make better terms with any other party, he had been always ready to sacrifice them. We asked him farther, why they had not made their application sooner? He told us, because such men had been possessed of the power, who had sworn their extirpation; but that now it was believed to be the interest of those in authority to grant liberty of conscience; promising, that if such liberty might be extended to them, they would be as zealous for a common-wealth as any other party,

[1] "Nunziatura in Irlanda." 1844, p. 374. [2] Appendix iii., p. 207.

[3] See vol. i. pp. 747-9, for statements by the Assembly of Kilkenny in September, 1648, in reference to relations between Owen O'Neill and Colonel Michael Jones.

instancing in many countries where they were so. We informed him, that it was our opinion that the council would not promise indemnity to all that party, they being esteemed to have been the principal actors in the bloody massacre at the beginning of the rebellion; neither did we think that they would grant them the liberty of their religion, believing it might prove dangerous to the publick peace. The council, upon our report of what had passed at the conference, concurred with our opinion; so that having no more to do with the agent, he was required to depart within a limited time."[1]

We find that on the 25th of April, 1649, Owen O'Neill wrote to Colonel Monk, urging him to promote the acceptance of the propositions which he had made to the English Parliament for conclusion of peace.[2] Articles for a cessation of arms were concluded on the 8th of May between O'Neill and Monk. The seventh of the propositions of O'Neill was to the effect that he was to be restored or put in possession of estates, "in reward of his merit, and the good service that he shall perform in the Parliament of England's service, in the preservation of their interest in this kingdom." The overtures concluded as follows: "I [Owen O'Neill] do, upon receiving a confirmation of these propositions, forthwith undertake and promise, in behalf of myself and the whole party under my command, faithfully and firmly to adhere to the service of the Parliament of England in this kingdom, and maintain their interest hereafter, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, against all opposers whatsoever."[3]

Owen O'Neill, five days after his agreement with Monk, addressed a letter to Dionisio Massari, Dean of Fermo in Italy, stating that he was reduced to such extremities that he would be necessitated to join the "faction" of the Supreme Council or those in power at Dublin. Either of these courses would, he averred, be to him more bitter than death, and he implored Massari for aid to save him from such an union, rather than embrace which he would prefer to pass the remainder of his days in a foreign land. On the eighteenth of the same month, O'Neill dispatched from his camp at Cavan, letters to Rinuccini, and to Cardinals

[1] Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant of Horse, Commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. London: 1751, p. 114.

[2] Appendix, p. 433.

[3] Appendix, p. 216.

de la Cuena and Panfilio. In these, after having protested his anxiety to persevere in the course approved of by the Nuncio, he declared himself reduced almost to a state of desperation, and begged for assistance that he might not have to join either the faction of Ormonde or of the Parliament, both of which, he wrote, were regarded by him with hatred and horror.[1]

On the 25th of May, 1649, Monk, then at Dundalk, gave Oliver Cromwell, by letter, an account of the difficult position in which he was placed by the withdrawing of the Scots from their previous connection with him :

"Being in a very ill condition," wrote Monk, "with these garrisons between the Scots and Irish, Owen Mac Art's army, I have adventured, by the advice of some special friends and wellwishers to this service, to treat with Owen Mac Art [O'Neill] to keep him from joining with Ormonde, which if he had done, Colonel Jones and I had been in a very great hazard of losing the Parliament's footing in this kingdom; whereupon, finding Colonel Jones in such a condition, that he could not relieve me, it made me the more confident to adventure upon a cessation of arms between Owen Mac Art's party and mine, he engaging himself to oppose Ormonde, which he doth really intend to do, and hath already by his endeavours manifested his willingness to ruin Ormonde, for a greater feud cannot possibly be between them then there is now: wherefore upon this score I have treated with him, and according to his desire, sent you the copy of the propositions made by him to the Parliament, which are wonderful high, but I believe will descend much lower: I have sent you likewise a copy of the agreement for three months cessation between Owen Mac Art and I. I do not think it fit to signify this to the Council of State, but do wholly refer the business to you, either to make further use of it, or else to move it, or as you conceive most fit to be done; since there was great necessity for me to do it, I hope it will beget no ill construction, when the advantage gained to the service, by dividing Ormonde and Mac Art, is fully weighed."

In connection with the transactions between Monk and O'Neill, the following contemporary details, as received in London, are given by Bulstrode Whitelocke,[2] under date of July, 1649 :

"Letters from Chester that Ormond was 40,000 strong before Dublin,

That Colonel Monk, upon the enemy's approach towards Dundalk, sent to Owen Rowe Oneal, head of the natural Irish, desiring him in pursuance of the Articles between them to draw his forces together, and to be in readiness when the enemy should draw near to them.

This was undertaken by Owen, but he sent word back that he wanted ammunition, and

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[1] Appendix, pp. 435, 437.

[2] "Memorials of the English Affairs." London : 1732, p. 416.

being come within three miles with his whole army, he sent out 1200 foot, and 200 horse, who received from Colonel Monk 20 barrels of powder with match and bullets proportionable.

Presently after this, they had information that Inchequin was coming against them, which made them speed as fast as they could to their General, but they were overtaken and routed, 500 killed upon the place, many prisoners taken, the rest so beaten and scatter'd that few of them escaped without their death's wounds.

This news was so terrible to Owen and his army that they all rose in a panick fear, and fled into the county of Longford; this defeat was given in the view of the town of Dundalk, and Inchequin sent the news of it presently to Ormond, who thereupon sent to Colonel Jones for exchange of prisoners, and sent him the news of this defeat given to Owen.

Inchequin the same evening came before Dundalk and summoned it. Colonel Monk was retreated thither, upon the assurance of all his officers and soldiers to stand by him, except one soldier, who when Monk told them, that if any of them scrupled to fight in this quarrel, he might depart and should have a pass from him.

This one soldier only desired a pass, and said he could not in conscience fight in this quarrel; Monk gave him a pass according to his desire, and the rest promised to be faithful to him.

But when Inchequin came now before the town, all the faithful soldiers ran away over the trenches to Inchequin, swearing deep oaths that they would not engage with Monk, who entred into confederacy with Owen Rowe, the head of the native Irish.

By this and many other passages both in ours and other histories, we may observe the strange inconstancy, lightness and irrational actions of the common soldiery, whom for the most part money and avoiding present danger carry beyond any other interest.

These soldiers of Colonel Monk's, one day swore to stand by him, the next day every one of them deserted him; money was to be had from Inchequin, none from Monk, with whom if they staid they must fight; but if they left him they thought the danger was over.

They had all engaged under Colonel Monk, and when he had demanded of them whether they would be faithful to him, and stand by him; all but one said, that in conscience they could not leave him, but would stand by him.

The next day when danger approached, then they could not in conscience stay with him, because he was confederate with the head of the native Irish rebels, Owen Rowe.

Yet the same conscience could give them leave to serve under Ormond, who commanded both the Irish rebels Catholics, and the English Royalists against the English Protestants.

Monk's soldiers having thus deserted him, the town of Dundalk was presently surrendred to Inchequin, upon no other conditions, but that Monk might dispose of what was his as he saw good.

That Colonel Mark Trevor was there a great purchaser, and bought choice sheep for three pound a score, cows for thirty pound a score, and horses for forty pound a score, and so made himself up a regiment, and was made governor of the town to boot.

That this defeat of Owen was a great advantage to Ormond, that in Dundalk store of provisions was taken, that Owen was so enraged at this defeat that he swore he would be revenged.

That there were divisions in Ormond's army, between the English and the Irish, for that Ormond gave the lands so regained to the English, and put them into garrisons, but kept the Irish in the field in most hardship and danger; that many of the ministers in Dublin are suspected, and suspended."

On the 2nd of August, 1649, Ormonde, with the King's army, was routed near Dublin by the Parliamentarians, commanded by Colonel Michael Jones. In the North, however, the only considerable place held for the Parliament was the town of Derry, the garrison of which, under Sir Charles Coote, was reduced almost to extremities, from a nine weeks' siege by Viscount Montgomery.[1] Owen O'Neill, suffering at this time from a "mighty scarcity of powder and shot, and destitute of all human way to come by it," was, by Coote's offers of money and ammunition, induced to bring the Ulster forces to his relief on the 7th of August. The siege of Derry being thus raised, that town was consequently preserved for the Commonwealth of England. Sir Charles Coote, on this occasion, according to the "Aphorismical Discovery," "came to General O'Neill, with all the friendly ostentation possible, and invited him and all his major officers to the town, where he was served with extraordinary plenty and curiosity, complied with him in all other promised obligation, with a surplus of proper liberality; but, alas! it was surely bruited that among the rest of his serving, a cup of poison was ministered unto him of lingering operation, by little and little pining him out, and though he forthwith marched back unto the county of Cavan with his army, he was not well, his hair and nails falling off by degrees; and though his then physicians, using their science and art to heal him, as laboring with the gout (for his Doctor, Owen O'Shiel, was not at that present in place) . . . but to no purpose, for never after was his own man."[2]

In the books of the Council of State at London, then the main governing body in England, their proceedings in relation to Monk's transactions with Owen O'Neill appear as follows:

1649. August 6.

The secrecy enjoined upon the business of Col. Monk's treaty with Mc Art [Owen O'Neill] to be taken off.

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[1] Appendix, p. 440, Captain Henry Finch's Relation of the Siege of Londonderry, 1649.

[2] See, at p. 211 of vol. iii., Colonel Henry O'Neill's statement on this subject.

A narrative of the treaty to be prepared and reported to the House, as also all the letters and papers.

Col. Monk to prepare the narrative, with his reasons, and attend the House thereon next Wednesday.

Resolved that the treaty between Col. Monk and Owen Mac Art [O'Neill] was wholly against the judgment of this Council when they first heard of it, and they are still of the same opinion.

1649, August 7.

To report to the House that the letter and papers concerning the Cessation made by Col. Monk with Owen Roe Mc Art O'Neale were sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Col. Monk, and were delivered by the Lord Lieutenant to the Council, when they considered the whole business, and disapproved thereof; that it was not then thought fit, however, to return any answer to Col. Monk, but he was enjoined to secrecy; that he having now come to England and presented himself, the Council have informed him that they neither did nor do approve of what he has done therein, and have ordered that the aforesaid letter and papers, and his reasons for making such Cessation, should be at once reported as aforesaid.[1]

The following further contemporary details on this affair, in August, 1649, have been transmitted to us by Whitelocke:[2]

"Upon a report from the Council of State, and letters to them from the Lieutenant of Ireland, concerning Major-General Monk's making a peace with Owen Roe Oneal, which the Council disapproved, and reported to the House to know their pleasure therein.

"Major-General Monk was called into the House, and asked several questions by their order, which he answered at the bar of the House touching that business; after a long debate of it, the House upon the question passed this vote, that they did disapprove of what Major-General Monk had done in concluding a peace with the grand and bloody Irish Rebel, Owen Rowe Oneal, and did abhor the having anything to do with him therein;

"Yet are verily persuaded that the making of the same by the said Major-General Monk was in his judgment for the most advantage of the English interest in that nation; and that he shall not be further questioned for the same for the time to come.

"Order that the report of the Council of State, the questions demanded of Major-General Monk, with his answers and the votes of the House thereupon, be printed and published.

"Major-General Monk was much discontented at the proceeding in this business in relation to him, especially at some passages highly reflecting upon his honour and fidelity.

"And it was the opinion of divers, either not at all to have questioned this business, or having once questioned it, not to have employed him any more in their service.

"But the major part carried it thus, to beat him and afterwards to stroke him, which some did think was never forgotten by him."

In our Appendix to the present volume will be found the Articles between General Owen O'Neill and Colonel Monk; O'Neill's Propositions

[1] Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, 1649-50, preserved in the State Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office. Edited by M. A. Green. London: 1875.

[2] "Memorials of the English Affairs." London: 1732, p. 419.

to the English Parliament; Monk's official statement of his reasons for concluding a cessation for three months with O'Neill; and Monk's letters to O'Neill and to Oliver Cromwell.[1]

Some details in reference to Cromwell's appointment may be here mentioned. The Council of State at London, on the 15th of March, 1649, recommended that Lieutenant-General Cromwell should be commander of the troops for Ireland, and for their pay, twenty thousand pounds per month were allocated by ordinance. Sir William Armyne reported to Parliament, on the 29th of the same month, that the Council of State had nominated Lieutenant-General Cromwell to be commander-in-chief of the forces for Ireland, and that he had declared his willingness to go if sufficiently provided. The appointment was approved of by the House on the following day, and Cromwell's draft patent was reported on the 20th of June. An order was made by Parliament that Cromwell, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, should be allowed, from date of his patent, ten pounds a day as General of the forces of Ireland, during his continuance in England, and that from the time of his arrival in Ireland he should receive, as General of the forces there, two thousand pounds per quarter, which was not to be understood as forming part of his salary as Lord Lieutenant. A sum of three thousand pounds was advanced to him for his transport and provisions. One hundred thousand pounds were also to be immediately provided for the pay of the soldiers going to Ireland. Cromwell's entire annual salary in connection with Ireland would appear to have been £13,000, representing about £45,000 at the present day—somewhat more than double the salary now paid to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.[2]

On the 14th of August, 1649, Cromwell landed with his forces at Dublin. Sir Charles Coote, on the same day, wrote as follows from Derry to the Council of State at London: "General Owen O'Neill, being

[1] Appendix, pages 216-221, 433, 434.
[2] Calendar of State Papers, 1649-50, by M. A. Green. London: Longmans, 1875.

sensible that the Parliament's interest in these parts was in danger of being wholly lost, and the forces under my command likely to be ruined and destroyed, in defence thereof, by a numerous party of English and Scots under [Montgomery] the Lord of Ards and other desperate enemies against the Parliament, was pleased freely to offer his assistance to our relief, which was accordingly accepted by me, upon the articles or conditions herein inclosed, which I purpose (God willing) inviolably to observe, till your Lordship's pleasure be known therein: And truly I," added Coote, "must ingeniously acknowledge that I have hitherto found General O'Neal and the army under his command very punctual and faithful in all their promises and engagements that they had made unto me; and I make no question but they will continue so unto the end."[1]

The Commons at London, on 24th August, 1649, resolved that their vote in the case of Colonel Monk be communicated to Sir Charles Coote as the resolution of their House, and a direction for him how to behave himself in the transaction between him and Owen O'Neill.

Early in August, intelligence had reached Ireland from Pembrokeshire that 8000 horse and 7000 foot were waiting there to embark under Cromwell and Ireton. A sum of eighty thousand pounds, in ready money, was also reported to be at the disposal of Cromwell. In reference to this, one of Ormonde's informants wrote: "I find that he hath some friends in Munster, and more he hopes to make with his money, which may work much, when it is known he hath it, among needy men."[2]

About this period, negociations appear to have been re-opened between Ormonde and Owen O'Neill. By letter from Trim, of the 12th of August, addressed to O'Neill, Ormonde undertook that all particulars should be promptly arranged to the full contentment and satisfaction of the Ulster General, on his submission to the King's government and authority. Some days later, Ormonde commissioned Sir Richard Barnewall and Sir Luke Fitz Gerald to conclude a treaty with O'Neill and his

[1] Appendix, p. 447. [2] Appendix, pp. 223, 226.

party on conditions which had been previously approved of. "We know," wrote Ormonde to O'Neill, "you are not ignorant of the late misfortune befallen His Majesty's army before Dublin, the landing of Cromwell with considerable supplies of men and other things in Dublin, and that now is the season of the year most proper in all respects for service, all which are motives inducing me to desire that in case you determine to adhere to what you have offered, as I nothing doubt but you will, you would without delay advance with your army towards these parts to be joined with the rest of His Majesty's forces, for the preservation of his interest, and whatever else of religion or freedom may be of value with our nation, and that you would give us an intimation of the time and place whither we may send unto you, our resolution being personally to confirm unto you the conditions formerly offered."[1]

In a letter on the same day, the 22nd of August, to Sir George Monro, O'Neill alluded to the "unthankful requital" he had several times experienced from the Council at Kilkenny, adding as follows: "God is a rightful judge, at whose hands I must expect justice therein. I desire you will suspend any censure or hard opinion of me concerning the premises until such time as you receive a true information of the matter on both sides. I am so unalterably constant and steadfast in my resolution and ways as that where my promise or parole is once really engaged, I [would] rather die a thousand times than one inch to decline or deviate from the same. What aspersion soever my masters [the Council] are pleased undeservedly to cast upon me will (I doubt not) in the end redound rather to their own discredit than any dishonor of mine, as the final effect of both our proceedings will publicly testify to the view of the world."[2]

The Bishop of Raphoe and Colonel Audley Mervyn were, on the 23rd of August, despatched from Drogheda by Ormonde to confer with Owen O'Neill, on "matters of importance to His Majesty's service." On the

[1] Appendix, xxii., p. 229. [2] Appendix, xxiii., ib.

same day, the defence and maintenance of Drogheda against Cromwell was resolved on by a Council of War, consisting of fifteen members, including Sir Arthur Aston, to whom the command of the town was entrusted. On the 27th of August, Ormonde "hastened" Daniel O'Neill to his uncle, Owen, with credentials in relation to his submission to the King's authority and the immediate prosecution of his service. After having mentioned to Daniel the "perpetual troubles" caused by want of supplies and money, Ormonde addressed him as follows in reference to the letter of credence:

"Now you have it, and know where to find General O'Neill, I am sure you will lose no time, since you very well apprehend that the delay of his assistance is as ruinous to our business as almost his continued enmity can be. I shall not use any arguments to him that may lessen his confidence in the Rebels, in case they should endeavour to persuade or further his submission to them, or neutrality in this war, for I take him to be one who very well understands the world, and can judge how little value they will set upon him in respect of the power they have in their hands, which they will take to be the only inducement of his compliance with them; on the other side, the consideration he may be of to the King is evident, and may justly challenge not only an exact performance of undertakings, but rewards suitable to his future merits."[1] Ormonde added that O'Neill might perhaps ascribe the renovation of the treaty to the supposed sinking condition of the Royal cause, but he averred that as no success would have led him to retract his former offers, so no adversity could force him to any act likely to be hurtful or dishonourable to the King.

Daniel O'Neill, by letter of the 28th of August, assured Ormonde that he would on the following day commence his journey from Trim, of which he was Governor. He gave an account of his efforts to meet the pressing wants of the officers and soldiers in that garrison, towards the maintenance of which little was to be expected from the "distracted country."

[1] Appendix, xxxiii., p. 237.

"At this instant," he wrote, "I am not able to pay some carpenters nor masons I have at work twenty shillings, unless I give it them out of six pounds I have for my journey."

On the 5th of September, Daniel O'Neill reached his uncle at Ballikelly, twelve miles eastward of Derry, and learned from him that he had already by letter intimated his intention to be with Ormonde in fifteen days. "In that resolution," wrote Daniel, "I found him firm at my coming, but very unable to perform, besides that Coote gives him all the delays he can, lest he should leave the country before he have more men; he is fallen so lame by a defluxion in his knee that he can neither ride nor endure to be carried on a horse litter; this misfortune has stayed him these four days from being as far as the Omy upon his way. This day he has a litter made for him; if to-morrow he has any manner of ease, he intends to march. Whether it be his sickness, or that he intends to oblige your Excellency the more, he has not talked anything as yet of his conditions; all his officers, to a very few, and those of the least consideration, are as passionate for his submission to his Majesty's service as Sir Luke FitzGerald would have them. The number of foot he hopes to bring your Excellency will be near six thousand, and about five hundred horse, truly not so contemptible for their number as some persuaded me they were; they are well horsed and armed, to a very few; as soon as I leave him a day or two upon his march, I intend to make all the haste I can to your Excellency."[1]

Sir Arthur Aston, the commander of Drogheda, was of an ancient English family, and had spent most of his time in foreign military employments. Returning to England with high reputation, at the commencement of the Civil War, he joined the Royalists, was appointed Colonel-General of Dragoons, and with them did great service in the left wing of the King's army at Edgehill in 1642. He was subsequently Commissary-General of horse, and commanded at Reading, in Berkshire,

[1] Appendix, li., p. 252.

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when it was besieged, in 1643, by the Earl of Essex, whom he thrice beat from the town. A wound in the head at Reading incapacitated Aston for a time, and through the Queen's influence he was afterwards made Governor of Oxford, but while there a horse accident necessitated the amputation of one of his legs, and his office was given by the King to Colonel Gage. Aston was said to have been the only Roman Catholic general officer in the army of Charles I., but we are told that "the Papists would not acknowledge him for a Papist." According to Lord Clarendon, who knew him personally, Aston "had the fortune to be very much esteemed where he was not known, and very much detested where he was, and he was too well known at Oxford to be beloved by any, which the King well understood, and was the more troubled, because, he said, the prejudice was universal, and with too much reason." Clarendon also observed that Aston was "a man of rough nature, and so given up to an immoderate love of money, that he cared not by what unrighteous ways he exacted it." When he went to serve the King in Ireland, he is said to have been accompanied by the "flower of the English veterans." Aston, no doubt, confidently expected that all the available Royalist forces in Ireland would be brought to his aid when he undertook to defend Drogheda against Cromwell and the army which the Parliament of England had furnished with large supplies of money, provisions, and heavy artillery. The position of Aston may be estimated from the information now brought to light for the first time from an official document drawn up at Drogheda two days before the approach of Cromwell.[1] From this we learn that the entire force of artillery in the town on the 30th of August, 1649, consisted of one master-gunner, two gunners, and three "gunners' mates." The garrison of Drogheda was composed of 320 horse and 2221 foot-soldiers. The horse were divided into five troops, commanded respectively by Major Butler, Captain Harpole, Sir John Dungan, Sir James Preston, Lieutenant-

[1] Appendix, pp. 496—500. For access to this, and other important documents, the Editor is indebted to the Marquis of Ormonde.

Colonel Dungan, Captains Plunket, Fleming, and Finglas. The foot, in four regiments, were under Colonel Byrne, Colonel Wall, Sir Edmund Verney, and Colonel Warren. The total weekly payments to the garrison at Drogheda, exclusive of extraordinary expenses, amounted to £654 12*s.* The rates of pay per week were as follows:

Horse: Major, £3 and £2 5*s.*; Captain, £2 10*s.*; Lieutenant, £1 4*s.*; Chaplain, £1 1*s.*; Cornet, 18*s.*; Corporals and Trumpeters, 9*s.*

Foot: Colonel, £4 10*s.*; Lieutenant-Colonel, £3; Major, £2 5*s.*; Captain, £1 10*s.*; Chaplain, 17*s.* 6*d.*; Lieutenant, 15*s.*; Quartermaster, 15*s.*; Surgeon and his Mate, 18*s.*; Ensign, 10*s.*; Sergeants and private soldiers, 3*s.* 6*d.*; Corporals and Drummers, 3*s.*

Artillery: Master Gunner, 10*s.*; Gunners and Carpenters, 8*s.*; Smiths, 6*s.* 8*d.*; Gunners' mates, 5*s.*

Some letters, very incorrectly written and partly in cypher, which at this juncture passed to Ormonde from Aston, are still preserved at Oxford, and will be found, with a fac-simile, in the Appendix to the present volume.

From this correspondence it would appear that Aston had not adequate funds to pay the weekly charges of the garrison, nor sufficient ammunition or supplies of food. He was also much embarrassed by the movements of Lady Wilmot,[1] Lord Blayney's daughters, and other ladies, his near relatives, then in Drogheda, whom he discovered to be in communication with Colonel Michael Jones and officers of the Parliamentary army at Dublin.

Aston represented these matters to Ormonde, and requested express commands to turn Lady Wilmot "and her malignant family" out of

[1] Lady Mary Wilmot, daughter of Sir Henry Colley of Castle Carberry, co. Kildare. Her first husband was Sir Garret Moore, Baron of Mellifont, co. Louth, who died in 1627, leaving, by her, seven sons and five daughters. She re-married with Sir Charles Wilmot, Viscount Wilmot of Athlone, and died in 1654. Francis Moore, referred to by Aston, was her sixth son. Her second son, Sir James Moore, of Ardee, married Lord Blayney's daughter, Jane, one of the ladies above mentioned. Henry Wilmot, the second Viscount of Athlone, was father of John Wilmot, the noted Earl of Rochester, who died in 1680.

the town; "for," he wrote, "though she be my grandmother, I shall make powder of her, if she play me such foul play. I humbly crave your Excellency's speedy commands herein, for they are dangerous company, as the case stands with me. . The Lord Blayney's daughters wrote two of the [intercepted] papers, and my Lady Wilmot herself the third. I have put my wife's uncle, Frank Moore, in arrest. . As for the ladies, I say nothing to them until I have your Excellency's positive orders how to proceed against them." Aston averred that "those female traitors" should not fare the better by reason of his family connection with some of them. "If the old lady," he continued, "were not so near in relation unto me as she is, I should have been very sparing of any ceremonious proceedings with her." "Just now," he added, "my wife is arrived, and just now I wish she were at Athlone."

Ormonde, in reply, assured Aston that the money which he had sent him was, "to a penny," all that he had; and, in reference to the "female spies," observed that women were addicted to make little factions, but that he did not apprehend much from this. He, however, was of opinion that just occasion for the restraint of Lady Wilmot had been given by the discovery of further correspondence between her and the enemy. But, in consideration and respect of her years and quality, he conceived it sufficient for Aston to have her confined at Lord Moore's house at Mellifont, near Drogheda, so as to debar her from occasions of giving further intelligence of that kind.

Aston was also troubled by intelligence that two friars, "who intended no good," had, on the 1st of September, come into Drogheda. "It may be," he wrote, "my fortune to light upon them, which if I do, upon my credit, we shall have a rubber worse than I had with my grandmother, who, with much ado, hath yielded yesternight to leave this place, and to go to Mellifont, but sore against her wishes and highly offended with me, who am very glad to be rid of her, upon any terms, with her dear son Frank."

In September, Cromwell commenced to approach Drogheda. On the night of the second of that month, a body of horse encamped about two miles from the town. "I was, this morning, myself," wrote Aston, "out with the horse very early abroad, but finding them too strong for me to deal withal, I returned, and have left Captain Finglas on the field, with orders not to engage but upon an advantage, but only with small parties, to discover their motions. . . Just now, I have news sent me that there are about five hundred horse of the Rebels drawing towards the ford at Oldbridge, which will compel our cattle into a narrow compass."

In a letter dated at Drogheda, "about two in the afternoon," on the same day, Aston apprized Ormonde that the enemy's army, or the greater part of it, had appeared. "Their foot," he wrote, "being convoyed by an overawing power of horse, hath taken all the advantageous places without the walls, insomuch that I am very confident this night they will make their batteries, the which (all places being so serviceable unto them) we can hardly prevent; in sum, I do believe they will suddenly use their utmost violence and force, and, with God's help, we will do our endeavours to resist them; the rest I leave to God and your Excellency's provident care. I have lost one Captain of Colonel Warren's regiment, who was slain with a musket shot. Major Butler hath lost two horses, the one of them shot under himself, the other a trooper's, a soldier or two wounded, and this is all hitherto that I can inform your Excellency of, but only that, both in life and death, I am, my Lord, your Excellency's most faithful and most humble servant."

On the 5th of September, "about 7 of the clock in the morning," Aston wrote to Ormonde: "Upon Sunday last, I writ unto your Excellency, giving you notice of the enemy's approaching before this town, and that day (being only horse) they possessed themselves of divers petty castles hereabouts. Upon Monday, their foot came up, some with small field-pieces. All that day and yesterday, they only played upon our men, and they at them with muskets. Yesterday, at a low water, they passed

over some horse and foot at the ford, near the town. Our horse and some foot sallied out to prevent them, and so pressed them that before the flood towards evening they retired again over the water. As yet they have not had any considerable force upon the other side of the water. . In the meantime, our provisions waste, and seeing that I got not any contributions out of the counties, I was forced to part with half of my corn, and a good part of the last money, immediately. My Colonels and other officers are very diligent, the soldiers very laborious." He hoped shortly, he added, to hear of Ormonde's march, with a gallant army, to relieve him.

Aston, on the 8th of September, reported that he had, with success, made another "strong sally," both with horse and foot, upon the enemy's camp. "But, indeed," he wrote, "I have not been in a place worse situated for sallies than this town is. Nevertheless, if I had but ammunition, they should have little rest. But my ammunition spends very fast. I have spent above four barrels each day, ever since Sunday, and now I must, against my will, be quiet. I beseech your Excellency, send me some more ammunition. . Provisions grow short; this day I have not a penny of money; some gallant men have lost their horses, and are now on foot. I beseech your Excellency to be mindful of them. If you could speedily assault the greater camp, and that I may have notice, I will, God willing, beat up these upon St. John's hill."

Aston continued his sallies with advantage; and, during the night of the 8th of September, a reinforcement of foot from Ormonde reached Drogheda, but letters between him and the Governor were intercepted. In reference to these letters, Aston, at nine in the forenoon of the 9th of September, wrote as follows to Ormonde:

"I informed your Excellency that my ammunition was far spent, each day having cost me since Sunday last four barrels, by keeping the enemy from working and with sallies. My provisions grow short, and not a penny of money. Moreover, I informed your Excellency that if

speedily you could assault the bigger camp, I, having notice, would, God willing, beat up the lesser with the aid of a few more horse. Good my Lord, some more ammunition and money or provisions. . This day the foe discharged three pieces towards the town, whereupon I conceived a summons would follow, but as yet none is come. I am, notwithstanding, credibly informed that Cromwell intends to set his rest upon it, and if my men will but fight it out, I hope he will get his rest."

On the 10th of September, "about seven of the clock at night," Aston wrote as follows to Ormonde: "This morning, about eight of the clock, I received the enclosed summons.[1] . Since this summons, I heard no answer but by the mouth of cannon, the which hath ever since, without intermission, played upon our walls and works. They have eight pieces of battery, the least thereof shoot twelve pounds, and one of thirty pounds bullet. They have made a very great breach near the church, and I am confident their resolutions are to gain it immediately by an assault. The soldiers say well, pray God they do well. I will assure your Excellency that there will be no want in me—but your Excellency's speedy help is much desired. I refer all things to your Excellency's provident care. Living I am, and dying I will end, your Excellency's most faithful and most obliged humble servant, Arthur Aston." In a postscript, Aston added, in reference to Ormonde's letters promising the advance of Colonel Trevor and Owen O'Neill: "I hear nothing, nor have not done, of Colonel Trevor. My ammunition decays apace, and I cannot help it."

This appears to have been the last letter of Aston. Soon after it was written, the assault commenced, and the garrison, notwithstanding the want of ammunition and artillery, made a brave defence against a force stated to have been thirteen thousand in number.

Cromwell, in his official letters, reported that the assault commenced about five in the evening of Tuesday, the 10th of September.

[1] Appendix, lxii., p. 260.

"The enemy," he wrote, "made a stout resistance, and near one thousand of our men being entered, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entered, beating the enemy from their defences. The enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left, where we entered; all which they were forced to quit; being thus entered, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives; those that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes. . I do not believe, neither do I hear, that any officer escaped with his life, save only one Lieutenant. . The enemy retreated, divers of them, into the Mill-Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft and strongly pallisadoed; the Governor, Sir Arthur Aston, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword; and, indeed, being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them possessed St. Peter's Church steeple, some the west gate, and others a round strong tower next the gate, called St. Sunday's. These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused; whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peter's Church to be fired. . The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, until their stomachs were come down, from one of the said towers; notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men; when they submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes; the soldiers in the other tower

were all spared, as to their lives only, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes."[1]

Cromwell represented to Speaker Lenthal that the severe course which he had pursued would tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, and that in this would be found satisfactory grounds for actions "which would otherwise cause remorse and regret."

The Marquis of Ormonde, in a letter at the time to Lord Byron, wrote as follows of Cromwell's proceedings at Drogheda:

"He continued his battery all Monday and Tuesday, till about four of the clock in the afternoon. Having made a breach which he judged assaultable, he assaulted it, and, being twice beaten off, the third time he carried it; all his officers and the soldiers promising quarter to such as would lay down their arms, and performing it, as long as any place held out, which encouraged others to yield. But when they had once all in their power, and feared no hurt that could be done them, then the word no quarter went round, and the soldiers were many of them forced against their wills to kill their prisoners. Sir Edmund Verney, Colonel Warren, Colonel Wall, and Colonel Byrne were all killed in cold blood, as was also the Governor, and, indeed, all the officers, except some few of least consideration, that escaped by miracle. The cruelty exercised there for five days, after the town was taken, would make as many several pictures of inhumanity as are to be found in the Book of Martyrs, or in the Relation of Amboyna."[2]

The author of the "Aphorismical Discovery" mentions Cromwell's army at Drogheda as numbering twelve thousand, "with a brave train of artillery;" but in an English contemporary account his forces are set down at about thirteen thousand.

The succinct notice of "the bloody tragedy at Drogheda," given in the "Aphorismical Discovery," is supported, in several points, by contemporary evidence. The statements in the text, relative to the taking of

[1] Appendix, lxx., p. 263. [2] Appendix, p. 271.

Drogheda in 1649, are illustrated in our Appendix by the letters of Cromwell, Hugh Peters, and the Marquis of Ormonde, together with the accounts of Lieutenant Edmund Ludlow, and Dr. George Bates.

Some circumstantial details in connection with the scenes here have been transmitted to us by the "Oxford Antiquary," Anthony Wood, whose brother, Thomas, served at Edgehill, and again at Drogheda, as a Captain in the Parliamentary army. In 1650, Captain Wood returned for a time to Oxford, and being then "often with his mother and brethren, he would," says Anthony, "tell them of the most terrible assaulting and storming of Drogheda, wherein he himself had been engaged. He told them that three thousand at least, besides some women and children, were, after the assailants had taken part, and afterwards all the town, put to the sword on the 11 and 12 of Sept. 1649, at which time Sir Arthur Aston, the Governor, had his brains beat out, and his body hacked to pieces. He told them, that when they were to make the way up to the lofts and galleries in the church, and up to the tower where the enemy had fled, each of the assailants would take up a child and use as a buckler of defence, when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brained. After," continues Wood, "they had killed all in the church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choicest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these, a most handsome virgin, arrayed in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneeled down to Thomas Wood with tears and prayers to save her life: And being struck with a profound pity, took her under his arm, went with her out of the church, with intentions to put her over the works to shift for herself; but a soldier, perceiving his intentions, he ran his sword through her. Whereupon Mr Wood, seeing her gasping, took away her money, jewels, etc. and flung her down over the works."[1]

The loss of Drogheda was by some ascribed to the non-compliance of

[1] Appendix, p. 275.

Owen O'Neill and his Ulster party with the overtures of Ormonde to combine their forces against Cromwell and the Parliamentarians. On the 28th August, 1649, Owen O'Neill had written to Ormonde: "As for my part, no man breathing is more grieved in mind at the continual disorders and misfortune of this unhappy nation, and would more congratulate and rejoice at its settlement than I. The undeserved abuses and intolerable wrongs heretofore offered me for my reality to the good of this kingdom and nation is (I believe) partly well known to your Excellency, the redresse whereof (no wonder) ought to be insisted upon by me, and carefully looked upon by your Excellency."

The condition of the Royalists in Ireland, at this juncture, is partly exhibited in the following hitherto unpublished letter, addressed to the Marquis of Ormonde by Lord Inchiquin, who gives also in it some particulars in connection with the then recent events at Drogheda:

May it pleas your Excellencie,

Livetenant Collonell Galbreth made such haste to com away from Trim that he left the two brass peeces behinde him. The draw-bridge and every parte of the Castle as well as ever it was, and a good parte of the towne unburnt, and he coming to mee (aboute 12 a clock that night your Excellencie departed from us) with this accompte, the blame whereof he layed upon those with him and the gunner (who undertooke to haue the gunns fitted for a march whylest he was aboute other business). I did imediatly send a partie of horss and foote to doe that which he shoulde haue don, butt they returned with an assureance that the Rebbells were possessed of the towne and that two men they sent to the gate to see how things stood was the one of them there taken, and the other lyke to be soe, his horss being killed with a shott though he escaped. They tould mee alsoe that they were informed by the countrie people that 2000 of Crumwell's horss were seene within four mile of the towne that evening, and confident they were that they were all then att Trime and the army following them. Wherevpon wee were induced to remoue hither the next morning, being the place of greater securitie untill the forces were all gott together. Marke Trevor sent two troopers with a letter to your Excellencie, intymateing Owen O'Neill's being at Castle Blany and his intencion to joyne with him; which being considered off by vs, I did (with the advice here) write unto him, that if he had not som assureance besides bare professions from Owen, and a probabillitie that by joyneing with him som considerable service might be don, he shoulde rather com upp to us untill the agreement were made with Owen, butt left him libertie to doe what he thought fitt

My Lord of Clanrickard's forces are now com upp to us; the inclosed letter will lett you see what theyr condicion is. They have subsistence onely till Munday, and then alsoe George Vane sayes his men's means will be out. The mony your Excellencie left was upwards of £300 short to pay the officers a week's means, and made upp the horss-mens pay allyke, there being many of the Munster horss com upp since the weeke before and Myles Reyly his regiment

wanting the whole forthnight, as did alsoe six troopes that were with Sir Robert Talbott at Drogheda; soe as all I could doe was to give them the mony betweene them, and upon a dividend thereof I thinke the officers haue butt two dayes pay; whereof they doe very much complayne, being, as they say, in very greate want.

Many men, and som officers, haue made theyr escapes out of Drogheda, among which Garrett Dungan is one, and is now at Tecraghan. Som off every regiment are com unto me. All conclude that noe man [had] quarter with Crumwell's leaue; that yett many were privatly saved by officers and souldiers; that the Governour was killed in the Mill Mounte, after quarter given by the officer that cam first there; that som of the towers were defended untill yesterday, quarter being denyed them; and that yesterday morneing the towers (wherein they were) were blowen upp. That Varny, Finglass, Warrin, and som other officers were aliue in the hands of som of Crumwell's officers 24 howers after the business was don, butt whether theyr lives were obtayned at Crumwell's hands or that they are yett liveing they cannot tell; that never men fought better then ours did, who maynetayned the breach untill the rebbells gott in with scaleing lathers in other places, and lett in the horss at the gates upon them; that there neuer was secin soe cruell a fight, our horss doeing beyond expectacion, and some few of them that dyed not fighting retreated over the bridg and gott out of the towne on the north side where these men com off, saw them chargeing through Crumwell's foote neare Sunday Gate, but whether they escaped his horss or noe they cannot tell. Livetenant Collonell Cavanagh is escaped to Mark Trevor, who is at Carrichmackross. I shoulde haue sent Mark's letter, had it not fallen downe as I was putting of it in my pockett and bein troden by a horss into the dirtt.

If your Excellencie be not now able to make good provision to keepe an army on foote till Allhollantyde, the kingdom will be lost to the most tyranicall Rebbells in the world, against whome it may be easily defended if the kingdom apply themselves as they may doe to theyr own preservacion.

Wee are lyke to be in very ill takeing, if mony be not with us by Tuesday night. I doe now heare that Crumwell has sent 2000 horss towards Dundalke, whether himselfe or the army followes, I canot tell. I am

Your Excellencie's most humble servant,
Inchiquin.

Castle Joarden, 15° Sept. 1649.
For his Excellencie, the Lord Livetenant Generall of Ireland.[1]

On the 19th of Sept., some days after the capture of Drogheda, Owen O'Neill again wrote to Ormonde, thanking him for his kind expressions, as also for the other manifold cares and favours with which his Excellency had hitherto sufficiently obliged him and his army. "I would," he continued, "have begun my march out of these parts long ere now, but for an unexpected fit of sickness I took in my knee, whereof I am not fully clear as yet; and withal that until now we made not an end of our accounts with Sir Charles Coote. However, to-morrow morning

[1] Papers of Lord Chancellor Clarendon, 1649, No. 124.—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

(God willing) I will begin my march upwards, and when we a-near them parts, your Excellency will hear further."

On the 24th September, O'Neill wrote to Ormonde: "I am heartily sorry that the presumption and pride of my ill wishers so far prevailed hitherto, as to hinder my co-operation with your Excellency in giving a real testimony of my fidelity to my King, country, and nation, by making timely use of my slender endeavours (though inconsiderable soever they be) for the prevention of the present sad accidents, whereat (I call God to witness) I grieve and condole as much as any man breathing. However, (I hope) matters may yet do well. I am now in my march with the army upwards, and will lose as little time as I can until I come to the county of Cavan, and from thence your Excellency will more at large hear."

Daniel O'Neill, on the following day, the 25th September, 1649, wrote as follows to Lord Inchiquin, President of Munster:

"Just now, I received your Lordship's of the 17th, with that to my uncle, whose unfortunate sickness hindered him with his army to be near you these ten days; his own letter tells you of his being upon his march, which I fear his indisposition will not give way to be so speedy as your occasion and his own desire would have it, for he is carried in a litter, which he indures but ill; he has much of your Lordship's apprehension for Tecroghan, yet would not have Cromwell fought with, but upon great advantages, for he believes our men are much out of heart, and that [the defending of] passes and the season must beat Cromwell more than any forces we can bring against him. It is very true that I think I am more happy in my last negociation than in any of my former, yet I take God to witness I have been no less zealous in all the rest. . . The army is this night at Omy; six days hence the General hopes to be in Westmeath; he hopes to march six thousand foot, besides what he leaves to assist the rising of the Scots again against Derry, whither is lately come nine hundred foote, [under] one Hunkes, I believe Sir Fulke's brother: I

hope his Excellency will find me more fortunate in my negociation than I have been in my dispatches to him, my first and my third being brought back from the county of Cavan to my uncle, which made me resolve not to write until the country understand of a better correspondence between his Excellency and this party."

Thomas Talbot, a Jesuit, arrived about this time in Ireland from France, as an agent from Charles II. Talbot, by Commission signed by Charles at St. Germain, on the 9th of September, was directed to repair speedily into Ireland to carry out the instructions given to him and to deliver letters from the King, but to be guided altogether by the Marquis of Ormonde. Much of this Commission had reference to General Owen O'Neill. Talbot was to assure him that the King intended, on his returning to his obedience, to confer upon him honors, rewards, and trusts in his service, and to confirm as his own all acts executed by Ormonde in favour of O'Neill. He was also to represent the King's beneficent intentions towards the principal persons of O'Neill's party and his other Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland, whom he was to enjoin to agree and unite, as distraction, danger and ruin were evidently threatened to their religion and nation. "For," continued the Commission, "as they cannot but know what resolutions have been formerly taken by the Rebels in England to root out their nation and religion, so they may be assured of the sad effects of that resolution if Cromwell should, by the advantage of their distractions, disunion, and disobedience to us, destroy our forces in that kingdom. We, being at this time advertised and assured that their intentions are as much to root out the nation and the Roman Catholic religion, yea, and O'Neill himself, as to deprive us of our just rights, power, and authority, in that kingdom, whatsoever overtures of seeming advantage they may for the present make to them, their intentions therein being the rather evident in that they have disavowed Monk in his late proceedings and treaty with General O'Neill; and if they shall now underhand make any new offers to treat with him, it is with design to

make use of him and his party to oppose our forces, which being once destroyed they will afterwards with ease destroy him and those that join with him."[1]

Talbot was to assure the King's Roman Catholic subjects and their clergy in Ireland that they might expect all fitting favours from him, and much more than they could hope for from "those false and faithless traitors, the Rebels of England."

Letters, signed by the King and entrusted to Talbot, were addressed to General Owen O'Neill, Lieutenant-General Ferrall, Colonel Philip O'Reilly, and Colonel Bryan O'Byrne.[2] In these letters the King appealed to them to return to their allegiance and thus contribute to the peace and settlement of the miserably distracted kingdom of Ireland, and to the security of their religion and nation, again invaded by the common enemies of both. He assured them that he would not fail to acknowledge suitably their good endeavours, and prayed them to place confidence in the bearer, Father Talbot, whom he had authorised to communicate with them. Daniel O'Neill, writing to Ormonde on the 28th of September, mentioned that his uncle, General O'Neill, would have been upon his march three weeks before that time, if an unfortunate sickness had not hindered him; but that, as soon as he had got some ease, he had begun his journey, "though in a very homely litter."

By a letter of the same date, Ormonde apprized Daniel O'Neill that he had expected long before then the arrival of his uncle with his army. He added as follows: "What his impediments are, whether in his health or in his will, is the subject of much discourse. I, for my part, cannot believe he wants a foresight of his own ruin, with his whole nation's, in the prevailing of the Rebels, however he may be otherwise promised in their name by some corrupted emissaries; and I cannot harbour so mean a thought of him, that he can be bought by any private advantage to be a looker on in the destruction of his country, whilst his appearing may

[1] Appendix lv., p. 255. [2] Appendix, 256-7.

preserve it. I beseech you, let us be put out of our pain concerning him, and let us know what may be hoped for. There are two Fathers employed to him from the King. One of them, Fr. Nugent, was sent with some authority from him, the Bishop of Clogher [Emer Mac Mahon], and [Lieutenant-General] Farrell, to the King and Queen. They have both directions to impart their negociations with you, and to be governed by you in them. Nugent pretends to much power with your uncle, and believes that till he [should] come, if he had stayed a year, nothing would be done: our King [Charles II.] is at Jersey, and his fleet ready to set to sea. If we were assured of your uncle, I should be more positive in my advice for his coming over [to Ireland] than I dare till then be."

On the same day, Ormonde apprized Owen O'Neill that, his Majesty having, in his letters by Father Talbot, invited him to concur in preserving the King's interest in Ireland "against the power of those rebels that designed the extirpation of that nation," he had thought it fit to accompany them with an assurance that he should not be wanting to represent his services in the best manner, and to procure a full accomplishment of the Royal intentions, which he knew to be favourable to him.

Father Talbot was instructed by Ormonde to repair to General Owen O'Neill and to deliver to him the Royal and Viceregal letters. In these negociations Charles II. and Ormonde employed also Father Francis Nugent, who, as already mentioned,[1] had been despatched to the Queen and her son with a letter of credence signed by Owen O'Neill, Bishop Mac Mahon, and General Ferrall. Nugent had now returned to Ireland with a Royal letter, directed to Ormonde, commanding him, "by all fair invitations," to draw General Owen O'Neill and his party to submit to their lawful sovereign. Nugent was officially instructed by Ormonde to intimate to Owen O'Neill that he, as Viceroy, was prepared, under the King's authority, to fulfil the conditions which, it was understood, would be accepted as satisfactory by the Ulster General. Those conditions

[1] Vol. i. pp. xl and 772.

included full liberty of conscience throughout the kingdom; and an undertaking that the post of Commander-in-chief under the King, and the title of an Earl, should be conferred on General O'Neill. Both Talbot and Nugent were instructed by Ormonde to be guided entirely in these affairs by the direction of Colonel Daniel O'Neill.

On the 6th of October, 1649, Daniel O'Neill communicated with Ormonde upon the negociations in progress between Bishop Mac Mahon and Torlogh O'Boyle, on behalf of Owen O'Neill, with the Viceregal Commissioners, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnwall. "Yesterday," wrote Daniel, "both the Bishop and I sent to my uncle to have his resolution upon what is in dispute: this night or to-morrow betimes we expect our messenger. I am confident he will not insist upon anything that will hinder an agreement, since the Bishop and Sir Nicholas Plunket have agreed upon an expedient about the excommunication which has so troubled that superstitious old uncle of mine in his sickness, that I could render him to no reason. This expedient has no relation to your Excellency or his Majesty more than your connivance at the clergy's meeting, for the satisfaction of tender consciences, as they say. I am the more confident that matters will soon be agreed upon, that my uncle, upon my parting with him, which was two days after the Bishop, gave me instructions not to insist either upon his having Carrickfergus or Enniskillen, nor of the generalship of Ulster, for he found they were not things fit for your Excellency to grant at this time. The Bishop is of that sense also, and has writ so much to the General. By this your Excellency sees that the delay complained of by your Excellency is occasioned by the sickness of my uncle and not in his will, which I believe real to serve his Majesty and your Excellency. He is still very ill, notwithstanding he marches in a litter, but slowly."

Early in October, Wexford was besieged by Cromwell, a contemporary official "perfect and particular relation" of whose proceedings there, together with his letter to Lenthal on the same subject, will be found in

our Appendix. A facsimile is also given of Cromwell's letter addressed to the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford, on the 11th of October, the day on which the town was captured.

The details on the subject of Wexford in the "Aphorismical Discovery" are brief. The author states that Cromwell marched through the town, "slaughtering all that came in his way, without exception of sex or person, age or condition."

Seven days after the capture of Wexford, we find Ormonde, by letter assuring Owen O'Neill that, besides the satisfaction he received in his conjunction with him, it was a great addition of contentment to him that he should have means of being better known to him, and of letting him see how great a value he set upon his person and advice in the weighty and perilous business he had in hand. "Let me also assure you," he added, "that it is my desire to contract a very real friendship with you, such as may engage me to make your interest and satisfaction my care as much as you can expect or is in my power."

The town of Ross was besieged by Cromwell on the 17th of October, 1649. Particulars of the negociations between him and the governor, Lucas Taaffe, are given in the Appendix.[1] In a letter to Taaffe, Cromwell wrote as follows: "For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any man's conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you mean a liberty to exercise the Mass, I judge it best to use plain dealing, and to let you know where the Parliament of England hath power, that will not be allowed of."

Articles for the surrender of Ross were signed on the 19th of October, while, according to Cromwell, his batteries still played and his men were drawn out in readiness to storm the town, Lieutenant-Colonel Ingoldsby having been by lot chosen to lead them. The contemporary official writer mentions that, after the Governor, Taaffe, had sent out four hostages to perfect the articles of surrender, the batteries ceased

[1] cii., p. 307.

playing, "and," he observes, "our intentions to storm the town were disappointed."

In our Appendix are papers, containing spirited proposals for attacking Cromwell's camp at Wexford, and for the recovery of Ross. The paper on the latter is accompanied by a sketch of the town, of which a facsimile will be found at p. 312.

During the early part of September, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnewall, commissioned by Ormonde, were in treaty in Ulster with Owen O'Neill and his party. O'Neill and his associates entertained conscientious objections to enter into terms with any of those of their own religion who had, they conceived, insulted the Pope, by their conduct towards his Nuncio, Rinuccini, and against whom the latter had issued an excommunication. Daniel O'Neill found his uncle inflexible on this point, which, he observed, "had troubled him much in his sickness." To remove the difficulty, Plunket and Barnewall signed an instrument, undertaking, on behalf of those of the Supreme Council and of the clergy who had differed from the Nuncio, that they would supplicate the Pope to free Ireland from the excommunication. The Commissioners also undertook that they and the clergy would write to the Nuncio, "in a loving and friendly manner, desiring that he would be pleased to forget all former passages, at which his Lordship took any offence, and that he would be pleased to be a patron and intercessor unto them with his Holiness in all occasions."[1] After the signature of this agreement, articles were concluded between Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barnwall on the part of Ormonde, and by Bishop Mac Mahon and Torlogh O'Boyle,[2] on behalf of O'Neill and the Ulster Party. Amongst the provisions in these Articles[3] were the following:

The Bishops, and Roman Catholic ecclesiastics in Ireland, including the

[1] Book iv., Chapter xiv., p. 53.

[2] Torlogh O'Boyle was a member of the Council of the Confederates. His sept, styled in Irish, *Ui Baoighill*, from their progenitor, *Baighell*, in the tenth century, were of the same stock with the O'Neills and O'Donels, and held large possessions in Tir Connell, now Donegal.

[3] Appendix, xcviii., p. 300.

adherents of Owen O'Neill, were to have the benefit of the late articles of peace concerning churches, church livings, and the free exercise of religion.

General Owen O'Neill was to have command of three thousand foot under eight Colonels, and eight hundred horse under the command of two Colonels, subject to the orders of the Viceroy. In case of O'Neill's death, or removal, the nobility and gentry of Ulster were to have power to name to the Viceroy another to command in his place. O'Neill and his party were to have the benefit of the articles of peace in matters concerning the demands touching the Plantations in Ulster, and all other advantages derivable under those articles. An Act of Oblivion was to be passed, to take effect from the 22nd of October, 1641. The Leinster forces, under the command of Colonel Brian Mac Phelim O'Byrne, were to be established as part of the army of the kingdom.

On the 1st November, Owen O'Neill, by letter, assured Ormonde that, with a willing heart and cheerful mind, he would comply with his Excellency's instructions, "were it not," he wrote, "for the unhappy infirmity by which I am now reduced to that condition as that, for the whole world, I cannot stir, or sit in my bed, but when I am helped or supported by others. Yet, these two days past, I begin to mend a little better than I was, so as I hope, by the help of God, soon to recover so far as that I shall be able to enjoy the happiness of kissing your Excellency's hand, which I long for more than any earthly comfort. The precipitation," he continued, "of fighting with Cromwell (his army being hitherto victorious), whereunto your Excellency is persuaded by many, is of a most dangerous consequence, for the loss of the few men you have (who in prosperity and adversity will faithfully stick to your Excellency) would produce no other effect than the loss of your Excellency and consequently of the whole kingdom; for if any disaster (God forbid) should now attend your army, your Excellency would questionless be soon after betrayed into the hands of Cromwell."[1]

[1] Appendix, cviii., p. 314.

On the same day—the first of November—Owen O'Neill addressed another communication to Ormonde. This, which appears to have been his last letter, commenced as follows: "Being now in my death-bed (without any great hope of my recovery) I call my Saviour to witness, that (as I hope for salvation) my resolution, ways, and intentions (from first to last in these unhappy wars) tended to no particular ambition or private interest of mine own, notwithstanding what was or may be thought of to the contrary, but truly and sincerely to the preservation of my religion, the advancement of his Majesty's service, and just liberties of this nation: whereof, and of my particular reality and willingness to serve your Excellency (above any other in this kingdom), I hope that God will permit me to give ample and sufficient testimony in the view of the world ere it be long. However, if in the interim God pleaseth to call me away, I do most seriously recommend to your Excellency's care my son and heir, Colonel Henry O'Neill: praying and desiring that your Excellency may be favourably pleased, not only to prescribe a present course that he may participate of the late Peace, but also of the benefit of such conditions, concessions, [and] creation, as his Majesty intended for me, and was assured for me by your Excellency in his Majesty's name, by an instrument bearing date at Kilkenny, the 29th of September last."[1]

A facsimile of the conclusion of this letter is given in our Appendix. The debilitated condition of the writer may be inferred from the style of the signature as compared with his earlier autograph reproduced on the same plate.

Owen O'Neill's political opponents did not hesitate to ascribe his delays in coming to terms with the King's party to his expectations of obtaining better conditions for himself from Cromwell and the Parliamentarians, and they alleged that in these matters he was influenced more by personal than by public considerations. His death, according to the "Aphorismical Discovery," took place on the 6th of November, 1649.

[1] Appendix, cix., p. 315.

The author's "Lamentation" for General Owen O'Neill occupies the seventeenth chapter of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery." "Alas," he writes, "what apology can I make for the commencement of the ensuing scene? What angel wit and dexter pen have I need of to present unto public view the moan of my groaning heart?" Don Eugenius, or Owen O'Neill, "a soldier since a boy, in the only martial academy of Christendom—Flanders—never drew his sword unto his dying day other than in Catholic religion's defence, as witness Bohemia, Sweland, Frizland, Holland, Norway, Denmark, and now Ireland. . By his death the enemy is grown strong and cruel, no city, fort, or town do oppose him, no church, monastery, or religious house inhabited, the militia discouraged, dishearted, and grown coward, none to show his face in the field, for now the enemy do not fear the naming of General Owen O'Neill, which not long before did sound like a thunder-bolt in his ears. This is it that I lament, the death of so well-deserving a man, in the whole kingdom the only stickler of both religion and nation, whose now want is the cause of all the woe and evil happening unto us, whose only name (if but like an echo uttered, and his corpse in a cradle or chariot carried) would keep life and breath in the decayed affairs of Ireland, and discourage the now victor-enemy. What," he continues, "will the poor northern people do now? . Your father, your General, your ruler, and your steerer, is now wanting! . Some, deeming God, in his Divine clemency, not to deal so strait with this poor nation, as to bereave them of this their only champion, rather the world being not worthy of so good a master-piece, lulled him asleep, snatched him away to some secret corner of the world (as another Elias) to keep him there for future better purposes; the ground of this surmise—that sleep and death are brothers, and therefore not easy to discern between both, other than by the effects. As long as he breathed life, we were to stand in possession of this land, or the best part thereof, now all whipped and snatched out of our hands."

That General Owen O'Neill's public acts were in accordance with the views of the more eminent of his own party may be inferred from the terms in which about a year after his death he was mentioned in the Declaration of the Congregation of the Roman Catholic clergy of Ulster, presided over by the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly. In that instrument he is referred to as "His Excellency, Owen O'Neill of happy memory, sometime General of the Catholic army of Ireland."

The author of a Latin epitaph on Owen O'Neill, preserved in Florence,[1] characterised him as

"——— ille ingens patriæ defensor O'Nellus,
Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, Marte, fide."

O'Neill's death was kept concealed for some days. Certain intelligence of it does not appear to have reached his confidential counsellor, Bishop Mac Mahon, at Kilkenny, till the 11th of November. On that day the Bishop apprized Ormonde that he might rest assured of the death of General Owen O'Neill, "which," he wrote, "for many reasons, I thought requisite to advertise your Excellency with much speed. I have not yet made use of the letter directed to the army, but now I send it by the bearer, Father Nicholas Bern, and I am of opinion that it is fit to deliver the same out of hand; but to deliver it, or not, your Excellency knows best, to whose judgment I submit my reasons for delivering the said letter timely, [which] I have entrusted with the bearer, who will acquaint your Excellency therewith. The Lord General's death here is known but to a few, who will keep it secret as long as may be, which I hold to be the best way for a time; and so I kiss your Excellency's hand."

On the same day the Roman Catholic Primate, the Bishops of Kilmore and Down and Connor, and four of the Ulster commanders, in compliance with an injunction from their late General, addressed a letter to Ormonde. In this they stated that Owen O'Neill's son and heir, Colonel Henry O'Neill, would have long before waited on him, were he not attending

[1] Appendix, 39, p. 463.

on his father's sickness; that he was then on his way to Ormonde, and that he would give information as to particulars of the will of his father, who, they wrote, was confident that his Excellency would have a fatherly care of his child. A facsimile of this letter will be found at page 317.

During the illness of General Owen O'Neill, the Ulster army was conducted by Lieutenant-General Richard Ferrall[1] and Major-General Hugh O'Neill. From a letter in the Appendix it would appear that Ormonde desired that Daniel O'Neill should be appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Ulster forces in succession to his deceased uncle. Daniel, however, advocated the claims of his own cousin, Major-General Hugh O'Neill. "I am of opinion," he wrote to Ormonde, "that it were not amiss in the first place to send him to this [Ulster] party if the Bishop [Mac Mahon] advise it; for besides that he is a man that knew best the ways Owen O'Neill took to manage these people, he is one that will not be unacceptable to the Scots, and certainly will do nothing contrary to your Excellency's command." In further reference to this subject, and to Bishop Mac Mahon's influence over his countrymen in Ulster, Daniel O'Neill, writing to the Viceroy, Ormonde, in January, 1649-50, observed:

"There are such animosities of counties and of families against one another, that nothing will be determined at any of their meetings unless the Bishop be there to moderate their follies. If your Excellency will not send him presently thither you may expect little good out of that province. I humbly beg of your Excellency not to believe it the effects of melancholy or despair that made me give your Excellency the last account I gave you of the north, or to be of opinion that Hugh is fitter for that service than myself. It was really my want of health, and the indisposition I found universally in the clergy to have me command those Ulster forces, which still obliges me to give your Excellency my opinion

[1] A facsimile of a letter of Lieutenant-General Ferrall is given at page 304. The list of his regiment will be found at page 505 of the present volume.

that you cannot employ any that will be more serviceable to your Excellency, or more acceptable to the Irish and Scots, than Hugh O'Neill."

At a general meeting held subsequently by the gentry of the province of Ulster, it was agreed that Bishop Mac Mahon should be appointed to the command, and this nomination was officially confirmed by Ormonde as Viceroy.

A brief report, dated at Clonmel, 30th of November, 1649, on the state of the King's army in Ireland and on the strength of Cromwell's forces, was transmitted to Charles II. from Ormonde by Mr. Seymour, of His Majesty's Bedchamber, who had been sent specially to Ireland for those particulars. This report, consisting of nine sections, will be found in the Appendix.[1] In it Ormonde refers to the great amount of treasure brought over and effectively used by Cromwell, while even a moderate sum of money was urgently wanted to encourage and support the King's army for a short time. He mentions that the winter was fairer than any within the memory of man; that Cromwell had begun to force contributions from the districts under his control; that his evident design was first to master the sea-coast, and then by degrees the inland towns and country; and that all Cromwell had gained could be recovered if he were disappointed in obtaining recruits and supplies from England. Ormonde also stated that on the conclusion of the treaty he had been joined by Owen O'Neill's army, consisting of a very considerable body of good foot, who, notwithstanding the death of their General, were very cheerful in the service and likely to prove yet more considerable.

In a letter from Cork, on the 19th of December, 1649, Cromwell gave Lenthal an account of his proceedings. It has been recently ascertained, through the investigations of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, that, in the copy of this letter printed by Parliamentary authority at London, various portions were omitted, with the object, probably, of presenting to the public in England a more favourable view of Cromwell's

[1] Appendix, p. 465.

progress in Ireland, than circumstances actually warranted. The letter, as well as the omitted portions, will be found in the Appendix to the present volume.

In these suppressed passages, Cromwell mentioned, in reference to the necessity of fresh supplies from England, that there was an aptness in England, from a current of successes, to suppose a work to have been completed, when the greater part still remained to be done; and that although he had brought under control "a great tract of land in longitude along the shore," yet it had but little depth into the country.

Cromwell referred to himself and his companions as "a crazy company," and observed that it was above him to speak of what England had lost by the recent death of his noble friend and companion in arms, Lieutenant-General Michael Jones, who had been cut off, at Dungarvan, by "a pestilent and contagious spotted fever."

Notwithstanding this public panegyric, we know that great distrust and enmity existed at this time between Jones and Cromwell and his son-in-law, Ireton. A strict surveillance was maintained by them over the movements of Jones, who, shortly before his death, was engaged in devising projects "to beat Cromwell out of Ireland." We are told that "one Mrs. Chaplain," daughter of the minister of Dungarvan, under the Cromwellians, and who lived in the house in which Jones died, "often said that it was confidently believed that Cromwell had found means to poison Jones."[1]

In March, 1649-50, the Castle of Gowran, near Kilkenny, after a considerable breach had been made by artillery, was surrendered to Cromwell. Its commander, Colonel Hammond, a Kentish man, together with the rest of the commissioned officers in the castle, with the exception of one, was shot, and the Roman Catholic chaplain was hanged.

Kilkenny was summoned to surrender by Cromwell on the 23rd March,

[1] The Ancient and Present State of the County and City of Waterford. By Charles Smith, M.D. 1774, p. 66.

1649-50; but Sir Walter Butler, Governor of the Castle, replied that he was resolved, by the power of God, to retain the city for his Majesty. In reply to a second overture from Cromwell, Sir Walter wrote—"I have such confidence in God to maintain this place, as I will not lose it upon such terms as you offer, but will sooner lose my life, and the lives of all that are here, rather than submit to such dishonourable conditions."

From Cromwell's official letter we learn that his batteries began to play on the 25th March, and that, after nearly a hundred shot, a breach was made. The soldiers, upon signal, fell upon the breach, but, having been beaten off, with the loss of their captain and some men, they ceased to contend for entrance there, deeming it too dangerous. Having obtained possession of the "Irish town," eight companies of foot were sent over the river to take the walled town on the other side. In attempting to pass the bridge and fire the gate, several of this party were killed, which was regarded as a "sore blow" by the commanders. After a second battery had been nearly completed, negociations were re-opened, "upon soldier-like conditions," for a treaty, which was concluded on the 27th of March, 1650.

In our Appendix will be found the correspondence which took place at Kilkenny between Cromwell and Sir Walter Butler, Governor of the Castle, and the Mayor, together with the articles of capitulation, as also Cromwell's communication to the House of Commons in London, and a notice of the siege by Dr. George Bates.

The "Aphorismical" author speaks favourably of Sir Walter Butler, and ascribes the surrender of Kilkenny to the conduct of the townsmen. They, however, in a petition to Charles II., referred as follows to these transactions:—

"Oliver Cromwell, with his forces, in the latter end of the year 1649, laid a strict siege to that city [Kilkenny], which enduring for six or seven days, and your petitioners having not sufficient forces to defend the same, nor hope of relief, by reason of the plague and great sickness then

raging in the said city, they, the petitioners, after suffering in a high degree all the extremities of the plague, fire, and sword, and four several storms in several parts of the city, which were repulsed, and after a great breach made in their walls by cannon shot of above fifty great bullets, all for standing for your Majesty's interest; at last, by direction or allowance of the Commander-in-Chief of your Majesty's forces in these parts to Sir Walter Butler, Baronet, then appointed and being Governor of the said city and Castle of Kilkenny, under the said Lord Marquis [o Ormonde], they yielded upon quarter given by the said usurper, the 27th day of March, 1650, for the Governor and soldiers' departure with bag and baggage, and for securing of petitioners in their lives, estates, and goods, from the violence of the soldiery, the petitioners having been forced to pay two thousand pounds sterling, and upwards, to the said usurper, for the making good of that quarter."

Cromwell, on the 26th of April, 1650, issued a declaration as to the conditions which he was prepared to grant to those of the Protestants in Ireland, under the jurisdiction of Ormonde, who would undertake to transport themselves "beyond the sea." These articles, extending to ten sections, are given in the Appendix,[1] together with particulars of the number of horses, swords, and pistols to be allowed by Cromwell to the officers, gentlemen, and clergymen, who would accept his terms.

Ormonde, it appears, from letters in the Appendix,[2] at this time indignantly rejected a passport brought to him from Cromwell by Michael Boyle, Dean of Lismore. In a letter to Cromwell, Ormonde wrote: "I had no intention to treat with you for a pass or any other thing. I have by this trumpeter returned you your paper, and for your unsought curtesy do assure you when you shall desire a pass from me, I shall not make use of it to corrupt any that commands under you."

Of the remarkable defence of Clonmel against Cromwell by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, an interesting account is given in the "Aphoris-

[1] Appendix, clxxxv-vi., pp. 393-96. [2] Appendix, cxcix., p. 406; cc., p. 407; cciv., p. 411.

mical Discovery." The author describes the difficult circumstances of O'Neill within the town, and appears not to have exaggerated the determination and courage displayed by him and the garrison. The "Aphorismical" writer speaks of the latter as "a handful of men," in comparison with the "multitude" of the horse and foot under Cromwell, who, as it appears from other sources, were supported also by heavy artillery. We read in the "Aphorismical" narrative that the siege continued during five months; that on one day the storming parties were beaten back three several times; and that, on the last attack, which was both "furious and hot," so many of those who first entered the breach were "massacred and butchered," that neither the threats of Cromwell, nor "the bloody sword" of inferior officers, was sufficient to keep their comrades from "turning tail to the assault," and they returned to the camp, "leaving Major-General O'Neill in the possession of a bloody wall."

Additional details, relative to the siege of Clonmel, are given in the contemporary letters and documents in our Appendix.[1] From these we learn that most of the foot soldiers in that garrison, under Hugh O'Neill, were Ulstermen, and that Cromwell lost there nearly two thousand five hundred men, with many officers. A letter of the period mentions that the Cromwellians encountered at Clonmel "the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland, and that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland."

The articles between Cromwell and the inhabitants of Clonmel were concluded on the 18th May, 1650. A military writer of the time states

[1] cci., p. 408; ccv., 411. See also, at p. 500, some hitherto unprinted memoranda, signed by Major-General Hugh O'Neill, in connection with the garrison of Clonmel, in 1649-50, together with a return of the muster of the Ulster horse and foot in that town. The foot, numbering about twelve hundred, were under the command of Colonel Torlogh O'Neill and Colonel Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly. The horse, comprising about fifty troopers, were commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Fennell and Captain Piers Butler. Appendix, p. 502.

that Cromwell lost at this siege and storm of Clonmel more than by all the towns he stormed and took in Ireland; and that he was there "as much vexed as ever he was, since he first put on a helmet against the King, for such a repulse he did not usually meet with." Another contemporary writer observed that Cromwell would have lost a great many more men at Clonmel, and gone at last without it, had not the people of Waterford unhappily failed to send the garrison ammunition, as they had promised.

The "Aphorismical" author mentions, that Cromwell "commended the Major [Hugh O'Neill] for a brave soldier, and accused his own retrograde fortune as not able to win one petty town perforce (after all his victories), or wrest it by fine force out of the hands of one single man (who properly was no more, compared unto his multitude), so long a time without relief."

On the 20th of May, 1650, a Declaration was issued at Charlemont by Bishop Mac Mahon, in conjunction with the nobility, gentry, and commanders of the Royalist forces in the province of Ulster. In this document, the Ulster leaders declared that they had been aspersed by statements that their intentions and actions tended to their own particular ends and private aims, rather than to the advancement or preservation of the King's interest, crown, or dignity, in Ireland. Those evil practices, they averred, could produce nothing but sad, "destractive," and lamentable effects, with a continuation of the mischiefs "perpetrated by the practice and policy of the upstarts of England," who at that time trampled "under foot, in misery, thraldom, and slavery, the nobility and gentry of that kingdom, by raising and exalting the basest abortive scums of England to the greatest height of power, honour, and command." They deplored the results of the evil practices of the Parliamentarians of England, in misleading and deluding the Scots of Ireland, and withdrawing them from the conjunction which the Royalists of Ulster had expected from them for the prosecution of the war on his Majesty's behalf.

The Ulster Declaration concluded as follows: "For the clearing and removal of all past misunderstanding and mischievous practice of that kind on our parts, and prevention of any the like jealousy and discord hereafter, we thought it necessary, and do accordingly declare and avow in the sight of the great God of heaven and the world, that our intention and resolution is (to the last man) to endeavour, with the loss of our lives, estates, and fortunes, the advancement and preservation of his Majesty's service and interest in this kingdom, and of all those whomsoever that prosecute his quarrel so far forth as we be not troubled in the free exercise of our religion; as we will no way hinder or trouble any person or persons of what nation or quality soever adhering to his Majesty, to exercise and embrace his or their own profession or religion. All which (with God's assistance) our actions shall ere long more expressly manifest in the view of the world. Finally, it is our intention that we shall make no distinction or difference between ourselves and so many of the Scottish or other nation whatsoever that now shall (as we invite them) with heart and hand join in his Majesty's service, or in any way freely contribute to or countenance the same, but as becometh brethren and fellow-subjects engaged in one quarrel for their true and lawful King."[1]

Cromwell embarked for England, at Youghal, on the 29th of May, 1650. On the 4th of June, he came to the House of Commons in London, where the Speaker, by order of the House, gave him their hearty thanks for "his great and faithful services unto the Parliament and Commonwealth."

On the 11th of June, Cromwell made a full relation to the Parliament of the whole state of the affairs of Ireland, as well in reference to the forces of the enemy, and the places still in their power, as to the Parliament's army and officers both in garrison and in the field.

On Cromwell's proceedings in Ireland the author of the "Aphorismical Discovery" observed: "Sure, though fortunate, [he] can little boast of

[1] Appendix, ccviii., p. 418.

his service in Ireland, as having all he had therein by the distraction and division of the nation, treachery, and faction of corrupt members, and Clonmel for want of ammunition, but here not opposed to any purpose since his arrival to Ireland." It may be added that Cromwell's operations were much facilitated by the measures successfully adopted to induce the English officers in Cork, and other Southern towns, to withdraw from their fealty to the Crown, and voluntarily to surrender the garrisons to the Cromwellians, who passed a special Act of Parliament to reward them for these services.

The documents in our present volume, in relation to Cromwell while in Ireland, form a more complete collection of contemporary information on that subject than has been hitherto accessible.

In the seventh and eighth chapters of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery," the author notices the debate which preceded the battle at Scarriffhollis,[1] near Letterkenny, in Donegal, in June, 1650, and the subsequent conflict which proved so disastrous to the Ulster army under Bishop Mac Mahon. Henry O'Neill, son of the late General, is represented to have argued against risking an encounter with the more numerous and better provided forces commanded by Sir Charles Coote. Bishop Mac Mahon urged the opposite view, in language which, we are told, so transported the Ulstermen beyond the limits of reason, that, "oblivious of all military advantage, or indifference of either ground or elements, putting themselves in a distracted posture of battle, where their horse could scarce relieve the foot—both wind and weather were not their friends—with these unparalleled inequalities and disproportioned advantage, both the foot began the skirmish on either side."

Henry O'Neill, who is stated to have been endowed by nature with every grace of mind and person, was, with other prisoners taken in this engagement, executed in July, 1650, at Londonderry. Sir Richard Cox, commenting, in 1689, on the variety and vicissitude of those times,

[1] Also written Skirfolas. In Gaelic, *Sgairbh sholais.*

observes, with reference to Henry O'Neill and his fellow-sufferers, whose heads were placed on the walls of Londonderry, that, within less than a year before, they had been in confederation with Sir Charles Coote, and had "raised the siege of that city, and were jovially merry at his table in the quality of friends."

In the "Aphorismical Discovery," the fate of these Ulster officers forms the subject of the author's "moan for the family of O'Neill," by the successive deaths of members of which "the martial theatre, Ulster, the only human support of the whole kingdom, was left derelict." "Though now," he writes, "this most noble family is overcome, vanquished, buried, and dead, through iniquity and perfidy, let none persuade himself that God, in His Divine wisdom and incomprehensible providence, will give way unto the annihilation of so worthy and well-meriting a stock, but rather resuscitate the withered and rotten bones of those true Israelites."

After the defeat at Scarriffhollis, Bishop Mac Mahon, with a small party, escaped on horseback, "going both day and night for twenty-four hours, without meat, drink, or rest." Information on his movements having been conveyed to the Governor of Enniskillen, a party of horse was despatched from that garrison to capture him and his companions. The party, according to Lord Clarendon, was too strong for the Bishop, who, however, "defended himself with notable courage; but, after he had received many wounds, he was forced to become prisoner, upon promise first that he should have fair quarter, contrary to which Sir Charles Coote, as soon as he knew he was a prisoner, caused him to be hanged, with all the circumstances of contumely, reproach, and cruelty he could devise."

Lord Clarendon observed, as a remarkable circumstance in connexion with Bishop Mac Mahon, that "in less than a year after he had brought Owen O'Neill to relieve Sir Charles Coote in Derry (who must otherwise in a few days have delivered it up to the King), his army was defeated by the same Sir Charles Coote, and himself, after quarter and life

promised, executed by the positive order and command of him whom he had thus preserved."

Few details in connexion with Bishop Emer Mac Mahon[1] are to be found in the pages of the "Aphorismical Discovery," although we know from other sources that he was a principal counsellor and adviser of Owen O'Neill and the Ulster party. From documents at Rome we learn that he was a member of a chief family of one of the old Ulster septs, and a native of Farney, in the county of Monaghan, where he was born about the year 1600. He studied at Douai, was subsequently head of the Irish College at Louvain, and, returning to Ireland, was appointed Vicar-Apostolic of the diocese of Clogher in Tyrone. He entered actively into the organizations in Ireland which produced the movement of 1641, in which many of his kindred were engaged; he was also in close communication with Owen O'Neill and his countrymen on the Continent. The Archbishop of Armagh, and the Bishops of Meath and Kilmore, having borne testimony of the great merit, integrity, and religious zeal of Emer Mac Mahon, he was, in 1642, at the instance of Cardinal Barberini, appointed to the see of Down and Connor, described as being then in a deplorably impoverished condition. As Bishop-elect, he took part in and signed the acts of the Irish Congregation at Kilkenny in May, 1642. In the following year Bishop Mac Mahon was translated to the see of Clogher, in compliance with a petition from the Supreme Council of the Irish Confederates. They represented that his residence in the remote diocese of Down and Connor deprived them of his services, which were of high value to their deliberations.

Rinuccini, who had frequent intercourse with Mac Mahon, described him as of more resolution and spirit than some of the older bishops, but

[1] Emer, Emhear or Eibhear, was, according to old Gaelic legends, a son of Milesius, the progenitor of the native Irish kings. The name of Emer appears to have been in use among chief members of the sept of Mac Mahon in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. For a list of the Mac Mahons of the county of Monaghan in revolt in 1642, see vol. i., Appendix liii. p. 461, and "History of the County of Monaghan," by E. P. Shirley, F.S.A. London: Pickering, 1880.

entirely influenced by political rules and motives. In 1647, Mac Mahon addressed a memorial to the Pope, advocating the promotion of Rinuccini to the Cardinalate, in recognition of his great services and exertions in Ireland, with which he stated himself to be personally conversant. Queen Henrietta Maria's chaplain, George Leyburn, the English Jesuit, who was well acquainted with Mac Mahon, says he was esteemed as one of the ablest men of the Irish nation. He mentions that, on one occasion, the Bishop acted as interpreter between him and Rinuccini. Leyburn considered that Owen O'Neill and Mac Mahon would incur any hazard rather than coalesce with the Marquis of Ormonde; and, according to the Jesuit's observation, the Bishop of Clogher was better able to hide his thoughts than the Nuncio.

The Assembly at Kilkenny nominated Bishop Mac Mahon, in 1647, as one of their three delegates to France. He, however, suspecting their motives, peremptorily refused to comply with the vote. He is stated to have alleged that he spoke neither English nor French, and that he was obnoxious to the Queen, as a promoter of the movement in Ireland and an opponent of the Peace of 1646. He also alleged that he had apprehensions of the results of threats uttered against him by the Queen's advisers, Lords Jermyn and Digby.

The differences which arose, in 1647-8, between the Supreme Council and Owen O'Neill and Bishop Mac Mahon, have been noticed in the first volume of the present work.

That the exertions of Bishop Mac Mahon, after the death of Owen O'Neill, were appreciated by the King and his advisers, would appear from the following hitherto unpublished document:

"CHARLES REX.

"Right trusty and right intirely beloved cousin and councellor, wee greete you well. Having understood from you, how effectually and succesfully the Bishop of Clog[h]er hath endeavoured to bring the Vlster army to our obedience, wee cannot but judge it the most acceptable, as it was the most seasonable service that could be performed to us; and we accordingly authorize you to assure him of our very gratious acceptation thereof, and that We are resolved to encourage his good affection, by all due fauours both to himselfe and his friends; intreating him to

make use of his interest as well in the army and province of Munster, as amongst our Roman Catholique subjects of Ireland, to preserve them in union and obedience to vs, and you, our Lieutenant, as the only meanes of their preservation against the English rebells, and we are confident, by the blessing of God, to procure such assistances and supplies for you, as may enable you in some measure to support our army, and to resist the power of the rebells.

Given at our Court in Jersey, the $\frac{18}{28}$ day of February, $16\frac{49}{50}$ in the second yeare of our reigne.

"To our right trusty and right intirely beloved cousin and councellor, James, Marquis of Ormond, our Lieutenant-General of the kingdome of Ireland."[1]

Bishop Mac Mahon's election to the post of General will not appear extraordinary, when it is remembered that Jones, the Protestant Bishop of the same see, was Scout-Master General to the Parliamentarian army, and that John Lesley, the Scottish Bishop of Raphoe, and subsequently of Clogher, also distinguished himself as a military leader in those wars.

Bishop Mac Mahon, writing in April, 1650, to Sir George Monro, the Scottish commander in Ulster, referred as follows to his own military position: "As for the election made of me by the gentry of this province, I gain nothing by it but troubles. I was never ambitious for it. If your countrymen be generally jealous for it, or if it staggers or hinders them a jot from his Majesty's service, I beg that you will intimate so much unto me, and I do promise, if that may be any way satisfactory, that I will resign my place to the electors again, and to my Lord Lieutenant's hands, and move them to elect some one else, although, as I was informed by a sure hand, that election was first moved by yourself, and some other persons of quality of your nation. I will so far frustrate the expectation of such jealous people, that I shall be as great a maintainer of his Majesty's Protestant subjects serving the King, and the Scots siding with the party whereof I am, as I shall be of the Irish Roman Catholics."

The "Aphorismical" author, while acknowledging the learning and "natural good wit" of Bishop Mac Mahon, considered him as quite unsuited for the post of General. He was unanimously elected, we are told, with the object of "cutting off all motives of jealousy and emulation, and for the settling of unquiet and aspiring minds."

[1] Carte Papers, vol. xxix. p. 181.—Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The Bishop's letters in English and Latin, published in the present work for the first time, indicate his energetic character, and show that he faithfully endeavoured to carry out the duties which he undertook. Of one of his letters a fac-simile is given at page 472.

In our Appendix will be found various communications between Ormonde and Bishop Mac Mahon, as well as the commission by which the former, in the King's name, appointed him to be General of all his Majesty's forces of horse and foot of the province of Ulster, natives of the kingdom of Ireland. Ormonde is said to have gained the entire confidence of Mac Mahon, by his conversations with him, which were carried on by the Viceroy in English and by the Bishop in Irish.

The Roman Catholic see of Clogher remained without a Bishop during twenty-one years after the execution of Bishop Mac Mahon. The Pope then appointed Patrick Duffy to Clogher, on the recommendation of the Duke of Medina and the Spanish Ambassador, and in compliance with a memorial from the clergy of the diocese, in which they desired him for their Bishop, not only on account of his virtues, but also because he was nephew of Emer Mac Mahon, the last prelate of that see. Bishop Emer, they wrote, "was a man of great talent and zeal for the faith and for his country, in defence of which he was killed by the heretics when he was General of the Catholic army in the time of Cromwell."

In connection with Bishop Emer Mac Mahon it may be mentioned that in the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland in the first half of the last century, the see of Clogher and the Primacy of all Ireland were successively occupied by three prelates of his name and kindred—Hugh Mac Mahon, Bernard Mac Mahon, and Ross Mac Mahon.

Dr. Owen O'Shiel, physician to General Owen O'Neill, is mentioned in the "Aphorismical Discovery," among those who fell in the engagement at Scarriffhollis. The notice of the medical career of O'Shiel forms an interesting episode; but our author omits to mention that in the Irish family of O'Siadhail or O'Shiel, the profession of medicine had been

hereditary. Medical and botanical treatises, composed by the O'Shiels, are still extant among the remains of old native Irish learning.

The defeat at Scarriffhollis does not appear to have reduced the Ulster party to the very prostrate condition depicted in the "Aphorismical Discovery." In a letter written soon afterwards, O'Reilly, Archbishop of Armagh, with some of the northern commanders, assured Ormonde that, notwithstanding the late disaster, they doubted not, by God's help, and his Excellency's assistance, to appear shortly considerable in the field for the advantage of the King's service. The defeat at Scarriffhollis was, in a few days, followed by the surrender of Tecroghan, in Meath, with reference to the maintainance and defence of which several details are given in the "Aphorismical Discovery."

Tecroghan was the seat of Sir Luke FitzGerald, whose daughter had married Owen O'Neill's son, Henry Roe O'Neill. The Castle, regarded as one of the most advantageous places in Leinster, is described as having strong ramparts, turrets, and huge ditches. It is stated to have been bravely defended by Lady FitzGerald. She, according to the "Aphorismical" author, was much misled by her confidence in her relative, Sir Robert Talbot, whom Ormonde had appointed Governor of the place, which, we are told, was very important at this period, "for the behoof of the whole kingdom."

The "Aphorismical" author notices circumstances connected with the surrender of Tecroghan, but does not furnish either the date or the articles of capitulation. In our Appendix will be found the articles under which Tecroghan was surrendered to Colonel John Reynolds, for the use of the Parliament of England, by Sir Robert Talbot, on the 25th of June, 1650.

In the twelfth chapter of the fourth book of the "Aphorismical Discovery" is given the Declaration or Protest of the Irish Clergy at Jamestown, in August, 1650, against the continuance of the King's authority in the person of the Marquis of Ormonde, on several grounds, including alleged misgovernment and ill management of the army. Our

author, however, does not refer to the Declaration made a few days subsequently in Scotland by Charles II., disavowing the Peace which Ormonde had concluded with the Irish in 1648. Ormonde controverted and repudiated the charges brought against him in the Declaration at Jamestown, and on quitting Ireland, in December of the same year, he committed the King's interests there to the Marquis of Clanricarde, who undertook to act as Lord Deputy.

On the disintegration of Ormonde's party, Daniel O'Neill obtained permission from Ireton to transport five thousand men from Ireland for service in Spain or Holland. O'Neill made a relation in person of the affairs of Ireland to Charles II. in Scotland, and detailed his proceedings, in letters to the Marchioness of Ormonde from the Hague, in October and November, 1650.[1] The King, he wrote, had assured him that he believed the Marquis to be a man wedded to his interests as a father and a friend. In his propositions to the Spanish Ambassador, relative to the soldiers whom he contemplated bringing from Ireland to Spain, O'Neill stipulated that the King of Spain should intercede and use his utmost endeavours with the governors of England and Ireland for the restoration and security of the estates and fortunes of all such of the Irish nation as should come, under his command, to serve that Monarch.

In reference to Ormonde's future movements after his retirement from Ireland, Daniel O'Neill wrote to the Marchioness: "I'll not presume to give my opinion which is the best condition for his Lordship: that of France has the more glorious face, and some think this of Spain the more certain."

Of the hitherto little known transactions with Charles, Duke of Lorraine, in relation to Ireland, I hope to treat in a separate work. The statements in the "Aphorismical Discovery" which refer to the Irish negociation with that Duke, and to the administration of Clanricarde, throw some new light on the views of the surviving and persevering

[1] Appendix, pp. 492-95.

leaders of the native Royalists in Ireland, and on the causes of their non-combination with Lord Deputy Clanricarde and his associates. The allegations in the declarations of the Irish at Lochuachtair (Cloghwater), in July, 1651, in the present work, are of special value as expository of their sentiments and of the grounds upon which they based their proceedings.

In illustration of the latter portions of the "Aphorismical Discovery" contained in the present volume, further documents, in sequence to those here published, will be given in the next volume of this work.

JOHN T. GILBERT.

Villa Nova, Blackrock,
Dublin,
1st March, 1880.

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APHORISMICAL DISCOVERY

OF

TREASONABLE FACTION.

FOURTH BOOKE OF APHORISMICALL DISCOVERY OF TREASONABLE FACTION. 1649.

CHAPTER I.

As poyson is of such force that it corrupteth both bloud and spirit, besiedginge, seizinge and infectinge the heart with the venemous contagion therof, quit alteringe the complection and disposition of the man that hath drunke it: soe the pestiferous desire of soveraigntie, though it cease on a minde of milde and mansuete disposition, yett it is of such forcible operation as it not only altereth man's nature, but maketh man unnaturall. 493. Cicero. Seneca. Liv. l. 28. Salust. Jug. Maph. Supp in Virg.

"Heu dulce venenum—Et mundi lethalis honos."

It is high time now wee speake a litle of clergie faction, while wee leave Ormonde busie in aplottinge a vaste summ of money to make up a greate armie. I made mention, no. 337, of Fr. Redmond Caron, Lector of Divinitie in the Irish Colledge and Fryerie of Lovaine, reputed there a good religious and a learned man; he was apointed Comissarie Visitator and Judge of the Franciscan Fryers of Ireland, by the Comissary Generall of Flanders, Marchant, contrarie to the lawes and statuts of that province, in such a busines behalfe, havinge, in theire proper intermedium-chapter, confirmed, by severall generall chapters of the whole order, the presentinge of foure religious fathers to the Comissarie Generall, for the time beinge, of whom must of necessitie (standinge to the said use, statuts, and custome) nominate one, this statute is putt in due execution upwarde now of forty yeares; Marchant, in disrespecte of all that is thought legall and religious in this said province, assignes Father Caron, aforesaid, by faction pretended, by bribes assented unto, and by corruption authorized, more then any such of his ranke may be, nay more then himself might lawfully doe, if in person extant. 1649. The contrarieties in Carons power. Statut of the order.

Caron now arrived to Kilkeny was receaued by both Ormond and faction, with many gratulations and kinde intertainments, to shewe his power and the preheminencie of his legislator, had his patent to be both Comissarie Visitator, Judge, and Executor Mandatorum, a thinge hitherto never hearde off: that a sentence did issue against any partie by the bare intimation of his adversarie, the partie himself never heard or questioned, what judgment Marchant did conceave against the Provinciall and other regular members of the province of Ireland, by the onely misinformation of a fewe withered and apostat members of the same order, with the dayly infusion of some malignant, factious, lay parte of the late Supreame Councell, the parties neuer heard, as aforesaid, this must Caron putt in execution; execution presuposeth a sentence, a legall sentence canot be without both parties 494. Caron in Kilkeny.

1649. Strange proceedinges, but accordinge the times.

be hearde, this later wantinge, the former must halte; therfore the patent in that behalf voide, notwithstandinge began to put his said extraordinarie power in practice, without apeeringe before the Diffinitorie (which is the Supreame Councell of the Order and Province), by whose admission may be authorised, and not otherwise, surrendringe him, for the usinge of such his incumbencie, for six monthes onely to continue) the litle seale, that the Provinciall useth for homely matters, as for the greate seale he keeps still in his owne custodie duringe his time of trienniall goverment, to be given onely to the newe elected Provinciall. But this Comissarie Caron, disrespectinge all those religious ceremonies warrantable by lawe and statute, contrarie to regular institution, intringe not by the doore (as a pastor should doe), but as a theefe, elsewheare, made both greate and smale seales for himself, conterfeitinge those of the province (which the very Generall of the Order could not lawfully doe, se solo, by vertue wherof managed all by martiall and civill sworde rather then any spirituall power, displaced guardians, abbasses of nunries, nay the very Provinciall he deposed (quantum in se erat), all which extravagant to his power, or any such of his ranke, whose discussion I leaue and referr (as prolixe in this place) to its genuine authors, members of the same Order, to vendicat, onely will touche here in this our treatie such things of it as conduceth to our intent, the discouerie of faction: By the way of obsearvation you may note, the uncredible metamorphosios of this Father Caron, beinge as formerly in the predicament of religious and learned man, but noe sooner did treade upon Kilkeny grounde, and conferred to those abusers of loyaltie, but was soe traduced by the exhaustinge of that factionall and contagious poyson, that his hearte was seized and infected with the uncurable venome therof, that it quit altered his complexion and disposition, corrupted his bloude and spirit, that insteede of mansuete and milde, is by the pestiferous desire of authoritie become sottish, heath[en]ize[d] and false, perverse and irregular, it beinge of such forcible operation, that it transverted his nature, to be to both countrie and religion unnaturall, whom wee leaue for a while, plottinge all mischiefe against his conscience and Order, and speake a litle of Peter Walshe and his queres, as best suitinge here.

The duration Comissarie Visitator.

Joan. 10.

The extraordinary change of Caron.

495. You remember wee spoke of Fr. Walshes queres, no. 472, and what character wee give him there, to whose confirmation you may add Fr. John Ponce, Lector Jubelatus of Divinitie, a member of the same order, his letter, in answere unto another of the said Walsh sent unto him, the date wherof is in October last, but arrived about this time, I meane the last of February followinge, the author herof writes another letter unto Fr. Thomas Fleminge, Archbishope of Dublin, and the former in this inclosed, whose tenor is as followeth:

Father John Ponce, his letter to the Archbishope of Dublin.

By a letter sent me by Father Peter Walsh, I am enformed that your Grace hath wholy withdrawen himself from the Councell, in theire controversie with the Nuncio, wherof the said Father complaineth much in his letters, which have beene exceedinge gratfull to me, and wilbe, I am sure, to all your fathers of Rome, whoe have beene extreame sorrie, when wee understoode, you not onely signed the Cessation, but sided afterwarde with the Councell against the Nuncio for it; I sende your Grace the inclosed, in answeare of mine to Fa. Walsh his letter, which if you

think fitt to send him, please to doe it; if not, dispose otherwise of it. It is my honor to be censere, and accordingly I have expressed into him my minde, as I have don by worde of mouth to Father Rowe, the Carmilitt Provinciall, whoe I am sure will not prevayle against the Nuncio in Rome, notwithstandinge as many false groundes as he will propounde into them, for the justification of what the Councell soe unhapily concluded, and indeede in such a manner, that though, it may be, they proceeded really, yett any one that knowe not theire designes may verie well, without any rashnesse, suspeect theire proceedings, and feare they intended some harme to Catholicke religion and good of the countrie. Would to God they did well consider, that the Nuncio opposinge himself could not want in soe Catholicke a countrie soe many as would stande for him, that necessarily they will bringe themselves and the contrie to these miserable distractions, but I beleeve they thought things once concluded he would not withstande, and he likewise presumed of theire obedience to the churche, they would not adhere after his censures to what they had indeede rashly and prejudiciously (if I be not deceaved) agreed upon, soe that amonge them all the poore kingdome is in hazarde to be quitt undon. However, your Grace hath behaved yourself as become such a prelate, I pray the almightie to continue his asistance allwaies to that end, and give him longe life to the profitt of that kingdome, honor of his Order, and comforte of his friends and servants, amonge whom I hope he will giue him leaue to ranke himself that will allwaies remain 1649.

Your Grace, his worthlesse disciple and chaplaine,

Fr. John Ponce.

Paris, 25 Octobris, 1648.

For the Archbishope of Dublin, Fr. Thomas Flemingc.

For the Revd. Father, Fr. Peter Walsh: 496.

Reverend Father,

My honored freinde, Father James Thalbott, delivered me your Reverence's letter and a booke yesterdaie, and after perusinge of both as I perceaved the good tallent and facultie which God had bestowed upon your Reverence, particularly of declaringe your minde in a good, cleere, and not affectedly eloquent maner, soe would I with all my hearte, for the loue I owe to God and to my countrie, and allso to my Order and yourself, of whom I have had many good relations, that had beene pleased to imploy it, better in a more worthy and profitable subjecte for then, beside that it would bringe fourth better fruite, I thinke God would asiste you as that you should not comitt soe manifest an error, as it seems unto me you have in that your booke, in the fatheringe therof upon soe learned a prelate as the Bishope of Ossory, I would thinke him notably wronged, which censure of mine that you may see not to be rashly giuen, for without sufficient ground, I would haue you onely consider the verie first quere with the answere therto, wheron dependeth all the rest of the discourse, and consequently, if faylinge, the rest may haue noe subsistance. And if I be not wholy deceaved in

Answeare of the said author to Father Peter Walshs queres.

1649. all the whole discourse, you doe not answeare at all to the queres, for you doe not with any maner of reason shewe that the articles of Cessation with Insichuyne are not against Catholicke religion, for a sufficient grounde of excomunication, which is what was inquired, and what principally belonged to any one, that would justifie the Councells proceedings against the Nuncio, and the unhapie (if not the enfamous) Cessation made with that unnaturall enemie of God, kinge and countrie; but the most parte of the discourse is bestowed upon the proofe of a truth, not denied euer by the Nuncio or any of his, and consequently most unnecessarie to be treated of in such a serious occasion, even like those whoe havinge to prove, for the mantainingo of some of theire positions, a discourse wherof the maior is certaine, the minor, either false or doubtfull, fill up many lines in proofe of the maior, with as many citations and reasons as they can either themselues thinke upon, or collect of others, and when they come to the minor, where the difficultie is, easily passe it over, with some weake grounds of noe substance, for the pretended effecte of provinge theire position. I haue seene myself, not longe since, a discourse sent from Irelande, not soe eloquently penned in Latin as yours is in English, but to my judgment much more solidly grounded, in which the verie first preambles were, that the controversie now in difficultie was not, whether a league or Cessation may be made for good ends with hereticks and Turks, that beingo by all graunted, but whether the cessation made in that time with Insichuyne was prejudicious unto the Catholicke religion and good of the countrie? which was not there soe amply proved for the affirmatiue partie, that I confesse I haue beene convenced to beleeve it, neither haue I in your discourse founde anythinge at all that seemed unto me to have as much as an outward probabilitie for the negatiue parte, wherfore I must confesse consequently that the Cessation made hath beene a sufficient grounde for Excomunication and other censures. And suposinge this, it followeth in the present case that the Apellation made hath not beene of any force to hinder the effecte of it, notwithstandinge yours and Doctor Fennells tedious discourse to the contrarie, in which, as in the other, you prove what was not to be doubted, that an Appellation (suposinge a probable cause) made in due time may hinder the effecte of an Excomunication, or at leaste suspende it, untill the cause were examined; but you doe not touche but most slaightly what euery meane casuiste canott be ignorant off, that it canot prevayle somtimes, particularly when the harme prevented by the excomunication may not be remedied, if the effecte of the Appellation be expected, and the censures, which are (as is suposed) the onely meanes to hinder them, suspended. These therfore are the two principall points that you should prove. First, that your cessation hath not beene prejudicious to the Catholicke religion, either in itself, or in the hinderance of greater increase of it.

Note well the nullitie of Walsh, his treatie.

497.

Secondly, that in case it were an Appellation made in time, that if it were admitted the benefitt lost by the Catholicke religion by it could not after be restored or recompenced, that I say, in such a case, yett it was valide and suspended the effects of the censures: neither of which, to what I see, haue either Doctor Fennell or yourself don, and consequently your discourse haue served onely to beguile those, that not reflectinge upon what you haue don, though you haue performed what you tooke in hande, and to side with them whoe opposed them-

selues to the Nuncio and the true jealouse prelats and Catholicks that adhered unto him. Now you must giue one leave to reflecte a litle upon some other parte of your letter, and particularlie upon the first in these your present distractions; noe aprobation of superiors is needfull of printinge bookes tendinge to the settle[ment] of the goverment: good Father, consider onely but the end for which such an aprobation hath beene ordained, I neede not specifie it, you canot your self be ignorant of it, and if you doe, I am sure you shall scarce euer finde out any circumstances of time or substance wherin it may be more necessarie then now in your owne present troubles, for the matter in controuersie is betweene the Popes Legat and soe many worthy prelats and other persons of greate request on the one side, and the Supreame Councell of a kingdome, with many others of eminent condition, of the other; and the subjecte of the controversie is of noe lesse consequence then such as the spirituall and temporall of the same kingdome dependeth on; wherfore I thinke greater care ought not to be had of not writtinge any thinge that may offende, or be prejudicious in any whatsoever occasion then in such a one, and consequently due aprobation is most necessarie. Secondly, you say you thinke it as meritorious acte to passe ouer unto Flanders without any licence in the self same circumstances of time, in which one ought not (as you say) stande upon puntillos: Is it, I pray, a puntillo for a religious to be an apostate? but I dare sweare there is noe superiour of your Order in the world whoe would not esteeme any that come soe, and for such pretences as you may haue really a most absolute Apostat. Pardon me, deere father, I say what I conceaue to a brother whom I loue, and a freinde whom I esteeme; I canot tell whether ever any generall heresie had such dispositions, preparinge the way before it, as I see now in that kingdome, though I verily thinke they doe not thinke soe themselues, whoe I beleeue are resolued to venture a thowsand liues for the maintenaunce of Catholicke religion. I will omitt what you say of the just imprisonment of your Provinciall and the unjuste chastisment of Father Valentine Browne and Father George Dillon, because he was against your side, and these for it. I passe ouer likewise your urginge a visitator with power to depriue your Provinciall and Diffinitors, and placinge others in theire places, men forsooth of vertuous life and solid doctrine, that is, whom you will judge to be such, and they must be measured accordinge theire inclination to the Councells proceedings against the Nuncio. I come to the third. I must not beleeve or relye upon any thinge my right honorable lord and master the Archbishope of Dublin writes unto me, because he is intoxicated with bad opinions. Good God! to whom then shall I giue credit? to you? O can such presumption inter unto your braine, that you thinke yourself worthier of beleefe then such a most eminent prelate in all respects in the world? Or can you thinke me to be soe simple or senselesse as to preferr your opinion before his? I protest before God, I thinke if any in Ireland be intoxicated in such wise it is yourself, or at leaste none (that I knowe) more then yourself, which (God is my wittnesse) I say not to offende you, but to the end you may reflecte upon yourself, and remember you are a fryer of the holy Order of the most holy Father S. Francis, whoe would preferr before all the dueties that which he could beare to his Holinesse, I am sure to his Legats; and beside that, you are too yonge to vade unto these

1649.

1649. graue matters in opposition to such greate persones as you deale, indeede with lesse respecte then may become a person of greater sufficiencie and authoritie.

498. I haue been about to make an end here, but it came to my mind to discourse a little more upon your answeare to the first queres for a greater confirmation of what I said before, concearninge what is onely there said to the purpose of justifiinge the Cessation is, first, that nothinge in the Articles is against religion, justice, good life, and that by the second and first speciall provision is made for the advanement of faith and vertue, through Insichuynes quarters, by free exercise of Catholicke religion, by possession of churches and churche livings, where Catholicks held them at the comenement of the treatie. Secondly, that there was greate necessitie then to conclude the Cessation, which you prove, because the power of the enemie was encreased in all parts of the kingdome, all parts and maritime places of consequence, beside fiue or six beinge in theire hands, neere two parts of the three of Ireland either in theire possession or under theire contribution, theire armies victorious, theire fleete givinge laws to us at sea, shuttinge up our hauens, two vaste kingdomes verie neere to backe them, and on the other side, the Confederats fallinge to such an ebb, &c. Good Father, why did not you consider when you made this discourse that it should come, not onely to the knowledge of simple people, that onely conceaue what is sett before them accordinge the exteriour shewe, without penetratinge unto the substance of it, but allsoe unto wise and learned men, such as knowe the state of Ireland as well, or rather much better, then yourself? If you did, I thinke you would be more warie of what you write. I graunte you that the enemies power hath beene soe stronge, and that of the Confederat Catholicks soe weake, and that consequently a Cessation or peace was necessarie; I graunte this, though I haue many solide doubts of the truth of it; but the question is, whether it was to be concluded with Insichuyne, after he forsooke the Parliament and declared himself for the kinge? when he had noe kingdome to back him, noe fleete at sea to helpe him, noe freinds within or without the kingdome to furnish him with any thinge necessarie for maintaininge warr any longe time, where after havinge shewen himself soe unnaturall to his countrimen a litle before, he incurred the hatred of all the true Catholicks of Ireland in such wise, that I am sure there is not any amonge them all whoe would not more willingly contribute to make up and maintain forces against him onely, then against all the English and Scotts in

499. Ireland. When My Lord Nuncio and Owen Oneylle (however the contrarie faction most ungratfully speakes of him and his armie, havinge at leaste thrice most manifestly saued Ireland from totall subjection), when, I say, they tooke upon themselues to master him, and at least keepe him within his principall garrisons, a thinge indeede nothinge difficulte in the consideration of any one of an indifferent eye, and which he himself soe feared, that he was resolued to leaue Ireland, in case he could not drawe the Councell to peace or Cessation, as I know by as good authoritie as any as you can haue in Ireland for the contrary. The question, I say, is, whether in such circumstances peace or Cessation were to be made or concluded with him on these articles (though in themselues they may be soe good, as they were sufficient to make a Cessation upon them, with either Johns or the Scotts, whoe had kingdomes, fleetes, and freindes to aide them, and to proue that it could

be concluded with him. You should shewe, either there were necessitie com- 1649.
pellinge to doe it, which I am sure you shall neuer be able to doe, much lesse haue you don it, or else that some greate good of Catholicke religion could be procured by it, which is as impossible to be don as the other. And I mervayle much that you haue urged the provision made in the second and first article for Catholicke religion, whearas they haue nothinge there, but that Catholicks may haue free exercise of religion in Insichuynes quarters, and where they had it before, payinge contribution, which I am sure they should haue, and had it alreadie on that condition without any Cessation, which if it were not concluded, they could easily be reede of payinge any contribution unto Insichuyne for the pacte, and the freedome graunted to hereticks in the same quarters (if we pleased) taken from them, soe that by the Cessation it is manifest, and may be easily further proved, Catholicke religion not onely gott noe benefitt, but lost verie much of what it may with all probabilitie pretende to the greate propagation of it, if the Cessation were
not agreede upon. By which you may easily gather an answeare to the note you 500.
putt in 26 leafe (to the end, I thinke, to make the Nuncio somwhat more odious, by makinge him suspected of lesse good will to his Majestie then I am confident he hath), in which note you thinke it strange why the Nuncio condescended to a Cessation with the Parliamentarie Scotts, and with Insichuyne himself, when he was for the Parliament, and yett opposed him to a Cessation with him, when he declared himself for the kinge. You may, I say, gather from what I now discoursed on, the true answeare, which is, that when he was for the Parliament, it was much more difficulte to subdue or make warr with him, by reason of the helpe by sea and land he may haue from the Parliament in England, Ireland, and Scottland, then when by declaringe himself against them for the kinge, he was deprived of all that helpe, neither did the Nuncios answeare (when he said he meant a league and not Cessation with the Scotts or Insichuyne when Parliamentaries) imply, as you gather out of it, that a league with hereticks may be laufull and not a Cessation, for he acknowledges that the one is as lawfull as the other, when sufficient grounde is for it, but that there beinge reasons for a league, as bringinge greater good for religion then may be expected by warr, it may be most lawfull, and there beinge not such
for a Cessation, it may not be. I omitt what you amplifie of the povertie of the 501.
kingdome, which though it be verie greate, yett the effecte proves it is not soe much, but it mantaines now soe many armies, and sithence the Scotts doe not stirr out of theire quarters, or cannott doe it well for the present, one of the three Catholicke ones could easily bridle Johns, while the other two dealte with Insichuyne, whoe knowinge his owne weaknesse to resiste longe, would infallibly, in case Cessation with him were thought soe profitable, give farr better conditions then were admitted, if the Councell were pleased to insiste upon it, and not make such hast to conclude the treague with him, and that in such maner, as any one may without greate rashnesse suspecte some ill ends, whether really there were any or noe. By which all may be without any difficultie deduced that, what you say of necessitie and utilitie for concludinge the Cessation, are groundlesse said, whearas the contrarie is morally at leaste certaine, and consequently, though without the Nuncios opposition at first, and his censures at last, it may be there weare noe sin

1649. in agreeinge to the Cessation, yett after his censures, for the reasons by him specified, ignorance onely may excuse from mortall sin, and one of your learninge canot doubte, but that, though the incurringe of an Excomunication require a mortall sin, yett the verie prohibition under Excomunication may make an action mortally ill, which otherwise would be noe sin at all, or at most not but a veniall sin; from which likewise followeth, that without any mortall sin, any Confederat Catholicke may and ought to rejecte the Cessation, and that in such a case, which you verie falsly (pardon the worde) say to be a civill busines, beinge not onely indirectly, but most directly pertaininge to religion, theire obedience to the Nuncio obligeth farr more then that they may owe to the Catholicke Councell, and that the Councell itself, and consequently those that embraced the Cessation, could and ought in conscience, and without any breache of fidelitie, draw themselues from it, because of the opposition made in the verie begininge by them whoe had power, for they could not oblige themselves to any thinge but they may in conscience comply with; and Insichuyne could not justly complaine of them, especially beinge not brought to any disadvantage by the not mantaininge of the Cessation more then he was, in case it were not concluded at all. Vpon all which if you reflecte, I beleeve you would not with such like respecte speake unto My Lord Nuncio and the prelats that were of Councell with him, or write in your answeare, as you haue don.

502. To the second queres, that the censures putt upon you did in effecte prohibitt against the laws of God, fidelitie in lawfull promises, religion in sacred oathes, and obedience unto the supreame civill power, in matters concearninge temporall goverment, and that they comaunde breache of faithe, perjurie, and disobedience, a harsher censure then which I knowe not whether any hereticke in his greatest furie did euer pronounce against any Catholicke prelates, and verie ill becominge a Catholicke, and much more a Franciscan fryer of such yeares and experience as you are yourself, for which censure and the other you haue in the end of 20th leafe, I hope you will yourself, after due reflection, giue what satisfaction you may to the world, for feare of some particular chastisment to be therefore hanginge ouer you and these that gaue you such directions, if there haue beene any. But howsoeuer, in my opinion, what you say of I knowe not what libelliste may seeme verie fittinge for yourself, that your penn had too much gall and poyson, to which others will add likewise the rest, a greater censure then which doth desearue. Your discourse of the 38 pagina, wherin you haue layed downe as much grounde as may suffice, if accepted generally, as God forbid it euer should, to destroy all subordination unto His Holinesse, in what at leaste concearnes the power of his censures, but all is conformable to what I said before, that you haue amonge you there the greatest disposition for introducinge heresie that euer nation had, before it fell from the profession of the true faithe: I add, because the rest of the discourse depends upon false supositions for a reflection on what you say in the 41 pagina of the obedience not due to superiours in doubtfull controversies, when one hath juste feare of any notable inconvenience of life, fame, and fortune, by obeyinge, he is not bounde to doe it; but why should I add anythinge, sithence hereto is most falsly suposed, that one could have any just (that is, well grounded) feare for opposinge the Cessation of all Catholicks, as they should, would concurr to the opposition. Lett

Others will add poyson.

Peter Walshes hereticall assertion.

then the addition be to what you write, fol. 42, wheare you say that one Doctor 1649.
examininge the reasons of a doubte pro et contra, may make a probable opinion
against any number how greate soever, which doctrine needeth a longe comentarie
to defende it from beinge most harmfull, and you urge the number of these soe 503.
graue and learned persons, as are for the Cessation against the censures, of which
I beleeue you choosed the worthiest to subscribe to your booke, but I am sure, if
theire qualitie of learninge, and of some of theire liues were knowen, all the
multitude would scarce make up one sufficient vote, as I knowe meself partly and
am enformed by others, for other parte I knowe not. It is true the Bishopes of His opinion of these two Bishopes.
Ossory and Meath were in theire time learned, but it is knowen theire age hath
brought them now to such a state, as they may not of themselues giue any
probabilitie to what is giuen fourth in theire name, and surelie it shewes greate
desire of deceavinge people by the authoritie of whom should aprove your booke to
putt it out in the name of the Bishope of Ossory, and as his name was putt for
author to your discourse, soe may Medensis his name be thought to haue beene
likewise putt in the place for some others, which proceedings in such a matter
confirmes the suspition which many haue of want of censeritie on your side. I will
end this too tedious discourse with bringinge to your consideration that, what you
treate in ye answeare to the 6th queres is esteemed by me to haue been putt fourth
of sett purpose, to render the Nuncio odious, as one whoe had any such pretence
to dispense in the oath of association, wherin all his proceedings did insiste, and I
am sure neuer thought to dispense in it, or else to giue to understande that the
oath of association did binde to adhere unto the Cessation, and consequently now
without dispensation, which could not be graunted, or could in conscience oppose
himself, which with 203 leaves is not true, and not proued in the answeare to the
7th queres, but suposinge false principles. And I pray, if the Divines and Doctors
of your side, though learned ones, whoe haue subscribed to your booke, and gaue
theire aprobation to it, may make a probable sentence which one may followe
without breache of conscience (as you taught before) sithence there are soe many
prelates and learned men on the Nuncios side, how may any one lose his soule,
for adheringe unto him against the Councell? Truely for my parte, if I weare in
Irelande, and tooke the oath of association a hundred times, I would to my abilitie
oppose meself to the Councell, whom onely I can excuse by ignorance from breache
of that oathe when they concluded that Cessation, and now mantaine it against the
Nuncio, and that is my opinion of your self, and of all the rest that adhere to them.
Wherfore since I cannott otherwise helpe either the one side or the other, I will,
with as greate earnestnesse as I may, pray to the Almightie to be pleased to bringe
you all to one union, that therby you may overcome your enemies and bringe the
kingdome to such a posture, as the Catholicke religion may peacably be established
in it, to the honor of God, to whose keepinge and direction I leaue yourselfe; the
29 of October, 1648.

Your servant,

Fr. John Ponce, Lector Theologiæ Jubilatus.

You see what censure does this graue Father yeld of the iniquitie of the 504.

1649. Cessation, the solid grounde of the opposers, the invaliditie of the apeale, the nullitie of the aprovers of Walshe his booke, the sanidie fundation wherupon builded, his misenformations in his addresse, and other such foperie and illusorie inductions, all which doe confirme and ratifie what we hitherto haue spoken in the presente discourse. I am confident if this learned man did see this our now peace with Ormonde, and the articles therof pursuant to the former Cessation, without the sense and aprobation of either clergie or kingdome assembly (other then whoe formerly adhered unto the Councell in behalfe of the said Cessation), would not be of abilitie to bridle a zealous passion reprovinge publickly theire uncatholicke proceedings; if he did write in Latin, he would prove admirable and convencinge. Out of this answeare you may collecte these ensuinge erronious propositions, printed and taught by Father Walsh, which are as followeth:—First, that licence of superiours for the aprobation of printinge bookes in time of warr, or other trouble, is needlesse, especially if such printe instruments doe tende to the settlment of gouerment. Secondly, that it is as meritorious for a religious man to goe beyond the seas without the superiours licenee, as havinge it, to desire it he calls puntillo. Thirdly, he alloweth of the imprisonment of the Provinciall as lawfull and just by onely civill power. Fourthly, he desires not to give credence unto any worde or letter of My Lord Archbishope of Dublin. Fifthly, he taxeth My Lord Nuncio of swarvinge from His Majestie and adheringe unto the Parliament. Sixthly, he gives a bad character of My Lord Nuncio and his prelats. Seventhly, that My Lord Nuncio and Congregation censure did prohibitt against the lawe of God, fidelitie in lawfull promises, religion in sacred oathes, and obedience unto supreame civill goverment. Eighthly, he disanulls all subordination of inferiour ministers unto His Holinesse the Pope. Ninthly, obedience is not to be yelded to superiours in doubtfull matters. Tenthly, that one Doctor examininge a doubte pro et contra, may make a probable opinion, safe in conscience to be followed, against any number soe greate soeuer of Doctors. Eleventhly, that My Lord Nuncio did dispense, in the oath of association. These eleuen propositions, full of poyson in the zealous hearte of any censere Catholicke, were bleached by printe and otherwise by Walshe against the persons therin concearned as dangerous, injurious, false, erronious, and hereticall, for fitter oportunitie to vendicat by the spirituall authoritie we leaue, and speake of other matters.

A breefe of Fr. Walsh, his errors.

505. Neere about this time Captain Charles Kevanagh (spoken of n°. [*blank*]), still obsearvant of My Lord Nuncios decree and of the Catholicke Generalls partie, was taken prisoner by Sir Thomas Esmond, a spurious son to Laurence Esmond, Lord of Linster Limbricke, and brought to the Castle of Kilkeny, where he continued for 3 or 4 weekes. The chiefe motiue was (except the inveterat hate the said Esmond beared the noble familie of the Kevanaghs, and his sidinge with both clergie and Owen Oneyll) that he conbined with 4 or 5 companies of Colonell Richard Buttlers regiment, worked soe farr in those, that they followed him from Tulloe, he and they with others of his owne did continually over run the three adjacent counties, Wexford, Wickloe, and Catharloghe, to the mightie trouble and disquiet of the factionists and theire chiefe leadinge men there, wherof this Esmond was one, comaundinge a partie of both horse and foote, but not daringe to shewe his face upon any indifferencie (though farr over

Sir Thomas Esmond, a spurious son of Laurence Esmond.

The cause of Charles Kevanaghs restrainte.

matchinge the other in number), did severall times lay in ambush for him, many a time he escaped, but at lenght was taken prisoner, as aforesaid, and now remains in the castle in companie of one Omphry Mc Criffin Kevanagh, and an Englishman of Insichuyns partie, comitted for some extortion. These three did combine (treatinge one day of theire proper poore case, and fearinge some worste consequence to followe if not prevented) to aply the best salve possible to that sore; pursuant therto they addresse themselues to make an escape, though dangerous to be attempted, the English man a prime author therof, and thriued see well, that they putt the same unto a hopfull issue, maugre all dilligence to the contrary. Now in saftie, Charles did make much of the said English gentleman his comrade, but could neuer be won to Ormonds partie, see generous and Catholickelie inclined he was.

1649.

Those three escaped.

CHAPTER II.

Prove a man unthankfull, and disprove all his other actions, taint him justly of this and twit him worthylie with all that naught is; for there is nee obligation to tye a man to honestie and faithfull performaunce (next that of oath) see stronge as this of gratitude. And therfore there can be nee such maculation to the honor of a prince as to abandon men of greate worthe and small meanes, whee haue engaged theire liues and are taken prisoners in his service, givinge them ouer to perpetuall imprisonment, or to pay theire owne ransome.

506.
Plin. Paneg.
Cicer. Off. 2.
Auson. epig.
Lip. 5.
Livi. l. 4.
Petronius.

Cum fortuna manet, vultum servatis amici,
Cum cecidit, turpi vertitis ora fuga.

Huigh Mc Phelim Byrne, Lieutenant-generall of the Linster Catholicke forces, was in restraint in Dublin, with severall other comaunders of the said province, since the defeate of Lince hill, untill about this time, fully fiue quarters of a yeare, whee might be enlarged very often since, if the Councell were pleased, or had any sparke of honor or honestie in them, for such prime men perishinge in theire service, and not endeavouringe to worke theire saftie either by ransome or exchange, but givinge them over to perpetuall imprisonment for such theire unthankfullnesse, may be deservedly twitted with all that is naught. Neither can I excuse those verie same prisoners (now enlarged) from the same vice and taint of ingratitude towards Owen Oneylle, whee nobly worked the libertie of the said Lieut.-generall Byrne, Major Charles Geoghegan, Captain Mathewe Geoghegan, Captain Edward Geoghegan, and others, the first by the exchange of Sir Theofilous Johns, Colonell of foote, and My Lord Lyells page, taken prisoner in this gentlemans company, and the others, by the Catholike Generalls bountie, industrie, and dilligence in requitall of such a generous acte, it was confident in the opinion of all rationall men that they would adhere and joine with Owen Oneylle, and in the behalf of Catholicke religion. But nee sooner enlarged, but arriued to Kilkeny, and ther receavinge by Ormond and his now Commissioners of Trust theire former

Huigh Mc Phelims longe restraint.

Major Geoghegan, Mathewe and Edward Geoghegan, enlarged by Owen Oneylle

1649. The Lieutenant-generalls policie not thrivinge.

incumbencie, but the Lieutenant-generall began with some seeminge policie (to undermine, as he thought, the Councell), did worke otherwise, called his regiment unto a bodie, recruted some captains, and reformed others, desiringe by his supplicatt addresses the Commissioners orders to leaue his meanes for that of his restrainte acruinge, and withall desireinge amunition for the future safguarde of both the castles, Carne Owe and Arcloe, then in his possession, whoe returned him, as satisfaction, the best hopes that could be expected to thrive, sure this gentleman was (as was thought) well intended towards Generall Neylle, and though to cloke the same worked to his power the reducment of Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim, his one eldest brother, and a sure member of Generall Neylls partie, to the now goverment, and this onely to palliat his said intentions, and indeere himself to the faction, but the other as firme as a rocke would noe way be won or undermined.

507. Ormonds passe did not avaylle.

Actinge all those wayes, sutable (as he thought) to his pretences, dispairinge to bringe those unto its wished end, unlesse did personally solicite it in courte, wherfore he sued My Lord of Ormond of his safe conducte to Kilkeny, not that he feared any miseariadge for his actions, except malevolous mindes did comente his intentions, but to cleere all doubts of misconstructions. Very willinge was Ormond to comply with this request, and therfore did remitte the same with a limittation of daies, receivinge the saf-conducte, repaired to Kilkeny, wherin did spende all the foresaid peremptorie time without fruite, untill within 4 daies, preventinge the worst, left the towne, havinge the said foure daies for his returne to his proper home. Beinge out of the towne, Ormond did comaunde Castlhaven with a troupe of light horse to followe and bringe him backe in the nature of a prisoner, which was ad literam accomplished, and notwithstandinge his said safconducte, was comitted to safe custodie, where he continued for 4 weekes, at whose expiration was conditionally enlarged that he should surrender Arclowe, possessinge the same by lease from Ormonde, the proper lande lord for soe many yeares to come, and Carneowe, which he held from the late Supreame Councell, as in morgage of a certaine quantitie of money payable unto him, for his meanes, noe publicke covenante, noe promise, or other hand writinge, is tye enough against this peere, thus was Lieut.-generall Byrne used, or rather abused, and worthyly, as not beinge as gratfull of theire chiefe benefactor, as gentlemen should be.

Strange proceedings of Ormonde.

CHAPTER III.

508. Cic. de Am. Salust. Jug. Tacit. An. 4.

As he that is freinde to all, is true freinde to none, soe that which hath many heades, hath noe heade at all, a multitud is this many headed monster, which hath neither heade for braines, nor braines for goverment. And as in a medicine, if there be not a due proportion of the simples in the mixture, there is a mischiefe for a remedie, not a remedie for a mischiefe, soe in a popular state, where there is noe equall temperature and counterpoise of the nobilities

power, against this stronge ingredient of the multitude, there is disorder and a way open for confusion. 1649.

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor,
Impensis cœnarum et tritæ munere vestis. Horat. 1. Ep. 19.

Wee left Ormond, no. 492, with his recent gouerment after banishinge all judicature and legall proceedings, unmindfull of oathe or covenante, all the custodiums of the kingdome, brought to proper disposall without any dependencie of his Commissioners intrusted, wherof was mightie liberall, one onely custodium he did graunte to seauen severall men at one and the same time, as he did the custodium of Ballinakill in Leysse, which he bestowed on one Mayor Nicholas Mortemer, Montgerrott, and fewe more, all which apeered the one and same day and unexpectly mette one another to inter possession of the said graunte, eache in particular thought himself to be the onely interested without controlment, and never suspectinge, nor once dreaminge of others challenge therin, but all apeeringe and comunicatinge theire affaires to eache other, all and singular did shewe is title for the said Lordship under Ormonds hande, upon sight wherof amazed, fell in jolitie to a freindly atonment, that the eldest date should carie it, all was within one weeke, by the said covenante Mayor Mortemer did carie it, notwithstandinge in a smilinge moode tould My Lord of Montgerrott, that My Lord Lieutenant was too liberall in this busines, and though, said he, I cannot presume to be as liberall, I will venture to be as generous, in regarde wherof I doe surrender your Lordship my title herin, thus that custodium was left to Montgerrott. This same Mayor Mortemer gott seauen other custodiums from the Lord Lieutenant, but noe sooner graunted him then a seconde, third, and fourth, had the same individuall custodium graunted them. Some times this Mortemer by order of My Lord Lieutenant kept at home, for some seeminge busines, untill one of the grauntees did take possession of the custodium now in question, and thus Mortemer was frustrated of all by this jugglinge; all which custodiums he graunted and bestowed to his owne freinds and Puritants, without regarde had of the publicke comoditie there out acruinge for the advance of the cause in agitation, which might come to a vaste summ of money for the kingdome service, if soe applyed or imployed, but this was the leaste of his thoughts, onely to prove himself friende to all.

His liberalitie in grauntinge custodiums.

The generous acte of Mortemer.

Custodiums gott Mortemer, but all to noe purpose.

The former goverment of the Confederat Catholicks was farr better reigled then the present, as of lesse mixture (untill inimicus homo superseminavit zizania) and more simples, but now by the accesse of Ormond, mixture was made of these two simples, optimacie and democracie, but disproportionall, this later beinge hott in the highest degree, haue the predominancie, which the diuersitie of opinions, humors, natures, religion, education and birthe, canot otherwise effecte, hence must growe suspitions, jealousies and factions, the nobler parte (since euer faction did arise) haue had lesse authoritie then was fitt, yett the populasse thought them ambitious, and challengers of more then theire due, this fecall parte intrudeth unto all deliberations of weightiest consequence, wherof were incapable (as wittnesse all treatie of peace and Cessation with both Insichuyne and Ormond) all the nobilitie of Monster, except Muskry, were meere strangers unto this newe introduced gouer- 508. [*sic.*]

Democracie introduced by the late Councell and confirmed by Ormond.

1649. ment. Soe was Vlster and Conaght, except Clanricarde, the ringleader of Conaght. Insichuyne is alreadie of this mixture with the fox of the Catholicke goverment. All Puritants, Protestants, Covenantiers, are by Ormond invited, shewinge himself freinde to eache in particular. Colonell Johns, governor of Dublin and all Linster for the Parliament, is nowe eagerly sued unto by Ormond, that he may be a member of this familie of loue, which jointe did prove democracie indeede. Three severall letters did Ormond writte unto Johns, desireinge, perswadinge him with all vehemencie to joine with him, as the Kings Lieut-generall, and Generall Governor of all Ireland, Sed quæ coniunctio lucis ad tenebras, vel Christi ad Belial? Amonge the rest writes unto him as followeth.

509. Parte of Ormonds letter to Jones.

Now that the maske of hypocresie, by which your armie in England hath insnared and enslaved all estates and degrees of men, is layed aside; now that barefaced they evidently apeere to be the subvertors of true religion and the protectors and invitors, not onely of all false ones, but of irreligions and atheismes; now that they haue barbarously and inhumainly layed violent sacrilegious hands upon and murthered Gods anointed and our kinge, not as heartofore some patricides haue don, to make roome for some usurper, but in a way plainly manifestinge theire intentions to change the monarchy of England unto anarchy, unlesse theire aime be first to constitute an elective kingdome, and Cromwell, or some such John of Leyden, beinge elected then by the same force by which they haue thus farr compassed theire end to establishe a perfecte Turkishe tyranie, etc.; now, I say, I canot doubt, but that you and all that are with you, or under your comaunde, will take this oportunitie to declare and acte against soe monstrous and unparalelled a rebellion, wherin I shall assure you theire is nothinge that you can propose for the saftie, satisfaction, or advantage of yourself, or of any that shall adhere to you in what I desire, that I shall not to the uttermost of my power provide for;—hitherto Ormond in his first letter to Jones.

His character of Cromwell and the Parliament Independant.

His offers to Jones.

(510.) Jones doe answere:—Yours of the 9th instant I receaved, wherin I haue your invitation to a conjunction with yourself (I supose) as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and understande not how your Lordship should be invested with that pretended power, but well assured I am that it is not in the power of any without the parliament of England to giue and assure pardon for those bloudie rebells, as by the acte to that end passed may apeere. As to your Lordships consideration offred of the present and late proceedings in England, any proceedings of state is noe parte of my worke and care to take notice of, as foraigne to my charge and trust here, for adheringe unto you were a manifest betrayinge of that trust reposed in me, in desertinge the service and worke comitted unto me, in joininge with those I should oppose, and in opposinge whom I am obliged to searve. Most certaine it is, that the intermedlinge of governors and parties in this kingdome with sidinges and parties in England hath beene the verie betrayinge of this kingdome, as your Lordship might well obsearve, that your withdrawinge and sendinge hence unto England the most considerable parte of the English armie then comaunded by you, whose end hath beene very obsearvable; upon your capitulation with the parliament you then delivered as your sense that the English intrest in Ireland must be presearved by the English

Parte of Jones answere.

He calls his authoritie in question.

When Ormond did send the armie to the Presbyterians.

and not by Irish, from which cleere principle I am sorie to see your Lordship now recedinge; for the Irish by this your peace are to haue a standinge force of fifteene thousande foote and 2500 horse, all of theire owne partie, officers and souldiers, and those to defende Englishe intrest and the puritie of Protestant religion. For my particular I shall (My Lord) rather choose your menaces of bloudshed, to suffer in soe doinge (for therin I shall doe what is becominge and answearable to my trust), then to purchase to myself, in the contrarie, the ignominious brand of perfidy by any allurments of whatsoever advantage offered me, thus givinge your Lordship plainely this my resolution in that particular, etc.

1649.

He taxes him of desertinge his trust to the Kinge.

Signed, Michael Jones.

Dublin, 14 Mar. 1648[-9].

Ormond Reply.

As for my power, I heartily wishe there were noe other arguments necessarie to your satisfaction then such as might prove this authoritie to be derived to me by the same power that in all ages since the conquest hath, and only can, dispose of the govermant of this kingdome, soe that whatsoever your understandinge of the matter may be you must looke for imposters, and bare pretended authorities neerer home for the title bloudie rebells, which you apropriat to those with whom this peace is concluded. You may know that by an articlo of the peace all such are excluded from pardon; and therfore I conceave it is that one Father Reylly, an actiue instrument in crimes of that nature, is, as I heare, treatinge for conditions for himself and others with some of a like dye, not that you, or any with you, are herby any further intended then as you or they shall abett or adhere to those in England that undeniably are soe. You are much mistaken when you say that those forces and the whole kingdome are to be regulated by a mayor partie of trustees of the Irish; there be nothinge in theire power through the whole articles extendinge either to the regulatinge of an armie, or any peece of one, much lesse of the whole kingdome; and euen in those powers deriued to them by the articles, which for the most parte are in matters of levies and taxes upon theire owne freehould, there is a negatiue power left to the chiefe gouernor for the time beinge for the more equall execution therof, in case any Protestant or Protestants estate hapen to be therin concearned. What you speake of English intrest I am still of the same opinion. I shall not denie but that beinge pressed, principally by the partie for whom the mentioned Fr. Reyllye is said to be now treatinge at Dublin, I made choice to capitulate with you and others imployed by the two houses of Parliament to that end, and unto theire hands to comitte the keepinge of the places I could noe longer hould, then to give them up, or suffer them to be taken by an armie instigated by a foraigner to the danger of the whole kingdome, and the destruction of those I had soe longe protected. And you may remember the expressions you were then pleased to make in detestation of any violence to the Kings person, or the just rights of his crowne, from which loyall expression I am sorie to see you now recede. If you please to looke againe upon that parte of my letter which you interprett a menace of bloud and force, you will retracte that parte of yours that charges me with it, or else must give me leaue to thinke you were willinge to

511.

Ormonds reply.

All that adhered to the clergie are here exempted from pardon.

He means Owen Oneylle.

The restrixion of the conditions of peace.

He gines for excuse that he was forced to surrender Dublin for the Vlster armie, and the foraigner is My Lord Nuncio.

1649.
But false.
His jealousie with Owen Oneylle.

take a slender occasion to manifest your resolution to some other then to me. Thurles, 27 of March, 1649. (Signed) Ormond.

512.
The cause of Ormond's second reply.
He is verie suspitious of his designes as an introduction to be Kinge.

The rectifyinge of mistakings in mee concearninge your Lordships proceedings, and the satisfyinge of others that they be not by that my letter misled, are by your Lordship declared the reasons movinge you to this reply, notwithstandinge all which I doe for my parte professe meself therewithall nothinge satisfied, nor my judgment thereby any waye convenced, soe as I should abate anythinge in my former conceptions of your Lordships waies and designes from aprehendinge them to bee, to the Protestants here, the Protestant religion, and to the verie English intrest in this kingdome pernitious altogether, and aparantly destructiue, nor can I thinke any other (not interested in those your Lordships waies, or not caried on and biassed with particular respectes) will, on viewe of that your Lordship now offered, passe any other judgment upon those your proceedings. As for the Protestant religion, I canot but verie much wonder to finde your Lordship still assertinge the possibilitie and probabilitie of its beinge by you restored to its puritie, and settled by that armie of Papists. To shewe its improbabilitie, let it be here considered that now wee looke on those armies of Papists with you as on them whoe haue stiled themselues Confederats in respecte of that association and of those oathes wherin they stande bounde to the settinge up Romishe religion, and that to the greatest advantage; and how inconsistent that theire solemne profession is with theire restoringe the Protestant religion to its puritie, and soe settlinge it, I leaue it to all not Popishly affected (those with whom you concluded this peace doe looke on your Lordship with more then ordinarie respects). You tell me, My Lord, of him you call Fr. Reylly to be here treatinge with me, his treatinge with me was concearninge release of prisoners, nor doe I conceave I him or those of his partie such as are to be deluded with a treatie where is not power to graunte, noe not to receive what should be propounded, and if anythinge should have beene by him propounded, it could be noe more interpreted a treatie then may this with your Lordship; yett is he your Lordship now mentioneth the same, whoe was with others of that tribe sometimes by your Lordship imployed for treatinge with the rebells in the beginninge of those comotions, but (if reports fayle not) with whom your Lordship would now close if you knewe how; but that were (it seemes) in me a sin, which in your Lordship were not, circumstances considered. Your Lordship presseth the late proceedings in England, those particularly against the person of the late kinge. Loath I was in my last to minde your Lordship of what then I might; I did not, but now must, beinge by your Lordship therunto thus enforced. That your Lordship may doe well to lay your hand upon your owne hearte and examine there whether you may not there finde your self (I say) your self a principall occasioninge that the kings suffrings, for it is euedent that your Lordship apearinge here as you had don, and as you now doe (the treatie at Carisbrooke then in beinge betweene the kinge and people, and uerie hopfully proceedinge), you gaue in your self and in your actions occasion to the kingdome of England to suspecte the censeritie of that treatie, which hath since occasionally produced what hath thereupon followed. In case there were neither Kinge or parliament I would ever stand to my principles, and to this my trust. I assure

His opinion of those Catholicks, that they stande still bounde to the oathe of sssociation; his is good, but theire compliance naught.

Owen Oneylle should not be deluded.

He answeares ad hominem.

He taxes him of the Kings beheadinge.

meself your Lordship proceedings here haue very much occasioned what evills befell the Kings person, which your Lordship canot conclude as recedinge from my principles. Thus soe considered give me leave to give your Lordship this my sence clearly. I have cause to doubt your sendinge this your trumpett on this slight errand to be intended for other ends rather. I therfore desire your Lordship would be pleased for the future not in this kinde to trouble yourself or me any further, this beinge a dispute to be decided by the sworde, not by the penn; and that your Lordship would be pleased thus to understand mee once for all, for I shall never seeke meself, or my privat advantage to the desertinge of my trust, as have some others, a crime not to be after soe easily expiated by a slender or meane manifest. Soe I remain,

1649.

Pinchinge intimation.

An honorable resolve.

Anothe taunt for the surrender of Dublin.

Dublin, March 31, 1649. Mic. Jones.

Both the other letters as prolixe I doe not inserte here, onely that My Lord of Ormond did desire him to banish Reylly from his quarters, and that he was too suspitious of him, as in his opinion, mightie inclined to favour and countenance that disloyall, treacherous, false traytor, Owen Oneylle, to both which he answeared that the said Reylly is as honest a man now as when imployed in your service, as postilian betweene you and the Irish. As for that gentlman you speake off, I knowe not of all that partie that you joine now with, a more reall and honorable a man then he, as followinge his principles and oathe, neither doe I knowe more treacherous, disloyall, and perjurous, then those to whom your Lordship doe now adhere, your Commissioners of trust, which, if ever any indifferencie wee may have, will to theire prejudice apeere. By a menace of punishment unto the trumpeter did stopp further treatie in this behalfe. You may perceave by those addresses how Ormond was colloguinge with the world, insinuatinge himself to euery one, protestinge his uttermost endeavours to the furtherance of eache partie and function, how inconsistent soever, sweres for the advance of Protestant religion, by the mediation of a Catholicke armie, alreadie sworne for its supression, and lustre of proper, he sweares to advance the confederation of Catholicks by the accesse of Puritant and Protestant armies, how impossible it be to bringe those unto one center of agreement is transcendent to all humaine sense, excepte the Omne potens Ormond, how well those impossibilities are soe esteemed and obsearved by Colonell Jones you may obsearve in his former answeares, and how he taxes him of beinge guiltie of the Kings misfortunes, of desertinge his trust, in sidinge with parties in England (which had beene the Presbyterian faction, and of his more then ordinarie respects by those trustees and theire factionall adherents (which extraordinarie is intended by somethinge more eminent then Earle or Marquesse of Ormond, Lord-Lieutenant or Chiefe Governor by any subordinat power apointed. Examen then what this might be, in relation to this more then ordinarie respecte, he inferrs that all his wayes and designes are altogether pernitious and aparantly distructiue to the English intrest in this kingdome, whom we leave for a while by Jones wounded to the quicke, plottinge some other inventions, and speake now of other matters hapninge this time.

513.

Ormonds desire and jealousie.

His opinion of Owen Oneylle and of the trustees.

The positive contradiction of Ormonds offers.

What taxed off.

1649.
514.
Mayor Generall Huigh Oneylle.
Ballinalecke won.

About this time Mayor Generall Neylle was comaunded, with a considerable partie of horse and foote of the Vlster armie, to come to the Countie of Westmeathe to gett theire winter quarter, last winter due; the castle of Ballinalecke upon the Inhy was manned by the Earle of Westmeath, and mightie troubled the Countie of Longford, and all passengers goinge to and fro, and specially churchmen. Huigh Oneylle, to free that passage, marched with his armie thither, desired by summons to yeld him the castle upon quarter; a negatiue resulte was returned, whoe fourthwith assayled the same, and was within a quarter of an hower won perforce; some of the best note there he hanged, to others shewed mercie (the fittest man for such a busines as you could finde); there was noe castle in all the countie, if pleased, but might haue had it upon that score; he left there as comaunder in chiefe, one Captain Walter Dardis, swearinge fealtie to him and his generall, whoe was the verie man that surrendered Athboy unto the enemie without a blowe, as no. [*blank*] touched; from whence he marched where he thought fitt in all the countie, mantaininge his armie for that present, and by his orders to the respectiue baronies and colonies in both Westmeath and Kings Counties, they aplotted what he called for, and extempore brought unto him, and doe beleeve, if he desired such another from the Queenes Countie, nay the towne and Countie of Kilkeny, would willingly remitte him the same, though Ormond and Insichuyne were there extant, soe timerous and fearfull they were leaste this armie did advance, and noe mervayle for—— [*sic*].

Walter Dardis apointed gouernor.
The feare of those greate peeres.

515.
Extraordinarie courage of a handfull of men.

Three garrisons of Generall Neylle, Mariborough, Reban, and Athy, all consistinge at the most of 400 foote onely, brought under contribution all the Queenes Countie, some of the Kings Countie, of the Countie of Kilkeny, of the Countie of Kildare, of the Countie of Katarlagh, nay forced contribution from the verie towne and Castle of Katarlagh, where Generall Preston did inhabitt, they had soe much per weeke, if not, that this was more plyable to the lawe of armes, then whole distruction by preyes and pillage, the souldiers would not condescende unto this bargaine, for the other was farr more beneficiall towards the comon souldiers relife in theire then extenuitie, from the borders of Ormond, alonge unto Ballinunnne 5 miles beyond Katarlagh sowth this handfull of men did bringe that farr huge preyes, the matter of 22 miles on one side, and 20 on the other, many both horse and foote quartered in all them places, but other then upon mightie odds durst not apeere.

516.
Thomas Husse revolted.

About this verie time Lieut.-Colonell Bryan roe Oneylle, with some of his owne troupe, arrived to Mariborough; by his asistance the foresaid 3 garrisons were mightie encouraged, and now and then his horse did good service; amonge the rest of his horse was one Thomas Husse, a native of Meathe, was reputed a good horse; some complaints apeered before the Lieut.-Colonell by some of the inhabitants of the quarter against this man, Bryan roe gaue him some reprehension either by worde or deede, or both, the partie therby discontent, stole away and went to Katarlagh, and promised Generall Preston to acte some service upon the garrisons aforesaid, and specially against the person of Bryan roe Oneylle, if a partie of horse did waite upon him thither; foure score horse was comaunded with this man; arrivinge neere the towne, where he was acquainted, did place an

ambush, a verie foggie morninge it was, this partie did waite on the prey of the towne; the preye comaunded in due time to pasture, scarce the one moytie therof out of the gates, when 5 or 6 horse came betweene them and the gate, and whips me them awaye; upon this the other horse apeered, the alarum given, Bryan Roes horse, as neere hand, was presently made readie, never expectinge any other, well mounted, soone overtakinge the enemie, the musketires runinge after, both rescued the preye, he alone make havocke of all the adverse horse, none durst abide him, thus runinge after each, chasinge them out of that plaine, his horse (that neuer before failed him) became now a jade, stumbled and fell flatt under him, that by noe meanes, by spurr or otherwise, could he cause him recouer, wherupon, alone in the field, in this plight, with the scattered enemie obsearvinge, turninge backe, flocked about him, tooke him prisoner; his musketires by this, returninge from convoyinge the prey to the bawon, would rescue him, but that the enemie both menaced him to death, if any such were offered, and promised him faire quarter, and goe alonge willingly without such opposition, which caused him to comaunde the musketires to be quiet, whom when obeyed, was onely caried away, but inhumainly used such a noble gentlman, gave him to reede on an ould jade, tooke his coate of buffe, casocke, hatt, and bootes of him, nay the verie jewell, and relicke that he caried about his necke.

1649. Bryan Roes behaviour, but taken prisoner.

The inhumanitie of those towards theire quondam associate.

These miscreants soe abusingly would carie him alonge to Katarlagh, but Richard Oge Buttler, Montgerrotts sone, a neere kindsman of his owne, rescued him, but caried him in the nature of a prisoner to Bellaragade Castle, where he continued untill certifyinge his wife, Jane Gray, whoe inhabitted in Thurles, of his case, whoe sued My Lady of Thurles, Ormonds mother, to whom he shewed many good turnes, wherof she was sensible and gratfull, in returne therof she writes unto Ormonde, desiringe his Excellencie may be pleased to enlarge this gentlman, beinge her verie good freinde, in many occasions hertofore, wherupon was released upon parole, and as much of his goods as could be founde was restored him, but offered £50 ster. for his horse could never haue him upon any score. And soone after was exchanged for Colonell Burke, taken prisoner at Caradrumruiske last winter when Roger Maguire was killed, as no. 474 touched.

517. He was rescued by Richard Buttler.

By the meanes of My Lady of Thurles released.

About this time the Marquesse of Antrim, absentinge himself since his cominge from France from Ormonds goverment and from the malignant Councell, and noe mervayle, as highly abused by them, he spent some times in Wexford, that towne was much affected unto his Excellencie, for its betteringe by the trafficke his frigats; leavinge the same, lived for a while with Bryan Mc Phelim, some redshankes the reliques of Alexander Mc Colla Mc Danielle adhered unto his Lordship, whom Bryan Mc Phelim aforesaid nobly entertained as his owne, as longe as a beaste of his owne leasted, but povertie and scarcitie displayinge theire truculent colours, his Excellency and that partie of readshanks, to the number of 250, marched to Reban, where both continued for 3 or 4 weekes; his Lordship was most desirous to be nominated Generall of the Vlster Armie, in Owen Oneylles place (as confident that he would bringe all the Irish and Scotts of that province to a right understandinge and perfecte unitie), leavinge the said partie that depended on him amonge the garrisons of Leyse, and poasted himself towards the north, aiminge to

518. The poore condition of Antrim.

Bryan Mc Phelims generositie.

Antrim did looke to be Generall, but fayled.

1649. putt his former intentions in execution, a provincial assembly actually sittinge there then, but My Lord was farr deceaued (though Generall Neylle himself did move and seconde the said designe, by noe maner of way would the province admitt the same. Thus disapointed, his Lordship did continue there for a while, and then to Linster arriued, but his redshankes did adhere unto Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, this Antrims brother.

519. Neere about this time, another partie of redshankes, under the comaunde of Clangarry, whoe escaped the battle of Lince hill, those did adhere unto Captain Charles (seuerally hertofore mentioned) Kevanagh, in the Countie of Wexford. Mac Thomas, Sir Thomas Esmond, Walter Dungan, Mayor Barnewall, Bagnall, and many others of the factionists, with theire severall parties in one bodie, hunted those poore men, one day followed them to Duffry, whoe too much confidinge in the saftie of that place, as inaccessible by horse, as they thought, but foolishly deceaved, horse might doe service there, as in most places in Lowe Linster, the Catholicke Irish and redshanks were circumvented by the horse, and inhumane and barbarously slaughtered both man, woman and child, onely Charles and the most of his men escaped (as better acquainted with the passadges of that countrie), but the poore redshankes, for the most parte were miscaried, Clangarie himself taken prisoner. I never obsearved since those comotions soe much willingnesse in these revoulted Irish, to doe service against the comon enemie (nay, nor usinge such crueltie towards any of them, how tyranicall soeuer they were), as against those that did side with My Lord Nuncio and Clergie, as wittnesse this bloudie scene, the barbarietie used towards the poore Vlster keraghts neere Athlone, by Preston and his partie, and seuerall other such ; God graunte us patience and time to doe penaunce.

Clangary taken prisoner and his partie inhumainly killed in Duffry.

CHAPTER IV.

520. Sen. de Clem. l. 1°. Sil. l. 13. Eras. Claudianus.

Truth and vertue are rather to be embraced, and loved for theire owne sakes, then for ours: for that they are good in themselues, not for the good wee gett by them. Princes therfore that make noe difference betweene truth and falshoode, vertue and vice, but by the use, care not whom or how they deceiue or wronge, soe they make that use. The actions and counsells of such men, as they are tainted in the nature, soe are they thwarted in the successe, for they alwaies prove dangerous to those that followe them, but especially in the giuers themselues.

> Quam bene dispositum terris, et dignus iniqui
> Fructus consilii primis auctoribus instet !

Colonell Jones prophecie to Ormonde proued true.

Colonell Jones proues prophet to My Lord of Ormond now, taintinge Generall Neyll of disloyaltie and other bad characters, and diswadinge Jones to adhere unto him, to whom Jones, by a bye waye doe prophetie unto him what he now acts in hæc verba (to whom your Lordship would now close, if you knewe how, etc[a].) to comply this gentlmans predixion he begins thus. Roger Moore, a well spoken

gentlman, a cossen to My Lord of Ormond by his grandmother, fourth and fourth in degree, though noe martiall man, was all the while for Generall Neylle, and of his Cabinet Councell, now seeinge the one retired, and the other in publicke swaye, addressed himself unto this to currie fauour, insinuatinge his prompte obedienee, and promises to drawe Generall Neylle to his partie; his Excellencie, puffed with pride, was jealouse of none, onely of him, which passion yelds a double effecte, feare and hate, betweene these two, was for a while suspense, dubious what to answere, consideringe his end for the kingdome service to be opposite unto his present designe, could not but feare him, revolvinge former afronts ministered unto him, could not but hate him, though he eoneeaued this gentlman to be a weake instrument to drawe soe politicke a man on soe prime an adversarie to his sworne principles and soe often injured, yett by the often insinuation, privat and frequent assurances of thrivinge of this gentlman, his Excellencie did condescend to begin his interprise onely by letters, passinge many faire promises of assurances unto him, in the behalfe of realitie towards him and all Catholicks. 1649.

Roger therfore writes his letter to Generall Neylle how plyant My Lord of Ormond was to graunte him all he desired, eomended him in his said letter unto the verie skies, none was true, reall, beneficiall, naturall, etc., but his Excellencie, and for eonclusion desired him, if any way tender of the saftie of both himself and the countrie, to giue his assent unto, by his perswation, and that by the very next instrument from him. If not that, I am perswaded that the gentlman had don all this bona fide, yeldinge more eredence unto his Excellencies intimation, in that behalfe, then was fittinge) I would thinke that such an informer alreadie possessed of the possitiue contrarietie of his assertion herin, did make noe greate differenee betweene truth and falsehoode, vertue and vice, but by the use; undertakinge such a taske betweene such eminent persons of transcendent reache, might feare to be tainted, but in the successe was surely thwarted, for Generall Neylle seeinge noe authentication, or warrantable instrument from Ormond himself for such things alleadged by this gentlman, and allsoe knowinge the subjeete from whom those had theire beinge, was not as eonstant as a rocke, and noe other then homo, villipended all his perswations, and gaue him such touche of misconstructions, either in his witte or affection, or both towards the generall, and perswaded him to forbeare further writinge such foperies, this peece of intrudinge service did prove dangerous for the actor, for both Ormond and Generall Neylle were highly offended with him, the Generall for his facile beleefe and peremptorie perswation upon groundlesse affaires, Ormond for not thrivinge, after soe many assurances in befittinge language, and withall when he sawe how slightly Generall Neylle esteemed and weaed his agitation, never after had him in the same predicament as before. Thus Roger Moore thrived in his affection to Owen Oneylle. 521.

Roger Moores foolerie.

Omnis homo mendax. Psal.

Owen Oneylls result to Roger Moore.

Ormond now gatheringe the Linster armie unto a bodie, did send unto Lieut.-Generall Purcell, that he may haue the Irish armie there in a readinesse, Insichuynes armie to marche unto Linster, by a peremptory daye, Castlhauen is apointed chiefe eomaunder of the Linster forees, untill his Excellencie come unto the field, greate is the preparation, by thunderinge proclamations and untyred poastes to and fro; Edmond roe Buttler, Montgerrotts son and heire, as precursor 522.

Ormonds preparations.

Edmond Buttlers armie.

1649. to his brother in lawe Castlhauen, came with two foote companies and a troupe of horse to Cullintragh, 4 or 5 miles from his owne house of Bellaragad, the said Cullintragh Castle alreadie demolished by Generall Neylls partie of Mariborough garrison, and now manned with 7 or 8 men, idle boyes, or tories (though dependinge on the garrison aforesaide, he assayles the broken walle, an easie take, the defendants well behaved themselves, to the prejudice of the assayllants; but thinkinge them to be more numerous, as beinge night time, gott an honorable quarter, lives, armes, bagg and baggage marched away to Mariborough, leavinge that ould, demolished caske of a ruined castle, without as much as one stoole of furniture to sitt upon, unto this brave warriour the said Buttler. Next morninge turned home himself, and comaunds a partie of the said two companies, and the horse to Stradbally, where none did inhabitt (except two poore fryers, Fr. Paule Geoghegan and Fr. James Geoghegan (livinge most beggerly in that dispeopled towne), and two poore countrie tenants, that belonged and depended on them, and lived within the monesterie mure or bawon; the fryers neuer suspectinge to receaue any violence from such people, all natiues, bred and borne Catholicks, nor once dreaminge that they would use the least inconvenience or mischiefe to any of that function or condition. But farr deceaved, for all that belonged to both fryer and other was snatched away by this partie; neither regarded fryer or other in theire pursuit, embeshled the most parte by scatteringe them unto severall parts, and though these poore men did pay any countrie charges acruinge on theire tenantshipe (notwithstandinge its imunitie by both civill and canon lawe), after Generall Neylls departure from them parts, they must ransome some of theire said goods that did apeere, by 4 monthes contribution unto this crue, but what belonged unto the fryers was never yett restored; they thought it a lawfull preye, as sidinge and obeyinge My Lord Nuncios censures; camaunder in chiefe of this partie was one Patricke Money, apointed leutenant of foote, and governor of the said demolished Cullintragh; the fryers exhibittinge complainte unto Edmond roe Buttler against this Money, as chiefe comaunder, and the verie man in whose possession was such goods as was caried from the fryers, and specially some hoggs, whoe graunted his orders for the restoringe of them, which is, etc[a]:

Poore conqueste.

The barbaricty of those.

Exeomunicated by this acte.

Patricke Money.

523. Patricke Money:—Understandinge that Teige Gaffney have taken some hoggs belonginge to the fryers of Stradbally, which upon sight herof must be restored this 24 of April, 1649. Edmond Buttler.

Buttlers order against Money.

The fryers was nothinge the better for this, though seuerally complained unto the said Edmond of the non complyance of this partie to theire high prejudice. Neither yett those unchristian and inhumaine Tories satisfied, but next morninge, after the said theevvise robberie, came like enemies unto the said Stradbally to garrison the monesterie; which they did, in disrespecte of religion, packed the fryers unto one, and the poorest cottage in all theire proper monesterie, consumed all they had for theire proper relife and sustenaunce, made the abby a stew-house; the said Buttler herof certified, did never redresse the same, rather augmented theire griefe with fresh supplies of untowarde people, belonginge to Edward Loftus, brother in lawe to Frances Cosby, antigoniste of the said fryers; this was the service of this Edmond Buttler, and

His intention n the former order knowen by this plaister.

hus used these poor fryers, for the space of 7 or 8 weekes, untill theire owne robberie and misdemeanour did cause them voluntarily to deserte the place, and urne to theire ancient trade of theeverie. 1649.

CHAPTER V.

In a stricte morall sense, to speake and not to thinke, is rather leasinge then engenuitie, and therfore reprovable. But necessitie giues a larger latitude and freere scope to the manage of greate affaires, for nothinge is here more expedient then that the enemie knowe nothinge of our deliberations, till they be putt in action, nor of our preparations till they be on foote. It is therfore a usuall and usfull policie, when such forces are prepared, either by sea or land, to pretende them for one service, and intende another. 524. Erasm. Valer. l. 7. Lip. Pol. l. 3. Liui. de Sab. . . . .

"Fieri quid debeat, cum multis tracta: Quid facturus sis, cum paucissimis, vel potius ipse tecum." Veget. l. 3.

Ormonds intended action is bruted in all the corners of this kingdome by heraulds; it was soe publicke that every kallagh doe knowe it to be for Dublin, nay, I beleeue all Christendome was possessed of it; sure it was not want of knowledge that caused Ormond to betraye his intended action thus, but to giue time to the Parliament of England to relive Dublin, as conformable to his former principles, and sutable to it, to bringe and expose the poore Catholicke forces, now under his comaunde, unto theire slaughter house (as hearafter will apeere). Ormonds intent in the publicitie of this busines.

Castlhauen now, accordinge assignation in the field, marchinge with his Linster forces and traine of artillerie towards Mariborough, arrivinge thither, his summons denied, he leaguers the same, and plants his ordinance. Captain Phelim Oneylle, comaunder of that forte, was verie well intended of settled good resolution to defende the place, and though all the castle was battered, had groundeworkes verie defensible, amunition, men, and provision in abondance; the ordinance mounted and played on the castle. But, one Daniell Oneylle, leutenant to the said Captain Phelim, did assure some or the most parte of the souldiers, by subornation and promises of future preferrment, to his owne partie; and this, as dependinge on Colonell Terlagh Mc Henry Oneylle, revoulted from Generall Neylle (whose sister was maried to Leutenant Colonell Meylds Reyllie, alsoe revoulted), and then in Castlhauens campe.) The castle did receave 17 shott of greate ordinance to noe greate hurte, notwithstandinge the leutenant with the foresaid suborned souldiers (now disposed to play the traytor) tooke hould of the captain and vowed to kill and stabb him to death, in case he did offer to defende the forte. The captain desired them to be a litle patient, and looke more narrow unto theire honor, reputation, and the trust reposed in them; and in case they were forced to surrender, that they should consider of an honorable quarter. Nothinge will satisfie this poore people, but must agree to theire treacherous motion, or perish. Unknowen unto the captain, they were assured of theire quarter (by the mediation of the said Terlagh), before 525. Mariboro' besiedged. Daniell Oneylls treacherous subornation. Terlagh Oneyll and Meilds Reylly revoulted from religion and countrie.

1649.
Captain Phelim Oneylls geneous resolution.

the campe did sitt before the castle, the captain not comprehending therin, by this compulsion must condescende, and with much adoe obtained theire allowance to goe in person to the campe, under the mercie of that enemie rather then abide the barbarous doome of his owne susposed friends. Thus goen and repairinge to Castlhauen, makinge his apollogie, his company was offered him and continue in the Linster armie; but he, like an honest man and an honorable captain, would neither for feare of restrainte or love of preferment continue or forgoe his proper Generall, at lenght had a safe conducte for himself, his wife, brother, two men, a fryer with horses and armes, and what they could honorably carie of theire goods; with this he tooke his leave for Vlster to his Generall, and thus Mariborough was basely and treacherously yeld to Castlhauen the 9th of May, upon quarter onely of lives and such armes as they carie still aboute them.

The constancie of Captain Phelim Oneyll.

526.
Reban demolished.

When Captain Terlagh Oneylle and Leutenant Neale O'Quin, residinge in Castle Reban with theire company, were enformed of this disloyall peece of service, by the assent of Captain Iohn Hagan, governor of Athy, burned the castle of Reban, caried theire garrison, amunition, and provision to Athy, choosinge rather for theire saftie and honor to make good one place against the enemie, either for an honorable surrender, or defence, then hazarde the whole by division and distraction. In Athy was 5 intire companyes, except what was miscaried not long before this time at Grany in the countie of Kildare. Goeinge thither by night for a prey, theire spie was a double one, for and against them. It had beene the custome of Captain Iohn O'Hagan not to sende his partie abroade at the peremptorie time apointed by the spie, fearinge some double dealinge. At this time was to obsearve the said custome, but a serjeant of his, by name Patricke Modorra Mc Camell, in all his affaires most intimat with him, perswaded him to send his partie the same night apointed by the spie; none was privie herof, other then the captain and this serjeant, whoe too much confidinge in his loyaltie and secrecie, condescended to the saide motion, and comaunded Captain Daniell Mc Cana and this serjeant with the partie, beinge resolued the spie yett in towne, this Patricke tould him succinctely all that passed, whoe was assured of proper quarter, for disposinge of those poore men to theire slaughter house, away the spie goes to Preston and others by his direction, foure troupes and some foote were apointed to waite on that partie at Grany aforesaid in ambush that night, the partie tooke the prey, the ambush risinge against them, the enemie did call on the said serjeant by his name and office, whoe presently answeared and ran to whom from his owne partie, accordinge covenant, the prey was rescued, 30 men lost, and Captain Mc Cana taken prisoners; Thus did Patricke Modorra Mc Camell betraye his owne deere Captain and contrimen; beside those here lost, they were now in Athy 5 companies of couragious resolution, some of Bryan Roes troupe was there. If they were in hope of any relife, it would cost the assayllants too deere before they gott. Captain Hagan did send a poaste to Vlster to knowe whether there was any liklihoode of relife, but receaved a negatiue resulte, notwithstandinge applyed themselves for defence.

5 Companies in Athy.

The treacherie of Patricke Modorra Mc Camell.

Captain Mc Cana prisoner; 30 killed.

527.
Iohn Mc Iames Bryan, governor of Mariboro.

Castlhaven did continue in Mariborough 9 or 10 daies givinge orders for the settle therof, apointed Iohn Mc Iames Bryan, a degenerat Bryane, Captain and Governor therof, and though captain, never yett seene in any field service, or careth

not what religion he be off soe he be in Ormonds favour, his land lord, he, his father and grandfather still his farmers; this man is a brother to Patricke Bryan the Ormondian lawyer, and double-tongued-barister. All this don, the Linster armie did marche towards Athy; Castlhaven did send summons to deliuer the towne; the deffendants, sure of noe relife, did intertaine a capitulation for surrender, in regard wherof the armie did marche forwarde and encamped within a mile to the towne, many disputed apeered in relation to the quarter, but Governor Hagan did answeare for afenall resolution that he would neuer surrender or yeld the castle other then upon the ensuinge conditions.

1649.

Athy sumoned.

Conditions of surrender.

First: Theire liues never to be questioned for any thinge thither unto don either by civill or martiall lawe. 528.

2. All challenges of freinde or foe, for debts, preyes, pillage, or other whatsoeuer. 3. None of his partie to be arrested, comitted, or seduced upon any pretence, in the campe or elswhere. 4. All theire horses and armes and other warrlike habillement. All theire bag, bagage, and lugage, and to lend them at theire marche as many garrans able for cariage as will be necessarie for the transportation of the same to the north, a convoy either of horse or foote, or both, at theire discretion, and the quantitie to be assigned by them. 7. To continue in the towne for 11 daies to sell and make away theire things at pleasure.

1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7.

Those conditions presented unto Castlhauen and his councell of warr, answeared they were beyond his comission, it was resolued to referr those with a proper addresse unto the Lord Leutenant. Mc Thomas was the messenger, whoe repairinge thither, did both second and urge the complyance thereof, which were graunted by his Excellencie. Mc Thomas, thus thrivinge, repairinge unto the campe, shewed the effecte of his mission; some of the chiefe comaunders did oppose, alleadginge it to be contrarie to any sounde principle of warr, to graunte such conditions unto such a poore partie, destitute of all relife, by soe florishinge an armie in the begininge of theire service, that such theire lenitie would encourage others of the like nature to hould out. Of this result was Leutenant Generall Purcell. Sheane O'Hagan, certified of this opposition, said to the hearinge of the councell of warr, that if Purcell and all his monster forces were onely against him, would in noe wise descende as lowe as he did in the former conditions, but would expecte his humble capitulation to lett him goe Scotts free (the Linster were nothinge displeased herat). The rest of the comaunders agreede to My Lord Leutenant, his graunte. Upon this the towne and castle was yelded; not onely the souldiers were included in this quarter, but all the inhabitants, fryers, and others, to have all theire goods, movable and otherwise, and to contiuue in towne enjoyinge theire respective freedomes, munities, liberties, priviledges, and charters, or deserte with saftie of both goods and bodies at pleasure. This had beene an honorable quarter, and not otherwise to be expected by the mediation of Sheane O'Hagan, a generous, couragious, and true man, his onely worde as sure a tye as any bounde of staple, as by the frequent doome of his verie adversaries was acknowledged.

Graunted by Ormonde.

Purcell did oppose his reasons.

Captain Hagans stout answere.

Those brave and honorable conditions now graunted.

Captain Hagans character.

Havinge now theire quarter signed and sealed by both Ormond and Castlhauen, the defendants were sent into the parish churche of the towne, to continue there duringe theire aboade for the disposinge of such of theire goods as they could not 529.

1646.
The malice of Purcell.

caric alonge. Greate jealousies were muttered in privat conference amonge some of the comaunders in the came for the graunte of such a quarter, studied all devices to cause the breache therof in the deffendants behalfe, movinge quarrells, to worke this way the enfrenchinge of theire said quarter (how ungodly soever, a practise too frequent with the author, Purcell); one night (by this impious insinuation) moued a quarrell to one Redmond Mellan, a trouper of Bryan roe Oneylle;

The misbehavior of an Vlster trouper.

this man, not verie wise, and specially in time of drinke, as then he was, more then became one of his then condition, gave a stabb of a skine unto one of the campe souldiers; the fellowe taken and comitted, Castlhaven and Purcell did sweare to hange him for the transgressinge the lawes. The scope and aime of those partiall judges was to see whether the whole partie did once offer to seconde rescue, or

Captain Hagans vigilancie.

defende the partie leasinge, and then to massacre all; but the politicke application and timely obsearvation of Sheane O'Hagan crubbed the rest, and went himself to the campe, to play not guiltie in the behalfe of his poore trouper, as beinge drunke (and consequently not a human acte) at the comittinge of the said misdemeanor, tould there publickly unto Mc Thomas and Sir Walter Buttler (whoe then proved his goode freinds) that many of the armie did abuse them, and all the northren

Mac Thomas his answere.

people. Souldiers, said Mc Thomas, canot be tonged-tyed, but speake at randome, but if you could make good that any comaunder, officer, or man of note, did soe misbehave himself, he would be punished. At the same instant, a leutenant of horse, a monsterman, passed by; Captain Hagan espyinge him, started aside, tooke him by the shoulder, and drewe him before Mc Thomas, then Comissarie of the horse, by

Captain Hagans action and challenge.

the articles of peace, and tould him this man is one that highly abuseth all the province of Vlster; the partie examined denied all, wherupon Captain Hagan replyed, Seeinge our proofe is farr off, if a gentleman you be, and will in a single combate against me make good this your owne assertion, I will be behouldinge unto you, and withall by the consent of those gentlmen and comaunders prove you to be a lyer, in what you unshamfully formerly asserted. The partie spoke never a worde.

530.
Mc Thomas did cugell this partie.

Macthomas, obsearvinge what passed, and ashamed of the leutenant's behaviour, gaue him 3 or 4 bastonados, and promised future punishment upon further proofe. Captain Hagan, mightie offended as not havinge his will upon that cowardly fellow, tould there publickly, if he did conceave the leaste of these abuses before he surrendered, that he would never yeld unto the last man; and now, said he, in

The manly desire of Captain Sheane O'Hagan.

proofe of our valour, and that wee are sensible of such an abuse, doe desire to be admitted to inter the castle againe and win it, as you may; or this not allowed, will in open fielde fight with as many of those our disparagers as longe as any of us will surveywe, for wee will choose rather to die in an honorable waie then live with such an aspersion. Those offers he made before meself (then a member of that armie). Macthomas did pacific him, and worked with the councell of warr,

Redmond Mellan dismissed.

that the said trouper Mellan was dismissed. Thus thriued this noble sparke, Captain Sheane O'Hagan. Within two daies after Fr. Thomas Brimingham, Prior of the Dominicans of Athy, with 3 or 4 fryers more in his company, repaired unto the campe, as enformed that Castlhaven, contrary to the former quarter, would demolishe the said monesterie; but noe sooner there apeered, then Leutenant-

Generall Purcell did comaunde a sett of musketires to aprehende and guarde him and his companie (in disrespecte of both function and quarter), and highly threatneed them of further punishment, noe other cause apeeringe then for joininge to My Lord Nuncio and clergie censures (as such a regular man should doe), whoe with much adoe were dismissed by Castlhaven ; O brave Catholicke, sworne for the furtherance of holy religion. 1649. The Prior and his fryers comitted by Purcell.

The time limitted for Captain Sheane O'Hagan and his partie, accordinge covenant, is now drawinge on ; the Captain therfore, like a warie comaunder, addressed himself to Castlhaven, desiringe in complyance of his quarter cariadgo and convoye to be in a readinesse, and that the time apointed was neere hande. Castlhauen answeared that the convoye apointed for that purpose was absent upon service, at its returne would satisfie his intente. That day spent, neither convoye or cariadge readie, Captain Hagan the second time addressed himself to Castlhaven, whoe answeared as formerly. The captain replied that he would not willingly subjecte to theire mercie (havinge such a tryall alreadie of theire rigor in that behalfe) as to continue longer then his quarter did warrant. The Generall assured him upon his honor that if delayinge upon the present score, and upon his crastinations, he would receave noe prejudice by; severall of the comaunders of the campe were in place, the captain could not helpe it, he must continue unto the verie last period of the time limitted. By times, therfore, the same morninge (past one or two howers more then the time apointed), readie to marche, cariage and convoye asistant, scarce out of the verie walls of the towne, when 5 or 6 troupers and a regiment of foote presented themselves unto them in posture of service, sweared to slaughter every mothers childe unlesse they presently lay downe armes. The advantage of the multitude, and theire cominge upon a sudaine, never dreaminge of any such passage, did putt the captain unto his dumms, as not well knowinge what best to doe. He was of opinion they intended noe lesse then murther if he yelded ; pursuant herunto, thought it better and more honorable course to fight it out to the last man, though against such odds ; thus contestinge, disputinge, and intended, a prime comaunder of the armie enformed of this base treacherie came poastinge to Captain Hagan, desired him not to endanger himself or his men, to lay downe unto him his armes, and did undertake to receaue noe prejudice, the captain against his stamocke condescended. 531. Captain Hagans severall suites to Castlhaven. The inhumaine proceedings of Purcell. Captain Hagans courage. Sir Walter Buttler.

This partie was comaunded by Leutenant-Generall Purcell, perswaded (as he afterwards alleadged) that the time limitted in the quarter was expired, and did sweare, if soe, that in spite of any opposers would shewe noe mercie, but butcher them all. The inhumaintie of this gentlman, a reputed Catholicke, one of his place and encumbencie, is notorious. Why should wee finde faulte with Timolin quarter, or any other such, when such a man, some time our sworne confederat, doe soe publickly misbehave himself contrarie to all lawes civill and martiall, oath and covenant? The cariadge and armes soe arrested, Captain Hagan went to the campe to Mc Thomas first, whoe still shewed himself his good friende in that exigence, whoe madd for the abuse offered, both went to enforme Castlhauen therof, whoe comaunded the complyance of the said quarter. Mc Thomas went alonge with his horse accordinge orders, the busines was like to be verie fowle betweene 532. Purcells crucll intention. Mc Thomas his good friende.

1649.

The Vlster parties loss by this.

him and the former partie, those must forbeare further troublinge, the poore Vlster lost by this tricke worth £20 at leaste, and severall of theire men flenched from duringe this time by the surmishes of Colonell Terlagh Mc Henry Oneyll, Roger Moores son in lawe, and Leutenant Daniell Oneylle, spoken of no. 525), whoe was not worthy to be apointed captain of that company, rather subjecte to all reproache, as the butt and laughinge-stock of all the campe, as he passed by. Captain Hagan this dismissed, marched with his men and lugage towards the north with the good wishes of all honest and well affected people, as well freinde as foe.

Captain Hagan marched to Vlster.

533.

The continuance of this armie neere Athy.

This armie continued here for the space of 3 weekes and upwards; such great preparations made for the future siedge of Dublin, nothinge talked of but Dublin and its siedge; this was knowen over all Ireland 9 or 10 weekes before this armye passed the Liffy. The day before the armie marched severall gentlmen of the said armie did meete in Woodstocke (where Mc Thomas then had his residence), Mac Thomas, Captain Morish Fitz Gerald of Allon, Sir Iohn Dowgan, Sir Robert Thalbott, Terence Coghlan, then comissarie of the victualls, a doctor of phisicke of the countie of Kilkeny, Wm. Garan, viear of Ballisonan, and severall others, and one father Paule Geoghegan, a Franciscan fryer. Some speeche was moved betweene Sir Robert and the said Fr. Paule concearninge the validitie of the excomunication (that against it, this for it), the Father provinge tho affirmation parte and the appeale to be both frivolous and illusorie, and consequently the Apelants to stande still excomunicated. Sir Robert, not able to answere cathegorically, began to be mightie angry and passionat, answeared, swearinge a greate oath, that the kingdome would neuer doe well as longe as any regular clergiman did therin inhabitte, and withall sweared that as soone as they gett Dublin they would putt this in execution, banishinge all such from the kingdome (I am an eye witnesse to this passadge meself, and thought very ill of the gentlman); you may partly conceaue by this theire cankered hearts and evill intentions. What? might any man of indifferent censeritie perswade himself that such men of soe damnable intentions might thrive? Noe.

Sir Robert Thalhotts verditt against the clergie, and why?

The Author was in place.

534.

The armie takinge garrisons after greate losse upon braue quarters.

This armie removed to the countie of Kildare, marched to severall pettie garrisons, loosinge men by assaults of noe greate concearnment for theire future service, graunted braue quarters to eache enemie garrisons; after considerable hurte don, they win all the garrisons on the west side of the river Liffy except Ballisonan, Mac Thomas his towne, which they left untouched, takinge Thalbotts towne and Castle Sallagh in the countie of Wickloe, packinge all those garrison souldiers, armes, bagg and bagage unto Dublin; at the now arrivall of both Ormond and Insichuyne with theire Puritants or presbyterians, easilie marched over the Liffy, wheare leasurly continued for a fortnight, a world of shuttlers followinge the campe. But an observeable thinge duringe theire continuance there, every night some farie, witchcraft, or other destinie caused many of theire horses to runn madd from the campe, through hills, montaines, and dales, some weare founde next morning or second day 20 miles of, others 10, and other some weare neuer founde, maugre all dilligent care to the contrarie; euery night they ran away in greate heapes and number, which was thought by understandinge

It was bruted to proceede of black arte.

witts to be mightie omminous (as it after proved). They drawe on by degrees towards Dublin, and pitched theire campe at Finglasse, two large miles from Dublin, wheare wee leaue him for a while with all kinde of spoile and jolitie, and returne to Ante Comissarie Caron, whom wee left with his fryers in Kilkeny. 1649. But ominous, howeuer.

CHAPTER VI.

Men can see to doe right betweene partie and partie, when it concearnes not theire owne particular: but beinge parties themselues, the case is altered, for here they which before were as sharpe sighted as linx, turned as blinde as a mole, and noe mervayle, for profitt and bribes putt out the eyes of Justice. Wherfore let him that would speede in an honest cause never referr it to a corrupt judge. 535. Plut. De Curiositate. Erasm. Lip. Pol. Claudian.

I have alreadie noted of this Caron that he was in good repute in Lovaine, but the matter did not then much concearne himself, neither was there any occasion to pamper him with gould, beefe, and wine, as bribes to putt out Justice eyes, and play him self the mole of all censeritie; himself with his penetential fryers, encendaries of the Seraphicall Order, wee left in Kilkeny, keepinge conventicles, pamperinge themselues upon Ormonds score in disrespecte of all that is religious, as havinge the temporall sworde to further and asiste them. When the Provincial Thomas MaKyernan, amost peacable man, was enformed of those exorbitant proceedings, in regard the suposed comissarie, accordinge his dutie and religious obligation, would not apeere before him, nor he to come to Kilkeny without eminent danger of life or imprisonment, he writes unto the said Caron, desiringe him (as intimat with the then state) to procure a safe conducte for soe many daies, and would in person apeere there to agree, if possible it might be, which was accordingly don. Wherupon the provincial apeered, offered all regular understandinge of atonment, though not thrivinge, within two daies to the period of his said limitted time, intelligence receaved by a friendly wellwisher that he was to be taken prisoner (notwithstandinge his said saf conducte), this first admonition did scarce beleeve, as thinkinge such acte to be against the lawe of nations, that any man havinge a safe conducte should be comitted to restrainte, behavinge himself conformable therto, as this Father did without the leaste blemishe or misdemeanour against the present goverment. But next morninge, beinge truely and really enformed of the veritie of the late intimation, away he went, notwithstandinge anythinge to his desire, beinge then in saftie and without danger, he writes the ensuinge reasonable proposalls unto the said Caron, which in the judgment of any indifferent judge is satisfactorie to any rationall witte:

Caron and his apostat fryers.

A safeconducte is sent unto the Provincial.

But not obscarued.

Fled away.

R^de^. Adm. P^r^., Raymonde Caron. 536.

Sequentia tibi consideranda propono:

Rogavi, ut expectares conventum Patrum Provinciæ, quos mea et vestra authoritate citare obtuli, ad locum quem eligeres, ut tuam comissionem admitterent, 1°.

1649. The Provincialls proposalls to Caron.

et tolleretur quam de te multi conceperunt partialitatis suspitio, et ad quam auferendam ipse Reverendissimus pater noster Comissarius Marchant, in sua ad me epistola, una cum nostra comissione data, vult ut in judiciis ferendis accipas assessores, et promisi tibi meam operam et assistentiam ad procurandam, pacem, concordiam et charitatem inter omnes nostros Religiosos.

2. Recusasti expectare hanc patrum Provinciæ congregationem et voluisti ut
3. comissarius et judex absolutus sine ulla mora admitti. Ego tunc te recusavi ut judicem suspectum, qui nimis favorabilis es; imo patronus Apostatis, meisque aduersariis, qui tibi a consiliis sunt et secretis.

4. Quia vocatus ab ipsis es meis inimicis, eorumque muneribus et favore corrumpi videris.

5. Jura decernunt in causa recusationis judicis litem divini debere, per arbitros a patribus electis, qui in loco tuto et conveniente videre possent, an exceptiones propositæ contra judicem sint vel frivolæ vel legitimæ, et juridicæ, unde, ad hoc arbitrum elegi et locum ad quod respondisti me excomunicando, mihique minando, etc[a].

6. Ne tamen ulterius scandala oriantur, dico iam aliqualiter in tuto constitutus nec velle cedere in hoc jure meo, nimirum desistere a visitatione Provinciæ etc. ea conditione ut tu desistas a tuo impetuoso modo procedendi, donec consulantur Patres Provinciæ, et lis per ipsos determinetur, aut saltem processus questionis et difficultatis ortæ inter me et te ad Reverendum Comissarium Generalem, Marchant, censere, et de consensu aliquorum indifferentium Patrum mittatur, eiusque responsum expectetur. Interim vivamus in pace, sine scandalo cleri aut populi, regaturque Provincia per vicarium electum vel eligendum per diffinitorium.

7. Si Patres nostri ordinis tibi sunt suspecti, eligantur ex ordinibus alijs et ero contentus, si hi non placent, elegantur archiepiscopi, et ero etiam contentus.

8 Si in nullo consenserit, publicetur statim edictum meum contra obedientes tibi, tanquam fautores hæreticorum imunitatis ecclesiasticæ destructori, et apostatarum Patrono.

9. Causa Patris Patricij Plunketti differenda est: 1° quia judicem recusavi. 2° quia locus non est mihi tutus, unde non cogar litigare. 3° quia processus contra ipsum factus est alibi, eligat igitur viros aliquos indifferentes. reverendus pater. et locum tutum et respondebo.

Datum in loco nostri refugij. 2. Junij 1649.

Hæc est copia vera concordans cum originali Fr. Thomas MaKyernan, Minorum Provincialis, quam infra scripti vidimus et legimus.

Attested by these.

Fr. Franciscus Fferall, Lector Jubilatus et Diffinitor.

Fr. Pa. Brenan, Sacræ Theologiæ Lector et Præses conventus Kilkeniensis.

537. The summe of those proposals.

Those sounde and pregnable reasons were not of force to convince the Pharacinian hearte of Fr. Caron. He offered him the arbitration of the diffinitorium (which is the Chauncery of the Order), or a Vicar-generall, to be choosen in the province, untill the controuersie was decided betweene both, that neither of both should rule, if he suspected those of his owne order, as not indifferent unto him, the provinciall is content to choose arbitrators any other regulars; or if this neither pleased him,

he offered to be said by any of the foure Archbishops of Ireland. The provinciall have don more in this busines then should have don, as humblinge himself soe farr (though for peace is sake) that he derogated from his proper authority, but all would not doe; the more humble and submissive the one shewed himself, the more proud, obstinat, and irregular the other proceeded in his corrupt waies, fauoringe heretickes, and won to be totally for them by bribes. As soone therfore as the provinciall was departed, as aforesaid, this ante-comissarie began to banish all the fryers of that order as did not adhere unto him, and when he perosed the former reasons, convincinge all rationall witte, was like to runn madd, and vowed against all reconciliation, other then goe forwarde in his intended mischiefe, seconded by the civill goverment pursuant therunto, he comitts to prison Fr. Patricke Brenan, Preses of the Convent of S. Francis of Kilkeny, and such other fryers as sided with him in the behalf of the provinciall; and this he did within two daies after the receipte of the said proposalls of Fr. Provinciall in maner followinge, attested by the Archbishope of Dublin, eye wittnesse in the said monesterie then resident:

1649.

The irregular proceedings of Caron.

Notwithstandinge all those faire profers for reconciliation, and sound reasons, made by Fr. Provincial, for desiringe of obedience to the said Fr. Redmond Caron, the Franciscan Convent of Kilkeny was guarded with 14 musketires on munday morninge, beinge the 4th of June; and on Twesday followinge the fryers were compelled by force of armes to stay from honoringe the buriall of a grave matron that was to be buried that day in theire churche; and about 7 of the clocke in the afternoone a boate was brought by two lustie yong men to ferrie the fryers over the river, and banish them, or else to carie them by water, prisoners to the castle without tumult. The busines was not caried soe secrett, but was fourthwith spreade over the towne, wherupon many yong men and women rushed in over the walls (the gate beinge guarded) to rescue theire lovinge neighbours and goastly fathers from the hands of theire aduersaries. Then comes Castlhauen with his troupe and trumpett soundinge, at 10 of the clocke at night, at whose cominge many honest women were by them pilladged of theire rings and jewells, and the fryers caried prisoners to the castle, about 12 oclocke at night, of which proceedings lett euery censere Catholicke be judge. Dated as formerly, as wittnesse my hand.

538.

Dublins certificat of those proceedings.

Castlhavens crueltie.

Signed, Fr. Thomas Dubliniensis.

You may guesse by those proceedings what kinde of men are those persecutors of holy religion; this Fr. Caron and his apostat associats will not agree to any reasonable, legall, or religious atonment, but use all severitie, injustice, and inhumanitie towards those pious, Catholicke, and inocent soules. O thrice unhapie Catholicke Generall, sworne to mantaine holy religion, that comes now in the dead time of night, with a regiment of foote-reddcoate-Puritants and a troupe of horse (sworne enemies to your former intentions), like another Judas Iscariotes with your armed cohors, to aprehende and imprison those followers of our sweete Sauiour Jesus Christe, bringinge them as malefactors before your Pilat Judge, and enlarginge, or sufferinge to be at libertie, your Barrabasses guiltie of all crime, Caron and his adherents) pilladginge honest and devout persons in that unseasonable hower, upon pretence of rescuinge the godly pledges of theire respectiue

539.

Math. 26.
Luc. 22.
Marc. 24.
Joan. 18.

1649.

Those obnoxious of Bulla Cænæ censures.

consciences. Those prisoners continued 48 howers in the castle without meate, drinke, light, or bedinge, not as much as one strawe betweene them and the planks, is this to mantaine religion? is this to be a pious Catholicke and a zealous Christian? Will any one perswade me that Castlhaven, Caron, and eache theire adherents, abetters, ayders, and asistants are not excomunicated by Bulla Cænæ Domini, though thither unto not spoken off by any other of the like kinde? noe verily; therfore enforme yourself herof no. 485; within 8 daies they banish all those fryers from the towne and convent, but such as obeyed the Ante-Comissarie Caron were admitted to continue; the laycall goverment did institut Fr. Peter Walsh, an apostat fryer, præses or guardian of the monesterie, insteede of Fr. Patricke Brenan, with what authoritie (if Catholicks they weare) the world may beare testimonie.

540.

Paule Geoghegans letter to Fr. Patricke Brenan.

About this very time some menaces and threats came to Fr. Paule Geoghegan, residinge then in Stradbally in Leyse, that he would be banished from thence, and the same be given to one Frances Cosby, an athieste, to whom before Generall Neylls cominge to them parts it did belonge; wherfore this Fr. Geoghegan did write a letter to Fr. Patricke Brenan, præses of Kilkeny, Franciscan Abby, as aforesaid, that he should move this busines to some of his freinds the comissioners intrusted, as Plunkett and Terlagh Oneyll, and cause them stopp such proceedings in the boode as contrarie to theire covenant alreadie with Ormond, for if they gave way to one such to be don, they would give way to many other of the like qualitie for the future. The said letter thus writen and remitted to Kilkeny, Fr. Patricke was then with his obedient fryers comitted (as above mentioned), but the letter came to Carons hands, whoe comaunded one of his retrograde fryers (by name Fr. Iohn Barnewall, brother to Sir Richard Barnewall) to write answeare unto the said Geoghegan, which is as followeth:

Carons answeare to Geoghegan by Iohn Barnewall.

Reverend Father, Yours, Reverend Father Comissarie opened, and because Fr. Preses is in restrainte for his disobedience, and for a mutine raised by him in towne last Twesdaie, he desired me to answeare you, viz., that he will doe what lyeth in him for the preservation of the monesterie; certaine it is that the precincts are ours by the peace, soe you be conformable to the goverment, and if in this you have halted, it is to be feared wee will loose all. Farewell. Kilkeny, the 9th of June, 1649. Your servant, Iohn Barnewall.

For the R^d^. Father Paule Geoghegan at Stradbally these, etc^a^.

541.

Barnwalls false intimation of mutinie.

How malitious they thinke to colour this abominable acte, givinge it such a tinckture, that he was in restrainte for a mutinie raised by him in towne, which was as false as Judas, but the uproare began, as My Lord Archbishope did as formerlie certifie, which, how farr from the truth theire assertion be you may without partialitie guesse, this Bernewall knewe verie well what this fryer Geoghegan was, how inclined and how halted from theire principles and goverment, as ever yett houldinge the negative of theire proceedings, and would admitte none of the contrarie sense to the exercise of his function, as he well knewe, when he said at the siedge of Athy, that some of those fryers that weare conformable to the goverment should be sent unto Stradbally, and those Geoghegans there to be

transmitted prisoners to Kilkeny. Jam novit, what he was, givinge this irreligious doome, and now speakes of haltinge here from the goverment, a phrase newly acquired by the introduction of Ormonds peace, as not to swarve from that parliament or Presbyterian styringe. Those Geoghegans neuer after wrote a worde to either of them, or they to him. 1649. His colloguinge, haltetinge.

Caron began now to vissitt in person some of the convents of Linster and Monster, whoe went to Waterforde; all the fryers there, except Sharpe and Anthony Purcell, submitted unto him; Wexford allsoe submitted, but Iniskorty, wheare Fr. Bonaventura Melaghlin was guardian, was mightie constante, wheare he founde noe semblance of obedience, nor the complyance of anythinge he desired; nay, nor soe much satisfaction as to admitt him for one meale to the comunitie, rather like a foraigner in camera hospitum, as not havinge the comaunde of the civill sworde, as prompte there as else where, for Sir Edmond Buttler the governor, an understandinge gentleman, loved well this guardian, and was not averse unto his cause, winked at the busines, soe that Caron was disapointed of his stickler, the interposition of the civill magistrats authoritie, whoe there not thrivinge, went with his apostat fryers, Christopher Plunkett, Richard Synott, Symon Wafer, and Anthony Ferbegge, went to Rosse, wheare Fr. Iames Tyrrell was guardian, but maugre his regular and zealous applications many of his comunitie was refractorie. As Fr. Iohn Pary an Englishman, Fr. Iohn Flatisbury, Fr. Patricke Dormer, Fr. Joseph Buttler, and others, but noe obedience was yelded him by Fr. Guardian, by Fr. Fælix Dempsie, Fr. Iohn Brimingham, Anthony Eustace, Richard Kevanagh, Thomas Moeeny, and others, now possessed of the constancie of the one, and instabilitie of the other, turned backe to Kilkeny and caused severall warrants to issue from the temporall magistrat against those fryers as weare disobedient (as he tearmed it), and specially against Fr. James Tyrrell and Bonaventura O'Mellaghlin, to theire exceedinge laude and praise for theire sufferance for justice: beati qui patiuntur propter justitiam, etc., in obedience to our Saviours admonition, si persequentur vos in una civitate fugite in aliam. Both went away to the intermedium-chapter of theire Order in Cavan, the 3 of Feb. held, 1649, accordinge the new computation), wheare the said Fr. Tyrrell was instituted Guardian of Ballinasagarte, in the countie of Longforde, and Fr. Francis Fox subrogated in his place in Rosse, but Fr. Bonaventura O'Mellaghlin did continue his owne of Iniskortie untill the future Provinciall Chapter, as hearafter will apeere. Caron allsoe did send summons to many guardians and other members of the province to apeere in Kilkeny upon a peremptorie day to hould a chapter there himself, without dependencie of either, provinciall, province, lawes, or ordinances of the order in that behalfe to the contrarie, as may be obseyable in all the actuall practice of the respectiue regular Orders these many hundred yeares, where he deposed the provinciall, and guardians, by the onely vote of his apostat fryers asistant in that conventicle, and zeudo-chapter instituted others of his proper graine, but left the province without either provinciall or vicar, contrarie to the holy institution of the Seraphicall Patriarch S. Francis. Upon intimation herof, the provinciall with his diffinitors did issue unto publicke viewe severall authenticke instruments against severall apostat fryers, characteringe them with the same denomination as a badge of theire

542. The refractorie fryers.

Edmond Buttlers behauiour.

Caron goes to Rosse.

Fr. Iames Tyrrell and Fr. Bonaventura O'Mellaghlins constancie.

What other fryers obedient,

and others disobedient?

Math. 5.

Math. 10.

Carons Zeudo-Chapter.

1649. irregularitie, whose names are as followeth :—Fr. Peter Walsh, Fr. Valentine Browne, Fr. George Dillon, Fr. Patricke Plunkett, Fr. Christopher Plunkett, Fr. Anthony Gernon, Fr. Anthony Sweetman, Fr. Iohn Dormer, and severall others. Amonge the rest of instruments that came to my hands, the ensuinge was one against Anthony Sweetman, Christopher Plunkett, and Iohn Dormer, in hæc verba:

543. Sweetman, Plunkett and Dormer, apostats by the Provinciall denounced.

Reverendus Pater Fr. Antonius Sweetman, similiter ex provincia fugitiuus, hucvsque contra expressum mandatum Patris nostri Reverendissimi, extra provinciam vagabundus per annum et medium, distinctionis promotor et author, ac propterea excomunicationis sententiam mandatus, scandalose et erronee contra summum Pontificem, Domum[que] Austriacam publice prædicans. Reverendus Pater Fr. Christophorus Plunketus, seditionem fovens in clero et populo, religiosos inter se, et religiosas inter se, et vtrosque inter se, varijs et miris modis, inquietans, dividens, ac suis factionibus distrahens, et nostris in contrarium mandatis pertinaciter inobediens, vagabundus extra omnem conventum degens in habitu sæculari, solicitans hæreticos ut potestate seculari et manu forte, irritentur acta capituli intermedij, et Reverendus Administrator Pater Provincialis declaretur rebellis. Reverendus Pater Fr. Joanes Dormer scandalose et injuriose ex solemni pulpito detrahens nominatim aliquibus ex præcipuis Regni proceribus, sæpius admonitus, et per nos mandatus ut desisteret, adhuc in sua contumacia perseverans, et specialiter sæuiens in publicis suis concionibus, contra Excellentissimum Dominum Eugenium Oneyll, aliosque magnates Ecclesiæ et Illustrissimo Domino Nuncio adherentes; Ad quos omnes universim et sigillatim ad singulas nostras censuras (prout præfertur) extendi et valere volumus. Mandamus insuper omnibus guardianis nobis subditis, præsidibus, ac conventuum nostrorum vicarijs, ut in suis comunitatibus publice legi procurent, easque sic lectas ad proximiorem conventum infra 24 horas a receptione harum mittant sub pœna indignationis nostræ et pœnæ. Datum in loco nostri refugij, die 22 mensis Junij, 1649.

Fr. Franciscus Ferrall, Lector Theolog. Jubilatus et Diffinitor.
Fr. Petrus Thiernanus, Diffinitor.
Fr. Bonaventura Connius, Diffinitor.
Fr. Joanes Mollachan, Diffinitor.
Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Minister Provincialis.
Fr. Mauritius Vltanus, Primus Provinciæ Præses.
Fr. Antonius Docharty, Prouinciæ Præses et Custos.
Fr. Bernardus Connius, Ex-Provincialis.

Hæc est copia vera concordans verbo ad verbum cum originali: Ita testor Fr. Malachias Corcran, secretarius.

544. Other instruments I omitte.

Severall other instruments to this tune were issued against those and others of this irregular crue, but to noe purpose; the former may searve your turne for an exemplare of the rest, and confirmation of what wee against them doe handle, wherin you may conceave two things in Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Provinciall; the one that he was as constant as any man might be, in the mantaininge of the just rights of his order, province, and wholsome members therof; the other that he was as dilligent a man as you could cast eye upon, and to bringe his just designe to passe, to its wished lustre, spared neither labour, danger, or travayle, how painfull soever. All the fault I found in this good man was, that his over much humilitie in the above mentioned proposalls to Caron, least any did suspecte to derogat therby

Thomas Makyernans behaviour.

from proper authoritie, though his intentions weare faire and peacable, ne tanta sit humilitas, ut vituperetur authoritas: the other his too much lenitie towards those withered members, as not rescendinge them accordinge theire deserts from the Order, notwithstandinge his meaninge was religious, more prone to humanitie then rigor, respondere stulto juxta stultitiam suam ne sibi sapiens videatur is not amisse, this gaue courage to poore men to run a desperat course, conforminge themselues to the iniquitie of the times, as beinge sure of intertainment from theire charitable father, like the prodigall child in the ghospell, though said not ex corde peccavi, as he (as hearafter will apeere) to whom may truely quadrat this of the Holy Ghoste, homo apostata, vir inutilis, graditur ore peruerso, annuit oculis, terit pede, digito loquitur, pravo corde machinatur malum, et omni tempore jurgia seminat, huic extemplo veniet perditio sua, et subito conteretur, nec habebit ultra medecinam, whom wee leave for a time, workinge theire proper future confusion against lawfull obedience, and turne now to My Lord Leutenant Ormond, at Finglasse campe neere Dublin.

1649.
S. Aug.
Proverb. c. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

Nothinge rideth on swifter wings then fame and oportunitie; here is onely the difference, that flyeth still forwarde, this backwarde, she must therefore be taken by the fore-tope, at the verie instant of her cominge, for occasion past is irreeoverable, and the losse by slackinge it irreparable; fortune seemes after to crosse all a mans action, and to be true handemaide to noe mistris but occasion.

545.
Livi. lib. 25.
Salust. Cat.
Polyb. l. 8.
Auson. 87.

> Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum :
> Mobilitate viget, viresque adquirit eundo.

Virg.

If Ormond did not delay the service in takinge petty garrisons in the Queens countie, Kildare, Wickloe, and the countie of Dublin, and marched without interruption or stay towards Dublin, and leaguer it closly neere home (as was thought his aime had beene), as sure as death might carie it. What should soe braue an armie as his was feare soe beggerly a partie (in all not passinge a 1000 men) as those garrisons? though they came in one and the same bodie, by his said delayes, and whiles augmented the enemie number gaue him time to send unto England for succours, and weakened too much his proper partie, leavinge garrisons wherever he went, without the least occasion, and must allsoe leaue 2000 men to waite upon Bryan Mc Phelim by the fore slackinge this occasion, he founde afterwardes this impresse impossible, which but one month formerly had been most fayseble, but, post est occasio calua, see what doe men loose by the slackinge of oportunitie is irreparable. Sir Robert Thalbott was an earnest suiter to Ormonde that he should send a partie to Glanmalury, to route Bryan Mc Phelim and his adherents, he undertakinge by 1500 of both horse and foote to bringe all the rebells there (as he tearmed them) to naught and destruction. This sett number was sellected and apointed to goe alonge with Sir Robert Thalbott, marchinge therfore towards the

Noe souldier or else—
Adagium Erasmi.
546.
Sir Robert Thalbott comaunded with 1500 men to the Glanmalure.

1649. A seeminge miracle.

Sir Robert routed by Bryan Mc Phelim. Captain Luke Scurlog and 300 more were killed, and all lost theire armes.

glan, an observable thinge that time of the yeare, amight-floude did increase in the river that runs in that place, without the leaste interruption this partie intered the glan; beinge all there, the rebells (as Thalbott calls them) shewed themselves, fought out soe manly, that Comaunder Thalbott did wish himself in his masters campe. The Catholicke Irish behaued themselues soe well, that none of Ormonds partie durst abide theire furie, many fell deade by the sworde, and moe by odds perished by water, which increased to that height since theire wadinge over it. Amonge the rest that here perished was one Captain Luke Scurlog, a captain of horse, and brother to Thomas Scurlog, they lost the matter of 300 and odd men, and all the rest with theire comaunder in a routinge maner saved themselues by the swiftnesse of theire heels, and dispersinge themselves, went thus away, leavinge for the most parte theire armes behinde, and thus did Sir Robert Thalbott with his newe comaunde thriue in Glanmalurie.

547.

Ormond oblivious of his covenant.

At this campe did Ormonde make a donation of all the tyethes and other casualties to his ministers and Protestant bishops, that before these comotions belonged unto them in the Counties of Kildare and Dublin, with a straight comaunde to all officers and comaunders to be asistinge unto them in the execution, a thinge as well contrarie to his publicke oath and covenant, exhibitted by him unto the Irish adheringe unto him in this peace, as against the conscience and former oath of such Catholicks, now comaunded to putt this prerogatiue order in execution, wherof he makes noe bones, onely thought to amuse herby Colonell Jones, thinkinge him to be really for Protestant religion, perswadinge himself this to be the onely jealousie of that cavallier, but herin was farr deceaued, for by this action he left away open for both Jones and all other understandinge witte to conceave of him noe other wise then that of the Holy Ghoste, stultus ut luna mutatur, that by the chaunge of euery newe moone doe varie his text; what, Sir, soe soone forgotten of your faith and covenant publickly attested unto a whole kingdome (if wee beleeued yourself) by the inscription of a Lord Leutenant, a peere, and Generall Governor of all Ireland? that presently you introduce your ministells insteede of Catholicke priests, sworne to the contrarie not longe before, this secret and thwarte dealinge is worst then open and publicke violence.

548.

Agents from Finglasse to Owen Oneylle.

All Linster, Monster, Conaght and Vlster (I meane the natiues) did adhere unto Ormonde and flocked unto Finglasse campe, except Owen Oneylle and Bryan Mc Phelim and theire respective parties, this notwithstandinge was most desirous, to have Generall Neyll to become of his partie, rather for feare then love, wherfore comaunded severall agents successively unto him for this purpose, and specially now in this occasion from Finglasse did sende Sir Luke Fitz Gerald and Sir Richard Barnwall, whoe arrivinge to Lisomaychan (where generall kept his residence), Sir Richard addressinge himself unto the Generall in a familiar way, began to admonish him, to thinke of himself and his posteritie, that he thought verie strange, that one of his witt, wisdome, practise, and worthe did soe farr forgett himself and those braue qualities, as to run such a desperat score, alone se solo, against a whole kingdome, consistinge of three severall nations, now jointly united against him, and none to asiste or seconde him, other then what partie there extant that depended on himself. The Generall replyed that Bryan Mc Phelim

was one. Sir, answeared Sir Richard, neuer perswade yourself of any such matter, for I assure you, upon the reputation of a gentlman, the said Bryan Mc Phelim submitted alreadie to his Excellencie, and that the rather you beleeue this to be true (drawinge a booke out of his pockett) by this booke, said he, I sawe him meself such a day in the campe of Finglasse with My Lord Leutenant; after concludinge his conditions, though the Generall thought verie strange of this action, and its veritie, durst not replye or misbeleeve soe asseverant an oath, but smuthered all for that present. Partinge that night,tthe Generall receaved a letter from Bryan Mc Phelim, settinge fourth in what posture he was, vowinge neuer to make any conditions with Ormond, other then what the generall would doe for both, the date of this letter was 3 or 4 daies after the day nominated by Sir Richard Barnewall in his former intimation to the contrary. 1649. Sir Richard Barnewalls voluntarie perjurie.

Next morninge the Generall did shewe this letter to the other agent, wherby Sir Richard was had for a practitioner in that arte. The Generall (after many overtures) assured them not to be auerse unto theire government or partie, untill he sawe a resulte from Ormonde upon the present treatie, and withall complained of the scarcitie of amunition, and desired those agents to be ameane unto Ormond to send him an instrument signed by both Ormond and Insichuyne, that he may lawfully and freely buy amunition from any whom he please. The agents promised faithfully to comply with his desire herin, and assured him they would doubtlesse send him the said instrument, takinge theire leaue verie cheerfull for theire negotiation, arrived to Finglasse, rendringe an account of theire affaires, moved the said desire of Generall Neyll, wherupon Ormond most willingly graunted his assent, the instrument was drawen, that Generall Owen Oneyll was allowed to buy for his money as much amunition as he pleased, wherever he could finde it, and doe undertake that none of my partie will giue a rubb or hinderance therto. Both Ormond and Insichuyne did signe unto this instrument (as desired), which beinge sent unto the Generall, he made his waies with Colonell Monke, Governor of Dundalke, for the Parliament, and bought of him worth £1500 of amunition. 549. Ormonds instrument permittinge Owen Oneyll to buy amunition. Colonell Monke.

Interim, Insichuyne with a runinge armie was in Meath takinge garrisons; every one surrendered upon sight, amonge the rest Trim and Drohedae were yelded, which was an easie busines, Ormond beinge for the Presbyterians, a branche of the Parliament such as kept those hoults, beinge once against the kinge for the Parliament, it was indifferent for them to be of either branche, as each combined in odium tertij, soe they be against the Kinge and Irish Catholicks. Insichuyne therfore in Drohedae, receavinge intelligence that Generall Neyll did comaunde a partie to Dundalke for amunition, as aforesaid, Leutenant Generall Ferrall, and 1500 both horse and foote, marched thither in all haste with his runinge armie. The Vlster partie thither arrivinge, made all things readie, but made some staye in towne, consuminge more time in drinke then necessarie or behoovfull in such an occasion, at lenght, weather-beaten with liquor, marched away with theire cariadge, fearinge nothinge in regard of theire foresaid safe conduct. But a mile or two in theire way (not a litle distempered), overhearinge some outcryes, lookinge about them to know what it might be, obsearved Insichuyne and his said partie in theire reare, killinge without mercie or humanitie all that came in theire waye, and 550. Drohedae and Tryme yelded. The Vlster partie in Dundalk for worth £1500 of amunition.

1649.

rushinge amonge the rest, made havocke of all. Leutenant-generall Ferrall with 30 horse narrowly escaped, all the rest were either killed, taken prisoner, wounded, or lefte for deade; all the prisoners stripped and packed into an ould ruyned walle of a decayed churche, overgrowen with weedes and nettle, without the least shelter from the pierchinge sun, other the bitinge nettles, beinge starck-naked, and noe more roome then what uneasily they might upon theire feete stand upon; both wounded and others (without as much as one draught of muddy water for 48 howers was not allowed) did stande in this plight, that seuerall of them died there, and he that was alive must of necessitie carie the deade either on his backe or breste (o crueltie and inhumanitie neuer heard off). Amonge the rest of prisoners that day was Captain Sheane O'Hagan, that was governor of Athy above mentioned, three score comaunders were taken prisoners, but all were soone released by exchange and ransome. The Catholicke Generall lost by this bargan both men, money, his armes and amunition, but how legally lette any man judge.

The inhumanitie and tyranous cueltie of Insichuyne against all lawes.

Captain Sheane O'Hagan prisoner.

CHAPTER VIII.

551.

Plut. Ages.

Lip. pol. l. 5.

Thueyd. lib. 6.

It is soe farr from scandall or reproofe to circumvent and intrape a publicke and professed enemie, as it is rather just, lawfull, and profitable, be it by any meanes possible, but by breache of oath or covenant, for, but upon reliance of one of these, an enemie is not properly said to be deceaued; but to betraye a kindsman, freinde, and confederate, is contrary to all lawe, odious to all men, injurious to the partie, and impious to God.

Virg. Ene. 2.

> Mutemus clypeos, Danaumque insignia nobis
> Aptemus. Dolus, an virtus, quis in hoste requirat?

Fraus triplex: 1ª. Levis ut dissimulatio et diffidentia hae suadeo.

2ª. media ut consiliatio et deceptio, illam tollero.

3ª. magna, ut perfidet in justa istam dono.

Lip. pol. l. 4.

The perfidious violation of Ormond and Insichuynes covenant with Owen Oneylle.

I would wish with all my hearte Ormond and Insichuyne were well instructed in the theoricke of this lesson, for soe would never use such crueltie and inhumaine tyranie towards this Catholicke partie and theire Generall. I doe not knowe what kinde of excuse can they afoorde in theire owne behalfe, if Insichuyne did alleadge that he was ignorant of any such covenant betweene Ormond and the Catholicke Generall, is false, for the motion for it was made in his presence, and the graunte signed by himself as desired, and in case this were not soe, the partie leased did shewe him the said instrument, signed, as aforesaid, by both Ormond and himself, now he could not be ignorant of it; hapily may Ormond excuse himself that Insichuyne did acte that scene, without his privitie, false allsoe, for a post every day went to and fro betweene them, and Insichuyne did not aduenture the leaste service without acquaintinge him first of it. And in case noe such passe had beene, they cannot excuse the abomination of the facte, for the Catholicke Generall and his proper partie was in cessation with theire partie, untill he receaued a resulte from Ormond pursuant to the agents negotiation; this he never receaued, and consequently still in cessation with them; at that instant, therfore, a freinde and

associate, and to circumvent such a man, to kill his men contrarie to covenant, I beleeue never a man will judge otherwise of this acte then accordinge our former aphorisme, which is to be contrarie to all lawe, odious to all men, injurious to the partie, and impious to God. Here more of Ormond. 1649.

By the assembly and Ormond consent upon the agreement, amonge the rest of the articles, one was that Mc Thomas was apointed Comissarie-generall of the horse, but noe sooner the armie marched towards Dublin, but Ormond, oblivious of this his couenant with the kingdome, deposed Mac Thomas, and instituted in his place by privat authoritie Sir William Vaghan, an English Presbyterian, and one of Insichuynes partie, wherby discouraged the Catholicks in the fervor of theire service, and disabled that gentlman for the future to acte any service, broke his regiment of horse by the bargaine, and stayed him to waite on the garrison of his owne towne Ballisonan with three foote companies and a troupe of horse, which garrison, because it concearned him, was onely left in them parts in the enemie hands. But if you desire how this came to the enemie, hearcke:— 552. The deposition of Mac Thomas by Ormond against covenant. Sir William Vaghan apointed Comissary-generall of the horse.

Mac Thomas, havinge from the kingdome the honor to be Comissarie-generall of the horse, must of necessitie stande in the fielde, and in regarde of his proper absence must place a garrison in his house (which was of greate concearnment for the publicke, and in this intrim (beinge then cessation time) jealouse with the well affected Catholicks, and speciallie the Linster forces, leaste any of them intrusted therwith did become of Bryan Mc Phelims parte. In this Ormonds armie was omnium gatherum; amonge the rest was one Colonell Luke Taaffe, a brother to My Lord Taaffe, and Francis Taaffe, his brother and major; three companies of this regiment was choosen to be left for defence of Ballisonan aforesaid, wherof two were of the Rellyes of Conaght; those two captains of the Reyllies betrayed the garrison and forte to the comon enemie for a certaine sum of money. The principall betrayer of this fort was one Christopher Reyllie; this man in the begininge of those comotions was onely a drummer upon the first cessation with Ormonde, from a drummer became a captain of Tories in the countie of Sligoe, havinge the matter of 4 score men adheringe unto him, comittinge many mischievous acts to both Irish, English, and Scotts. The Scotts men havinge the possession of Sligo then, did invite this Christy to joine with them, and would give him the comaunde of a company of foote in theire armie, which he embraced, and continued with them for a while, but crubbed to follow his wonted licentious behaviour, stole away, and adhered unto this Taaffe; noe sooner did he yelde the said forte, and the English intred possession therof, then he went to Vlster and became a member of Charles Cootes armie, where were many Conaght men, and amonge the rest one Robert Armsby, an Englishman by descent, but an Irish man borne, and a neere kinsman of this Reylly, for whose became of that partie. Beinge there for a while, and wearie to be reigled with any martiall discipline, forsooke them and repaired to Conaght, and again became of the ould trade to be a Torie. Not longe after Sir James Dillon, in time of Irelands greatest distraction Colonell in the countie of Westmeath, exactinge and forcinge full meanes for a regiment of foote, havinge not passinge a 100 men, such abuses were comon in euery mans mouth, and he much talked off for unconscionable and extorter, to render 553. How just his intentions thrived with Mc Thomas. Luke and Francis Taaffe, the one Colonell and the other Major. Captain Christopher Reyllyes character and pouerty. Betrayed Ballisonan to the Parliament. Sir James Dillons censeritie for the cause.

1649. some satisfaction to the gentrie by way of muster, did invite some Tories and straglinge companies; amonge the rest was this Reylly, whoo from the first day that he inlisted himself in that regiment followed his wonted course, goinge a particular score, pilladginge any where he went, though dependinge on the foresaid regiment, never adhered unto them, his name was publickly characterred for such, he disclaimes his right and dependencie in the said regiment, and inlisted himself under the comaunde of Colonell Grace, but there neither used any reformation (though one of the best captains for service, when he pleased), and could never be brought to any martiall civilitie; severall complaints apeeringe against him, not to be under the lawe mercie, did run away from his colours to his owne natiue countrie, where he acts many madd pranks against both freinde and foe; this partie was trusted with the forte of Ballisonan, and yelded the same unto the enemie, as aforesaid. Mac Thomas deposed of his comissarishipe, his onely house left in all the countrie to the enemie, waites on it, where wee leaue him for a while, and turne to Ormond.

Reyllies behaviour.

554. When Drohedae was taken, or yelded to Insichuyne, Ormond comaunded the newe apointed governor therof, under paine of death, to admitte noe prieste or fryer either to inhabitt or celebrate masse there, wherby not onely the priests were inhibitted to come ofnewe unto the towne, but such as there lurked in the Parliament time were banished thence. This extravagant proceedings cominge to the eares of the Catholicke comaunders in the campe of Finglasse, were mightie pensive and offended, dubious what best to doe in such extreamities, noe article of theire peace now complyed with, cursinge the contrivers and themselues for theire facile belife, all that braue armie at the cost and charges of the Catholicks, and themselves the stronger partie there, resolued to deserte the intended seruice and run a particular score, if satisfaction they had not receaved for those abuses. This matter cominge to Ormonds eares (habituated by many former acts of that nature), patron and actor of the former by order, did summon a councell of warr, declared against the said prejudicious order, alleadginge it to be a meere mistake, and promised faithfully all redresse. The Irish, verie easie to be perswaded (though every day they sawe his Excellencie kept noe touche), were herby satisfied.

Ormonds breache of couenant.

His false declaration.

555. Wee made mention (no. 491) of one George Montroe, by Ormond apointed Colonell and knighted, was now comaunded with the matter of 3 regiments of redshankes and others through Conaght to the north of Irelande to win London Dery, this onely, Carrigfergus and Iniskillin in all Ireland against Ormond. This Montroe arrivinge to the north, raised the Scotts in armes. Iniskillin agreede that halfe garrison from him and another from Sir William Coles should be admitted, which don, Sir George Montroe marched towards London Dery, and sitts before it. Sir Charles Coote, for the Parliament, desperate of any relife, did not well know what best to doe, obsearvinge the inconstancie of Ormond, had noe stamocke to yeld to such a man, whom he knewe not to be sutable to his promise in his actions (ait latro, ad latronem), or agreeable to his covenant, and callinge to minde how Generall Neyll was justly and highly discontented for the afronte receaued by Ormond and Insichuyne, wherfore addressed himself unto him for relife, promisinge him a greate quantitie of amunition and amasse of money, which the

Sir George Montroe raised the Scotts.

Sir William Coles conditions with Sir George for Iniskillin.

Sir Charles Cootes motion for Generall Neyll.

Generall mightie wanted for that present, and knowinge noe other waie to come by it, as faylinge in his former designe. 1649.

By Ormond and Insichuynes perfidious breache of both loyaltie and couenant with the Catholicke Generall, wherby became in a high degree became [*sic*] looser (as above mentioned), was brought to a sadd condition, all his men that surveivved him were soe discouraged that they scattered here and there from theire colours, and himself stickinge onely to 500 men, the want of meanes and amunition troubled them verie much, noe way was thought possible for the recooper therof; to joine now with Ormond in such a poore condition was foolerie, and noe lesse then to expose his necke to the ax-man, havinge soe recent a touch of his perfidie alreadie; to hould out against him (at whose becke the whole kingdome did now nodd) with soe smale a partie and soe ill furnished, was noe lesse then desperation; revolvinge those extreamities, like a wise generall, issued a proclamation in both campe and country that by such a day would marche to a riche and plentifull countrie, to Tyreonnell. His countriemen, verie apt for an expedition how dangerous soever of such graine, pursuant to the said proclamation, marched by degrees to giue a shewe of complyance; every day and night both number and courage mightie increased, neither freinde or foe perceaved any the leaste semblance of discouragment or feare in this noble warriors cariage, rather the contrarie, perswadinge still his souldiers to be animated, and that they now went to salute a weake enemie, distracted by rent and division, some joininge to Ormonde, others to Coote, would be fourthwith terrified by theire onely name, as havinge a deadlie tryall alreadie of theire warrlicke and manly behavior; you are, said he, to goe to a plentifull contrie, wheare you may refreshe yourselues at ease after your longe suffrings of hunger and penurie, and be able to gett out your kinsmen and fellowe souldiers, either by exchaunge or ransome, treacherously taken by Insichuyne; this and such other to this purpose were his intimations, though well aprehended the danger, wherby gathered a greate armie unto a bodie, and marched to Tyreonnell. 556.

The poore condition of Generall Neyll.

His pollitieke application.

Sir Charles Coote, enformed of his marche in that posture, and aprehendinge his just discontent with Ormond, did send him message, as aforesaid; receavinge which he thought how indulgent God did dispose of the busines, that in recompence of his money and amunition, as aforesaid, miscaried, was now beyonde all expectation provided of another; upon the first sight herof was some what scrupulous to accepte of any thinge from such an enemie, but sensible of the wronge receaved by Ormond, the mightie scarcitie he endured of powder and shott, destitute of all humaine way to come by it, and allsoe deeply aprehendinge in case London-Dery was submitted to Ormonde, that it did prove of verie dangerous consequence for him, and in a maner impossible to subsiste. Discoursinge on these solide and pregnable reasons and grounds, accepted the condition, promised relife, marched fourthwith directly towards Sir George Montroe, untill within one daies marche to the siedge, whoe now sooner had intelligence therof, then raised his leaguer, and would not abide the arrivall of that warriour (as alreadie practised in other Montroes irrecoverable foyle), to the exceedinge greate joy of Coote, as obliged to surrender the towne within a peremptorie time, if not by that reliued. The Generall did encampe neere home; Sir Charles Coote came to him, with all the freindly ostentation 557.

Cootes message.

Generall Neylls discussions and grounds.

Accepted the invitation.

The Scotts raised the siedge.

1649.
Cootes friendly intertainement.
Generall Neyll poysoned by Coote.

possible and invited him and his mayor officers to the towne, where he was served with extraordinarie plentie and curiositie, complyed with him in all other promised obligation with a surplusse of proper liberalitie; but, alas, was surely bruted that amonge the rest of his servinge, a cupp of poyson was ministered unto him of lingringe operation, by litle and litle peeninge him out (and though fourthwith marched backe unto the countie of Cavan with his armie, was not well), his haire and nailes fallinge off by degrees; and though his then phisitians usinge theire science and arte to heale him as labouringe with the gowte (for his Doctor Owen O'Sheell was not at that present in place, as the fate of both required), but to noe purpose, for never after was his owne man, as hearafter, more at large.

CHAPTER IX.

558.
Tacit. An. l. 8.
Plaut.
Apop.
Plat.

A MANS eye and his honor are two tender parts, the one cannott abide the rough touch of the hand, nor the other endure the smarte jerke of the tongue. As therfore by the owners they are carefully prescarved, soe by others that deale with them they should be tenderly used. Such pregnant witts, as had rather loose theire friende then theire ieste, must learne the lesson which is taught fresh souldiers, to take heede, while they leuell and discharge upon others, they lye not soe open that they be hitt themselues; for as witty speeches loose theire rellish when they are ouerseasoned with the sowre sawce of reprehension, soe when they come from him upon whom they may be justly retorted, by way of recrimination, they are most odious:

Horat.
Sat.

Cum tua pervideas oculis mala lippus inunctis
Cur in amicorum vitijs tam cernis acutum?

Theire sense of Generall Neylle.

Many of Ormonds partie founde faulte with Generall Neylle for giuinge this relife to Sir Charles Coote, for, said those braue censures, he did this against his oath of association, and infused this unto all mens eares, to render him odious in the comon sense, givinge hereby a rough touch unto his honor, and a smart jerke unto his reputation. But those linxs did not obsearue the former grounds he had for it, and the recente woundes wherwith he bleeded, receaued from a cruell and perjurous enemie, nor had these censurists any such motiues for the calefication of seuerall proper acts of higher concearnment for the publicke, worste character in the sense of any indifferent judge, and, ex diametro, contrarie to theire oath of union, association, and confederacie, too often sworne and perjurously obsearved, whoe should learne that lesson of freshe souldiers, not to levell soe high at others that they open themselues to all danger, as justly to be retorted on themselues by way of recrimination, though they make other men beleeve (like Pharisaycall broode) theire owne inocencie to be such as not carpable [*sic*] of the least blemish or error, which they will neuer be able to justific, before God or the world, onely, like theire former exemplar, they endeauour to giue it the best tincture they may in conterfeite colours; to cry, however, firste.

Whoe are guiltie themselues of all crime.

CHAPTER X.

1649.

Such are the chaunges and chaunces of mans life, as are the casts at dice, good and badd. A good chaunce may be marred with over sight, and an ill one helped by good play; soe must a prudent and well advised prince take hide that he governe his good fortune, and if the necessities of the times threaten warr and ruyne upon him, lett him seeke to avoyde them by all the meanes he possibly may. 559. Terent. Plat. de Rep. l. 10. Tacit. An. l. 2.

> Ante equidem summa de re statuisse, Latini,
> Et vellem, et fuerat melius; non tempore tali
> Cogere concilium, cum muros adsidet hostis.

Virg. Eneid. l. 11.

In Finglasse campe were the best gamsters in the kingdome, but upon cogingc karde, now must play upon dice; they cast at pleasure; the stake is greate, noe lesse then a whole kingdome, but upon presumption of notion and masterie therin doe marr all the game both future, past, and present. Colonell Jones, governor of Dublin, the other veyinge gamster, played his parte very well hitherto, nor durst now venture all his stake at one cast with umpires and indifferent judges to see faire play exhibitted, many bickerings hapened betweene those two all the while, and not easie to giue sentence which best behaued himself, this prudent governor, obsearvinge the unskillfull cunctation of his antigoniste, did send unto England for relife, which with all possible speede was to be sent under the comaunde of My Lord Crumwell, the terror of England and chiefe champion of the Parliament. In the interime the assaylants did cutt shorte the cittie of the water courses runinge unto theire brookes and peepes, wherby mightie discouraged, but the prudent governor, like a wise comaunder, nothinge dismayed, did send his corne to Walls to be greened and made breade (as wantinge fewell allsoe in Dublin), which returned safe, with the improvment of as much coales as were necessarie for the cittizens firinge; this he had don, from time to time, duringe the said extreamitie, wherby both people and militia did abounde with plentie of all things necessarie, and thus his fortune was presearved, his bad and dangerous game, by good play was brought to a hopfull issue.

Good and bad gamsters.

Colonell Jones wisly behaued himself.

Proued a good gamster.

Ormonde and his armie on the other side (as a bad gamster and worste comaunder), spendinge his time in Finglasse, with too much confidence in the strenght of his armie, viewinge on the brauerie of his cavalliers, eache petty captain walkinge in the campe, more like a comedian actinge a tragedie on a stage with his borowed feathers, or self-conceited-bank-rout-courtier shewinge his trashes, with many unnaturall and conterfeite motions, more like a civill marte of Indian wares then a martiall theater of warrlicke discipline. There he kept his Courte of judicature, all the affaires of Ireland (how transcendent soever) were don by paper petitions, his Councell or Comissioners of trust had nothinge to doe in Kilkeny, other then what references he sent them. By this meanes the fame of Finglasse was spreade over greate parte of Europe, soe that the Parliament of England had sufficient time to gather and send an armie (though noe greate neede, to relive Dublin), for confidently this noble Generall did not aime at Dublin by 560.

The campe of Finglasse his character.

1649. Ormonds intent.

these tergiversations, rather at the distruction of the Catholicks his abetters (as the event will soone prove), for if he did fall upon Dublin with celeritie, when arrived to Finglasse 9 or 10 weekes now paste, whoe doubts but might carie it? All his objecte in this busines was the exposinge of the Irish to the sworde, which perishing, had his intent.

CHAPTER XI.

561. Ex. Menand. Tacit. An. l. 3. Prob. Curt. l. 6. Senec. Theb. Justin l. 31.

THE vaine glorious man looks upon himself through a false glasse which makes euery thinge seeme fairer and greater then it is. And this flatuous humor filleth the emptie blader of his vaste thoughts with soe much winde of pride, as he presumes that fortune, whoe hath once been his good mistris, should euer be his handmaide. But the wings of self-conceite wherwith he towreth soe high are patched of borowed feathers, and these imped in the softe wax of uncertaine hope, which upon the encounter of euery smale heate of danger will melte and fayle him, for fortune deales with him as the eagle with the tortoise. Shee caries him the higher, that shee may breake him the easilier. And therfore a prince in middest of his prosperitie must thinke of the worlds instabilitie, and that fortune is constant in nothinge but inconstancie.

Ovid. Met. 6.

Sum felix. Quis enim neget hoc? felixque manebo.
Hoc quoque quis dubitet? tutam me copia fecit.
Major sum, quam cui possit Fortuna nocere.

Ormonds smilingo fortune.

My Lord of Ormond may call himself the sonne of fortune, brought all his designes hitherunto to passe, havinge kinge, parliament (I meane the Presbyterians), covenantiers, and Irish at comaunde; but chaunginge his text at the surrender of Dublin, indearinge himself to the parliament, notwithstandinge all which, undermined the royall brest of her Majestie and prince, that they apointe him Lord Leutenant of Ireland; now all Ireland doe flocke unto him as to an oracle, rendringe him obeysance, except 3: Generall Neylle, Jones, and Coote; all the townes, citties, and fortes of the whole kingdome (except Dublin and Londondery) are at his becke, which doe cause him to conceaue soe high of himself that he esteemeth fortune, not his mother, but handmaide; but the wings wherwith he towreth soe high are of borowed feathers, lookinge (but never reflectinge) on himself through that false glasse, judginge all things to be fairer and really better, then certainly they are, this [*sic*] his prounde and flatuous humor did fill the emptie bladder of his vaste thoughts, that he will admitte (I doe not meane a rivall) noe advice of either particular souldier, or councell of warr (though noe souldier himself), and imployed in the managment of all civill affaires of the kingdome alone, and correspondencie with both domesticke and foraigners, whoe behaved himself more like a tyrant monarche then any way a subjecte, he presumed unto his onely capacitie, what the best witts of twentie could not accomplishe.

Ilis insuportable imployment.

562. But now drawinge to the period of soe smilinge a fortune, and upon the last tripp to shake hands with its frowninge countenance, he comaundes his brave and

florishinge armie to be devided in foure or 5 heades, and in that posture to leager the citty of Dublin (neuer dreaminge that some horse relife had alreadie arrived thither from England, under the comaunde of Comissarie Iohn Reynolds, which was the fittest oportunitie to thrive in his former designe, to expose his Irish armie to slaughter and the whole kingdome to destruction), one parte consistinge of 3 regiments, with the ordinance to Castlknocke, 3 miles from Dublin, Easte, the greate riuer Liffy, betweene them and the citty. Another partie he comaunded to stande at Clontarfe, two greate miles from Dublin, north, a branche of the sea betweene. Another partie at Kilmoynome, a mile from Dublin, west, and by easte. The 4th, neere S. Stephens Greene, neere home, but very weake, at the most a 1000 men, under the comaunde and leadinge of Major Charles Geoghegan. All the horse were in a braue field neere this partie, if (by a privat comaunde not obliged to the contrarie), might very well reliue them. I do beleeue that noe man of any judgment will denie this posture of Dublin siedge to be treacherous, for you must admitt (I speake to souldiers and schollers, whoe I supose to be capable of this reason) that any man besiedginge a towne or cittie, wherin is a stronge partie, that he must of necessitie place such a partie at euerie gate, where he beleeveth the enemie did issue, as did master the whole force of the besiedged, or his armie to be soe seated, that eache partie may relive the other without danger or delaye; but the assaylants armie, not soe numerous, and the deffendants stronge, and with many waies to issue, then to make his towers upon some of the said passages, and plant his ordinance there to bater the towne, which a smale partie will doe, and the maine of his armie to be for theire saftie together, as well to oppose the enemie incursion that way as to giue an assaulte. But to place this armie as our present Generall, My Lord of Ormond, have don, soe farr distant from both towne, service, and others relife as it was unpossible for any one partie there to giue the least succour unto the other, without goinge two miles about, others six, and others 5, beside the horse that could easily giue relife unto Major Geoghegan (whoe never offered to doe it), exposed to the blunt of all hazard, without either sconce or tower, other then what the poore musketires made, when thither comaunded, noe such preventione was made by this our Generall, therfore either a foole or a traytor.

1649.

Now begins his frowninge fortune.

The division of his armie.

Major Charles Geoghegan.

The senslesse or treacherous siedge of Dublin.

Militarie advice.

Foolerie or treason.

But the warie enemie, the watchfull and carefull eye of Colonell Jones, obsearvinge his advantage (by the said division and composure of that armie), like a wise comaunder, takes the occasion by the fore topp, comaunded 500 or 600 horse, as they were, with all celeritie towards that partie in S. Stephens Greene, whoe couragiously defended the passage for halfe an hower, the matter of 2000 horse lyinge in the same field, neuer offered to relive those, untill they were broken upon, the passage won, the enemie horse ran to Ormonds campe, himself beinge of the verie first that ran away, and by his example and invitation all the rest followed, the enemie makinge havocke of all that opposed, whoe were verie fewe, for such as were of the faction, either presently fled away or became of the enemie partie in present action, as the most parte of Insichuynes men did, except Sir Wm. Vaghan, Comissarie-generall of the horse (as above mentioned), who was killed there. But O marvaylous proceedings, destinie, or self treason inventinge, such as were 4 or 5

563.

Jones watchfull eye.

Geoghegans resistance, and not reliued.

Ormond fled away.

Vaghan killed.

1649. Strange cowardize.

miles distante from this enemie partie, a maine riuer or a nuke of the sea, or both betweene them; upon the verie first confused sight of theire glisteringe swordes, fled away in a routinge maner nemine persequente, left theire ordinance, wagons, amunition, and all the had to the enemie mercie, or rather countrie boores discretione, soe that in lesse then two howers never a man of Ormonds partie was founde neere Dublin, other then such as were killed, taken prisoners or became of the enemie partie, as aforsaid, this greate victorie was won by 500 horse onely, and there greate Ormonds swaye was ad nihil deduced. 3 or 4 regiments did marche to Droheda to save theire lives from this diluge (as they tearmed it), the rest in all hast galloped towards Kilkeny; Ormond was that night in Katarlagh, the matter of 30 mile, others in Kilkeny upwards of 40 (Insichuynes partie). Such as did not revoulte, pilladginge shuttlers and others, theire owne suposed partie and comrades in the way, as they came home, verie fewe opposed, beside that partie at S. Stephens Greene and the matter of two troupes with Sir Wm. Vaghan, wherof were the most parte killed, and Captain Richard Geoghegan, spoken off no. 353, heire of Moycashell, was there killed, some prisoners were taken, and specially Luke Plunkett, Earle of Fingalle, and Colonell, whoe soone after died in restrainte, as was bruted, of meere melancholy and griefe, that he was ever of Ormonds partie. Absolutly this was the richest campe that had been won in any these 3 kingdomes since those warrs, or before in our memorie, a world of amunition, gould, silver, plate, jewells, tents, armes, ordinance, all kinde of marchant ware, horses, rich furnitures, all kinde of shuttlers, with any kinde of provision, and in greate abondance; by this Colonell Jones was both victorious, rich, and fortunate, that a man may lawfully say that fortune was his handmaide, of three rich fields that were won in Ireland, Benborbe, Linchill, and this he had two, but none fought as Benborbe.

500 horse victors.

What Insichuynes partie had don?

Captain Richard Geoghegan killed.

The Earl of Fingalle, prisoner, and died in durance.

A rich campe.

564. The defeate, 2 Augt. 1649.

This defeate was giuen Ormonde the second of August (a greate jubeley daie in the Order of S. Francis, called Portiuncula), 1649. And noe mervayle that such a disaster did hapen unto Ormond and his partie for theire impious and ungodly intentions, which was in case they tooke Dublin, all Ireland then in his owne hands, to banish all the Romaine clergie, and specially all the regulars (notwithstandinge his publicke covenant to the contrarie, upon the settlment), this was not soe privat, but thowsands knewe of it, as well Catholicks as Puritants and Protestants. Amonge the rest a captain of Insichuynes partie, a Protestant, arrivinge to Athy the next day, after the said defeate, there in towne, lightinge from his horse in the streete, it hapened that one Father Thomas Brimingham, prior of S. Dominicks Order in that same towne, was walkinge in his regular weede in the markett yarde, this captain seeinge him, enformed what he was, directed his course towards him, and asked him whether he was a fryer, whoe answered affirmative; then said the captain, did you here of our defeate in Dublin? Yes, sir, to my griefe, said the Fr. To your griefe, said the captain; by the livinge Lord, it was the best day for you that euer yett you enjoyed. By your favor, said the Fr., I doe scarce believe it. Beleeve it from me, said the captain, for I protest if we had the upper hand, and that Dublin were our owne, none of your ranke did liue in Ireland a month hence, and sayinge soe parted from the Father, this

The intention of Ormonde and his partie toward the clergie.

An English captain's intimation.

nuch he said to that Father, in open streete, and to the hearinge of all people, his was theire intente, and therefore thrived not. 1649.

Wee left Mc Thomas with some fewe horse and foote waitinge upon Ballisonan, s no. 552. Some flyinge reporte did breake out of the defeate of Dublin; Mac Thomas hitted upon one of the enemie spies acquainted with the partie, did sweare o hange him, unlesse he did enforme the garrison that the Parliament partie in Dublin was vanquished, and if other then this he enformed, he vowed to hange him he verie next time he chaunced unto his hands, the fellow enlarged upon those earmes, arrivinge to the garrison, did acte his tragedie lively there accordinge nstruction and covenant, cominge next morninge unto Mc Thomas, tould what he lid, and in what disposition he left them, wherupon sent a trumpetter with the ame lesson, offeringe quarter, and if they denied quarter, would be sure to haue one herafter, that the armie marched from Dublin, after theire victorie there, and such a victorious armie would neuer giue quarter to such a pettie garrison onely now in the kingdome against them to any purpose, beleeveinge all to be true, as beinge the relation of theire proper spye, despairinge of any relife, if they held out, presently did capitulat, and within 12 howers surrendered the castle, but scarce were they out of possession and Mac Thomas within, when truely enformed how the matter stoode, and were mightie sorie for what they had don, but noe remedie must packe awaye; by this stratageme Mac Thomas did recover his owne against the malice of Ormond, and he lost his owne but not his place of Ormonde, for though the encumbent Vaghan was killed, as aforesaid, Ormond herof certified, did not repaire the former injurie, don to both kingdome and Mac Thomas, rather comitte anewe such another, bestowinge the said office upon Sir Thomas Armstronge, another Puritant. 565.

Mac Thomas his politicke invention.

Ballisonan yelded.

Sir Thomas Armstronge, comissarie of the horse.

The matter of 8 or 9 daies before this defeate, relation of some distemper in the garrisons of Monster, cominge to Insichuyne, residinge in the campe of Finglasse, wherupon poasted thither with all credible speede, with a 100 horse, which was severally constructed, to whose indiffinitiue doome I leaue it, which was the reason that Insichuyne himself was not personally at the field then. Ormond and his dispersed troupes and companyes arrivinge to Kilkeny, did send his addresses post hast unto Insichuyne, with the intimation of the said fatale accedent, desiringe his speedie arrivall with all the forces he could make at present. The regiments above mentioned that marched to Drohedae, are Wareinge, Walls, Deuerauxe, Fingall, etc. Ormonde with some horse and foote marched from Kilkeny to Tigherahan, summons all the run awaies to gather to him there unto a bodie. Insichuyne and his partie did followe, where they mette 6000 stronge, beside 3000 foote and 200 horse of the flower of Linster forces that were in Drohedae. Notwithstandinge did acte or attempte anythinge, other then poaste too and fro unto Kilkeny, neither demolished castles and drawe the garrisons to the field, to make a considerable bodie of his whole armie to oppose the landinge of Cromwell, whoe by this time was drawinge to shoare (wherof Ormond was not ignorant, and of his strenght by letters from England), whoe was onely 5000 men, and God wotte what they were; but Ormond was generall then of 9000 men at leaste, and if he were pleased to drawe the garrisons unto the field, and call his partie from the 566.

Insichuyne was not at the defeate of Dublin.

Ormonds randezvouz at Tigherahan.

Ormonds armie to noe purpose.

1649. north, might haue 20,000, and more then 30,000 if he did agree with Generall Neylle, all which willingly he omitted, as contrarie to his principles of destroyinge the kingdome and banish the nation; he acted nothinge in this extenuitie of affaires, but pamperinge himself in Tigherahan and in my lord of Clanmalyries house, sufferinge his licentious Puritanicall armie to range here and there at leasure, plunderinge and pilladginge where euer they went, without exception of sex, age, condition or qualitie, except noblemen, theire copartners and warrantees.

Feastinge himself.

CHAPTER XII.

567. Valer. l. 2. Dion. l. 42. Polyb. Curt. l. 3. Cic. Offic. 2. Arist. Pol. 5.

Two things are necessarie for a merchant, money in the purse and creditt on the burse: soe is nothinge more needfull for a prince then treasure and reputation. He that will phisically compounde a right dosis of these two simples, must for euery ounce of the former put in two of the later; soe shall he presearve in health and saftie the bodie of his state. But he were better to loose his reputation abroade, then not to hould it at home; for neither his maturity of judgment to undertake, nor his alacritie of spirit to execute, availe in the perfectinge of his intended and resolved interprise, where hee hath not a powerfull majestie to comaunde, and his officers an awefull readinesse to doe as they are comaunded.

Severitas regem decet, majestatem præstat et dignitatem auget.

Ormond and Cromwell, and theire character.

Wee have here offered unto our viewe two greate comaunders, the one a domesticke, the other a foraigner; the one noted at home and abroade with a swip-chemny-character of perfidie and impeachment of covenant, the other a powerfull majestie to comaunde, and an awfull contenaunce to execute; that, with plentie of treasure in his purse, but noe creditt on his burse: this, with both money and creditt, wherby may rightly compounde that phisicall dosis with those simples, and soe presearve in health and saftie the bodie of that state comitted to his charge, wherof the other is voide, for neither his maturitie of judgment to undertake, nor his alacritie of spirit to execut, doe anythinge, either apeere or avayle in all his actions. Cromwell, now landed neere Dublin, was not idle, refreshed his men, weather beaten, and mustered others, used all kinde of warrlike preparation, for the space of verie neere 3 weekes; but our greate comaunders neuer stirred hand or foote to any purpose to oppose this foraigne invader, rather by theire behaviour ministered fewell unto his courage to doe service. Onely Ormond did send a poaste to Droheda, that in case Cromwell came that way, to be of courage, and that he doubtlesse would relive them, which he never accomplished.

Cromwell landed.

The loyteringe behinde of Ormond.

568. Cromwell 12,000 stronge.

Now My Lord Cromwell, drawinge to the field, made up the matter of 12,000 in all, hagg, ragge, and marched to Drohedae, with a braue traine of artillerie, got from Ormond in the defeate of Rathmine, whether arrivinge, did fourthwith leaguer the towne, on the one side onely, planted his ordinance, did intende to wi

it, or loose his whole armie in its pursuite, well knowinge that a busines well began is halfe ended, and that much imports to the hapie or disastrous issue of any affaire, what maner of intrance and begininge wee make, specially in the art of warr. The Irish, upon sight of his armie, was rather encouraged then any way daunted, made a sally and broke upon the forlorne hope, and retired to theire garrison without hurte, two or three seuerall daies continued in hott skirmishes, euer and then, the besiedged had the honor, without proper losse, for the most parte, and choice of the Linster horse, with 3000 foote, as above mentioned, were there, too much confidinge in theire aproved dexteritie, the more ancient regiments in the three provinces, and allsoe havinge greate hopes in Ormonds promise to relive them, behaued themselves most couragious, though some were of Ormonds brest playinge the traytor, but to theire proper destruction. Ormond enformed, by a dayly poaste too and from desiringe relife what passed, none was graunted, his promise severally to the contrarie notwithstandinge, sure if he were soe inclined, he might very well giue it, he had as many men within the said towne and abroade (and might haue the double number if willinge, as aforesaid) as his aduersarie, and farr better apointed, if he did but stande upon the hill of Taragh, 8 miles from the enemie, he would not venture an assaulte against soe stronge a garrison, and in sight of soe great an armie theire abetters, or if he marched with his armie to Dublin, now naked and deserted, where he was 20 mile from the enemie, he would easilie divert him, and secure himself, or else, if he passed the north side of Drohedae, where was noe enemie at all, he might relive his partie and defende the towne in spite of all Cromwells forces, for the very situation of the place was his bulwarke, a maine river called Boyne, passinge through the towne, was betweene them and the enemie; but nothinge was don, with all the hurly burly of armies mustered and brought to a bodie towards Tighcrahan, onely were spectators of that bloudie tragedie.

1649.

Cromwells principle.

The courage of the besiedged.

Ormond promised relife could giue it with advantage, but neuer did comply.

See what he might doe, and did nothinge.

Cromwell now possessed of Ormonds intent not to giue relife, comaunded a partie of horse and foote to the other side of the towne, on the north, as aforesaid, whom the deffendants might undoe, and saue themselues, if they had the witt to doe it; but doe beleeue, the excomunication wherof were obnoxious did soe blinde and dazle them, that they were incapable of decearninge anythinge to theire avayle, or that was honorable. The enemie discoveringe the now tepiditie of the defendants, is gaininge grounde by inces, drawes neere the wall, planted his ordinance there, makes a greate breache, an assaulte followes, braue resistance he had with great slaughter and beaten backe. When Cromwell sawe the losse and recoile of his men, cryinge out aloude, comaunded both horse and foote to inter the breache, which was now more feisible for horse then before, for the multitude of corps there miscaried did leuell the wall with the grounde insteede of fagotts. The defendants distracted by the largnesse of the towne, and the enemie on both sides, such as defended the said breache, seeinge the multitude of horse and foote inter the same, with rage and inhumaine crueltie, resolued never to giue quarter (accordinge orders) discouraged, gaue grounde, and turninge tayle, fled; as to the other parte of the towne over the bridge of the Boyne, wherupon was a drawinge bridge, had not the witt to drawe the same after, wherby might saue themselues for a longe time.

569.

1649
570.
Drohedae taken.

Wherfore the enemie followinge them very close, killinge euery mothers child he mette in his waye, some fewe of the defendants betooke themselves unto emptie ould castles to passe that furie, all the towne, now runinge with bloude, was possessed of the enemie. The mote, a very stronge place, unaccessible by assaulte or batterie, manned with 500 souldiers, havinge men, ordinance, provision, and amunition, in abondance, was presently yelded, without ever capitulatinge for quarter, whose very comaunder, though an English man, was putt to the sworde; all—comaunder, officers, and souldiers—they hitted upon were slaughtered; neither age, sex, or qualitie spared, souldiers or inhabitants, such as retired to pettie castles starvinge some two daies, others 3 or 4 daies, gott out upon quarter of theire liues, but not obsearued; neuer a comaunder that I know escaped that furie, onely Captain Teige Conor, whoe was left amonge the deade (as of that ranke) with many deadly wounds, and starcke naked, at night made a shift to come home by litle and litle, and after recovered. Some of the comon souldiers (as was bruted) were sent to S. Christophers island. Amonge the rest that were killed here were two Captain Geoghegans, Mathewe and Thomas, and of fryers were Fr. Dominicke Dillon and Fr. Richard Ouenton, both of the Order of S. Dominicke, greate antigonists of My lord Nuncios excomunication, and northeren people. Thus did Cromwell, to the terrifyinge of all the kingdome, behaue himself in the gaininge of Drohedae, wherby very fewe durst now oppose him whereuer he marched after, both courage and resolution was taken from the loosinge side.

The moate yelded.

Quarter not obsearued.

Captain Teige Conor escaped.

Captain Mathewe and Thomas Geoghegan killed.

571.

CHAPTER XIII.

Bud. in l. post. de orig. iuris. Cic. Arusp.
Pasch. legat. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. Liv. l. 2.
Cæs. Bell. Gal.

There is nothinge more sacred or more religiously to be obsearved then the inviolable priviledge and freedome of embassadors; for they sustaine in theire person as well the majestie of theire master as the manage of his affaires. Noe prince therfore aught to arrest his embassador, with whom he is not in open warr and utter defiance, or hath had the like first offered to his owne. He that doth otherwise violates all lawes of armes and nations, and leaues example of detestation rather then of imitation.

Sanctum et inviolabile apud omnes nationes legatorum nomen.

The 19th of October last, beinge 1648, a zeudo-Assembly, sittinge in Kilkeny, for the pacification now in execution with Ormonde, the then chayreman, Sir Richard Blake, in name of the said Assembly, did send My Lord Nuncio, then residinge in Galway, an authenticke instrument, containinge eighteen articles of treasone against him, comaundinge him either to quitt the kingdome, or menaced his Lordship with the rigor and extreamitie of the kingdome lawe in that behalfe, parte wherof hapninge unto my hands, for your satisfaction, I doe here inserte, which is as followeth. They doe therefore lett your Lordship knowe, that there is a declaration and protestation in preparation against you, to be sent unto His Holinesse, importinge in parte the matters contained in the inclosed, wherof your

Sir Richard Blake, chairemans hereticall letter to My Lord Nuncio.

Lordship may be pleased to take notice, and prepare your self for jorney to Rome, and defence against that charge there. And in the meanetime, that your Lordship on the penaltie which may ensue by the lawes of God and nation, by yourself, or any of your instruments, directly or indirectly intermedde not, in any the affaires of this kingdome, etc. Receavinge those addresses, though of high concearnment, the honor of soe prime a man, soe highlie traduced by those cycophants, caried all those affronts patiently, many in the towne of Galway were for him, and many seduced by Fr. Valentine Browne and Fr. George Dillon, soe that all were divided pro et contra, which he like himself did indure, untill now, about the month of September, this yeare.

1649.

More rigorouse then Q. Elizabethe.

Valentine Browne and George Dillon apostats.

572.

Seeinge now soe powerfull an enemie as Cromwell to come unto a nation alreadie rent and distracted, and with such a bloudie apologie of his future rage and crueltie, had noe greate hopes of his faithfull partie against soe many enemies euer to prevaile, and withall seuerally aduertised by both friende and foe to forsake the kingdome, for, by all induction, Ormond and his comissioners of truste (authors of the former letter and charge) would soone change habitation, quitt Linster, and come for theire saftie to Conaght, and, by all likliheode, seate themselves in Galway, which would prove too narrow for your Lordship and them, and assuredly are soe malitiously giuen, would here acte a tragicall scene, to the prejudice of both your person, dignitie, and function; theire impetuous furie and revengfull disdaine (in theire opinion) cannoe otherwise be asswaded other then by outragious injustice executed on the persone of your Lordship (though by the inviolable priviledge and freedome of all nations exempted, as carieinge in your person, as well the majestie of His Holinesse your master as the manage of his affaires in this kingdome), therfore, said this friende, you shall doe well to take the oportunitie of saftie, while it is offered, not to contest with fate, but give place to fortunes frownes, and suruitive malice which canot longe subsiste, or its ministers be perpetuall. It is enough you haue a touche alreadie in theire former instruments what they intende, wherby you may giue them theire proper character of violatinge all lawes, and leaues an example of detestation rather then imitation to posteritie.

A friendly advise to My Lord Nuncio.

The iniquitie of those quondam Catholicks.

573.

My Lord Nuncio tooke his jorney for France.

My Lord Nuncio thus advised, not to prove prodigall of his proper beinge, began his jorney for France, but before his departure left noe way unattempted for reconcilinge the nation, though all not of force, to bringe his said godlie designe to its wished end, neither the fearfull effects of all-thunderinge-excomunications, anexed to soe devillish an acte, as the banishinge of a Nuncio Apostolicke, and the extraordinary embassador of a prince (against the publicke verditt of all knowen lawe and Cæsars doome), was grounde sufficient or motiue enough to bridle the revengfull malice and disdainfull injustice of those venemous vipers and pharisaycall Christians. But was an obseyable matter, and worthy all observation, by perpetuall characters to be moulded in the retentiue memorie of never-failinge-posteritie, as a badge of unthankfulnesse, that the agents comaunded for Rome unto His Holinesse (as no. 334 touched), the Bishope of Fearnes and Nicholas Plunkett, there arriued and receaued with more then due honor, with presents and gifts, and the said Nicholas was by His Holinesse dubbed knight (as enformed by

The ingratitude of those two agents.

Sir Nicholas Plunkett knighted by the Pope.

1649. My Lord Nuncio and other grave prelats testimoniall letters of censeritie (whoe assuredly was untill then worthy of any honorable favour and calefication), now allmost a whole yeare in Ireland after theire returne from thence, seeinge a newe forme of goverment by faction and treacherie introduced, contrarie unto that, theire impowringe mission, and beside theire oath and couenant, forgettinge both worth, honor, and obligation, in disrespecte of both Pope ad quem, and My Lord Nuncio and clergie, a quo missi, to giue this an accounte of the embashie never yett came to him, nor in due reuerence of that, as behooved, the prime styrer of Peters name, nor to shewe themselues gratefull, for the honors both comon and particular receaved, though seuerally invited by My Lord Nuncios pressinge addresses to haue a conference with them, was neuer satisfied; but after his Lordship said departure, began theire jorney to kisse his Lordship's hands, as they gaue out, but arriued a daie or two after the faire was out. Lett any man judge whether those honorable persons did imitat the 9 leapers cured by our Saviour, or the Samaritan.

Theire great ouersight.

Luc. 17.

CHAPTER XIV.

574. SCILURUS shafts, while they were close bounde in a bundle, could neither be broken nor bowed, but taken one by one they were easilie knapped in sunder. Soe fareth it with the forces of an armie, whose saftie chieflye depends upon the unitie and mutuall conjunction of the inferiours with the superiours, and of these one with another. Wherfore, nothinge is more dangerous in the services of warr or peace then discorde and faction amonge the greate ones.

Plut. Apop. Dion. l. 52. Senec. Suas. Salus: Jug. Arist. Pol. 5, Curt.

Virg. Ecl.

> Impius hæc tam culta noualia miles habebit?
> Barbarus has segetes? en, quo discordia cives
> Perduxit miseros!

Ormonde and Insichuyno in Kilkeny. The behaviour of the armie.

Droheda won and settled by Cromwell, did allsoe man Trim, and soe returned victorious to Dublin. But Ormond and Insichyne retired to Kilkeny, and theire armie ranginge in the countrie, more like enemies then any way associats. But if Generall Neylle and Ormond were truelie united (as he was heartofore to the confederats) the game was not soe fowly played, nor the kingdome with one onely blowe vanquished; while this prime member and the rest did sticke together as a bundle or shafte, it could be heardly broken, but disunion and faction betweene these greate ones proved most fatall unto the service, as by sadd experience is now to Ormond himself fully knowen.

575. Plunkett and Barnwall to Generall Neylle.

Wherfore with all credible speede Ormonde did dispatche Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richarde Barnwall to Generall Neylle to Vlster with instructions and power to treate and conclude upon his proper desire (which was that all the confederat Catholicks as behaued themselues contrary to My Lord Nuncios Excomunications would sue His Holinesse the Pope for an absolution, and submitt themselues unto his doome, and reconcile the nation to the Lord Nuncio). This had beene the sum of Generall Neylls desire, and now the chiefe pointe of these agents

instructions and power to graunte. Arrivinge therfore to Vlster, they shewed theire comission unto the Generall, upon severall overtures, at lenght agreed, and gaue his Lordship the ensuinge instrument, signed and sealed by the said agents, in hæc verba: 1649. The returne of the agents.

Whearas upon the treatie with Generall Owen Oneylle and his parties a debate did arise, how and in what maner the Excomunication issued from the Lord Nuncio should be taken to remove from all men the apprehensions they may have, that any of the parties in this hapie conuention should be under the danger of that censure, and how the Lord Nuncio may be reconciled to the nation for cleeringe of that doubte. Wee hereby undertake, in the behalfe of such of the Supreame Councell and of the clergie that varied from the Lord Nuncio in opinion concearninge that censure, that the said comissioners and clergie will in the behalfe of all therin concearned (for removinge of all doubts) suplicat His Holinesse to free the kingdome from that censure, whether valid or not, and that the said comissioners and clergie will writte unto the Lord Nuncio in a lovinge and friendly maner, desiringe that he will be pleased to forgett all former passadges, at which his Lordship tooke any offence, and that he wilbe pleased to be a patron and intercessor unto them with His Holinesse in all occasions. Dated the 12th. of October, 1649.

Signed, Nicholas Plunkett,
Richard Barnewall.

The agents thus dispatched returned backe with all jolitie and mirthe, all the well affected to the comon cause, roused now theire spirits, alreadie halfe deade, were now reviewed. Ormond and Insichuyne gathered theire scattered forces upon those hopfull newes of reconciliation, he comaunded to Rosse 2500, under the comaunde of Major Luke Taaffe, to Wexforde 1500 men, beside the natives, comaunded by Captain Stafford, governor of the castle there. At this time it was the frowninge fate of Irelands fortune that Generall Neylle did labour in good earnest with a dangerous sicknesse, by his then phisicians called gowte; but deccaued rather the operation of that lentinge poyson spoken of (no. 557), however, pursuant to the said agreement, he comaunded his armie, 7000 stronge, under the leadinge of Leutenant Generall Ferrall (asisted by the Bishope of Clogher), to Linster to joine with Ormonde, whoe arrivinge were most wellcome unto all well affected, and in the exteriour unto Ormonde and his associats (whoe was dexter enough to cover two faces under one hoode), where wee leaue them gatheringe unto a bodie, a numerous armie, but actinge nothinge, rather studyinge to crosse all honorable designe, and speake of Cromwell. 576. The maninge of Wexforde and Rosse. Generall Neylle sicke. 7000 Vlster joine with Ormonde.

CHAPTER XV.

The two famous soldiers of Rome and Greece, which shott like two thunderbolts unto the west and easte, and filled the whole world with the fame of theire victories, 577. Sul. de Cœl.

1649. Curt. de Alex. Val. l. 7. Cæs. apud Plut. Cicer. Lucan. l. 1°.

are renowned for nothinge more then theire celeritie in doinge and preuentinge the verie reporte of theire cominge, for there is nothinge soe excellent in a chiefe as prevention; it blesseth the action with success, and crowneth the actor with glorie. He therfore that would arriue at the poste of victorie, and by her gates enter the tower of fame, must sayle by this way:

—— rapit agmina ductor
Impiger, et torto Balearis verbere fundæ
Ocyor et missa Parthi post terga sagitta.

All the garrisons of Wickloe and Wexforde counties taken by Cromwell.

Cromwell, after his late victorie in Drohedae, marched as privat as might be from Dublin towards Arclowe in the countie of Wickloe, not hearde off untill there, upon sight gott the forte there, and thus marchinge alonge lost many of his horse in them straight passadges, by Bryan Mc Phelims partie; his owne proper horse and furniture was caried from the campe by Christopher Twoohill, wheron did his father, Luke Twoohill, ride after, whoe was sent unto by My Lord Cromwell, that he would giue him a £100 for him, but for gould or siluer could not have him backe; but the said gentlman kept him as a monument, gettinge in his way Fearnes, Prospecte, Iniskortie and others, manninge all, he marched towards Wexforde towne, a very stronge place, and though manned as above mentioned, was sure of it, before he left Dublin, the said Stafford, a vaine, idle yonge man (but sutinge to the times), was governor of both towne and castle, nothinge practised in the arte militarie. Cromwell, as confident of the towne, accordinge covenant, marched without tergiversation unto the verie streete, one onely culverin was discharged from the castle, but wittingly soe high, that it could doe noe hurte, which Cromwell admiringe said, What, did the rogue shutt with bullett? Marchinge on, noe opposition was giuen, slaughteringe all that came in his way, without exception of sex or person, age or condition, onely such as were of the conspiracie; many of the souldiers (for the most parte Vlstermen, My Lord of Iveaghs regiment) saved themselves by boates and swiminge, but greate mortalitie did accompanie that furie of both souldier and native, all sex and age indifferently there perished; amonge the rest Sir Edmond Buttler, a braue gentlman, was there killed; many priests and fryers of both regular and secular orders of S. Francis Order were these, Fr. Richard Synott, Fr. Iohn Esmond, Fr. Peter Stafford, Fr. James Cheeuers, Fr. Paule Synott, Fr. Iames Colmore, Fr. Zymon Stafforde, etc., all which were against the excomunication of My Lord Nuncio.

Governor of Wexford.

Wexford taken.

Edmond Buttler killed.

Fryers killed.

578.

This famous warriour, embracinge the oportunitie and followinge close his victorie, like the former, his exemplars, with celeritie prevented the verie reporte of his cominge, knowinge this to be the onely meanes to blesse his actions with successe, to attaine unto the porte of victorie, and inter unto the gate of fame, must onely saile by this way, he therfore marched unto Rosse; Major Taaffe and his partie havinge intelligence therof, mighty encouraged, and willinge to shewe themselues men in that extreamitie. But Ormond, spyinge theire said resolution, and not sutable to his principles, comaunded the said major and his partie to quitt the towne and repaire unto the campe, and not to endanger either himself or them in that service; in due observance therof, deserted the towne and went to the campe, leavinge the poore natiues and towne to the enemie mercie, whoe was not within

The intended courage of Rosse garrison.

Ideo are comanded to deserte the place.

; miles to the towne then, but informed that the towne was, as aforesaid, deserted, 1649.
narched thither, intred the same without opposition.

Noe sooner in possession therof then began to build a bridge ouer the water, to 579.
nasse with ease all his armie unto the countie of Kilkeny, which was a stupendious
vorke, for there were two maine rivers, Feoire and Berow, joininge there unto one
ned, and the sea tide passinge over the towne in the said rivers six or 7 meiles, he
vas buildinge this bridge upon this swifte and boisterous runinge-tyde-water, with
narrells, planks, casks, and cables, could not but spende both time, labour, and
charge therin; but while it was in agitation, Ormond had the matter of
3 thousande foote and 5 regiments of horse (containinge at leaste 4000 horse),
n campania upon the continent, one daies marche from the enemie, and neuer
offered to giue the leaste interruption unto him, which was an easie busines to giue
him a rubb, in such a disvantagious aplace, for assuredly a 1000 musketires
and two culverins might hinder the same in spite of all the enemie forces, and the
rather that noe horse could come to that side from the aduersarie, without goeinge
20 mile about and through such straights, as a smale partie did hould off a greate
armie, noe such, or other thinge tendinge to the same, was don, and therfore the
bridge was finished, notwithstandinge all difficultie. Lett any indifferent man
judge whether this was loyaltie or treason. While Cromwell did continue in
Rosse he lodged in the Soveraignes house, one Francis Dormer, where did hange
a picture of My Lord of Ormonds; Cromwell, gazinge on it, asked whoe it was that
it represented? being tould, said, that the man whom the picture concearned was
more like a hunts-man then any way a souldier, which was most true, and the very
partie soe inclined by education and nature.

The stupendious bridge made by Cromwell.

The number of Ormonds armie.

His publicke mistake.

Judge you which of both.

While all this was acted, three severall armies, Monster, Vlster, and Linster, 580.
and many from Conaght, were gathered together under Ormonds comaunde,
accompanied with Insichuyne, did seate himself in Johnstowne, six mile from
Kilkeny towards Rosse. But Cromwell, havinge finished the bridge, as aforesaide,
marched over it, to oppose the former armie, the directe way, but informed of the
strenght and composure therof, retired to Inishdeog, a most disvantagious place
for horse service (as any that is acquainted with the same may averr), this was at
the most 8000 foote, the basest infanterie that was euer brought unto a field, and
1500 horse, as sure as death, Ormond was the double number. Both the armie
comaunders desired his Lordship to enforme himself of the souldiers intent for
battle, and how inclined, wherupon called the Bishope of Clogher, and willed him
to advice with the Vlster forces how inclined, or what courage did he perceaue in
them for battle, whether willinge to fight, or discouraged by the reports of
Cromwells former cruell proceedinges. The bishope, addressinge himself to
Leutenant Generall Ferrall, and jointe examined both comaunder and souldier,
the comon souldiers answeared that they were ignorant of any other matter or
purpose of theire cominge to Linster other then to fight with the enemie, and giue
a rubb unto his further proceedings, which without blowes (for ought they knowe)
could not be otherwise don, that they hoped in the divine asistance would abate his
courage (onely growinge peremptorie for want of resistance) and reuenge his
crueltie, ministred unto theire countrimen and associats, and that they thought it

Cromwells retreate to Inishdeoge.

The willingnesse of the Vlster armie to fight and theire reasons for it.

1649. an inexpiable blemish unto the Irish nation, the most parte there in armes, not to shewe theire valor, soe much spoken off, in foraigne countries unto a handfull of an insultinge enemie.

581. Vpon this warrlike and manly resulte of all the Vlster armie, the Bishope and Leutenant-Generall returned to Ormond and tould what passed, which he hearinge, smiled a litle, said that he would comaunde all the armie unto a bodie unto the posture of battle. Not soe, My Lord, said the leutenant generall, lett all the Irish be comaunded unto one and the same bodie, and Insichuyne and your Lordship's English partie in another division aparte, for our men are mightie jealouse of them, that as the heate of the fight did growe they prove not soe censore and friendly, it is not therfore fitt that such a considerable partie, in whose Loyaltie wee diffide, should be in either fronte, reare, flanke, or mixt to our armie; lett them, My Lord, said he, have theire peculiar taske; or if this doe not please your Lordship, lett the Linster forces onely joine with our Vlster armie, and lett the rest of the armie stande upon yonder hill as spectators onely, and thus alone will fight with the enemie, and doe hope in God to beare him downe. Ormond attentive, hearinge out those reasons, in returne answeared never a worde, but fourth with comaunded the whole armie to mareh backe towards Kilkeny, to defende the citty, as was bruted, all well affected, as well Vlster as others, thought verie strange of this busines, and conceaued noe good hopes of any prosperous issue, notwithstandeinge in regarde of theire recent reconciliation they smuthered all, untill (as they thought) the arrivall of theire owne generall, by whom they expected the rectifyinge of these abuses. Cromwell obsearvinge now all danger past, came out of that nuke (where, if forced onely to continue but for a shorte time, did starve all his armie) and marched towards Cnocktaghar, a troughfare towne and a stronge place, belonginge to Sir Richard Buttler, gott the same without a blowe, leavinge a garrison there, marched with all expedition towards Carrignashurie, Ormonds house, which was guarded with a stronge English garrison, but noe sooner hearde of Cromwells marche thither then some of the best note of officers there went to meete his Lordship, surrendringe both towne and courte unto him, and became of his partie, some wherof with others were lefte there in garrison, and others marched with the armie; hitherto is verified in Cromwell what Plutarchus writeth of Cæsar, veni, vidi, vici.

Dispute of the composure of the battle.

Leutenant Generall Ferralls sense.

Note Ormonds behavior here.

Cnocktagher yelded to Cromwell.

Carrige yelded.

CHAPTER XVI.

582. Every action has his warrantie from the collection of circumstances; and amonge these that of time is of greatest moment, for not to adventure when wee should is cowardize, not prudence; and to dare when wee should not is rashnesse, not valour. A wise man therfore must forme his counsells and frame his actions upon the mould of necessarie circumstances.

Cæsar. l. 5. Sopho. in El. Senec. Mid. Tacit. Hist. 4. Ovid. Remed.

> Temporis ars medecina ferè est: data tempore prosunt,
> Et data non apto tempore uina nocent.

Ormond noe sooner enformed of the surrender of Carrige, then hoisinge saile,

thither marched with his whole armie, Cromwell herof certified, leavinge a stronge garrison there, fearied all his armie over the Shuire, to take the shortest cutt for Waterforde, as other places were betrayed, soe was this promised him upon sight; to hoode a litle this busines, Ormond advisinge with Insichuyne, leavinge him chiefe comaunder of the armie, and speciale orders to giue an attempte upon Carrige garrison, posted himself to Waterforde, but the natiues were too jealouse of his Lordship, would not admitt him unto the citty, nor any garrison from him, other then the Vlstermen, wherupon Ormonde did send dispatches for Major-Generall Huigh Oncylle to bringe 1300 men of the Vlster forces to Waterforde; but the major excusinge himself, Leutenant-generall Ferrall with the same number of men was thither comaunded governor, and though made the best haste he could, yett a colonell from Ormonde, privatly workinge the surrender of the cittie to the enemie upon demaunde.

1649.

Ormond to Waterforde and Insichuyne to Carrig with the armie.

Ormonds mercury for treason.

The Leutenant-generall arrivinge, was herof fourth with certified, whoe layed hands on him, comittinge him to safe custodie, examininge him, founde all to be true, and to proceede from Ormonds brest, notwithstandinge and though guiltie of death by the lawe of armes, and the Leutenant-generall his imediat judge, as governor and chiefe comaunder of the citty, where the trespasse was comitted and the partie araigned, remitted both guilte and doome to My Lord of Ormonde, whoe fourthwith acquitted him. The enemie did comaunde a trumpeter to sumon the citty to yeld upon quarter; Leutenant-generall Ferrall would giue way to none to answere other then himself, whoe required the trumpeter to returne unto his master with this resulte, that he was Leutenant-generall Ferrall, governor of that place, at present havinge 2000 of his Vlster forces there, that as longe as any of them did survievve would not yeld the towne; with this intimation the trumpeter turned taile; Cromwell herof certified, dislodginge, turned his aime elsewhere.

Arrested by Generall, but remitted to Ormond and acquitted.

Sumons Waterforde.

Insichuyne, pursuant to his former assignation by Ormond, comaunded an assaulte to be giuen to Carrige, 1500 men was the sett number under the leadinge of Major Charles Geoghegan, seuerally spoken before). This Charles was son unto Art Mc Huigh Geoghegan, of Castltowne in Kinaliagh, havinge scientifically learned his humanitie and the rudiments of logicke, thought himself not satisfied with any arte soe suitinge his inclination as that of Mars, nor the same but in its true fonte and chiefe pallestra, takinge his course therfore for Flanders, where to his youthfull comendation behaued himself the matter of 5 or 6 yeares, untill the rebellion of Cathalunia began against the Catholicke Majestie, wherupon many of the Low Countrie armie were thither transposed, and amonge the rest this yonge warriour.

583.

A brife of Charles Geoghegans education.

In the kingdome of Nauarra, both Catholicke and Christian armie did meete, where the Irish, in the behalf of the Spaniard, did such deeds accomplishe that the Frenche did for a longe time feele the smarte therof, wherin this yonge Charles was deseruedly wounded in his legge, that for a longe time after halted in one, and had a bullett in his bodie for 6 yeares after, as a cause of knowledge of that skirmishe; in remuneration of his valor that day was from Alferez promoted to be Captain, to be payed without arrears, and ventaja, as they call pension; removinge thence to Cathalunia, was comaunded with another partie to that impregnable and reall forte

1649. His constancie in a siedge.

of Perpinann, where the Frenche did leaguer him soe longe that all the provision of the forte was exhausted. Butt havinge seuerall strarvlinge horses and asses did feede upon as willinge as upon chickins, nay, soe continued untill an asse skull was bought (and thought cheape enough) for a noble; this extenuitie did he indure, but not longe after was relived and the leaguer beaten offe.

584.

Notwithstandinge his high esteeme in that Spainish armie, some jealousies were ministred, wherupon went unto the Frenche armie, and presentinge himself before the Generall there, obsearvinge both his breedinge, language, audacitie, and courage, nobly receaued him as captain of infanterie, with an addition of both meanes and honor, and still had a speciall eye of benevolence towards him. But the Spanish affaires growinge remisse in that kingdome, and that Barcelona, the chiefe cittie there, was taken by the Frenche, the Frenche Generall must giue attendance there for its securinge. Interim, his son did comaunde the armie in his absence, a greate comaunde to our now Charles. But in publicke meetinge, upon some accidentall occasion, spoke some thinge that the noble spiritt of an honorable souldier might judge to his reputation prejudicious, and specially amonge the French, whoe of such matters are too neece (though soe lovinge friends for the sympathy of conditions, age, stature, and learninge), went unto a duell well against his other demeanour, as his then chiefe comaunder and reall benefactor, but eadged on by that inatiue pointe of honor (more deere unto him then all the caducat goods of Europe), had the fortune to giue the other upon the first boute a deadly foile, which noe sooner receaued, then willingly gave him his raper, and leaninge on the victors shouldier, or arme, brought him to his tent, but obsearvinge truely his eminent danger, stole away the same night, and tooke a poaste horse towards the generall to Barcelona, where simulatinge a letter from his father in Ireland to haue receaued, desiringe his speedie arrivall, and pursuant to the same intimation did supplicat the Generalls passe; havinge prevayled, tooke his way directly to Rochell, where embarkinge himself to be transported unto Ireland, arriued with saftie, and is euer since in honorable service, euer imployed in greatest dangers, in Dublin (as above mentioned), and now in comaunde with this partie.

His duell with the French Generalls son, and killed him.

His arrivall to Ireland.

585.

Major Geoghegan therfore with his 1500 men, with swordes, peekes, and musketts onely, without as much as one pioneere or any kinde of engine had they for the advance of this designe, but must fight brest to breste with a sumptuous and high walle, if not that they were exposed willingly for slaughter. The leaste they could have for such an interprice was ladders, but none at all; notwithstandinge couragiously advanced with such a braue resolution, that maugre all difficultie the major did leade them on unto the verie walle, where they manly fought with both stones, men, and women, the matter of two howers, with greate slaughter on either side, and specially the assaylants lost 500 men and this braue major (whom I beleeve was the prime objecte of this fatall service), and a leutenant of his name, Richard Reagh Geoghegan, and presently a retreaite was sounded after soe much losse in the sight of a florishinge armie, and the garrison at instante to be yelded, as havinge never shott of powder, as was credibly after averred by some of the same enemie (and this much did Insichuyne likly knowe). The Majors corps was

His manly advance to his fatall service.

This Major and Geoghegan killed.

caried alonge to Kilkeny, and honorably interred there in Our Lady Churche, with both the ceremonie of Church and militarie, with the consternation of both friend and foe that was ever acquainted with him; of whom you may note to his eternall prayse, that he beinge of that partie that did adhere unto the late malignant parte of the Councell against My Lord Nuncios censures publickly, was by particular allowance soe to behave himself. Of his censeritie in that busines you may not doubt, for in his will and testament (which was still perfected) was a clause or provisoe that none should be capable of any his legacie but such as did adhere unto My Lord Nuncio and his censures; this much he charged the executors of the said will to putt in due execution, as conformable to his intentions (as in the said will doe apeere). This is evidence enough of his integritie in that behalfe, whom we beseeche God may accept off.

1649.

Major Geoghegan buried in Kilkeny.

His Catholike Will.

Ormond in Waterforde comaunded Leutenant-generall Ferrall to marche with a partie of horse and foote to Passadge and defende the same, undertakinge by his honor and creditt to keepe off the enemie from attemptinge any thinge that waye. The Leutenant-generall arrivinge thither, began to repaire a demolished forte that was there, and confidinge too much in Ormonds promise, was verie carelesse, comaunded neither centrie or watche towards the enemie; but Ormond, notwithstandinge his honorable engagment as aforesaid, did not comaunde as much as one horse to spie the enemie proceedings, whence came to passe with this supine negligence of the Leutenant-generall, that unaware 7 or 8 troupes came from Cromwell to the very place where the Leutenant with his partie did worke; some were killed, others taken prisoners, the rest tooke theire flight by the sea side, and after by high and inaccessible rocks, the Leutenant-generall himself narrowly escaped. Captain Iohn O'Hagan (severally hertofore mentioned) and Major Phelim Mc Arte Oge Oneylle, prisoners, were caried alonge to Corke, where continued for 5 or 6 weekes, made a narrow escape, and went to the north. The Leutenant-generall receaued this losse for his too much credulitie, though Ormonde gaue noe other excuse, onely said it was a mistake, which is too often an excuse in the mouth of this peere. But Cromwell did garrison Passadge then, wherby Waterforde by sea was blocked up.

586

Ormonds mistake.

Leut.-generall Ferrall routed.

Iohn Hagan taken prisoner.

Passadge is taken by Cromwell.

You seo how many mistakes have Ormond comitted in this very chapter, all conducinge to the destruction of the nation, enablinge the comon enemie, and prejudicious to his Majesties intreste in the kingdome. Sure if My Lord of Ormond did aduenture on Cromwell accordinge the advice of the Leutenant-generall, and the Vlster armies resulte (as no. 580 mentioned), havinge such advantage as was then offered, would be in the predicament of a prudent comaunder, and not of cowarde or traytor, which was the time fitt for that purpose. But to dare attempte Carrige, and acte these other scenes herin mentioned, when he should not, and with soe weake meanes loose his men and encourage the enemie, and dishearten his owne, was a cleere testimonie of his rashnesse, and not valor, displayed treachery and disloyaltie. And after havinge onely the Vlster armie faithfull and loyall, divided the same into 4 severall parties (to render then inconsiderable), one parte he comaunded to Waterford with Leutenant-generall Ferrall, another with the Major-Generall to Clonmell, another

587.

What in other men is treason is in Ormond a mistaken.

1649. under the comaunde of Daniell Oneylle, a Protestant, his owne creature, by My Lord Montgomry unto the North, and the fourth here and there dispersed at randome about the countrie, therby rendringe them hatfull unto the people, where wee leave them for a while, and speake of Generall Neyll, our occasion now of griefe.

CHAPTER XVII.

588. Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 15. Seneca. Tacit. An. 24. Horat. Ovid.

LIGHTNINGE hurts not the lawrell, nor is seene in places farr North and remote from the sunne. No more is a peacable and meane estate subjected to the force of fortune, or danger of higher powers, for the talle cedars on the montaines topp are shaken, over-turned with tempest, when the lowe shrubbs of the valley are in quiet. Soe likwise the meanest estate stands upon brasse, the highest upon glasse; the way upwarde is craggie, downe-warde icie: men climbe by degrees, but fall at once betweene the highest fortune and lowest, there is noe stay.

Qui jacet in terra, non habet unde cadat.

Lamentation for Generall Neylle.

Alas what apollogie can I make for the comenement of the ensuinge scene? What angell witt and dexter penn haue I neede of at present to present unto publicke viewe the moane of my groaninge hearte? If Apelles had seene how it lyes, sobbinge for the losse of one, what a mourninge pencell did he bestowe ont? Why doe not my glymeringe fonts to rawlinge streames of saltrie teares now vent? more reason should perswade me to doe it, then Dido the queene dowager of Cartagh to stile continually waterie pearles from her charminge lookes for the absence of Eneas, or Eneas himself, whoe against or beside the honor of a warrlike prince, the progenitor of Remus and Romulus, and other the imperiall race, too often teared for the losse of Troye; what Parthenia, the beloved of Argalus, had don, whoe seeinge him deade before her eyes, could not satisfie herself in the scorchinge heate of feminian love, usinge all womanish action in the behalfe of griefe and moane, in shedinge of teares, pullinge her goulden and flaxen curles, scrachinge inhumanly her angelicall visage. But armed herself like a strange-aduenturinge-knight, to fight with the victor, and soe to be killed by the same champion, Amphialus, that conquered and killed her mate, and thus followed her lover, to accompany him unto the grave. But to forgoe prophane stories, and imitate the divine oracle in this tragicall scene of morninge. Did not the kingly prophet, with whips and ashes, fastes and teares, lamente the death of a recente-borne infante, the fruite of murther and adulterie, did not the same holy prophette, with excesse, bemoane the death of his treacherous and disloyall boy Absolon? In two seuerall occasions the prophet Jeremie did the like; the one for the destruction of Jerusalem, the other did bitterly mourne the miscariage of Kinge Josias (though killed, as fightinge against divine ordinance with Nechao, Kinge of Egypt); nay, our Saviour himself (as man) was obnoxious of this passion, for seuerall times did he shewe his inwarde griefe by the exteriour flux of saltrie and bitter teares, from his divine eyes; once

Virg.

2. Reg. 12.
2. Reg. 18.

Threnorum 1°.
2 Paral. 35.

for the future destruction (previded by himself) of the citty of Jerusalem or Jebus, 1649.
to be acted by Titus and Vespatian, Romaine Imperours, the other upon the occasion Luc. 19.
of his freinde Lasarus, his resuscitation, beinge the 4th day of his interrment. Joan. 11.
Why, then, should not I moane, havinge more pregnant motiues in its behalfe for the present (if proper opinion will prove probable) then any the former mourners? It is not the momentarie absence of tearinge Eneas, as Dido, whose punishment was justly inflicted on her, as beinge too prodigall of herself unto a stranger before she was acertained of him and his censeritie towards her, nor the feminian fancie of beauteous and chaste Parthenia, to indeere her memorie to future ages for her constancie, more then the knowen rule of her sex may in that behalfe warrant; neither is it for the destruction of one sole citty, as our Saviour and Jeremie for Jerusalem, nor for the death of Josias, exposinge himself contrarie to divine ordinance to the danger, nor for a privat Lasarus halfe rotten in his tombe, destined therto for Gods greater glorie, nor for the just miscariage of a towarde Jonen, disobedient to the lawes of both God and nature, disrespective to his progenitors, and incestuous before the divine clemencie; nor for the untimely death of a swathinge infante, scarce knowen whether male or female, before his last period, and this by a just doome and revenge of the supreame Judge in punishment of adulterie and murther.

All these were particular affections, mine is comon for the generall good. I 589.
lament the death of a brave warriour, the choice champion of His Holinesse, Vrban, the eight Pope of that name, requiringe his repaire unto Ireland, chiefe comaunder, imediatly from himself, for the Catholicke warr, as havinge pregnant testimonies of his fidelitie, and vberant fortune in such affaires, a souldier since a boy in the onely martiall academie of Christendome Flanders, never drewe his sworde, unto his dyinge day, other then in Catholicke religious defence, as wittnesse Bohemia, Sweland, Frizland, Holand, Norwaye, Denmarke, and now Ireland. This bulwarke of holy religion and Pope's Scanderbeg, Don Eugenius, or Owen Oneylle, seuerally impeded in this his godly designe by factious and treacherous members of this same kingdome (as formerly touched), as a tall cedar placed on the montaine toppe of fame and reputation, was terribly shaken and ouerturned by the loftie blastes and thunderinge winds of emulation and self envie; Irelands fortune in his time was favourable, the churche of God flourished, the militia, in emulation of his vertues, warrlicke, the enemie weake and declininge, the countrie plentifull. But now all things turned toppsie-torvy, as there is noe stay betweene the highest and lowest fortune, by his death the enemie is growen stronge and cruell, noe citty, forte, or towne doe oppose him, noe churche, monesterie, or religious house inhabitted, the militia discouraged, dishearted, and growen cowarde, none to shewe his face in the field, for now the enemie doe not feare the naminge of Generall Owen Oneylle, which not longe before did sounde like a thunderbolte in his eares. This is it that I lament, the death of soe well desearvinge a man, in the whole kingdome the onely stickler of both religion and nation, whose now want is the cause of all the woe and evill hapninge unto us, whose onely name (if but like an echo uttered, and his corps in a cradle or chariott caried) would keepe life and breath in the decayed affaires of Ireland, and discourage the now victor-enemie.

1649.
590.

What will the poore Northeren people doe now (though the losse is comon)? Your father, your Generall, your ruler, and your styrer is now wantinge! to whom shall be given now the ciuicke, murall, vallare, and nauals garlands, that the Romaines were wont to graunte theire respectiue conquerours? The ciuicke garland and coronets were giuen by the ould Romaines, to those Generalls that had saued the liues of many citizens, and these were held more noble and of greater honor then either the murall and vallare garlands given to them that first entreed the enemie towne or campe; or then the navall for doinge some brave exployte at sea, for they valewed the life of one of theire owne at ten of the enemie. Wherefore a worthy Generall should not hazarde to gett that by fine force and assaulte, with manifest losse of his men, which by all militarie collections he may be sure to carie otherwise:

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 22.
Senec. Epist. 89.
Scip. in Plut.
Justin. l. 1°.

Malo unum Sopyrum, quam centum Babilonios capere.

What euer Romaine was more worthy of this civicke garlande (nay, the verie Counctator himself was not) then our present Eugenius, none amonge them all was more tender of the citizens liues then this, not onely of his whole proper armie, butt allsoe of all the nation in generall, beinge confident, accordinge any reasonable induction, that in the wininge of a fort (though of greate concearnment) that he would loose a poore ordinarie souldier (if any other way could be invented for its recooper), would foregoe the bargaine for such a score. But alas, unhapie and tiranizinge death (the deformed broode of our first parents his disobedience, and the executioner of divine justice, though alone conquerour of mankinde), as it seemes, durst not venture se solo and hand to hand ex abrupto, without deliberation and odds against our Catholicke champion; therfore invited maladies and infirmities, which by continuall and tedious assaultes, peined the invincible valour of his more then manly sinewes, wherby cowarde death was encouraged to give an attempte against him (alreadie with the said lingringe conflicts ouercome), with maine force, strucke him to death, whoe died in Our Lord the sixth day of November, 1649; a true child of Catholicke religion, in sense and memorie, many of both regular and secular clergie, in place asistinge him in such a doubtfull transite, behavinge himself most penetent, as a certaine poet with this conogramicall poem aluded, to the tune of all soules afflicted, cecinit:

Owen Oneylle died November 6th, 1649.

In perfecte penance, which is the pledge of glorie,
Leavinge the world noe relique but Henries storie;
For Earths perfection, for the mouth of fame,
Whoe consecrate, to her eternall name,
Which shall survievve (if Muses can devine,
Though not in those poore monuments of mine);
To the end of daies, and by those loosers rimes,
Shalbe deliuerd to succeedinge times.
Soe longe as braue Mars shall but finde a freinde
Eugenius his lastinge fame shall never end.

Beinge most devout unto all regular Orders in his life, and specially to the holy Order of Saincte Dominicke, weared his habitt, as a sure buckler against the rigor of future judgment, but was intered in the monesterie of Saincte Francis of Cavan,

to oblige both patriarches. Some deeminge God in his divine clemencie, not to deale soe straight with this poore nation, as to bereaue them of this theire onely champion, rather the worlde beinge not worthy of soe good a masterpeece, lulled him asleepe, snatched him away to some secret corner of the world (as another Elias) to keepe him there for future better purposes, the grounde of this surmishe, that sleepe and death are brothers, and therfore not easie to discearne betweene both, other then by the effects. As longe as he breathed life, we weare to stande in possession of this lande, or the best parte therof, now all whipped and snatched out of our hands, wherby are certaine of his deathe, this beinge its effecte. The former poet, therfore, as an epitaph to be placed on the frontespice of his tombe, to the same tune alude thus :— 1649.

It is receaued that Sleepe 's the elder brother,
I see noe reason for't—I thinke the other;
Though Sleepe does now vsurpe the upper hand,
I am sure that Death do's sweepe away the land.—ay——.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The nature of deepe dissimulation is to heede itself under certaine vailes and filmes, like the opticke vertue in the eye, that it may see all things and not be seene itself: but the most frequent and safest coverte (though the most dishonest) under which it lyes tapissed and harboured is fained freindshipe. The wisest and readiest way to unkennell this fox, and unearthe him out of this denne of fained protestation, is by a false fire of fained credulitie. 591. Cic. ad Frat. Verrin. Senec. Hippol. Cic. Offic.

Fallite fallentes, ex magna parte profanum
Sunt genus: in laqueos, quos posuere cadant. Ovid.

Wee made mention (no. 587) that Ormond did disperse the Vlster armie unto seuerall parties, and enformed the same to be variously construed, as tendinge to disunion, and consequently distruction of the whole nation, whoe with more then humaine dissimulation heedes his intentions under certaine vailes and filmes of fained freindshipe, and with more then earnest desire of union (to indeere himself this way), did write his proper addresses unto all the clergie, prelates, insinuatinge his desire, that it may stande with theire goode pleasure to call a convocation to theire choice place, and there unanimously to prescribe a regulare way tendinge to the safetie of both themselues and nation, engaginge himself in the honor of a peere, to ratifie, confirme, and aprove what in this behalfe they did conceave; and the rather to expresse his willingnesse therin, did undergoe to beare the charges of that meetinge. Ormonds colution. Clonmacnase congregation.

The clergie havinge had a triall (by wofull experience) of his fained protestations, and not performed promises, heretofore, might verie well now, if politicians, unkennell this fox, to use but false fire of fained credulitie, but simplicitie, insteede of diffidinge in the asseverations and compliable realities of this relapsinge per- 592.

1649.

The facile credulitie of those prelates.

sonage, did giue full assurance to theire owne understandinge of his integritie, pursuant theronto did gather in heapes and multitude unto Clonmacnose in the Kings countie, about the 4th of December, 1649, wheare arrived agents from Ormond, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Doctor Gerrott Fennell, by whom was sent some corne and money to theire maintenance. Sittinge there, with many disputes and overtures, kanvassinge many needlesse questions on either side, some, that euer yett apeered, as sure bulwarkes for the veritie of our former assertions, did shewe themselves there, rather aprovinge Ormonds actions, then any way to carpe at him, or redresse former abuses; others, that shewed themselves loyall sticklers for the generall cause hitherunto, and clergie imunitie, were now baristers pleadinge a contrarie resulte. After a longe and tedious debate, they conceaued nothinge, other then a kinde of union betweene the verie prelates, and an excomunication against Toryes, or such plunderers as were not under colours, but runinge upon particular score, the one was never obsearued, nor the other putt in execution, nor either ratified or confirmed by Ormond or his Comissioners of trust (accordinge his foresaid engagment), rather the acte and actions dispised and villipended by him. This was the fruite of duplicitie and weaknesse.

The Bishope of Clogher, etc.

All the acts.

Nothinge obsearued.

CHAPTER XIX.

593.

Plut. de. Cat.

Senec. de Ira.

Lucret. l. 5.

Tacit. an. 2.

He that beares one blowe at an enemies hand asketh another, and he that endureth one contemptible neglecte from his subjecte shal be sure of many; for not to haue sense of a foraigne affront, and be displeased at home-bred abuses, and capable to redresse both, are things much derogatinge from the honor of a prince; the first argues a pusilanimitie of spirit, the other a debilitie of judgment. He therfore that will not be wronged the second time must remedie the first, against a stranger by the lance, against a subjecte by the lawe.

Catil. l. 5.

Primo in limine siste conatus scelerum, atque animos infanda parantes.

In this time Ormond did apointe a garrison in Calluyne, 5 miles from Kilkeny, 1500 men in the greate castle, an impregnant peece of worke, under the comaunde of Sir Robert Thalbott. Amonge the rest was one Captain Marcus Geoghegan of Frevanagh, in the barony of Moycashell, with his company, in a petty castle, a kinde of a gate hous, tatched with strawe. The enemie marchinge home, Captain Geoghegan, advicinge with Sir Robert Thalbott, that they were best to demolish the said petty castle, as not defensible, and he and his company to come to the greate castle, and did undertake to defende the same, though this motion was soe reasonable, that noe true hearted martialist in such an extreamitie could euer deny it, notwithstandinge Thalbott would not admitt it, as not sutinge to his future treacherie. The captain's motion rejected, must now sticke to his gate house, for proper securitie, or perish; wherupon did resolue either to die, or make good the place. The enemie now aproachinge, thought all to be safe; but contrary to his expectation, was opposed at the said gate-house with a bloudie volly of

Captain Geoghegans motion to Sir Robert Thalbott, Governor.

hott, layinge downe deade at leaste a douzen. The enemie obsearvinge that fatall 1649.
eginninge, did marche in a full bodie towards the said gate; the assaulte was nightie fierce and bloudie, the defence extraordinarie; the enemie was three everall times repulsed and beaten backe, with mightie greate losse, and the defendants lost many of theire men; quarter would not accepte, though severall imes offered, the governor never yett reliued them with one man. The enemie now marched with maine force, the deffendants (though the best that could be), now by the multitude overswayed, were all, to the last man, putt to the sworde; neuer a man escaped the furie, and none killed but in action, and whoe well deserved deathe. 300 at leaste of the enemie was killed in the same place, and many deadly wounded; Captain Geoghegan was killed, and was truely reported by the very enemie, that he neuer sawe such feates don, by one man, as was acted by the Captain. 20 at leaste he killed with his proper sworde; nay, his wife that surveivved him, and the rest, duringe the assaulte, did kill 8 men with stones, and other weapons that fell from the perishinge souldiers, as was given out, whoe was tiranically buttchered, and left for deade amonge her comradds (though now livinge); My Lord Cromwells partie, since he came to Ireland, neuer receaued such a foyle, and by soe meane an instrument.

The enemie number killed by Geoghegan.

The Captain and all his men killed.

The governor obsearvinge all the former passadges capable to relive the one 594.
and highly anoy the other, did neither of both; his castle, as aforesaid, impregnable against any runinge armie; nay, did not much care for ordinance, for a longe siedge, if well manned, havinge a good comaunder and all necessaries for such a purpose, the enemie never dreamed to make any stay there, onely gaue the attempte offeringe to plunder and pilladge the towne, if they could; havinge now goen soe farr as to possesse themselves of the gate, marched towards the greate castle, whoe without one shott in opposition, presently embraced a parley for surrender, which out of hande they did upon quarter onely of theire lives, which graunted, the governor did yeld this brave castle unto the enemie, which with onely nego might keepe it in his hands, now without sworde or cloke, is like himself packinge awaye towards Kilkeny, where Ormond was then enformed by Thalbott what hapened, neither lamented the one or punished the other, nor shewed the leaste signe of disquiet for either action; nay, highly esteemed and honored Sir Robert Thalbott, and presently gave him and Sir Iohn Downgan the custodium of Kilkae, a manor house of the Earl of Kildare, in the same countie, an invincible place, which was soone after, by the said Robert, yelded to the enemie, beinge onely eight horse in number, such a man would Ormond both respecte and promote to be governor of places of high concearnment for the publicke (as hearafter will apeere), wherof (if he were either loyall or politicke) might by the first neglecte of Calluyne busines be certaine to endure other afronts by this subjecte, as not takinge his remedie by the lawe, wherof he was capable, which did in him argue a debilitie of judgment, or a settled pronitie to treason (which was in this same mans actions, liquidly averred, ut alias.

The treacherous behavior of Thalbott.

His base surrender.

Judge by this action what Ormonde was.

Insteede of punishment is the seconde time in trust.

I haue noted (in my opinion) a thinge worthy observation in the onely familie 595.
of the Geoghegans, that I see never a name or familie in all the kingdome that soe duely, honorably, and totaly miscaried as they, never a one of them was ever

1649.

The Geoghegan comaunders honorable miscariage.

killed other then like a braue souldier, and in comaunde, in action; Leutenant Bryan Geoghegan at Lince hill, as no. 44; Leutenant-colonell Bryan Geoghegan and Captain Art, his brother, at the siedge of Bonratty, as no. 212 et 235; Captain James Geoghegan at Droheda, taken prisoner and wounded at Acher pallise, no. 292; Captain Richard Geoghegan at Rathmine, no. 563; Captain Mathewe and Captain Thomas Geoghegan at Droheda, no. 570; Major Charles Geoghegan and Leutenant Richard Geoghegan killed, Carrignashurie, no. 585; and Captain Marcus Geoghegan, now of late in Calluyne, no. 593. These 10 Geoghegan comaunders perished to the world, but to future ages lefte sufficient matter of honorable imitation of both courage and fame, and noe marvayle, as eache endued with such extraordinarie noble qualities, as well infused as acquired, of extraction, bridinge, and comelinesse of persones, that induced, not onely them, but the most clownest behaviour to the undergoinge of any generous action, how dangerous soeuer; this I doe not write of them as any way alive unto either of them more then unto many others here mentioned, but to give a sweete rellish unto the rest of theire name, that dranke of the bitter potion of these eternished cavalliers deathe, whose life is soe celebrated in heauen, as we hope in God.

Ten comaunders, theire number, killed.

The authors reason for this particular.

596.

My Lord of Ormond, residinge in Kilkeny, some enemie horse cominge within halfe a mile to the citty, the alarum was bruted, that all the enemie armie was neere the gates; upon intimation herof, all men distracted and discouraged, as beinge in noe posture of defence for such a busines, notice was to be giuen unto his Excellencie, the partie apointed for that errant passinge by his Excellencies chamberlaine, questioned what the matter was? whoe for answeare tould him, as formerly, of the enemies aproache towards the towne. Tuish, said the Chamberlaine, My Lord is asleepe, doe not trouble him with these foperies; braue courage, he will not awake from his repose, and the conqueringe enemie at his gate, and next morninge will cleere all the whole province, and leaue it naked to the enemie mercie—extravagant proceedings.

Note Ormonds courage also.

597.

Ormond therfore now, havinge his intente of betrayinge both kingdome and nation, and rendringe both, by rente and division, incapable of any opposition to be given the enemie in the field, he apoints Castlhauen (a fitt instrument of his pretences) chiefe comaunder of the scatteringe forces of Linster. He allsoe apointed Sir Walter Buttler, governor of Kilkeny, with his proper troupe, and 200 foote, comaundinge him upon three daies siedge to yeld the citty and castle to the enemie, if in that interim not reliued. This don, marched himself with his comissioners of trust, and the choice horse of Linster, bagg and bagagge, towards Inish Cluan rouad in the Countie of Clare, the matter of 30 miles from any enemie (to secure his proper person), and from Kilkeny upwards of 40 miles. Is it not strange what orders he left Sir Walter Buttler, I, upon 3 daies siedge to surrender the same unto the enemie, if not reliued, the impossibilitie of any such is obseyable, himself goinge foure daies marche, at the leaste, from that place to be reliued, and there havinge noe men to marche with for such a relife; nay, nor in rerum natura, all scattered, rent and distracted by himself, as formerly touched, therfore the condition is implicable, and consequently not observable, ergo he is ——a——

Ormonds illusorie order to Walter Buttler.

The yeare 1650 wee comence. 1650.

CHAPTER I°.

It is more princly to enriche then to be riche. This rule in itself implyeth a limitte for beinge soe, he may not impoverish himself to make others riche, least he be unable to performe that princly office, and want meanes to rewarde well desearvinge in others. Wherfore a greate beggar must haue a greate sayer; nay, and a greate giuer must not soe glutt his follower, as that he take from him alledge of meritinge more, or expectinge more good, leaste he offer the sacrifice of his ould service upon a newe alter, and turne the pointe of his power upon him that gaue it. 598. Arist. Eth. Martial. l. 7. Tacit. l. 3. Alex. Seuer. apud Lamp. Senec. Claud. Paneg.

Nil negat, et sese, vel non poscentibus offert.

Wee left Leutenant-generall Ferrall in a routinge maner returninge from Passadge to Waterforde, no. 586, now obsearvinge how the world went with him, how matters were caried by Ormond, his proper generall deade, and his armie dispersed, as above mentioned, he sued his Excellencie orders for removall from that poaste, which was graunted, and Generall Thomas Preston apointed in his place, whoe was very loathe to deserte Catarlagh, at lenght fearinge to incurre his Excellencies displeasure, marched to Waterford and left Oliuer Darcy, bishope of Dromore, governor of Catarlagh, with 2 or 3 companyes of his owne regiment under the comaunde of Captain Bedlowe. This house was most plentifull of all kinde of necessaries for a longe siedge, corne, malte, powder, beefe, butter, all kinde of prouision, amunition and armes for a 1000 men (if soe many were needfull to continue there) for a whole twelmonth, Preston leavinge Catarlagh in this braue condition, marched himself accordinge orders to Waterford, whoe, thither arrivinge, Leutenant-generall had a supercedias, pursuant therto marched to Linster with his regiment. The recent generall of Linster, Castlhauen, was gatheringe as many as he were able of the Linster forces together, and enformed of the Leutenant-generalls arrivall towards the borders of that province, did send his dispatches for him, whoe mette at Carlagh, a considerable partie, horse and foote; amonge the rest was Sir Thomas Armstronge, Comissarie-generall of the horse, with his Puritant-horse-regiment.

Preston goen to Waterford.

Bishope of Drumore, Governor of Catarlagh.

Generalls Ferrall and Castlhaven together.

Not longe before this time Mac Thomas did demolish the castle and Dominican monesterie of Athy, to render all there unservicable for garrison, notwithstandinge a partie of horse and foote of the enemie came thither, and findinge it deserted, did man the same, as beinge a straight passage betweene the countie of Leyse and Kildare. Castlhauen with his foresaid abetters marched thither, as hopinge to butt this garrison out of the waye, whoe arrived about 12 oclocke at noone time, couragiously intred the towne, in a thrice did both kill and take prisoners all the said garrison, excepte a fewe horse, that by the shwiftnesse of theire steedes ran away, did burne, plunder, and pilladge the towne; this was thought a good presage of a future better service. But treacherie still workinge, did cause such 599.

Athy taken from Cromwells partie.

1650.

The cause of breakinge the partie.

as were well affected to parte Castlhauens company, and soe distracted here and there. And thus was the occasion. Sir Thomas Armstronge, comissarie of the horse, as aforesaid, did write a letter unto My Lord Cromwell, settinge fourth that his Lordship should not be offended or jealouse with him for servinge the Irish, for, said he, your Lordship may be confident of my loyaltie towards your Lordship, and to shewe your Lordship the censeritie of my humble service unto you I stay here, as well knowinge to be thus more capable for complyance therof then if extant in your proper armie, notwithstandinge what your Lordship will haue me doe, that I will acte and nothinge else; Remaininge in the Interim, your Excellencies humble Servant, Thomas Armstronge.

Sir Thomas Armstrongs letter to Cromwell.

Castlhauens treacherous answeare.

This letter was intercepted by some of Colonell Lewes Moores troupe and brought to him, whoe caried it to the Leutenant-generall, and both did shewe it to Castlhauen, whoe perusinge the same, spoke never a worde, but trusted it to his pockett. The said comaunders desiringe his Lordships sense therupon, onely answered, that he did conceave noe matter therin: upon whose answeare, the said comaunders, not any way therby satisfied, and amonge themselues mutteringe stronge discontents and jealousies, conceavinge theire proper saftie to stande at a stake in company of such perfidious members, and therfore resolued to take theire leaue and breake that partie, which obtained, the Leutenant-generall marched with his partie towards the Countie of Longford, and Colonell Moore to his proper home. Armstronge did well knowe that Ormond did soe glutt him with favours and promotions, that he tooke from him all edge or capacitie to expecte more goods at his hands, therfore will now offer the sacrifice of his ould service upon Cromwells newe alter, and turne the pointe of his power upon the giuer Ormonde, or more truely upon the Catholicke Irish, his abetters.

Leutenant-generall Ferrall and Colonell Lewes Moore departed.

600.

After the daparture of these comaunders, as aforesaid, Castlhauen alone with his Puritant horse, and parliamentarie comissarie, none other adheringe unto his Lordship, was soone wearie of that trade, amusinge what to doe, not how to acte any honorable service, either prejudicious to the comon enemie, or for the nation profitt, but whom to trust with a sub-dellegation of his comaunde in Linster, that did prove conformable to Ormond and his former principles, none was founde as forwarde and as reall in that behalfe as the Bishope of Drumore, now governor of Catarlagh, chiefe actor of this tragicall comedie, whom his Lordship did nominat and ordaine Vice-generall of the Catholicks of Linster, imediatly dependinge of himself, which done, himself, Armstronge, with such others as adhered unto them, did marche towards the Countie of Clare, to followe and searue My Lord of Ormonde, leavinge nowe all Linster naked to the enemie doome, none of the standinge armie of that province now afoote, visible, except fewe foote that ran in loose companies a particular score, impowerishinge the countrie, and not shewinge their face unto any enemie, though upon high advantage.

The Bishope of Dromore Vice-generall by Castlhaven.

Castlhauen and Armstronge marche to the Countie of Clare.

601.

The contry thus deserted, the enemie ranged at pleasure, any number, whereof cominge to the best and stronger forte that belonged either to Ormond, or any that depended on him, was upon sight presently yelded. Iohn Mc Iames Bryan a degenerat Birne of Ballianity in the Countie of Kilkeny, a houshould servant of My Lord of Ormond, was the first man in all that Countie that went unto th

Linster naked to the enemie.

Iohn Bryan a degenerat Byrne.

enemie in person and submitted, and perswaded all the rest of the said countie to doe the like. Bellaragad, a very stronge castle, with a braue bawon, turretts, and other defensible workes, a manour house of the Viscounte Richard Buttler, Lord of Montgerrott, was deliuered up to onely 8 enemie horse. All the forts, townes, and cittyes of Monster (before My Lord Cromwell or any his partie thither arriued) were secured for him by Insichuynes partie there (our fellowe confederats, whoe kept them places), whoe sent seuerall dispatches unto My Lord Cromwell, desiringe his Lordship to secure all places in Linster, as for Monster, said they, you may be acertained therof without controlment.

1650.

All garrisons belonginge to Ormond yelded.

Monster yelded by Insichuynes partie.

Sir Walter Buttler, gouernour of Kilkeny, as above mentioned, was more generous then soe, would not yeld without beinge forced unto. A siedge, therfore, was layed unto Kilkeny, the gouernour kept the same for a weeke, foure daies beyonde his orders from Ormonde, and if he were pleased and the cittizens loyall might keepe it for a twelmonthe, if a straighter siedge were not layed unto; but the base cowardiz and disloyall townsmen betrayed both the gentlman and the cittie, did capitulat with the enemie, which agreed upon, the gates were opened for him, and all unknowen unto the governor, noe mention made in the said capitulation, either of him or any his partie, all his now remedie was seeinge the enemie had the cittie to defende the castle, therby to force a quarter for himself and his souldiers, which beinge putt in execution untill the enemie thought it the leaste of evills to graunte him and his an honorable quarter of both liues and armes, which perfected both cittie and castle were yelded; Sir Walter and his horse leavinge the cittye, as aforesaid, and marched towards Renaliagh in the Countie of Westmeath, where he intended to surprize the castle of Dunore, but therin not thrivinge, his horse ranged at pleasure in the said baronie, actinge much mischiefe without respecte to either person or place, in soe much that they went unto the parish churche of Ardmogher (where was some corne and other goods of both priest and other poore men, as in a sanctuarie), forced the same, did unchristianly rifle the churche, broke up both doore and windowes, chiefe actor of this scene was one Captain Gerald Fitz-Gerald. Sir Walter complained unto of this discatholicke behaviour, did neither crubb or punish the malefactors, from hence returned to his proper home to Balli Pole in the Countie of Kilkeny, and soone after died; whoe proved a reall gentleman and a good servitor, before he was corrupted by Ormond and his faction, for whose spirituall saftie we humbly supplicat the divine clemencie to be propitious.

602.

Kilkeny siedge.

The townsmens treacherie.

Sir Walter forced quarter.

Theire uncivill behaviour against churche imunitie.

Sir Walter dyed.

CHAPTER II.

There is much wisdome in that Prince, whoe can judge of the seuerall advices given by his counsellors; yett greater is his vertue that can discearne and followe the best. But his sagacitie is singular that can dive into theire inwarde thoughts and purposes whoe giue it. Because it is dangerous to be caried away with that counsell, which tendeth onely to the particular profitt of the counsellor; for wheare

603.

Livi. l. 22.

Cic. pro Clu[entio].

Hesiod. l. 1°.

Iamb. in . . .

1650. the prince is of soe easie and tractable a nature, it were better for the State to haue him wicked then for him to haue such wicked ministers.

Vellei. l. 2.

Raro eminentes viros non magnis adiutoribus, ad gubernandam fortunam suam, reperies.

The Provinciall Assembly in Vlster.

The nobilitie and gentrie of Vlster, mourninge the death of theire Generall, feelinge his now want, and not to be as a flocke without a pastor, theire dispersed souldiers and comanders flockinge home by degrees, wherupon a provinciall assembly was summoned by the Councell, to nominate and apointe a newe Generall; many competitors did apeere, euery one thought himself worthy that place; the Marquesse of Antrim was an earnest sutor in proper behalfe, the Oneylles thought theire claime for the chiefrie and comaunde of Vlster to be hereditarie; Leutenant-generall Ferrall, by the lawe of armes, was confident of his title, as next in comaunde to the defuncte, Huigh Oneylle, as of that scepte, and Major-generall, and the better souldier of both name and province; Sir Phelim Oneylle, by the numerositie of his followers, and with pregnant hopes of beinge seconded by the Linster Ormondian faction, Con Mc Cormacke Oneylle, hertofore Leutenant-generall for the same province, and of the eldest descent of that familie, and Phillipe Mc Huigh O'Reylly, a good comonwealths-man, of greate respecte, and by the pluralitie of his name and followers was thought to carie a maine stroke in the election. The Assembly wislie consideringe the danger that was like to ensue by the choosinge any of the former (nor the late Generalls son, Henric roe Oneylle), though each worthy any honor, and of better hopes to be soe promoted then any other not here specified.

Competition of General-shipe.

The reason of election.

604. The Bishope of Clogher elected Generall.

Notwithstandinge to cutt of all motiues of both jealousie and emulation, they unanimously did nominat the Bishope of Clogher Generall of Vlster, a man neither by descent, function, practise in the arte, or any other qualitie for such encumbencie, was thought to be looked upon onely for the sedation of inquiet and aspiringe mindes; and that his proper censeritie (at leaste while Generall Neylle liued) was too often aproved; this, with his naturall good witte, was sufficient grounde for this newe choice of generall. But noe sooner elected, then tooke his jorney towards My Lord of Ormond (then resident in the Countie of Galway), publickly to endeere himself to the gouerment (though privatly might haue his owne ends), though this brave prelate was most reall for the generall good. But now in the opinion of many, in this sudaine behaviour mightie swarued from his former principles and was farr deceaued (under whose sweete and mellifluous protestations laye bitter and venemous poyson and treacherie) in Ormonde, whoe with Clanricarde promised him all possible asistance, and specially that bringinge his armie unto the field, towards Tyreonell, would send the way of Bellasanna a considerable armie of both horse and foote, with ordinance and other ingins fitt for the wininge of a towne or forte (of whose veritie you shall hearafter be acertained off). The prelate (as in himself true and faithfull) yelded all credence unto those simulatinge verities, which seemes unto me verie strange, that a man of his bridinge and learninge, havinge the experience of ten years now of this factioniers proceedings charactered still of inconstancie, worthyly tainted with disloyaltie, and neuer yett placed in the predicament of observator promissionis vel veritatis, that he should

The Bishope of Clogher, Generall of Vlster, deceaued by Ormond and Clanricarde.

It is strange unto me that this prelate was deceaued.

oe easily giue credence unto his bare words, when his very publicke and authen- 1650.
icke instruments were never of force to move him to the leaste complyance therof, which by wofull experience this good prelate did verie well knowe. And if nothinge else did cause his diffidence in the realitie of this peers promises, other hen what he sawe him acte for the disablinge the Vlster armie, and encourage the omon enemie in Linster, before this same prelates face, any man of judgment would hinke it motiue sufficient neuer to trust or affy in any his assertions, notwithstandnge all these motiues, and many others of diffidence in his promises that he might nowe, was mightie satisfied, and returned home, where we leaue him for a while nusteringe and recrutinge his armie, and speake of other occurrences in this time.

CHAPTER III.

As many men sinke for wante of some small thinge to hould themselues up 605.
above water, soe many others fall to the bottome of desperate ruine by seekinge Plaut.
o embrace too much; for to over-graspe straineth and weakneth the sinewes, and Tacit. an. l. 1°.
forceth the hand to lett fall what before it held fast. It is, therfore, the parte of Lucan. l. 1°.
a wise prince to stinte and moderate his fortunes; whom it importeth in his greatest Livi. l. 22.
successe, rather to looke backwarde then forwarde, and rather to stope the current Thucyd. l. 7.
of dangers ensuinge then to followe the streame of that victorie by which they will more be encreased.

Tu quoque formida nimium sublimia, semper
Propositique memor, contrahe vela tui. Ovid. Art. l. 2.

Giue me leaue, good reader, to refresh your memorie alitle with the irregular refraction of Father Redmond Caron, and his complices, against holy obedience of Thomas Mac Kyernan's suite against Caron.
awfull superiours, as tendinge to this our subjecte, touched no. 542, where wee spoke of his mission and authoritie by Marchant, Comissarie-generall of Flanders, against all lawe, won therunto by both faction and corruption, as there and severally otherwise specified, and the regular proceedings of Father Thomas Mc Kyernan, Provinciall for the justifyinge his proper cause. But now, havinge noe indifferencie in the kingdome, in regarde, the judge, My Lord Nuncio, to whom belonged the regulatinge of such sinister matters, was by the same faction borne downe, and by this time banished the kingdome; wherfore the Provinciall had recourse to the Generall of the whole Franciscan Order, as the competent judge, presented unto him the state of the busines, the groundes and statuts of the province of Ireland, and though the aduerse partie left noe stone unmoued, or any way untryed, for the continuance of proper illegall jurisdiction, lite pendente, the Generall of the Order was deade, and, as the custome is, a vicar-generall was by the elective members of the said Order in his place subrogated, with the same omnimoda potestas as his predicessor, whoe was allsoe enformed of this suite, and its circumstances; wherupon, upon maturitie and deliberation, did decide the said controuersie by a publicke instrument, under the broade seale of the Seraphicall Order, for the institution of a newe comissarie in the province of Ireland, accordinge its lawes and

1650 constitutions, comaundinge Father Caron to quitt his said furall authoritie. It was written the first of January, 1650, which is the first day of the yeare accordinge the newe or Gregorian computation; here the said instrument followeth in Latin.

606. The Vice-Generall of the Orders. Commission disannullinge Carons authoritie.

Fratr. Eugenius Fildæus, Comissarie visitator.

Frater Daniell A Dungo, totius Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Obseruantiæ Vicarius Generalis et servus, Dilecto nobis in Christo, Patri, Fratri, Eugenio Fildeo, nostræ Provinciæ Hyberniæ, etc., Patri, Salutem in Domino, etc.

Quandoquidem immineat tempus destinandi comissarium qui provinciam nostram Hyberniæ visitet et capitulum provinciale, cui nos nequimus interesse, possit celebrare, propterea nos Paternitatem vestram, nobis inter alios a toto Diffinitorio, juxta predictæ provinciæ consuetudinem, unum inter propositos et nominatos in comissarium visitatorem eligimus et instituimus: omnem tibi facultatem tribuentes, quam hujusmodi comissarijs visitatoribus provinciarum nostræ ordinis statuta concedant, et authoritate præsidendi cum voto in capitulo provinciali per te celebrando tempore debito, aut alio breviori tibi bene viso: Ita quod non tenearis expectare lapsum triennij ab ultimo capitulo computando. Quia vero propter magnam locorum distantiam, antequam hæ, nostræ patentes literæ illuc perveniant, varij casus, sive mortis, sive morbi habitualis, sive alterius inevitabilis impedimenti possint oriri. Hinc duximus 2° loco substituere Patrem fratrem Jacobum Tyrrellum, concinatorem et guardianum et 3° Patrem fratrem Bernardum Eganum, a vita et prudentia comendatos, ac similiter a toto Diffinitorio nobis propositos. Ita quod deffectu vel impedimento primi, secundus in omnibus supradictis succedat; et 2° tertius cum omnibus facultatibus, præheminencijs et privilegijs quibus solent comissarij visitatores potiri. Cuicumque ergo vestrum ad quem spectabit hoc munus obnixe comendamus ut omnia in charitate fiant, ut arguat, obsecret, increpet in omni patientia, et doctrina, officia pro meritis distribui curet, simultates extinguat, mutationes, et dissentiones nationum procul faciat, et summopere invigilet ne fratres rebus politicis aut secularium negotijs, vel magnatum aut imperantium ministrorum arcanis, aut civili gubernio se immisceant, sed intra professionis suæ limittes et regularis status metas se contineant, reddentes Cæsari quæ sunt Cæsaris, et Deo quæ Dei sunt. Præcipimus autem, et sub pœna privationis vocis activæ et passivæ et inhabilitatis ad Ordinis officia, et excomunicationis latæ sententiæ, ut huic nostro comissario taliter electo et instituto, omnes obediant eumque reuerenter excipiant. Revocamus insuper omnes et quascunque comissiones hactenus datas vel dandas deinceps Patri, fratri Raymondo Carono, aut cuivis alteri aquovis nobis inferiori, quocunque prætextu revoluentes omnes controversias, lites, et causas ad Patrem vestrum, ut eas examinet, decidat, et determinet, nullus autem audeat has nostras patentes impedire, retinere, aut retardare sub pœnis supradictis. Vale, et cura ut pro nobis illius nostræ Provinciæ Patres exorent. Datis Romæ, ex nostro celeberrimo Aracælitano cænobio, die prima Januarij, anno magni Jubilæi, 1650.

Locus magni sigilli Ordinis

Fr. Daniell a Dungo, Vicarius Generalis.

Concordat cum originali. Ita attestamur.

Fr. Thomas Dubliniensis Archiepiscopus.

Fr. Ant. Clonmacnosensis Episcopus.

A letter from Fr. Paule Kinge, though not of one date with the former, yett in ne place, and together arriued; this man is a learned man, Reader of divinitie, Guardian of S. Isidorus in Rome, and Agent for the province of Ireland there; here n Latin followeth his sense touchinge those irregular apostats, Caron and his omplices, which was thus subscribed: 1650. 607.

Reverendo Admodum Patri Fratri Thomæ Makyernan, Provinciali et Diffinitori Provinciæ Hyberniæ, Ordinis Minorum Srictioris Observantiæ Hyberniæ, etc[a]. Rd. Ad. Pr.

Romæ, ipso die S. Francisci, 1649.

Fr. Paule Kings letters against the apostat Caron, and his adherents.

Considerantes summa ibi scelera perpetrari, sub specie necessitatis, justitiæ et religionis ab operarijs iniquitatis, et maximè a Patre Raymondo Carono, Comissario nuper et imature illuc destinato, qui sub prætextu reformationis, deformauit totum illud regnum, ne dum religionem Seraphicam horribilibus et inauditis scandalis, æuiens in vos et alios religiosissimos viros, ob nutum hæreticorum, atque patrocinans nefarijs apostatis de hæresi et impietate suspectis, prætendens se ad hæc habere plenam authoritatem, vigentia motiva, et rationabiles causas. Dicimus, in primis Patrem Marchantium negare se dedisse illam, quam et qualem sibi pingit Caronus, sed qualiscunque est statim revocabitur, cum vergat in nostrum, totiusque Ecclesiæ Dei prejudicium et perniciem, ejusque acta, utique enormia et perniciosa) rescindentur a Reverendissimo Marchantio (vel ipso renuente) ab alijs superioribus. Nec quispiam putet injustitiam fieri, dum hæc tam propere petantur et obtinentur: Siquidem Reverendissimus Marchant inaudita parte, ad instantiam unius apostatæ nimirum Patris Antonij Gearnon, et petitionem unius Episcopi refractorij, nempe Hugonis de Burgo et conciliariorum excomunicatorum, dedit corruptum Comissarium et inordinatam comissionem. O si sciret bonus Caronus qualiter ipse et sui collaterales audiunt Romæ! Sed non curant effrontes; tantum abest, ut Reverendus Admodum Pater Frater Lucas eos sustineat, ut nullus magis illis succenseat eorumque dicta et facta execretur; nemo neruosius se ostendit pro nobis. Hæc scribimus, ne quis vos seducat manibus, verbis aut literis quasi per nos aut alios hinc aut aliunde missis, nequis terreat minis, nam cito sentietis auxilium Dei super vos. Interea autem nullus vestrum dicto Carono obediat, aut vllum cum eo fœdus aut conventionem, sed potius reijcite omnino. Reverendi Adm. Patris Provincialis propositiones ad dictum Caronum summe placuerunt: licet condescenderet plusquam satis, verum intelligimus quare; habentur ad manus originalia Valesij Barnevallij, et Sweetmani, plena mendacijs condita veneno. Ex his colligitur eorum scopus et finis, machina et malitia, quibus obviabitur; nihil timendum de provinciæ divisione. Capitulum Generale non celebrabitur proxima æstate; mittetur Comissarius, quando et qualis erit necessarius et oportunus. Dominus vester, Nuncius, venit breui Florentiam, qui currenti addit calcar equo. Necesse est adjungere cathalogo fratrum interemptorum tempora et loca. Desideratur hic plurimum relatio integra conflictus Benborbiæ et Cloghliæ, simul ac castri Galviensis. Patris Roe causa cadit. Valete et prævalebitis.

Quæ scribit Pater Paulus, Ego, Dionisius Massarius, confirmo et totum meam operam, ut Secretarius Sanctæ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, spondeo.

Concordat cum originali.

1650. Ita testor: Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Minister Provincialis.
Fr. Paulus King, Sacræ Theologiæ Lector et Gardianus Kilkeniensis, ac illius nostræ Provinciæ in Romana Curia Procurator.

608.

Justice was on the Provincialls side.

All those doe averr what we formerly said of this subjecte.

You may, sir, conceave by both these former instruments that such as adhered unto Father Provinciall were in the right, and such as sided with the ante-comissarie Caron were intruders and factionall apostats, as by the sense of the chiefe superiour of the whole Order (cashinge the said Carons seeminge authoritie) may apeere. By Father Kings addresse you may be acertained that all the clergie of Rome is in the Provincialls behalfe, both Nuncio and Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide, as by the confirmation and promise of Sennor Dionisius Massarius, Secretarie of the said Congregation (to the calce of the aforsaid Fr. Kings lete anexed), may apeere. You obsearue allsoe what character he giues Caron and his adherents, which is sufficient abonment of what was hitherunto spoken of them, in this our Discouery. Noe sooner therfore arriued those addresses unto Father Provinciall's hands, then he writes a sumarie therof unto Father Caron, desiring him to be observant therof; wherupon Father Caron writes the ensuinge answere unto him.

Carons letter to Father Provinciall.

Reverende Pater: Accepi hodie copiam subscriptam harum Reverendissim Vicarij Generalis, quibus revocat omnes comissiones datas et dandas mihi vel alter per Reverendum Comissarium Generalem etc; non disputabo cum ullo superiore quin libenter amplectar obedientiam iniunctam, in iis quæ non sunt contra animan et regulam. Sed ut ordinate procedam, peto inspectionem originalis, per aliqueu patrem, vel per secretarium vestrum, ut possim satisfacere et Comissario generali e alijs, cedendo curæ et molestiæ. Cum enim istæ literæ sint directe in præjudiciun Comissarij generalis, auferendo et restringendo illius potestatem ordinariam, pe ordinem et pontifices duos, illi concessam, idque nullius appellationis mentione fact in literis missis: nec copia ad me missa sit satis authentica de jure: nemo mirabitu ut inspectionem originalis postulem, ut pacifice procedamus, quod et paternita vestra promittit sub his verbis: originale si erit necesse, vel cupiat, poterit videre Vale ut optat

Vester confrater et seruus, Fr. Raymondus Caronus.

Athloniæ, 16 Aprilis, 1650.

The Comissarie-generalls authoritie subdellegate.

In this letter Father Caron (though truth is not here by him suggested in th behalfe of the Comissarie-generalls ordinarie authoritie, beinge onely subdellegat of both Generall and generall chapter) sheweth more humilitie then hitherunto we practised in him, since his cominge unto Ireland.

The Provinciall for his further satisfaction did send unto him an authentick copie as desired, nay, shewed him the very originall, whom wee leaue for a whil makinge themselues readie for the future chapter, to be held the next August, an Father Eugenius Fielde, the newe and lawfull Comissarie in actuall visitation of th province, and now turne to our historie, from whence wee digressed.

CHAPTER IV.

1650.

VHEN the stamocke hath receaved plentie of foode, all the heate in the exteriour arts hath recourse thither, to dispose it to nutriment and expell what is hurtfull, or nature deffendeth herself rather against an intestine than forraigne enemie (as einge the more dangerous, either to the health of a man or saftie of a state), and nerfore she drawes all her forces from these suburbes of the bodie of a man, to this netropolis of the stamocke. As it fares in this direction of nature, soe stands it in he discipline of warrs, and as in the bodie, soe in a garrison towne, the chiefest orces must be naturall, and of our owne subjectes, for if the major parte be nercenaries and strangers it is alwaies in theire power to eorbe or crosse our omaunde, and to giue us the place at theire owne pleasure

609.
Josep. in. 6.
Polyb. b. 3.
Tacit. Agric.
Polyb. Hist. 1ª fol. 32.
Xen. Crit. l. 8.

Neminem ignotum militem inter suos admittendum.

Wee haue made mentione of Major-generall Huigh Oneylle, that he was omaunded by My Lord of Ormond unto Clonmell, no. 587. Upon his arrivall nither (as an experimented warriour) was not idle, previdinge the futurition of a earde siedge, builded braue workes for the defence of that towne, wherof was then overnor and chiefe comaunder; he comaunded a partie to Feards, another to Cahire castle, to asiste one Mr Matheus, an uterine brother to My Lord of Ormonde; seatinge himself thus, the enemie did leaguer Feards, and was yelded pon quarter of liues and armes, after some losse on either side; the defendants ent to Clonmell, but the enemie marched towards Cahir castle aforesaid; the lace was stronge, men, provision, and amunition enough, two stronge grates, a rawinge bridge, a goodly bawon, a large and stronge-walled base courte. When Ir Matheus, the propriator, had notice of the enemies aproache, consultinge with e captains about the best posture of defence, agreed not: the Vlstermen, as unto im strangers, were not of opinion to quitt the castle altogether, and fight onely in e outwarde bawon (as he desired), leaste necessitated upon any occasion to haue ecourse unto the castle, would be kepte out to theire exceedinge prejudice. The entleman cleered this doubte, promisinge faithfully, as a Christian to both reliue nd admitte them upon all occasions to and from the castle. Condescendinge to is Ormondian attestations and quiletts, marched unto the outwarde bawon, he and is remaininge in the castle; this Vlster partie was the matter of foure score men, arce seatinge themselues there, when the enemie in a florishinge equipage ndauntedly marched towards the castle, as confident of noe opposition, but eceaued, for the Vlstermen (noe more then the marlin hauke before the sparowe, r the wolfe before the lambe, the keite before the chicke, or the fox before the en) could containe themselves before those without offeringe offence, therfore with ore then earnest levell discharged a volly amonge theire rancks (beinge an fallible butt), caused the enemie to recoile and looke more narowe unto himself, here both assayllant and defendant fought for halfe an hower, to the eternall raise of the defendants and exceedinge losse of the enemie.

The managinge of Huigh Oneylls affaires in Clonmell.

Feards taken by the enemie.

A partie to Cahire castle.

The dispute of the Vlster partie and Mr. Mathewe.

His perjurie.

The enemie and Vlster fight.

1650.
610.

But obsearvinge the multitude (as now sensible of theire former prejudice) to drawe forwarde in a maine bodie, and the ordinance plaunted against the defendants, a captaine goes to the castle doore, suinge the gentlman of the castle the complyance of his former and past engagment, to giue the souldiers way to enter the castle for theire saftie, and promised to make good the same against the enemie, as not beinge able to withstande the enemie in the foresaid bawon. The gentlman (notwithstandinge his severall attestations to the contrarie) would not by any meanes giue admittance. The captain, too late understaudinge, by this perjurou action, that he was betrayed, must now fight or suffer, returninge with thi unexpected and sadd answere unto his men, he founde (as God did dispose for th behoofe of those inocent poore men) a trumpeter from the enemie, presenting himself, desiringe a parley, which was graunted, and did capitulate for quarte both stoute and honorable was easily graunted, to marche with banners displayed in bodie and posture of fight, with all theire armes, bagg and baggage, and allso a passe or billette to continue in the English quarters for a month, if they pleasec which accepted (and graunted onely to this Vlster partie), marched in the foresai posture, accordinge orders, towards My Lord Cromwell. His Lordship made much c them, and was pleased to tell the captain that if did continue with him in his armi he would use him well, and giue him a monthes meanes before hande. The captai gallantly answeared (to My Lords admiration) that for a world would not chaunc places, would rather undergoe any penaltie, nay, the basest death that could b invented, rather then giue a stroke against his religion, or swarve from hi principles. After some conference upon this stringe, tooke his leave, and marche away, refreshinge himself and his men for a wecke in the country, accordinge hi said billett, arrived to Clonmell.

Gods providence. A braue quarter.

The Captains gallant resolution and answere.

611.

Huigh Oneylle, resident in towne with the matter now of 1500 men and som horse of Major Fennell (whoe still kept with him), he alwaies behaued himse both wise, couragious, and fortunat, against Cromwell and his partie, whoe kept siedge unto the towne, now almost from Christmasse last untill now about May, th yeare, not onely in a defensiue, but offensiue waye, with many valiant sallies an martiall stratagems, to the enemies mightie prejudice, did loose some daies 20 other dayes 300, other 400, and other 500 men: this losse was soe often and como that My Lord Cromwell was wearie of the place, that if his honor did not impe his Lordship would quitt the place and raise the siedge; revolvinge this and mar other things in his brest, and among the rest, that he was confident of noe reli to come to this towne, and therfore a staine in his honor to quitt such a plac beinge for the conquest of a whole kingdome, havinge men enough at a call aft soe much losse to raise his siedge, would discourage his proper and alien m joininge with him, thought by those and other such motives, thought to tyre th brave warrior, loosinge dayly men and amunition, without the leaste expectati to be with either supplyed (though all this while severally promised by Prest from Waterford), notwithstandinge that My Lord Cromwell obsearved the conceptions to be sufficient grounde to weare out the invincible courage of Maj Oneylle, neverthelesse was most desirous to knowe some other way or stratage to abreviat the busines, studyinge all deuices, none came to any purpose, t

Fennell with Huigh Oneylle.

Longe siedge.

Greate losse.

Clonmell siedge.

Cromwells conceptions.

The doubtfull conceptions of Cromwell.

dexteritie and vigelancie of the Major was such, crossinge eache his attempts, provinge too fatall to the enemie. 1650.

CHAPTER V.

SPARINGE is a good revenue to a privat man, but to a prince nothinge is worse beseeminge his honor, nor indeede more prejudiciall to his affaires, for there is noe baite to the goulden hooke, nor weapon to the siluer speare, nor forte, be it neuer soe stronge, that can longe hould out against the mulet charged with treasure. 612. Lucret. 5. Lucan de Catone, lib. 2. Dionis. l. 52. Plut. in vita Philipi Mac.

Argenteis pugna hastis et omnia vinces.

My Lord Cromwell tumblinge and tossinge, hammeringe the former motives unto his braines, hittinge upon noe settled resolution, though his armie was both stronge and numerous with the accesse of dayly relife, his managment martiall, his attempts various and valiant, his campe plentifull of both provision, meanes, and all other necessaries conducinge to his intent. Yett the dexter deportment of his antigoniste did frustrate and avoide all and singular the former abiliments in such maner that the Lord Cromwell must studie some device other then the strenght of the bodie of his armie; he now remembers that sparinge is not beseeminge his honor, now a prince, noe privat man to fish in the muddy waters of distracted Ireland, is by a golden baite, he intends, insteede of peeke and musket, to use siluer speares, as better weapon, and to charge his gunns, not with brazen bulletts, but with treasure, those extravagant unto the theoricke of other martiallists must haue for the execution a good gunner, practitioner in the arte, such not knowen yett unto My Lord Cromwell. At lenght, by the enformation of some of Insicuynes partie, or other proper surmishes, litted upon a fitt instrument of treacherie, Major Fennell, above mentioned, an ambitious and covetous traytor, was sued unto to be actor of the tragedie of betrayinge both men and towne, for his paines was offered £500. The bargaine was made, the condition accepted, bonnds for payment, My Lord Cromwells honor engaged; the time of performaunce, on Fennells parte, was the verie next night (after the covenant was indorsed), about 12 aclocke, that he, with such as were of that treason and conspiracie guiltie, would guarde such a gate, and would open the same, at the said peremptorie hower, for the intringe of 500 men of My Lord Cromwell, and then to sumulat an opposition to the rest. This concluded upon, the Major-generall, by some inspyringe good angell (though severally and desearvedly hertofore suspitious of this Fennell), could take noe rest that night, therfore passinge the rounde was enformed that Fennell was more then ordinarie actiue that night, walked where he was, whom he founde verie busie, and whearas all the gate guards should be mixt with two parts of the Vlstermen, the third of the natives, or all of the northeren, by comaunde, as preventinge any such rupture; beside this order, contrarie to this comaunde, and against this solid and well grounded custome, he founde Fennell guardinge that gate with his onely natives (which confirmed his former jealousies of him), asked Fennell what he did

Major Fennell agreede for £500 to betraye both towne and major to Cromwell.

But how discouered.

1650. there? whoe answeared that it was his taske to keepe that poaste that night, the major whisperinge one of his men in the eare, comaundinge him (sendinge by him his glovve for a token) to cause the Tollsher guarde to come fourthwith unto him there, in this meane while spoke neuer a worde.

613. The Majors behavior in this busines.

The tollsher guarde nowe arrivinge, the Major caused the former to be devided unto severall poastes, and to picke out of the respective centries that sett number of men that was alreadie at that gate; this don, he added, as surplus, 500 men; then brings Fennell aside and questioned him for not obsearvinge his orders in the posure of the guarde there. Sir, said he, you are like to suffer for it, if you doe not freely tell me the truth. The other knowinge himself guiltie, and beinge sure that his plott was either discovered or like now to marr, did humbly supplicat the Major to pardon him, and that he would truely and really tell him all veritie; which promised, tould him succinctly all the passage as formerly, and withall that the hower was drawinge on that he should open the gate. I doe, said the major, pardon you soe you sweare fealtie unto me for the future, and I will doe the same unto you, all which was incontinently accomplished. Advicinge, therefore, with the rest, what best to doe in that extreamitie, they resolue to open the gate the peremptorie time, accordinge the former covenant. The enemie was watchinge his oportunity, obsearvinge the signall, marched towards the gate, 500 did inter, the rest nolens volens were kept out, and all that intred were putt to the sworde; thus did God discover that plott, thus did God discover this treasonable plott under Major Huigh Oneylle.

The Major and Fennell did sweare fealtie to eache other.

500 of the enemie killed.

614. Cromwells trouble and designe.

My Lord Cromwell, certified of this preposterous issue of his late bargaine with Fennell, was mighty troubled in minde, and therfore did sende for other armies and greate ordinance, which beinge come, did plante his ordinaunce against the towne walle, with continuall thunderinge of shott, made a greate breache for both horse and foote assayllable. The Major-generall all this while was not idle, for he caused a counterscarfe to be made, with a huge ditche, right oppositt unto the said breache. Then began the assaulte verie fierce and couragious, the defendants (as if invincible, which was the same phrase that Cromwell himself gaue them) opposed soe manly, that three seuerall times they beate the enemie backe. The aduerse Generall obsearvinge the mortalitie of his men, the breache soe large, and they soe often repulsed by a handfull of men in respecte of his multitude, determined to loose all at once, or win the garland. Comaundinge therfore both horse and foote, pell mell, that such a heape in such an occasion was seldome seene, that by the very thronge seuerall of them perished, advancinge forwarde unawares (both opposition and assaulte beinge soe furious and hott), not obsearvinge either ditche or counterscarfe, fell headlonge unto the said ditche, from whence was noe redemption or possibilitie of reconerie, but there were massacred and butchered. Theire seconds and comrads seeinge what hapned, retired, neither the threats of the Generall, nor the bloudie sworde of inferiour officers was sufficient enough to keepe them from turninge tayle to the assaulte, and turned to the campe, leavinge Major-generall Oneylle in the possession of a bloudie walle.

Major Oneylls inventions.

Cromwells determination.

A braue assaulte and greate mortalitie.

The enemie repulsed.

615. This siedge did continue now 5 monthes. But this assaulte finished, the Major had noe amunition more then what the souldiers did carie in their vandaliros about

them (though Generall Thomas Preston did too often promise a supply therof), wherfore must now looke to himself, to continue before a stronge enemie now exasperate in such tenuine condition as he was at present, is noe wisdome; obsearvinge which, he called for a councell of warr; after many overtures, accordinge the extenuitie of affaires, did conclude to marche away, and invited such of the natiues as were both able and well affected (others were there that were deeply engaged in treasonable faction, whom the Major well knewe). Marchinge, therfore, with a dumb drumm over the bridge, and towards Waterforde, that parte of the towne was slaightly besiedged, and afarr off, and thus the Major deserted Clonmell and went to Waterforde, leavinge Cromwell in the siedge, as aforesaid.

1650.

Thomas Prestons faithlesse complyancie.

Major Oneylle with his partie marched away.

Cromwell, after the said skirmishe in his campe, troubled in minde, without reste or sleepe all that night, verie early next morninge, walkinge solitarie abroade in sight of the towne, thought verie strange that neither centrie or scoute did apeere on the walle or abroade, nor the signall of attune giuen either by drumm or trumpett, accordinge custome; weainge all these matters in a dubious waye, to be truely enformed of the silent behaviour of the warrlike defendant, perswadinge himself to proceede of some martiall stratageme, comaunded some scoute (as exploratores) towards the towne, whoe durst not venture too farr, and turninge backe to theire Generall without other intimation then what alreadie by diverse inductions of fallible premisses he gathered. This time was spent, untill about ten of the clocke in the morninge, some of the townsmen (as of the Ormondian faction) went to the campe, gaue the Generall notice of Major-Generalls desertinge the towne last night, whoe could scarce beleeue it, but further attestinge the same to be true, comended the Major for a brave souldier, and accused his owne retrograde fortune as not able to win one pettie-towne perforce (after all his victories), or wreste it by fine force out of the hands of one single man (whoe properly was noe more compared unto his multitude), soe longe a time without relife. Upon this the Generall did dislodge and marched to the towne; the armie intreinge (notwithstandinge the submission of the former informers), the inhibitants were both pilladged, riffled, and plundered, without respecte of persons, or mercie of degree; apointinge comaunders and garrison there, marched with all expedition towards Waterford, to recover there what by Huigh Oneylle he lost in Clonmell; arrivinge thither, sate before the towne, but, scarce seatinge himself there, when receaued comaunds from England to apeere there upon sight. In obedience herof (apointinge Earthon Lord Deputie-generall of the armie), hoisinge saile, went for England; but sure, though fortunat can litle boaste of his service in Ireland, as havinge all he had therin by the distraction and division of the nation, treacherie and faction of corrupt members, and Clonmell for want of amunition, but here not opposed to any purpose since his arrivall to Ireland.

616.

Cromwell mightie pensive.

His opinion of Major Oneylle.

The enemie intred the towne.

A garrison left there.

Cromwell went for England.

Earthon, Deputy.

My lord haue noe cause to boaste of his service in Ireland.

Cromwell, dispatched for England, Earthon, his Deputie-generall, began now to rouse himself, and by proper acts to win honor; did leaguer Waterforde neerer home, and another siedge he layed unto Tierohan, Sir Luke Fitz-Geralds house. Major-generall Neylle, arrivinge unto Waterforde, was not permitted to inter the citty for seuerall motiues: the one, that Preston was not soe kinde or loyall-hearted

616[a].

The poore case wherin Major Neylle was at present.

1650. that he would willingly entertaine this warriour, the other, that the cittie was thought too narrow for both parties, and allsoe that the plague was within the towne. By these and such other surmishes the Major and his partie was kept out, and must continue as centinells or safguarde betweene the enemie and cittie, neither towne or Governor Thomas Preston allowinge them any meanes or provision other then what they could haue from the centric, havinge such a stronge enemie at theire nose, untill Diego Preston, condolinge theire case, did share with them one moytie of the garrison souldiers meanes and provision, 18d le price, and some amunition breade, per weeke; wherby mightie reliued, sure the enemie would choose any other to be his neighbour rather then Huigh Oneylle, as havinge by wofull experience a sadd tryall of his courage and deportment euerie day with some bickeringe. By those daylie actions, and by the reepnesse of the plague (as well in the towne, as now in the campe), Major Neylls partie did decrease, wherby the enemie was encouraged to drawe neerer home by inces. The warie Major, obsearvinge his future danger, resolued before he were blocked up to save himself, wherfore adviced his foote to savve themselves the best they could, and betake themselues the shortest cutt towards Limbricke, and that he and Major Fennell, with theire fewe horse, would awaye; all which was putt in execution the same night. But next morninge the enemie had intelligence herof, comaunded a partie of horse after him, dispatched, pursued him the matter of 30 mile towards Kilmalloge, but bootlesse, for the Major went alonge to Limbricke; the enemie returned to Waterforde, whom wee leaue for a while, and speake of other matters at this time occurringe.

The humanitie of Diego Preston.

The plague forced Major Oneylle to take his course for Limbricke.

Pursued by the enemie in vaine.

CHAPTER V. [A].

617. Senec. Epist. Aristoteles Eth. 8. Plut. in lib. Apopth. Claudianus.

Since profitt began to over-ballance honor, men trafficke theire freindshipe and protection of money, soe much are these times for gould; but in the goulden times onely religion, justice, and the publicke quiet, were the three jointe purchasers of aide and freindshipe. Wherefore that ould rule ought still stande in force, and when the case is betweene honor and advantage, the publicke negotiator (as well as the Prince himself) ought to haue the equitie of the cause, and honor of his master, in more especiall recomendation.

Horat.

Vilius virtutibus aurum.

Wee left Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, both Gouernor of Karlagh and Vice-Generall of Linster by the subdellegation of Castlhauen Audley (as no. 600 touched)—profitt did ouerballance honor in this prelate, and did trafficke religion, freindshipe, and publicke quiet, on the caducat touche of false and inticinge, protection of silver myne—sittinge now (in proper opinion) at the stearne of Linster-fluctuatinge-boate; he did invite severall comaunders in Low-Linster, Huigh Mc Phelim, Bryan Mc Phelim, Colonell Arthure Fox, and others, to his partie, and under his assumed authoritie, promisinge montaines of gould and high performaunce. But the former two Colonells brothers would not comply with his said

Bishope of Drumore, Vice-Generall of Linster.

He invites the Byrnes and Kavenaghs, but idly.

1650.

He invites the Byrnes and Kevanaghs but idly.

Colonell Arthure Fox came to him with a partie.

£3000 did the bishope leave in the contry.

Colonell Fox did oppose him.

He writtes a conterfeite letter which was thus in effecte.

Colonell Fox deceaved by him.

Drumore made sale of all the provision, etc., of the garrison.

Colonell Fox because true and loyall was kept out by Drumore.

Bedlowe and Dungan intrusted by Drumore to the castle goverment.

His treacherous desertinge the castle.

Oliuer Dungan deade.

osire, as knowinge him to be of noe such stuffe, rather totally giuen to proper dvantage, and noe way inclined to the comon good. But Colonell Fox (then in Bryan Mc Phelims company), upon those inticinge invitations, came to Carlagh with 3 or 4 companies of infantery, to adhere unto this Vice-generall; this gentlman for the matter of a month or there abouts was moste wellcome unto the prelate, as longe as money was collected by sundrie warrants caryinge that glorious itle, Dromorensis-Generall of the Catholicks of Linster, whoe by those meanes id gather £3000. But to make up a better purse then his warrants or that protable fiction delenquencie could easily worke, began to make sale of all the provision that was apointed for the defence of Carlagh, aforesaid; but Colonell Fox (a greate stickler of the comon good) as a member of that goverment did ppose the same with pregnant reasons. The bishope, obsearvinge his conuincinge grounds, and fearinge to prevayle, did simulat to have receaued a letter from the Byrnes and Kevanaghes, promisinge to send unto his Lordship, as they were able o comaunde at present, which as he said was 1500 men, but for other occasions ould not come themselues; in regarde therof, wished his Lordship to send Colonell Fox to comaunde that partie duringe theire proper absence, whom onely they did rust with theire men and armes; this was the summ of that forged addresse, and ll vaine, illusorie, and false, though perswaded the Colonell to be true. This operie soe prevalent, confirmed by seuerall attestations of the author, wrought soe arr, that the Colonell was possessed of the infallible veritie therof, pursuant thernto, was with his partie comaunded to putt the former surmishe in execution. This good prelate havinge now none to oppose (Colonell Fox out of his sight) began to rifle the house, to make sale of all the provision, amunition, armes, and houshould-stuffe of that plentifull and riche garrison. Colonell Fox, accordinge his former orders and instructions, arrivinge to the said comaunders, shewinge the ause of his mission, enformed of the true state of the busines (as above mentioned) nd of theire owne negatiue resulte, negotiatinge thus, returned to Carlagh, was not admitted to the castle (which was the onely objecte of this Vice-generall-prelate, to be reede of this loyall man, a true touchstone of his rustie and cankered ctions), and soe forced to shifte for himself. All things in the garrison now urned unto money except a monthes provision, and the sooner to embeshell the ame did send for Major Oliver Dow[n]gan (a birde of his owne neaste), and brought him with his company to the castle of Carlagh, and apointed Captain Bedlowe a master-peece of factionall buildinge) governor of the towne and castle; this stratagemc soe acted, went himself to the countrie to be more capable (as he gave out) to reliue Carlagh if neede did require; this don (as if he had sent comaunds unto the enemie to leaguer the towne), did afarr of apeere with a small partie, and sitt before it without offeringe the leaste violence on either side, pro uel contra, where he continued the matter of a month in that same posture of civill behaviour, rather expectinge the exhaustinge of that poore and shorte competencie of provisione then any hostile demeanour to force submission, at whose end the castle was yelded for quarter of life, armes, bagg, baggage, a monthes pay to both comaunder and souldier, and a protection to continue without contribution in the contrie (onely this for Downgan and others), whoe not longe after died; thus was

1650. the impregnable forte of Carlagh yelded to the enemie by Drumore and his goverment, and this was his trafficke, neuer mindinge the recomendation of the nation advantage, nor proper honor, soe that he made up a purse of money.

CHAPTER VI.

618. Arist. in 1. l. 2. Senec. Lucan l. 1. Plut. As in schoole disputations, where one absurditie is granted infinit others followe; soe in those actions of state which are disputed by the sworde, one error begetts another, and this a thirde, a worse, especially in those men that will not acknowledge theire first ouersight, whoe, howsoeuer they seeke to transferr the imputation and blame upon others, the losse and shame lighteth on themselves.

Finis unius principium alterius est mali.

The Bishope of Clogher, Generall now of the province of Vlster, after his returne from Ormonde and Clanricarde (givinge full credence unto theire fained protestations of succours) was in his proper countrie recrutinge and musteringe his armie (as no. 604 mentioned), begins now to marche unto the fielde with a braue armie, horse and foote, towards the countie of Tyrone, on the side of Loghneagh and Banny; to secure them partes, seuerall parties were apointed to bringe both garrisons and contrie to obedience and contribution; all and singular behaued themselues like braue warriors, and specially Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneylle (euer yett fortunat in such expeditions); gatheringe now unto a bodie, Sir Charles Coote, Junior, the onely champion for the parliament in Vlster, durst not shewe his face, or attempt anythinge to purpose against this armie but once, and was putt to route.

Braue behaviour of the Ulster armie.

The faithlesse complyance of Ormond and Clanricard.

Ormonde, obsearvinge the composure and strenght of the Vlster armie, and that it proved too stronge against the enemie there, to giue a rubb unto the same (though against oathe and covenant), the armie promised by him and Clanricarde to the furtherance of the Irish service in Vlster, was by this time in bodie marchinge towards the borders of the countie of Sligoe, where receaued a counter-maunde to turne backe towards Athlone (wheare himself was then resident), by whom was publickly bruted that all was don to relive Tyerohan by this retiringe armie, which was now leaguered the matter of fiue weekes, to small purpose.

619. The seconde letter of Armstronge intercepted and giuen to Ormond. Colonell Sir Thomas Armstronge, comissarie of the horse (whose letter unto My Lord Cromwell (as no. 599 mentioned), did now from Athlone write a seconde addresse unto the same or deputie Earthon, which was likewise intercepted; and as the other was giuen Castlhaven, then comaunder in chiefe of that Athy partie, so this was giuen unto Ormonde, but bootlesse, for nothinge was don in a busines of that graine, and matter of that concearnment. Such as had notice of those extravagant proceedings of Royall Generall, in privat conference muttered seueral glosses and jealousies, as not of that temper to divulge any such unto publick hearinge, and though frequent and comon, yett privat, but not soe privat that Ormonde did not heare of it. Whearfore, invitinge a kinde of convocation, made a speeche in publicke audience, tendinge to the disguste of the people, that he

Ormonds speeche in Athlone.

should intertaine Puritants and Protestants to warr, as well against theire conscience as against theire countrimen, and that the Irish nation did not want men of theire owne, but meanes, and what meanes was exhibitted unto those strangers of both religion and countrie, more properly should be given unto the natives of the same religion and intentions, then unto alien, whose censeritie was neuer yett attested by loyall actions, rather the contrarie, by seuerall undeniable testimonies tendinge to ruyne and destruction. Not to be auerse (said Ormonde) unto this comon sense, too frequente in darke corners handled, I will giue them a passe to goe for England and searue his Majestie, of whose integritie I am fully perswaded; and to enable them therunto his Excellencie gaue Armstronge and his regiment full meanes for a month before hand, payinge unto them all the arreares thitherunto acruinge. Vpon intimation herof the matter of 400 braue horse in a florishinge equipage did gather unto Armstronge.

1650.

All treacherie and deceite.

Daniell Oneylle (a mongrell in religion and a creature of Ormonde), with another 100 horse and Armstronge, did marche awaye, simulatinge to enbarke for England, havinge a faire passe from the Parliament. All things thus readie, one Thomas Crafton, a gentlman of Conaght, hitherunto searvinge in this regiment, spoke to Sir Thomas, tould him that he was willinge to continue in the contrie, and desired him to graunte his admittaunce; wherupon Armstronge, callinge him aside, said, Mr. Crafton, I love you well and wish you all hapinesse, your motion I aprove, and condescende unto your requeste, but with this provisoe (as you tender your owne saftie), not to goe with the instant relife to Tierohan; the gentlman returninge many thanks for his advice and takinge his leaue. Armstronge, callinge him againe, and said, Mr. Crafton, be not remisse in what I wish you doe, for I perswade you upon my reputation I doe it in tender consideration of your wellfare, and if any your deerest freindes be bounde for the same service, diswade them, as I doe you. The gentlman, now enbouldened for this courtesie, questioninge the Colonell what the matter might be that his honor was soe earnest in its behalfe? whoe briefly answeared, this much, said he, is enough for you to knowe at present, if you be wise. Mr. Crafton, thus expedited, adviced others (in the like nature not to goe with the said relife) that were his wellwishers. Armstronge and Daniell, with theire said parties, takinge theire leaue of Ormonde, marched unto the siedge of Tierohan, made there some staye, indeeringe themselues there, and likly shewinge theire credence, with a full intimation of Ormonde and his adherents advantagious proceedings, allsoe of the future relife, with all the circumstances conducinge therunto, which don, marched towards Drohedae, and from thence to the North, where they joined to Sir Charles Coote against the Irish armie.

620.

Daniell Oneylle, Ormonds creature.

Sir Thomas Armstronges speeche to Thomas Crafton.

Thomas Crafton diswaded others to goe to Tierohan.

Armstronge and Daniell Oneylle with the enemie.

CHAPTER VII.

In the contrie Carnensis (of Spaine) there is a river that shewes all the fishe in it to be like gould, but take them unto the hande and they apeere in theire naturall kinde and colour. Such are faire promises in his mouthe that would obtaine his

621.

Plin. Nat. Hist. l. 2, c. 10.

1650. Plut. Apop. Pollian. Strabo. Ovid. Epist.

purpose; bringe them to the touche, and thou shalte finde all is not goulde that glistereth. He, therfore, that will engage himself unto a great action upon promise of greate asistance, if he be not as sure of his friends abilitie in power as readinesse in will, he reckons without his hoste and sitts downe with the losse.

Tale nihil timeo; sed nec Medea timebat.
Fallitur augurio spes bona sæpe suo.
Heu potior telis vulnera facta meis.

The Vlster armie marched to Tyrconell.

The Vlster armie, mightie prosperous in theire present service (as no. 618 mentioned), after routinge Coote, as there specified, in hope of Ormond and Clanricards complyance of theire promise of relife, or additionall armie, marched to Tyrconell accordinge covenant. But by the now encouragment of alreadie vanquished Coote (whoe by the accesse of Armstronge and Daniell Oneylle, as aforesaid, did call all his garrisons unto the fielde, and followed the Prelate-Generall), might easily knowe that all is not gould that glistereth, nor all that sweetly relisheth is healthy; if this brave prelate (but, alas, ignorant Generall) did touche with the rememorative of his wittie consideration the paintinge deliverie, and euer false-complyance of these obuious-honored-peeres and theire former actions, upon such conterfeite promises would not engage himself unto soe greate an action, as not sure of theire readinesse in will as he was of abilitie in power; but for his facile beleefe herin, in a matter that soe neerly concearned not onely him but the whole province of Vlster, nay, of all Ireland, I feare me, will be a meane to force him sitt downe with the losse, and by shott with his proper arrowe; marchinge, therfore, arrived unto a place in Tyreconell, by name Letherkeny, where they encamped: Coote and his armie still pursuinge.

The mistake of this good prelat but a bad generall.

Letherkeny, in Irish, *Litirceann.*

622. An Irish druide or prophett diswaded to giue battle in the said place as ominous.

When this armie did begin its marche from the countie of Monaghan, a certaine man that had some insight in prophecies, cominge to the Generall, questioned his Lordship wheare did he intende to marche at presente, whoe answeared that to Tyrconell; the man therupon publicklie perswaded him not to give battle in such a place, naminge Letherkeny, aforesaid; there is, said he, a prophecie of that place, that a battle betweene any, either domesticke or foraigner, and such as will goe from hence thither, will prove fatall unto those; be adviced in time, remember what I say, for I assure you this is noe fixion, but a reall one penned by a prime saincte, and therfore to be duely obsearved, otherwise will prove true to your disadvantage, which repeatinge verie often, infusinge it unto the eares of seuerall comaunders, the armie marched unto the same place, where at instant they lodge. But scarce did they take any well grounded settlement when they did obsearue Coote and his armie marchinge towards them, wherupon a councell of warr did sitt to determine what to doe in such a case. Eache offered his proper resulte, diswadinge the Generall to giue battle, and, specially in that place, rather to remove from thence and tire the enemie.

A councell of warrs resulte.

623. Henry roe Oneylles speeche in the councell of warr.

Henry roe Oneylle, the late Generalls onely sonn, a brave warriour, did presse and urge the matter verie hearde, with convencinge reasons and learned principles of martiall inductions, diswadinge the battle in that place, rather to remove from thence (as the other comaunders had don), givinge for instances that his father would protraicte time the best he could, use many cunctations, and giue a thoussand

wheeles to savve the life of one single souldier (much more would he doe for the saftie of a whole armie); by these meanes (and not otherwise) did he presearue (against the treble force and kankered intentions of three kingdomes) this present armie, that your Lordship intends now to expose for slaughter (under favor) without rime or reason other then self opinion. It is noe disparagment unto your Lordship that you are not versant in those neece quilletts of thundringe Mars, as, not brede in his academies, rather extravagant unto your beinge of myter-carier or peripateticall speculation. The theoricke of this arte is it that wins the garland, therfore cede, and giue place unto practitioners, the Leutenant-generall, and others, that haue indured the hardnesse of seuerall unfauorable temperatures for manie yeares, to the spillinge of much proper bloude, cauteriatinge theire bodie-members, and hazardinge both life and fortune onely for honors sake, to be dexter and not bomblers in this martiall discipline, which canot be otherwise acquired (like our pater noster, in a daie) other then by much labour, paine, and effusion of bloude. Those, then, that professeth noe lesse in action then what wee here discover to compite the arte, are to be preferred in judgment before others that treate onely of it in a speculative way upon an easie taile, leaninge on a silke cussine (as Haniball did justly aprehende, in Antiochus his philosopher), though I minde the illusorie controversie dependinge betweene Vlysses and Aiax, which was injustly doomed against this in favor of the other. 1650.

My lord, you may consider that I and all the rest the comaunders here convened are as prompte to doe service on the enemie as euer you is willinge to comaunde, but would haue it don like souldiers, and not like men without arte or experience. A greate number of our souldiers are wantinge upon other designes, and such as are extant are wearie by over much toyle and travayle, our horses tyred, lett us then withdrawe ourselves one halfe a mile off, wheare wee may be secure from any enemie how stronge soeuer. The contrie is at our devotion, provision wee canot want, forage for our horses is plentifull, wee will refreshe ourselves, our men will cheerfully flocke about us, both number and courage will by these motiues dayly encrease; in the meane while the enemie will either away and disperse, or continue and begger, either of [*sic*] both will prove advantagious unto us. I hould this to be more politicke, more consonant to reason, and more conformable to martiall discipline, then to endanger the onelie armie of this our native kingdome, the onely suporte under God of our Catholicke religion in this distracted nation, or comitte our liues and all that is deere unto us unto the sliperie hands and waueringe doome of neuer constant and variable fortune of a field-battle, whom (if once broken upon, as my father of hapie memorie in such another occasion did wisely consider) could scarce euer after be recruted, or come to soe considerable a heade in many monthes; but if the enemie had here the worste, by the powerfull asistance of soe potent confederat as the Parliament of England, in actuall possession of three kingdomes, may easily be restaured unto its former or better beinge. Cunctation in all ages is laudable in a chieftaine (as we may reade in the Romaine histories, and is obseruable in the first Cunctator, Scipio Affricanus, and many others). Was not this that placed George Castriott, otherwise Scanderbeg, in the frontespice of the booke of fame, and acquired him that eternizinge epitethe, the souldier of Jesus 624.

1650. Christe? What other did cause the admiringe world to celebrate unto future ages the imortall name of our late Spinnola in both himself and his posteritie, serviuge his Catholicke majestie in Flanders, but eunctation? wherby ouercame without blowes the invincible courage of Grau Mourish, Prince of Orange, and Generall for the Hollanders. Many such may be (for instances to our present purpose) produced, what alreadie related, with the omminous propheeie of this place where wee now stande, is grounde sufficient for any reasonable understandinge to cede his proper to the contrarie inclininge, and giue place to aliene better experimented. This, sir, is the sense of all and singular those comaunders, nay, of the verie single souldiers and mine (minimus apostolorum) dixi.

Hitherunto his speeche.

CHAPTER VIII.

625. Livi. l. 30. Curt. l. 8. Tacit. An. 1°. Am. Plut. Ages. Sence. Proverb Lat.

One mischiefe or losse comes seldome alone, but followes like billowes, one in the necke of another; in which tide of misfortune men are in fewe daies more overwhelmed with the waues of damage and trouble then they can (after) free themselues of in the ebb of many yeares. And therfore they crie out on theire starres, and raile at fortune, whoe is soe barren of her favours and fruitfull otherwise. Whereas the starres may rather complaine of them whoe are never with any good fortune satisfied, nor by many disastrous accidents warned. But wise men (in this sense) doe governe the starres:

Finis alterius mali gradus est futuri.
Sapiens dominabitur astris.

The self-opinion of the Bishope-Generall of Vlster.

The Bishope-Generall, attentive to those pregnant reasons, and, though otherwise learned, not capable to render any proper to the contrary, rather usinge a peremptorie authoritie, framinge his present expressions unto a willy-prerogative power of bardninge omittinge all martiall groundes or legall objections of a well disciplined field comaunder (wherof was ignorant) styred onely by destined fate—said that the induction of all the former resulte was noe way sutable unto the courage of braue souldiers, rather unto the dastardlike behaviour of such as feare to be eye wittnesses of the least effusion of proper or alien bloude, or venture the hazarde of an honorable attempte as not to receave in exchaunce a litle scarr (though such be the high repute of a souldier). This corrosive language, more penetratinge noble hearts then any Vulcanian stile, did soe distemper the warrlike deportment of these heroes that, though euer yett undaunted, were soe farr beyond the limitts of reason transported, that, oblivious of all militarie advantage, or indifferencie of either grounde or element, puttinge themselves in a distracted posture of battle, where theire horse could scarce relive the foote—both winde and weather was not theire freinde—with these unparallelled inequalities and disproportioned advantage, both the foote began the skirmishe on either side. Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneylle with the rest of his foote brauely behaued themselues; the enemie foote, if able to doe it, would flie from that furie, but could not, for theire proper horse did both second

This unciuill language did dazle the viewe of those warriours.

and keepe them in actione, otherwise would turne taile, which was the occasion that the enemie foote fell downe deade as thicke as haile in whole regiments. The enemie horse, obsearvinge the inequalitie of the foote and the mortalitie of theire foote, began to rush unto the Irish foote, whoe by the multitude of both horse and foote now overwhelmed, but not of force to putt them out of countenaunce, or to shewe the leaste signall of either retreate or flight, intire regiments were there present killed; all the Irish horse, as well for want of grounde as for beinge devoide of managment, was all the while idle spectators of this bloudie cathostrophe.

1650. Letherkeny battle. The courage of the Irish foote. But, woe, ouermatched, slaughtered.

Whiche, when Henry roe Oneylle obsearved, though not apointed for researve or chiefe officer of the field, nor any to whom any such was intrusted, rather by an inative propension to acte warrlike feates and to relive his now distracted followers and comrades, rushed amonge the enemie like a lion amonge the inferiour beastes, or a wolfe amonge a hearde of inocent sheepe, a marlin haucke amonge a multitude of sparowes, a fox amonge geese, or a lansado bull sett at libertie from his fatall yoke by his ceruicall strenght, suche a hauocke he made of all that came in his waye, and, though too late, drove out from the maine force of the enemie (by proper interposition) such as survievved of his in the battle, caryinge them of from the field in a most honorable retreate; but the enemie horse followed in heapes, beinge yett fresh, and the Irish wearie. Henrie kept the reare of his partie rather like a gyant then an ordinarie man. At lenght the enemie, fully perswaded the maine of his victorie to depende either of the lif-restrainte or death of this onely warriour, fell therfore upon him with such a resolution, though with greate losse and forcinge quarter of life, was taken prisoner, which taken, all the rest, discouraged, either fled away in good earnest or were there slaughtered, which was to the most of them in that season indifferent to liue or die.

626. Henry roe Oneylls behaviour. Henrie circumvented, forcinge quarter, was taken prisoner; all the rest fled away.

Sir Phelim Oneylle with a partie tooke his course for Tyrone, and soe beguiled the enemie. The Bishope-Generall (the occasion of this lamentable scene) and Leutenant-Generall Ferrall, with the matter of 200 horse, goinge both daie and night for 24 howers the way of Fermanagh without meate, drinke, or rest, both horse and man tyred, next morninge in that poore plight were discovered and noted in that sadd condition by one [*blank*] Maguire, a gentleman of the countrie (O inhumaine treacherie!), poasted to Iniskillin garrison, gaue notice there of the distressed deportment of the fugitive Irish Generall; facilitatinge in the best language he could the surprize of that wofull partie by a farr lesser number, as out of breath and courage, both beaste and man, by those surmishes, he edged on the enemie garrison, whoe made up the matter of a 100 horse, a sufficient number to quell the alreadie vanquished behaviour of this starvlinge and forlorne partie; advancinge therefore towards them (whose overtyred steedes could scarce carie theire masters), an easie taske, fallinge upon them, incapable of the leaste resistance, the Prelat-Generall was taken prisoner and wounded, the Leutenant-Generall narrowly escaped, wounded; verie fewe escaped, but all were either killed in the same place or taken prisoners, and soe caried unto Iniskillin, where continued upwards of two monthes, at the expiration wherof was hanged and quartered by Sir Charles Coote.

627. Sir Phelim saved. The Generall and Leutenant-Generall in a poore condition. One Maguire betrayed them. The Generall taken prisoner. Leutenant-Generall escaped. Prelat-Generall hanged and quartered by Sir Charles Coote.

The prisoners taken in the fielde, Henry roe Oneylle, Sheane O'Kahan, that was hertofore Major-Generall, Phelim Mc Tuhill Oneyll, Colonell, and others were caried

628.

1650.

Some caried to Londondery.

prisoners unto London Derry, beinge sure and certaine to be soone released (if the lawe of armes or nation obsearued), either by ransome or exchange, as beinge legally quarter-promised; all the captains and other officers of the armie, except verie fewe, were on that field killed; of the verie Ferralls was there killed 18 captains, beside under officers, and Roger Nangle, major of that regiment; of comon souldiers 3500, all the chiefe comaunders (except the Leutenant-generall, Sir Phelim Oneylle, Bryan roe Oneylle, Con backagh Oneylle, Alexander Mc Daniell, Owen O'Doghardy, Meylds Reyllye, Sheane O'Kahan, and fewe others), were there miscaried. O fatall destinie! this armie, euer yett victorious by the industrious vigelancie and vigelant industrie of Generall Owen Oneylle of famous memorie, by the ill manage of one man too much given to his owne opinion was now miscaried, nay, without divine operation, devoide of all humaine understandinge, for ever destroyed, such as the present losse was noe lesse to be expected upon the death of the Catholicke Generall, for one mischiefe comes seldome alone, but another comes as followinge in the necke of other. This misfortunate tide of troubles and fates did overwhelme this braue familie of the Neylls in such a manner that the ebb of many yeares is not of force to restore them to theire former beinge. It was bruted that Henrie roe Oneylle for a certaine summ of money was to be ransomed; his wife Elenor, Sir Luke Fitz-Geralds daughter, made herself readie, havinge the said summ, to goe in person to ransome her beloved husbande. But, alas! notwithstandinge his quarter and the former relation of his enlargment, was by the unchristian and tigrish doome of that thrice-cruell butcher and humaine bloude sucker, Sir Charles, beheaded, and the rest his co-prisoners executed in disrespecte of all humaine and divine lawe. This bloudie scene was acted in Londondery on the [*blank*] of July, 1650, whoe engeniously pleaded for his life, alleadginge it to be against the lawe of armes and nations to execute him or any other taken upon quarter of saftie faithfully promised in the field by an impowered comaunder, though the taxation of ransomes in the behalfe of all and singular militarie members be laied downe by the lawe and use of nations and armes, yett we are content you reduce what summ you please for eache of us, either to continue your prisoners without baile, or paye the same, or some of us for the whole, as you thinke fitt; if this will not please you, you may call to minde what service my father and meselfe haue don in your behalfe, wherby you were raised to this now height wherin you glorie; how by the same action we are by our verie best friends now the lesse condoled, as conceitinge that to be the grounde of our now downfall; how tender you were of my saftie then; how inticinge to baite my affection; how often with alluringe demeanour did you call me by the mellifluous name of your owne sweete brother Hary, nothinge pleasinge unto you duringe our aboade here then without my presence and likinge; when I smiled you thought yourself then engaged to doe noe lesse, soe that in all my actions you seemed to be transformed in me; you may call this to minde, and that I am still the same man, though now your prisoner, the same you aime at then by love baite, now by fine force you haue accomplished. Wee are both by the sympathy of deportment souldiers of fortune, whose constancie is neuer yett truely ballanced, whose extreamities or extreames haue neuer mette in one center, nor continuance did touche one period of well settled stabilitie; if all

Losse there 4000 killed in all, beside chiefe comaunders.

Henry roe Oneylle and his co-prisoners beheaded and hanged.

His speeche before his death to Sir Charles Coote.

hese be not sufficient motiues to cause you recante your bloudie doome, or to ncline your hearte to be more clement unto the life of a quondam friende, here I m, disclaiminge in all your fauour, and doe onely apeale unto God Allmightie for he iniquitie of your alreadie past censure, to giue you the same measure, onely I lesire (if you be soe cruell towards yourself as to undergoe that rigorous judgment of the all seeinge Judge incident to the spillinge of mye bloude) that you giue life nto those other inocent persons, my co-prisoners, and revenge your hatred in the effusion of mine, which is recompensable to what hatred you may haue. To all his Coote answeared very briefe, if your father and you haue don me a courtesie payed you for it, and therfore doe not trouble yourselfe, my judgment shall passe, nd there is an end, which was done as formerlie. 1650. His charitable requeste, but inhumanlie denied.

That martiall theater, Vlster, the onely suporte, in humanis, of this whole kingdome, by the successiue death of this most noble familie of the Neylls is now eft a relicte dowager of moane and griefe, both daie and night deploringe; her beauteous cheekes besmeared with saltrie teares, none of her best beloved now ounde to comforte; all her friends have turned, and chaunged sense to be her oes; the churche of God is turned unto a wildernesse; noe tritinge pathes to holinesse, the ministers of Gods worde, houllinge, the lily-coloured-virgines, squalide, her litle tender babes, by the enemie brought unto captivitie before her yes, is now devoide of all comelinesse; its warriours (such fewe as surviewed) without strenght or courage, flyinge from the verie sight of a fewe enemie. How peremptorie doe the enemie apeere, shewinge himself as cruell as a tiger and as bloudie as a bastarde lionesse, givinge lawe unto all the territories brought into subjection by the former victors. And though now overcome, vanquished, buried, nd deade, by the iniquitie of the times, perfidie and treacherie of Ormond, and nparallelled cruelty of Coote, lett none perswade himself that God haue forsaken hat familie; yett for a time will, to theire correption, punish them, as offended for ome lawe transgressions, but sure will after be reconciled to his servants, whoe aue so well desearued of his religion, that since it was planted in this nation did euer wage warr other then for its puritie, nor euer made peace with the opposers without religion beinge his basise, which is a particular honor of that noble and Macheyan familie; lett none therfore perswade himself that God in his divine wisdome and incomprehensible providence will giue waye unto the anihilation of soe worthy and benemerittinge a stocke, soe often and seasonably wattered by the ender brest of holy churche for its filiall obedience therunto, rather resuscitate he withered and rotten bones of those true Israelitts, to plant anewe the luster nd splendor of holy religion, if other seedes therof did not existe, as unto that ept onely researved; the omnipotencie divine is humbly supplicated to graunte gratiously with speede and eternall blish to such as wee treate off here. 629 Threnorum primo. The moane for the familie of Oneylle. 2 Mar. l. 7.

Amonge the rest that was killed in the foresaid field was Owen Shiell, doctor of hisicke, and sonn to James O'Shiell, a natiue of the barony of Moycashell, in the ountie of Westmeathe, whoe was maried to ould Captain Tyrrells daughter, by ame Cate. This Doctor Shiell was absolutly the verie best of that science in the 3 kingdomes, for he studied that facultie in the Uniuersity of Paris in France. Beinge to receave his graduation, suspectinge (accordinge dispersed rumors) the 630. An abridgment of Doctor Owen Shiells. life and deathe

1650.

An abridgment of Dr. Shiell's life.

same to be some what laxat or favorable in the conferringe therof, tooke his course for Lovaine, as more neece and obstruee in such points, where the Universitie constitutions did require the partie supplicant to finish his tienniall studie there, to be truely certified, not onely of the parties capacitie for desearvinge of his doctorshipe, as allsoe to enable the Universitie members (by his continuance duringe the said time) to beare testimonie of his laudable conuersation and practise; this much, upon his intimation, was notified unto him, wherunto he willingly condescended, finishinge, therefore, there his course pursuant to the locall custome, now devoide of all jealousie of examination, how rigorous soever; the aprehension of Padua Uniuersitie in Italy, the onely phenix in Europe of the said facultie, harbouringe in his breste, and nothinge did sute with his engenious deliberation other then to receave his graduation there, as farr more honorable, of better speculation and theoricke. To this nurserie of Gallien phisicke, and prime angular-stone of anothemies, addressed himself, where arrivinge receaved his graduation of doctor, to the high repute of all the rest there. And though wanted noe practise of either doctor, phisician, chirurgion, or apothecarie, or herbaliste, all which inatiue in him, notwithstandinge continued there for a whole twellmonthe, all the while duely obsearvinge the chiefe practitioners, and momentarie anothomies, and, least any thinge should be wantinge, at the expiration of the fore said time went to Rome, and there for half a yeare was conuersant with the best expositors of both Gallien and Hypocrate. Thus loaden with the choice juice of both speculation and practise of phisicall rules arriued to Flanders, where he was apointed chiefe doctor of the Catholicke kings armie. His cures rather wondered then imitable, was allsoe nominated chiefe of that facultie in the royall hospitall of Macklin, where for 12 yeares had don admirall cures, aboundinge with all kinde of infirmities and maladies, but none escaped his hands without the application of curable salues that either arte or nature could inuente. His name was bruted in all corners, and himself the objecte of all behoulders, not onely for his rare learninge and education, but allsoe for his civill and amorous deportment. But inticed by naturall propension to come to his natiue countrie, puttinge the same in execution, arrived unto Dublin, in Ireland, the yeare 1620, where of his profession did continue manye the best of the kingdome, he unknowen, untill the curinge of a certaine ladie, by all the rest of the doctors there lefte for incurable, whoe was in fewe dayes by this our Doctor Eugenius putt in the true posture of saftie, wherby was narrowly looked for by all patients, and specially such as were by other doctors forsaken, and left as desperat of thriuinge, were by him easily cured, wherby in a shorte time acquired the name of Eagle of Doctors, and the onely scientificall by a supereminent degree in that facultie, which occasioned the best of nobles and gentrie of Linster and others to apointe him theire doctor, payinge an annuall pension accordinge theire respectiue abilities unto him, as well to cutt of all hopes of other aspirers, and to haue him at a call, though by infirmitie noe way necessitated, the said pension was duely payed. Upon this the warr begininge, all such prime members as had any hand therin, and specially such as were acquainted with him in Flanders, as Owen Oneylle and Thomas Preston, etc., could not be without the sense of soe good a masterpeece in matters of high concearn-

ment, who searved as chiefe doctor of phisicke in the Linster armie, whearof Preston was Generall, untill obsearvinge his treacherie neere Dublin in time of Clanricards engagment (as no. 253 mentioned), as a loyall member of both countrie and cause, did relinquishe him, and adhered unto Generall Oneylle, as a constant rocke of the same intention, whom he neuer forsooke in all his fortunes; but divine providence soe ordaininge, was for a month in the begininge of his infirmities absent, which had beene prime motiue (except divine dispositione) of the untimely death of that noble warriour; after whose death this generous and euer-faithfull doctor did accompany his sone, Henry Roe Oneylle, untill that fatall day of the above mentioned battle, where this brave doctor was killed, as was reputed, at leaste noe notice was of his life ever since, leavinge many men and women bemoaninge his miscariage, whom God Allmightie keepe in his glorie for ever and ever, Amen. 1650.

CHAPTER IX.

In the honor of a greate achievment other men partake with the prince accordinge to the measure of theire place and meritte; but the well or ill orderinge of the things achieved redounds wholy to his owne proper glorie or shame. Hee is therefore to have a specially care, in the establishment of his newe gouerment, that every thinge by reigled accordinge to rule and order, for it is greater honor to come off with judgment then to goe on with courage; to use victorie wisly then to gett it hapilly; and more glorie to retaine a newe possession then to obtaine it. 631. Terentius. Salust. ad Cæs. Curt. l. 4 Publ. Flor. lib. 4. Seneca. Ovid.

Non minor est virtus quam quærere parta tueri: Plus est seruasse quam quæsisse decus.

One Major Luke Guyre was governor and chiefe comaunder of Tycrohan, a true, honest, and reall man, behaued himself verie well, made seuerall good and couragious sallies, provinge fortunat with small or noe proper losse, and, to the exceedinge prejudice of the enemie, he was within the matter of 600 able men, of very good resolution, plentie of amunition and provision in the house, many braue peece of ordinance mounted, huge ditches, stronge rampiers and turretts about the castle; nothinge conducinge to the defence of the place was wantinge; fidelitie and courage was in both comaunder and souldier, as the verie enemie by wofull and dayly experience did knowe, in soe much that he was forced to dislodge and remove a good distance from the towne, as not of abilitie to indure the frequente and deadly thundringe of ordinaunce and manly incursions of the defendants. This much was notified unto Ormond and Clanricard, thought it not suitinge to theire designe of betrayinge the nation by degrees that such a loyall and faithfull man and comaunde soe advantagious a place when all Linster was alreadie in the enemie possession. Major Luke Guires character, Governor of Tierohan. 600 souldiers within. The strenght of Tierohan. Tierohan siedge.

Wherefore, Ormond by his authenticke instrument did comaunde Sir Robert Thalbott, no. 594 mentioned, to be governor in Tierohan in Major Guires place, man too often heartofore besmeared in the fesce of treason and disloyaltie, but be rather a fitt instrument and governor of this place, soe important for the whole kingdome behoofe, whose wife was under the enemie protection, and liued within 632. Sir Robert Thalbott, governor of Tierohan.

1650. 3 or 4 miles to Tierohan (aforesaid), a strange and inticinge baite to seconde and edge on the never-faithfull brest of Sir Robert to the actinge this treasonable scene: this master-peece and corner-stone of treacherie now arrivinge to Tierohan to enter possession of his said newe comaunde. But the former governor, fully acquainted with this Thalbotts Linster behaviour hitherunto and now confident of noe better issue of affaires, was verie jealouse of him, and, notwithstandinge his power from Ormond, would not obey. But the lady of the house, assuringe him of Thalbotts integritie, yeldinge as motiue of her intimation that he was her owne kinsman, and though otherwise naught, said she, would not betraye me. By these feminian inductions Guire was ouercome, and gaue way to Thalbott to inter possession of his recent incumbencie. The souldiers, rent and distracted, some adhered unto Guire, and others to Sir Robert; the verie lady of the house, though otherwise sage, became of Thalbotts partie, and by his meanes concealed both provision and amunition; noe sallies now used, noe thundringe of ordinance, all former courage of the defendants abated, nothinge spoken off now other then surrender and quarter. By this supine negligence, privat, though knowen treacherie, and carelesse behaviour, the enemie drawes neere home, as confident of the loyaltie of the governor towards him. Guire durst not venture any sallies as accustomed, as fearinge to be kept out for good and all, neither durste he truste Sir Roberts faction to be alone in centries or centinells.

The lady deceaued in Thalbott.

The change of Tierohan defence in Thalbotts time.

From good to badd.

633. One night (in confirmation herof) hapened that some of the well affected were at the watche, and a leutenant of Major Guires partie did stande as comaunder in the watche tower, one of the enemie centinells asked whoe was there within; the said leutenant did answere, that he for one was there. Of whose partie or faction (answeared the other) are you? Of Guire, said the leutenant. Be then warie, said the other, otherwise within an hower hence wee will be there. The leutenant questioninge, how? tould that the gate would be left open for them at such a clocke. The enformer would not tell what he was, but his language did bewray him to be an Vlsterman, wherupon the leutenant, in all hast, steppinge towards the gate, where findinge a centrie of his owne partie, and a corporall havinge the keye-gate in his hande, sudainly comes to them a captain of Thalbotts faction, and peremptorily desires the keye, affirminge, with an oath, hee must haue the custodie therof. The leutenant answeared that it had beene his dutie that night to keepe both gate and keye, and by and by snatched the same from of his own corporall hands, others of Thalbotts faction instantly apeeringe to asiste theire captain in his said pretence. There they began to strive for the keye; all the partie overhearing some tumulte at the gate, flocked thither, where eache adhered unto theire proper and respectiue parties; the watchfull enemie, privie unto all the passadge, the prefixed time of the foresaid blacke designe drawinge on, was readie pointe blank within the gate. It was like to be a foule peece of busines if the lady of the house did not interpose her gravitie and worth for the cadation therof. Guire and his men by both theire vigilancie, with the forementioned intimation of the enemie centinell, overswayed the rest. Though soe palpable a treason, and seuerall other of the like graine were publickly auerred and attested against the said Thalbott Ormond would not punish him, nay, nor giue soe much satisfaction unto the whole

Treacherie discovered by an Vlsterman.

Michaell Gaynor.

A greate mutinie betwixte the well affected and the faction within.

Guire and his partie thriued.

kingdome lesed as to remove him, rather continue him still in the same and like authoritie. 1650.

All those treasonable actions brought to this pittifull issue, Gouernor Thalbott and the lady of the house did dispatche theire addresses unto Ormonde, desiringe relife of provision and amunition, and though neuer yett reliued any forte, upon receipt of the said addresse did peremptorily sweare to comply with the said request, or perish in its pursuite; provision and amunition onely was desired, for 600 men was there alreadie, but now forced to eate malte. Both gouernor and lady gaue out that amunition was soe scante that former service was quitt forgotten, that now they onely behaued themselues passiue pursuant to Ormonds former engagment of relivinge Ticrohan. Castlhauen was apointed comaunder in chiefe for this expedition, and to grace him, Clanricarde and Westmeath were comaunded to beare him company; his armie consisted of 3000 foote and 400 horse, with seuerall voluntiers (this armie was the same that was to asiste the Generall of Vlster, and was recalled to Athlone for the present purpose, as no. 618 mentioned), and with the expectation of 3000 that the Bishope of Drumore did falsly promise to joine with the former upon its first motion, whoe was not of abilitie to make up 20. The enemie was onely 2000 both horse and foote. The relife marched, and though they had scarce 20 miles to goe, they spent 4 or 5 daies in arrivinge soe farr; never acquainted the defendants of any theire intentions (if hapily they gaue not notice therof to Governor Thalbott, which I am sure they did), whoe were as ignorant of it as the man of the moone, untill they sawe a petty skirmish betweene them and the enemie, and the Irish putt to route, all runinge unto the bogg that was neere hand, except seaven score souldiers with theire seuerall cnapsacks that ran to the gate (whoe were industriously like to be kept out to the enemie mercie, but by the humanitie of Major Guire and his partie were admitted to inter, and soe saved; this was all the relife sent unto Ticrohan, soe ceremoniously acted, soe treacherously thriued, and soe malitiously destined. But obsearue. 634.

Thalbott and the lady did send for relife to Ormond.

Castlhauen comaunder of the relife.

Clanricard and Westmeath did accompany him.

The enemie posture.

The skirmish of Ticrohan.

Major Guires humanitie.

The cause (as was publickly bruted) why this relife soe ill thriued, and was putt to flight (though two for one of the enemie), one Colonell Nicholas Walle, from a leutenant of foote raised by Ormond to be Colonell of his life guarde, a rank Puritant, kept the reare of sett purpose that daye; noe sooner did he obsearue the Irish in condition to goe through, and the enemie in the verie next disposition, for his small number and tyrednesse to turne tayle, cryed in a loude voice to his men, comaundinge them to turne left hand fielde (the wronge side to acte anythinge, accordinge theire former intentions and present posture), which was in very good language as much as to giue grounde and save themselues, and the rather they should understande it soe, such as were neere himself (though noe danger did apeere) were the first that rann away to the bogg, wherupon all the rest (except the foresaid seauen score) did followe, and very fewe did miscarie. Castlhaven himself, goinge then afoote with the enfanterie, made use that daye of that untowarde cutt, but not acquainted with bogg-waies, was tyred, which one Brassall [*sic.*] Fox, a yonge captain of foote, sone to Carbery Fox, obsearued, made halte to carie his Lordship, and leaninge on the captain's shoulder walked on leasurely, conferringe of seuerall matters verie familiar to beguile the time. Amonge the rest, his 635.

Colonell Walls treacherie.

A conference betweene Castlhauen and Captain Bassall Fox.

1650. Lordship did question him, whoe might be the man that gaue that fatall worde of comaunde, alleadginge it to be the onely cause of that disaster (which was true). My Lord, answeared the captain, whosoeuer kept the reare gaue that worde. Castlhauen, swearinge a greate oathe, Colonell Walle did comaunde the reare. Canvassinge this doubt too and fro, untill arrivinge unto the continent, where the Generall mette the rest of his partie, he called unto him one Fr. Peter Walshe, a Fransiscan apostatt, seuerally touched heretofore, and tould him what Captain Fox said of the comaunder of the reare; the matter was brought to that issue betweene those two, that in regarde it was soe palpable that either must suffer by the lawe of armes, the inocent Captain or the guiltie Colonell, but searched all the corners of theire witte, to free the nocente and execute against lawe and conscience the inocente; the resulte of this heath[en]ize judge and diabolicall ghostly father was, that this should insinuate that much unto Colonell Walle, requringe him to be enformer against Captain Fox, that it had beene onely he that gaue that worde in the field.

Peter Walshe, author of this murther.

636. The matter soe ungodly hatched did apeere before the impious judge Castlhauen, whoe in the intimation therof shewed himself a meere stranger of the proceedinges, but other suborned wittnesses apeeringe, he caused to aprehende Captain Fox and binde him faste unto a stake, without any legall proceedinges or councell of warr, shotted him to deathe before the whole armie, both Clanricarde, Westmeath, and My Lady Tuitte (aunt unto the said captain), beinge petitioners for his life, could not prevayle, both reare and fronte were eye wittnesse that day of his inocencie, the one because he was in the fronte himself, goinge couragiously one without once mindinge of any such matter; the other of the reare both sawe and hearde the worde giuen and by whom. All cryed out against the injustice and murther of this inocent lambe, and publickly offered to proue the same, but all did not doe; nay, a brother of this captain, Edward Fox, a priest, and some time a captain, pleadinge for his said brothers life, and offringe to prove his inocence as aforesaid, desired to haue the benefitt of a councell of warr. Castlhauen, without feare of God or man, answeared, with an heath[en]ize oathe, That if he spoke but one worde more in that behalfe he would as willingly hange him as eate his breade after a longe faste. Clanricarde smootly adviced him not to speake such roughe language unto a prieste: whoe answeared, that the said priest was a captain in Owen Oneylls armie; his father, said he, can well spare them both, as havinge six or 7 more. I would wish, said he, with all my hearte, this were the last of that Irish scepte, after spillinge this much of his venemous poysone. The Captain was executed, without lawe or justice, rather by enemnitie and treachery.

636. Castlehauens ungodly doome; enformer and judge.

Clanricarde and Westmeath intercessors.

Castlhauens answeare unto a prieste.

Castlhauens rancor to the Irish.

637. Will any man be soe simple, or soe voide of understandinge, as to conceave that those peeres were any way willinge to reliue Ticrohan? they beinge still of the same intentions with Ormonde, whoe industriously doe still continue this Thalbott in comaunde of braue forts and hoults to be fourthwith surrendred unto the comon enemie, which those peeres neuer thought to twarte, rather further, and sett forwarde, as best suitinge to theire principles, whose disloyaltie was too publicke in this same acte, the relife of provision and amunition onely desired, was sent of men, havinge noe such necessitie, onely disablinge the continuance of the deffendants, and to render Thalbotts faction within stronger then loyall Guires partie: which

637. Captain Fox executed.

The authors sense touchinge this relife.

had beene against all knowen practice in martiall affaires, that when a towne or forte is besiedged and scant of provision, reason and the lawe of armes doe dictat and prescribe as an infallible rule, to cast out as many persons as are not servicable or behooefull for the continuance of theire provision. But to send men unto a forte not necessarie, and provision scant, is rather to hasten its surrender then any way protracte time for its defence, a thinge neuer hearde of other then in treacherous intentions, as here obseyable, for the present relefe did render this forte into the verye imediate disposition of surrender, and Governor Thalbott, to haue his intente, his men are starvinge within, he will not admitte any sallies, though stronger in foote then the enemie, and desperat, could not but thriue. 1650.

Thalbott now capitulats with the enemie, goeth in person to the campe himsellf, in both publicke and privat conference affirmeth not to be of abilitie to hould out any longer for want of provision; pursuant unto this intimation, he starued his men, therby forcinge the well affected to yeld to his motion, whose involuntarie consent obtained, made his conditions, bagg and baggage, with all the ordinance, lines, and other armes, and themselues to be convoyed unto Athlone, accordinge assignation. Ticrohan was thus yelded, the enemie intred the forte, examined all the corners of the house, and the castle where the lady of the house did conveye her goods, expectinge due time for transportation, upon inquirie and inventorie was founde 3 score barrells of wheate untouched, a greate quantitie of powder-biefe, bacon, 19 barrells of butter, a greate heape of cheece, salte, beere, malte, and other corne in abondance, powder, matche, and bullette, a world of leade, all, if well managed, sufficient for 800 men to hould out with honor for six months to come, but all was concealed from the well affected by Thalbotts suggestion, but all now at the enemie deuotion. O braue Thalbott, how dexter you proue for the surrender of all forts and castles under your comaunde, and how hand-tyed to defende any, nothinge like that valiant and braue Thalbott in Henry the Fifts time, killed at the siedge of Orleance in France. Thus our Thalbott, a petty atturneyes sone, but a braue instrument of faction and treason against kinge, nation, and religion, though seuerally sworne to the contrarie, and as often perjured, now accordinge couenant marched to Athlone, where Ormond did expecte his arriuall; giuinge accounte of his proceedings, his Excellencie was onely offended because Guyre, and the ordinance was comprehended in the condition of his surrender, which was well proued by theire tergiuersation, to send for the said ordinance (beinge theire onely of that mettle in all the kinde except Galway, Limbricke, and Slygoe), for they did not send for them in 3 or 4 weekes, untill the enemie had nothinge to acte other then to followe it unto Athlone as hearafter more at large. 638.

Ticrohan quarter.

Yelded by Thalbott.

Braue quantitie of provision founde in Ticrohan, which confirmes our former sense.

The English chronicle.

Ormonds jealousie.

Proofe of Ormonds disloyaltie.

But obsearue, noe sooner arrived, Thalbott with his said partie unto Athlone, then charged loyall Major Guyre of treason, and consequently guiltie of death, wherupon the Major was fourthwith arraigned; noe other thinge or matter could be objected against him by those malitious and venemous toades other then zeale of holy religion, loyaltie unto his prince, and fidelitie to his nation (wherof was both judge and enformer devoyde). The matter proved verie hearde with inocent Guyre, as havinge noe indifferencie, mercie, or justice in that antecourte. At lenght, with much adoe, and his guidinge starre soe disposinge, gott the benefitt 639.

Major Guyre tryed.

Acquitted by a councell of warr.

1650. of a councell of warr, though not his choice, nor accordinge the qualitie of his person or encumbencie, as in like occasions is admitted by the lawe of armes, but de circumstantibus, all of Ormond and Governor Thalbotts intentions, which any man of indifferencie may judge to be illegall. And though thus selected, as for his destruction intended, yett the divine clemencie soe ordaininge was by the arbitation of his said jurers beyond all humaine expectation aquitted, for God doe not forsake his owne, though brought to the uttermost triall.

CHAPTER X.

640. Senec. Flor. l. 1°. Lip. Pol. 2. Cic. Off. 3. Senec. Suas.

THOUGH it be true that the statsman, as the steeresman, may shape his course accordinge to the winde and weather of present occurrences, that he may arriue to the harbrough of saftie, saylinge beside compasse, and swarvinge from the directe line of sencere and ouuert dealinge, yett may be by noe meanes, nor for any end whatsoeuer, be false of his faith, or breaker of his worde.

Fidem qui perdit, nil ultra potest.

Freindly reader, you may (if you please) refreshe your memorie with the apeale made by the malignant parte of the Supreame Councell against My Lord Nuncios excomunication, justly fulminated against all such as adhered unto the Cessation of the Lord Baron of Insichuyne (as no. 355 touched), one Fr. Iohn Roe, Provinciall of the Discalciat Carmilitts of Ireland, was apointed agent to followe and seconde the same in Rome. This Fr. and all his Discalciat familie had noe fundation in Irelande, but what monesteries were extant in this kingdome, dependinge of the said Order, did onelie belonge unto another branche of it, which wee call Calciat or shooed fryers, as ancienter, the concessions or graunts of those places beinge made unto those longe before any reformation hapned in the said Order, as was severally proved in favour of those against the other intrudinge branche, by papall bulls and other authenticke instruments, from the generall of that whole Order to all which this fryer and his underlings did prove disobedient and contumax, and therfore obnoxious of seuerall high censures, from both his Holinesse and Fryer-generall of his Order, as aforesaide.

The Discalciat Carmelitts have noe fundation in Ireland.

Fr. Roe, Provinciall of the Discalciat Carmilitts, atturney for the apeale.

641. Now to indeere himself unto the then goverment of distracted Irelande, to currie favor that way, and findinge the oportunitie of the present rupture to fishe in this pudle water, did insinuat himself unto the malignant councell, his willingnesse and former discontents easily notified, was apointed atturney or agent with this said apeale (after the expiration of the time limitted by My Lord Nuncio) to his Holinesse, as practitioner in such affaires. Whoe arrivinge to Rome, was comitted to safe custodie, for this and seuerall other trespasses of the like graine, and was to be tryed for life and death by the Holy and Supreame Inquisition, where continued upwards of a yeare. Some freindly winde blowinge by the remissnesse and lenitie of his keepers, havinge more libertie then the high-haynous of his former and present irregular transgressions imported, made escape, and for a while lurked in

Comitted and to be tryed by the Inquisition.

Made escape.

Rome, privatly workinge the reconcilment of his benefactors with My Lord Nuncio, and negotiatinge in the behalfe of his proper order, all faylinge (the injustice of his cause was such), arrivinge unto Ireland, landed at Galwaye; the faction with open eares herof enformed (though well acquainted with his proceedings in Rome), notwithstandinge, soe desirous they were to brute the contrarie, therby to beguile inocent soules, that eache of them thought he caried all hopfull newes, and sutable to purpose, many were busie in sendinge theire severall addresses to knowe theire doome in that greate suites behalfe. Amongo the rest, the Bishope of Drumore, a prime pillare of that destructiue and ever fadinge buildinge against the stabilitie of Peters Rocke, did write unto him, as havinge noe accesse unto him for the present; pursuant therto, Fr. Roe returnes the ensuinge result to his Lordship :—

1650.

He arrived unto Ireland.

The Bishope of Drumore writes unto him.

Most Reverend, and my verie deere Lord,

There is none but is curious to knowe what paste in Rome touchinge the censures and apeale; your Lordships may heare many reports, hapily not soe true, and therefore I will briefly lett you knowe that on the 25th of January there was a congregation held about those affaires, in presence of his Holinesse, where he decreede to take away the censures, and to this end did send faculties to some prelats of this kingdome, with instructions in what maner, and a pastorall letter; hapilie fewe wilbe contented with the maner, and those lesse whoe most ought to be contented to any thinge, after the abuse don to the Popes Ministers in sendinge him awaye as the Nuncio was sent, which indeede was hainously taken for the maner of it; the canon, contra ejicientes, etc., was much urged, and if nothinge but theire owne consciences it may be sufficient. Lett this suffice for the present in acknowledgment that I am allwaies, Most Reverend Lord,

642.

Fr. Roes letter unto Drumore.

This is theire thrivinge in Rome.

Your faithfull servant,
(Subscribed) Fr. Iohn Roe.

Loghreagh, the 10th of Augt. 1650.

For Fr. Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore.

You obsearve what comforte brings this mercurie unto his missionarists from Rome, viz., that they should be pleased with any maner or condition wherby the censures were taken awaie, as havinge exiled the Popes Nuncio contrarie to the canons of holy Churche, and many other, to the curious reader observable in bulla Cœnæ Domini (no. 485 mentioned), but this from theire proper atturneye, and severall others from good and authenticke hands, will not satisfie this schismaticall broode, rather like heard-hearted Pharao, stickinge to theire obnoxious principles (theire fortune, though come to the last ebb of its tyde), and though dayly had a sadd experience of the distructive effects of former excomunication, the bloudie and mercilesse enemie sworde brandized over theire heades, the dyrefull ministers of Gods wrathe, famen and plague, displayinge its colours, first in Galway, from whence My Lord Nuncio was banished, and leavinge his malediction and curse particularlie unto Sir Richard Blakes house, to the worlds testimonie was soone after the very first in all the kingdome that was infected of that contagion, whence did flowe, as from a channell, the divine vengeance of high power unto the

643.

Theire stiff-necked-heartes.

The censures effecte.

Sir Richard Blakes house, the first in Irelande infected, and why?

1650. respective provinces of Irelande (except Vlster, as not guiltie of either censure, curse, or ejection of My Lord Nuncio) with mightie mortallytie, to the desertinge not onely of houses and homes but cittyes and whole shyres; notwithstandinge all this, this malaparte broode will not in satisfaction and redresse of these haynous offences, either to Gods minister, theire proper, cauteriated consciences, or the world, once cry mercie of God, or say, with the prodigall child, peccavi; rather, like reprobat Cain, destined for destruction, passe the time in jolitie, not once thinkinge of the eternitie to come, or the present fate of both religion and nation.

CHAPTER XI.

644. . . . . All things have theire time. The Romaine that wondered at those peoples folly whoe played with theire litle doggs and munkeyes, havinge litle children of theire owne to play with; what would he haue said to such whoe pursue theire delights with greatest earnestnesse when they are farr engaged in busines of greatest consequence? for wee should deale with our pleasures as with litle whelps: never play with them but when wee have nothinge to doe, or for want of better company. That prince, therfore, that preferrs the sweete of his delights before the care of his saftie, and loves his ease more then his honor, makes his enemie the stronger to offende him, and disables himself of all meanes of defence. These appetits that are rather liquorous of toothsome then wholsome things are dangerous, as well in states as mens bodies. Tu civem, patremque geras, tu consule cunctis:

Soc. l. 3. Tacit. Hist. 4. Aristoteles. Pol. lib. 5. Plut. contra voluptat.

Sil. l. 15.

> Quippe nec ira deum tantum, nec tela, nec hostes,
> Quantum sola noces animis illapsa voluptas.

Sir Robert Thalbott intrusted by Ormond to the castle of Athlone.

The defence of Conaght.

The Marquesse of Ormonde, Lord Leutenant and Generall Governor for his Majestie in this distracted kingdome, did very well obscarue the publicitie of Sir Robert Thalbotts treacherie, in the surrender of all such forts and hoults as came under his comaunde (as seuerally hertofore mentioned), and now haueinge non of any repute in the whole province of Linster, other then the castle of Athlone, the onely keye of both Linster and Conaght, investes this Thalbott with the power and managment of that impregnable castle, with a jointe comission with Dillon, Costllogh, and his uncle, Sir James Dillon, onely Conaght was yett free from the enemie; the Shanon, a mightie deboiste riuer from sea to sea, allmost runinge betwixt it and the other 3 provinces, was a sure sconce, as longe as Athlone did houlde, but those gentlmen intrusted, as aforesaid, was in the imediate disposition of surrender. Governor Thalbott, though knowen traytor, thus still continued in honorable promotions by Ormonde, was the sole man now in Athlone. O, all seeinge God, how are the Irish soe mould-blinde that they canot see those abuses, though visible unto all Europe; eyes they haue and cannott see, witt and cannott understande, tongues and canott speake, a warrlike nation heretofore, now are soe cowardly growne to that vile and abjecte condition that they tremble at euery thinge that sudainly hapneth: the leaste puffe of winde that bloweth, the least

Psal. 113.

birde that chirpeth, the least bough that shakes, the leaste leafe that wags, the leaste vermin that stirrs, doth soe affright them, that theire members are fraught with feare, theire faces with palnesse, like men in the fitt of an ague, or shaken with extreamitie of could. 1650.

Ormond now obsearvinge all Linster to be in the enemie possession, invitinge him further to followe his fortune, he retired to the countie of Galwaye, and seated himself in Loghreagh, in one of Clanricards houses; issuinge dayly his warrants for the leavyinge of seuerall gabells and aplottments to the impouerishinge of the said countie, by this meanes the leaste he forced in this very countie, 18 thousand pounde sterling for proper use (beside billett and throughfare of the maine of his armie gatheringe about him), the Lord-leutenant, Clanricarde, Castlhauen, Costllagh, and Taaffe, behavinge themselves as merry as euer people could, followinge both lust and pleasure, in as high a straine as euer Nero did upon notice of Vendix, his revoulte in Fraunce, carroushinge and playinge vast summs of money euery night; this had beene theire pastime, when the reste of the kingdome was bleedinge under the heavy yoke of a mercilesse enemie. The jolitie and merriment of those peeres, when the kingdome intrusted unto theire care is gaspinge and in combustion, doe evidently demonstrate theire insensibilitie therin, rather minister cause of comforte and solace unto them, his armie flockinge about him, where noe danger was aprehended, noe opposition could be giuen, nor rescue offered, nor any service in the behalfe of theire quondam confederats, and present benefactors pretended, leavinge all Linster to the mercie of a prouude enemie incursions; the fewe castles and hoults that did yett stande in Linster, by the enemie untouched, must paye whole meanes unto Ormonds armie (though existinge in Conaght, as aforesaid), and neuer givinge the leaste rubb unto any enemie proceedings in theire behalfe, or once facinge any to that purpose, though single he weare stealinge and forcinge the poore inhabitants goods, with lesse humanity then the verie enemie haue euer don, and though one village in a whole barony, or a baronie in a whole countie, or a countie in the whole province, must be answearable for the payment of the whole summ acruinge in former times on these respectiuely unto the armie to theire utter destruction, wherby forced thowsands to submitte unto the enemie, alias most faithfull unto the cause in agitation. Thus he preferred his delights and pleasures before his proper honor and reputation; as for his loyaltie to his majestie, it is more then publicke, by those actions it did cracke. What then? Will any true-hearted man, to either religion, kinge, or nation esteeme of such a personage well affected to either? or with reasone to be continued in the same authoritie as at presente? whose retirments are more like cogging gamsters resortinge, then the civill presence of a Lord-leutenant; an aprentise of drunkards, a baudie comonaltie, a shelter of robbers, a safeguarde of theeues, a sinagoge of perjurie, a schoole of all-gatherum-vices, a secte of love-familie, a congregation of banckroutes, a conventicle of treacherie, a shope of venemous druggs, the hamper of iniquitie, the spheare of injustice, the center of envie and ambition, the circumference of disdaine and faction, or what other thinge idle or vicious can be said, was hammered (as in its genuine forge) in that pernitiouse laborinthe; what then will both churche and laitie be soe senelesse as not to disclaime against such a Nero, and monster of

645.

The epicurious and cruell behavior of Ormond and his peeres in Conaght.

The distructive and licentious proceedings of Ormonds armie towards the nation.

By these meanes he forced the poore natiues to yeld unto the comon enemie.

The description of Ormonds habitation.

Compared unto Nero.

1650. all civill behauiour and goverment. The prelats of holy religion in this kingdome now languishinge (though as heretofore severally specified) distracted, pursuant to Clonmacnose union, did now meete in Jamestowne, in the countie of Letrim, endeavouringe to keepe a litle breathe in it by theire spirituall salves. Sittinge, therefore, the 12 of August. of this instant yeare, haue unanimously declared against Ormonds continuance in goverment, as obnoxious of 16 articles of treasone against his Majestie, and this his kingdome of Ireland, fulminatinge allsoe an excomunication against all such as did adhere unto him after publication and notice therof, which is as followeth.

The congregation of Jamestowne.

CHAPTER XII.

646. A Declaration

Of the Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelats and dignitaries of the Secular and Regular Clergie of the kingdome of Ireland

Against

Theire sense against Ormond and his goverment as followeth.

The continuance of His Majesties authoritie in the person of the Marquesse of Ormond, Lord-leutenant of Ireland, for the misgoverment of the subjecte, the ill conducte of his majesties armie, and the violation of the articles of peace, at Jamestowne in the convent of the Fryers Minors, 12 August, 1650.

The Catholicke people of Ireland, in the yeare 1641, forced to take up armes for the defence of holy religion, theire liues and liberties, the Parliament of England havinge taken a resolution to extinguishe the Catholicke faith and plucke upp the nation roote and branche, a powerfull armie beinge prepared and designed to execute theire blacke rage and cruell intention, made a peace, and published the same the 17 of January, 1648, with James Lord Marquesse of Ormond, comissioner to that effecte from his Majestie or from his royall Queene and son, Prince of Walls, now Charles the Second, therby manifestinge theire loyall thoughts to royall authoritie. This peace or pacification beinge consented unto by the Confederat Catholicks when his Majestie was in restrainte, and neither he nor his Queene, nor the Prince of Walls, in condition to send any supplyes or relife unto them. When all the said Confederat Catholicks could haue agreed with the Parliament of England upon as good or better conditions for religion, liues, liberties, and the estates of the people, there were obtained by aboue pacification, and therby freed themselues from the danger of any invasion or warr to be made upon them by the power of England, where, notwithstandinge the pacification with his Majestie, they were to dispute and fight with theire and his enemies in the three kingdomes. Lett the world judge if this be not a non deniable argument of loyaltie. The peace beinge soe concluded, the Catholicke Confederats came censerly and cheerefully under his Majesties authoritie in the person of the said Marquesse of Ormond Lord-leutenant of Ireland, providinge plentifully vaste summs of money, wel neigh halfe a million of English pounds, beside seuerall magazens of corne, with a faire traine of artillerie, greate quantitie of powder, matche, amunition, and othe

materialls for the warr. After his Excellencie, the said Lord-leutenant, frustratinge the expectation the nation had of his fidelitie, gallantrie, and abilitie, became the author of allmost loosinge the whole kingdome to God, Kinge, and natives, which he began by violatinge the peace in many parts therof, as may be cleerely evedenced and made good to the world. 1650.

First, the foresaid Catholicks havinge furnished his Excellencie with the foresaid summ of money, which was sufficient to make up the Catholicke armie of fifteene thousand foote and 2500 horse, agreed upon the peace for the preservation of the Catholicke religion, our soveraignes intreste, and the nations libertie. His Excellencie gaue patents of colonells and other comaunders, over and above the party under the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, to Protestants, and upon them consumed the substance of the kingdome, whoe most of them afterwards or betrayed or deserted us. 1.

That the hoults and forts in Monster, as Corke, Yoghill, Kinsale, etc., were putt in the hands of faithlesse men, of the Lord of Insichuynes partie, that betrayed those places unto the enemie, to the utter indangeringe of the kingdome and Kings intrest therin. This good service they haue don to his Majestie after shokinge up the sweete and substance of his Catholicke subjects of Monster, wheare it is remarkable that upon makinge the peace his Excellencie would noe way allowe the loyall Catholicks of Corke, and Yoghill, Kinsalle, and other garrisons to returne to theire owne home and houses. 2.

Catholicke comaunders, instanced by the comissioners of trust, accordinge the pacification, and thereupon by his Excellencies comission receavinge theire comaundes in theire armie, as Colonell Patricke Purcell of Major-generall in the armie, and Colonell Pierce Fitz-Gerald, alias Mc Thomas, comissarie of the horse, were removed without the consent of the said comissioners, and by noe demeritte of the gentlmen; and the said places, that of beinge major giuen to Daniell Oneylle, Esqr., Protestant, and that of comissarie of the horse to Sir William Vaghan, knight, and after the said Sir William's death to Sir Thomas Armstronge, both Protestants. 3.

A iudicature and legall way of administringe justice promised by the articles of peace was not performed, but all practice and proceedings don by paper petitions, and therby privat clerks and other corrupte ministers inriched, the subjecte ruyned, and noe justice don. 4.

The navigation, the greate suporte of Ireland, was quitt beaten downe, his Excellencie disheartninge the aduenturers, undertakers, and owners, as Captain Antonio and others, favoringe Hollanders and other aliens, by reversinge of judgments legally giuen and diffinitivly concluded before his cominge to authoritie, by which depressinge of maritim affaires, and not providinge for an orderly and good tribunall of admiralltie, wee have heardly a bottome left to transmitt a letter to his Majestie or any other prince. 5.

The churche of Cloyne, in our possession at the time of makinge the peace, violently taken from us by the Lord of Insichuyne, contrarie to the articles of peace, noe justice or redresse was made upon application or complainte. 6.

That oblations, booke monies, interrments, and other obventions in the counties 7.

1650. of Cerke, Waterford, and Kiery, were taken from the Catholicke priests and pastors by the ministers without any redresse or restitution.

8. That the Catholicke subjects of Monster liued in a slauerie under the presedencie of the Lord of Insichuyne, those beinge theire judges that before were there enemies, and none of the Catholicks (nobilitie or gentrie) admitted to be of that tribunall.

9. The conducte of the armie was unprovident and unfortunat; nothinge hapned in the Christianitie more shamfull then the disaster of Rathmine neere Dublin, where his Excellencie (as it seemed to ancient travaillers and men of experience), whoe viewed all, kept rather a mart of wares, a tribunall of pleadings, or a greate inn of play, drinkinge, and pleasure, then a well ordered campe of souldiers. Drohedae, unreliued, was lost by a storme with much bloudshed, and the losse of the flower of Linster. Wexforde lost by the unskillfullnesse of a governor, a yonge man, vaine and undvised. Rosse giuen up, and that by his Excellencies order, without any dispute, by Colonell Luke Taaffe, havinge within heard upon 2500 souldiers desirous to fight. After that the enemie made a bridge over the river of Rosse, a wonder to all men, and understoode by none, without any lett or interruption, our armie beingo within 7 or 8 miles to the place, where 200 musketyres at Rosbarrage timely ordered had interrupted this stupendious bridge, and made the enemie wearie of the towne. Carrige beinge betrayed by the Protestant warde there, our armie afterwards apeeringe before that place, the souldiers were comaunded to fight against walls and armed men, without greate gunns, ladders, patters, shovvells, spades, pickaxes, or other necessarie materialls, beinge killed upon the place about 500 souldiers valliantly fightinge; yett neere Thomastowne, our souldiers beinge of tryed foote, two to one, and well resolued, were forbidden to fight in the open fielde, havinge advantage of grounde against the enemie, to the utter dishartninge of the souldier and people. After the enemie came like a diluge upon Callan and Federt, Cashell and other corporations within the province of Linster and Monster, and the countrie about rendred tributarie; then followed the takinge of Laghlin and Kilkeny, then that of Clonmell, where the enemie, with gallantrie, losse, and resistance, was opposed by Huigh Oneylle; lastly, Ticrohan and Katarlagh, two greate pillers of Linster, shaken downe. To speake nothinge of Ticrohan at present, and other places, was giuen up by orders; Waterforde, blocked up, is in a sadd condition; Duncanan, the keye of the kingdome, unrelived sinee the first of December, is left to be giuen up and lost.

10. That the prelats, after the numerous congregation of Clonmacnose, where they made declarations for the kings greate advantage, after printed, and after many other laborious meetings and consultations with the expressions of theire censeritie and earnestnesse, were not accounted by his Excellencie haue imployed theire power and best dilligence towards advancinge the kings intrest, but rather suspected and blamed, as may apeere by a letter of his owne to the prelats then at Jamestowne, the 2 of August, and words were hearde to falle from him dangerous as to the persons of some prelats.

11. That his Excellencie represented unto his Majestie some parts of this kingdome disobedient (which absolutely denie any disobedience by them comitted), and therby

procured from his Majestie a letter to withdrawe his owne person and the royall authoritie if such disobedience were multiplied, and to leaue the people without the benefitt of the peace. This was the rewarde of his Excellencie (out of his envie to a Catholicke, loyall nation) prepared for our loyaltie and obedience, sealed by the shedinge of our bloude and the losse of our substance. 1650.

That his Excellencie and the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, when enemies unto the Catholicks, beinge verie actiue in unnaturall execution against us, shedinge the bloude of poore priests and churchmen, haue shewed litle of action since this peace, but for many monthes kept themselues in Conaght and Tomond, where noe danger or the enemie apeered, spendinge theire time (as most men obsearved) in playe, pleasure, and greate merriment, while the other partes of the kingdome were bleedinge under the sworde of the enemie; this was noe greate argument of sence or greefe in them to see a kingdome lost to his Majestie. 12.

That his Excellencie, when prosperinge, putt noe trust of places taken in unto the hands of a Catholicke, as that of Drohedae, Dundalke, Trim, etc.; by this his diffidence in Catholickes, and other his action and expressions, the Catholicke armie had noe hearte to fight, or be under his comaunde, and feared greatly (if he had mastered the enemie, and with them the comissioners of trust, or the greate parte of them), and many thousands in the kingdome allsoe feared he would haue brought the Catholicke subjecte and theire religion to the ould slauerie. 13.

Wee will not speake of many corruptions and abuses, as passinge of a custodium upon the Abbey of Kilbegan, worth in past yeares to the Confederats well nigh £400 per annum, to Secretarie Lane for £40 or thereabouts per annum, nor of many other such like to Daniell Oneylle, and other, of an under value, to the greate prejudice of the publicke. 14.

Wee doe allsoe notifie to the Catholicks of the kingdome that most of the above greevances and breaches of the peace, beinge deliuered to the comissioners of trust in February last, that the clergie and laitie receavinge noe redresse or justice, the discontent of the subjecte might be removed, noe amendment apeered after eight monthes effluxed, that the evil still continued that occasioned the ruyne of the nation. Wee allso protest to the whole world, havinge don our best, wee haue noe power to remove the jealousie and feares of the people. Besides the above injuries, and the violation of the articles of the peace, against religion, the kings intrest, and the nation libertie, nothinge apeeringe before the eyes of the people but desolation, waste, burninge, and the distraction of the kingdome: three parts of the 4 provinces of the kingdome beinge now under contribution to the enemie, citties, townes, stronge hoults taken from them, alters pulled downe, churches lost, priests killed and banished, sacraments, sacrifices, and all things holy prophaned, and all most utterly extinguished; armies and greate number of souldiers by them mantained, and the enemie not fought withall, those that would fight for them bore downe, and those that would betraye them cherished and advanced; finally, noe visible armie or defence apeeringe, they are come to a despaire of recoveringe what is lost, or defendinge what they hould, and inclininge for the saftie of theire liues and estates to compounde with the Parliament, perswadinge themselues noe saftie can 15.

1650. be to any livinge under the goverment of the Lord-leutenant, attended by fatall disaster. For prevention of those evills, and that the kingdome may not be utterly lost to his Majestie and his Catholicke subjects, this congregation of archbishops, bishopes, and other prelates and dignitaries of the clergie of the kingdome, found ouer selues bounde in conscience, after greate deliberation, to declare against the continuance of his Majesties authoritie in the person of the said Marquesse of Ormonde, premittinge this protestation to the world, that wee had neuer had come to such a declaration, but that wee and the people of this kingdome generally dispaire of the kingdome recouery under his goverment (as herby wee doe declare), as well in our owne names and behalfe as in the name and behalfe of the rest of the Catholicks of this kingdome, against him, the said Marquesse of Ormond, havinge by his misgoverment, ill conduct of his Majesties armie, and breache of publicke faithe with the people in seuerall articles of the peace, rendred himself incapable of continuinge the greate trust any longer, beinge questionable before his Majestie for the said injuries and ill goverment. To which effecte wee will joine with other members of this kingdome in drawinge a charge against him. And wee herby manifeste to the people that they are noe longer obliged to obey the orders and comaundes of the said Marquesse of Ormond, but are (untill a generall assembly of the nation can be conueniently called together) unanimously to searue against the comon enemie for defence of the Catholicke religion, his Majesties intrest, theire liberties, lands, and fortunes, in pursuance of the oathe of association, and to obsearve and obeye in the meane time the forme of goverment the said congregation shall prescribe, untill it be otherwise ordered by an assembly, or untill [upon] application unto his Majestie, he settle the same otherwise.

All you good Christian Catholicks that shall reade this our sadd declaration, forced from us by the affliction and disaster of Ireland, be pleased to knowe that wee well understand the present condition of this nation is more inclininge to ruyne and dispaire then recovery; yett will wee relye upon the mercie of God, whoe can and will take off from us the heavie judgments of his anger, warr and plague, if wee shall amend our wicked liues, and leane like litle ones upon the arme of his mercie, as wee cry to heauen for remedie; lett us confesse with teares our sins, sayinge with the Prophete Isayas, Cecidimus quasi folium universi et iniquitates nostræ quasi ventus abstulerunt nos, non est qui invocet nomen tuum Domine, non est qui consurgat et teneat te, abscondisti faciem tuam a nobis et allisisti nos in manu iniquitatis nostræ. This language from the hearte will reconcile heauen unto us, et quiescit ira Dei, et erit placabilis super nequitia populi sui. Though this noblman hath left us nothinge but weaknesse, want, and desolation, and that the enemie is riche, stronge, and powerfull, God is stronger, and can helpe, and for his owne names sake will deliuer us. Deus Eliæ, God of wonders and miracles, erit etiam nunc apud Hybernos, if our faith prove stronge and our actions sounde and censere, wee will conclude with S. Paule, that ocean of wisdome and doctor of the nations, Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos? quis accusabit adversus electos Dei? Deus qui justificat, quis est qui condemnet? etc. Let nothinge separat you from the burninge charitie of Christe, and God will euer protecte and blesse you, amen.

Wee doe allsoe fulminate the anexed excomunication, of one date with this declaration, against the opposers of the same declaration, in hæc verba: 1650.

Whearas wee, the undernamed archbishops, bishops, other prelats and dignitaries, sittinge at this our present congregation at Jamestowne, with the consent and aprobation of the rest, through the dangers of those distracted times now absent, upon the said deplorable condition of this kingdome brought to the lowest ebb that may be imagined, after sadd and serious consideration and consultation had of the desperat affairs therof, havinge seene noe other humaine waies possible to putt some life unto this said gaspinge kingdome, but by our counsells, co-operations, and industrie, as is the comon sense of all our flocke whoe looke upon us as theire onelie sanctuarie and relife against the dangers houeringe on them, menacinge noelesse than the whole ruyne of our nation. Judginge our selves therunto obliged by the lawes of God and nation, and by our pastorall charge, and in pursuance of an oathe solemnely taken by all the prelats, noblmen, and gentlmen that were of the grand comittee upon concludinge of the peace, in case of not performinge the articles therof, to continue the association and union of the Confederate Catholicks, and to doe all acts preservatiue to the same. By which oathe the prelates soe sworne are authorised and bounde to renewe and mantaine the said union and association: [therefore we] haue endeavoured to apply to these extreme maladies the best salues and remedies to us now apeeringe. Wee haue therfore to that purpose issued our declaration. Yett fearinge, and God forbid, that any irrationall, perverse, or misleade person might giue any rubb or disobedience to our said declaration, wee haue unanimously consented and ascented to drawe out and unsheathe the most fearfull sworde of excomunication, as wee doe by these presents against all such wicked imps of Sathan in maner and followinge forme. By vertue of the power given us by our Saviour Jesus Christe, and by his holy Romaine Catholick Church, and by the Sea Apostolicke, as pastors and fathers of your soules, havinge first invoked the Holy Spirit of God, and havinge his feare before our eyes, soe that wee aime at nothinge but his honor and glorie, with the exaltation of his true faith and preservation of this forlorne kingdome, with his Majesties intrest therin, after mature deliberation and sittinge together, wee haue and doe by these presents anathematize and excomunicate with a maior excomunication ipso facto to be incurred, without expectinge any further sentence. And wee herby seperat from the bodie and comunication of the faithfull, and deliuer unto the power of Sathan any person or persons of what qualitie or prehemenencie soeuer, that will presume by worde, writtinge, force of armes privatly or publickly by themselves or others, oppose or disobeye our presente declaration, or any parte therof. Wee doe likwise excomunicate as above all the advicers, relivers, and abetters and furtherers of those that will directly or indirectly infrenche, violate, or contraven our present sentence and declaration. Furthermore wee doe excomunicate and anathematize all our naturall patriotts and others of our flocks that will adhere unto the comon enemie of God, kinge, and countrie, or will any waies helpe, asiste, or abett, or favour them, by bearinge armes for or with them, or otherwise contributinge unto them without urgent necessitie. Furthermore, in pursuance of our said declaration,

1650. wee doe excomunicate, as aboue, all those that will side or adhere unto the Lord Marquesse of Ormond against our said declaration, by bearinge armes for him, or beinge of his partie, by givinge any subsidies, contributions, moneyes, or intelligences, or in any way strenghtninge, fauouringe, or advicinge, or helpinge him, or obeyinge his comaunds against us, or our right intentions herin. Wee doe likwise suspende respectiuely ab officio et beneficio, voce activa et passiva, gratijs indultis et privilegijs quibuscunque, all and singular priests, as well secular as regular, of what dignitie, qualitie, order, or prehemenencio soeuer they be, that presumeth to oppose or contrauen this our present censure and declaration, as above specified, and if contumax herin to be excomunicated as aforsaid. Under the same penalty of censures wee require the said priests, as aforesaid, to publish this our censure and declaration together on Sundaies and holy daies imediatly after masse, that none may be excused by ignorance. Dated at Jamestowne the day and yeare above mentioned.

Fr. Gregorius Ferrall, Provincialis Dominicanorum.

Fr. Tho. Makiernan, Minister Provincialis Minorum.

Killalensis, Vicarius Generalis, etc.
Procurator Dublin.
Procurator Laghlensis.

Præpositus Galvviensis
Casselensis.
Leonensis. Tuamensis.
Aghadensis. Ilfinensis.
Drumorensis.
Emblicensis.
Russensis.
Clonmacnosensis.
Hugo Ardmaghanus.
Kilmorensis.
Arth. Dunensis et Conorensis.
Fernensis.
Clonfertensis.
Limbricensis.
Corcagensis.

646.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Bishope of Drumore agent from the Clergie to Ormond.

Those with many other prelats of regular function, divines, prebendaries, and dignitaries subscribed to the former declaration and censure. The whole congregation unanimously thought fitt (before the publication therof) to certifie the Marquesse of Ormond of theire proceedings by the Bishope of Drumore, Fr. Oliuer Darcy, and another prelate, that his Excellencie, without tumulte and of his proper free accord, might relinquishe his assuminge power in some loyall person, and soe deserte the kingdome, or liue therin privatly without such authoritie, or the kingdome to be gouerned by a councell elected by the nation, untill his Majesties further pleasure was knowen. This beinge the butt and summ of the said agent prelats instructions. Arrivinge therfore to Loghreagh, wheare Ormond then kept his residence, the cause of his Lordship mission discouered, puffed with pride and disdaine, by noe meanes did condescende to the clergie motion, rather usinge many

threates and menaces. Drumore returninge with this rough and uncivill resulte unto the congregation. Whearupon a comettee or dellegats were apointed to sitt in Galwaye with such power and authoritie as in like case is required to confirme and publishe the present in pursuance herof. The dellegats sittinge as aforesaid in Galwaye with a comettee of the laitie allowed by the clergie, did confirme, as proper acte, the former censure of excomunication of the whole congregation in hæc verba: 1650. A comettee choosen by the congregation.

Wee, the undernamed, sittinge at Galway with the cometee, authorized by the congregation held at Jamestowne 6th August, doe concurr with the above sentence of excomunication and censures, and withall doe now make and firme the same as an acte of our owne by our seuerall subscriptions this 23 of August, 1650. 647.

Fernensis. Cassellensis.
Leonensis. Limbricensis.
Aghadensis. Corcagensis.
Præpositus Galvviensis. Emblicensis.

The publication of this declaration and censure was on the 29 of this present. Ormond therfore and his complices worked all meanes possible to giue a rubb therto, and that they may the rather thriue, they caused Castllellagh (as not to render themselues all subjecte unto that foule staine of treacherie in case theire resulte were intercepted) to write unto My Lord Earthon and Coote, the one Deputie for the Parliament in Ireland, the other Gouernor of Vlster, invitinge them to come towards Athlone with theire severall armies. Butt Costllagh, somewhat warie, did onely write unto My Lord Earthon in a submissive maner, humbly desiringe his Lordship may be pleased to voutchafe him a safe conducte for 20 daies to repaire unto his Lordship to Dublin for treatinge of seuerall matters of greate and proper concearnment which he could not with due saftie comitt into writinge, leaste to be intercepted, and therby expose his honor to be subjecte unto the rough censures of unfavorable misconstructions. Wherunto My Lord Earthon did answeare neere the ensuinge—Whearas My Lord of Costllagh haue desired our passe and saf conducte for the space of 20 daies to be enabled to confer with us about serious affaires conducinge to the publicke advantage of our Comonwealth, which wee graunte by these presents, etc. Signed, Earthon. 648. Ormond and his complices fetche of treachery. The summ of Costllaghs lettre. Earthons safconducte to Costllagh.

This haue been Ormonds reuenge (as more ample you shall in the subsequent chapter, with the grounde of this intimation obsearve), for

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CHAPTER XIV.

Men in disgrace with the state, and dislike of the present times, seeke theire revenge from the comon enemie, whoe likes well of theire motion, accepte theire offer of service and meanes, and embraceth the action; not for theire good that move it, but because he finds it stande with his owne advantage. 649. Tacit. Hist. l. 5. Livi. l. 34. Cic. Cat. 2.

Honores, quos quieta respublica desperant, perturbata consequi posse arbitrantur.

My Lord of Costllagh receaued the said safe conducte from My Lord Earthon,

1650. Costllagh aduiced both the Ladie Dillons to write unto Earthon.

accordinge requeste. But in as much as it did make mention of his desire, that it was graunted upon his requeste, he thought it dangerous to putt it in due execution, as subjecte to falle unto the hands of some other, not of the same graine, wherfore he advised his owne wife, and Sir James Dillons lady, quondam Mistris Riethe, to write under theire hands unto the said enemie Earthon, assuringe him upon his arrivall to Athlone to haue both towne and castle without opposition, and the rather he should be confident of this theire engagment herin, that Sir Robert Thalbott (seuerally spoken of hertofore) was governor therof, by the Lord-leutenant's apointment, of whose compliance you may not doubte, etc. This feminian instrument, thus penned and dispatched (tendinge to the surrender of Athlone by Ormonds consent), was intercepted, and caried unto the Earl of Westmeath (though birde of the same feather), yett beinge then very jealouse of My Lord Dillons greatnesse in the countie of Westmeath, whoe discouered the plott to Clanricard. The enemie notwithstandinge was by some other way certified. Whearupon without delay addressed himself for that expedition, wherby it evidently apeereth how prone those peeres are to breake with theire contrimen, to proue disloyall to his Majestie, treacherous to theire countrie, and perjurous to holy religion, which Costllagh of late had embraced and professed under the pious wings and godly shelter of My Lord Nuncio. The veritie and grounds of the former intimation and intelligence I will sett downe in due place hearafter.

Which was intercepted by Westmeath.

650. Clanricard writes unto the clergie, aud why?

Clanricarde, upon the arrivall of Westmeath, and the discovery of the former plott by the interception of the said addresse, did write unto the clergie, desiringe respite of the publication of the former censure, the rather that the enemie was marchinge towards Athlone, and if the censure was once published, did doubtlesse distracte the Irish souldiers from joininge together, to oppose to any purpose. In this interim he gathered a considerable partie unto a bodie neere Athlone on Conaght side, wheare were 3 Vlster regiments and some horse, Bryan roe Oneylle, Tyreonell regiment, and Art Mc Huigh boy Oneylls regiment; this, though all together fopperie, colution, and inuention, hindred the publication of the censures, in many places in due time, which had beene the maine scope of those plotts. Wheare wee leaue them for a while, both enemie and suposed freinde adressinge themselues for Athlone, and speake a litle of the clergie and regular faction.

3 Vlster regiments.

CHAPTER XV.

651. Aristoteles Eth. 8. Seneca. Isidorus. Plut.

Amonge sutors in love and in lawe money is a comonn medler, and drives the bargaine and busines to an upshott; by it those contracte theire mariage, and these conclude theire peace; but it is noe sure contracter of freindshipe betweene states. Amitie baptized in this water is soone renounced, and bonds that are knitt by this knot are easily by the same dissolved.

Plenæ querelarum et criminationum omnes amicitiæ quæ fructibus et emolumentis diriguntur.

Carons faction against Thomas Makyernan.

You may obsearve what we spoke, no. 608, of the ante-comissarie Caron and his complices his faction against Fr. Thomas Makyernan, Provinciall. Now in vertue

and pursuant to Fr. Feilds comission (as there mentioned) to both visitt and hould a chapter, the respective parties, both obedient and refractorie, were summoned to apeere at Kilconell in Conaght, on the 15th of August, 1650, all the vocalls of the whole province there apeeringe, and of Carons faction (if I be not deceaued) were the undernamed (though not all, but some, before theire transgression were vocalls). 1650.

Thosse submitted and were absolued.

Fr. Iohn Tuitt.	Fr. Bonaventura Dallahoide.	Fr. Redmond Caron.
Fr. Zimon Wafer.	Fr. Francis Wolfe.	Fr. Valentine Browne.
Fr. Iohn Flattisbury.	Fr. James Fitz Zymons.	Fr. George Dillon.
Fr. Thomas Thalbott.	Fr. James Caron.	Fr. Anthony Bourke.
Fr. Anthony Garnon.	Fr. James Shiell.	Fr. Patricke Plunkett.
Fr. Edward Ferbegg.	Fr. Anthony Fitz-Gerald.	Fr. George Barnewall.
	Fr. Jasper Font.	Fr. Christopher Plunkett.
		Fr. Phillip Wooders.

Those beinge questioned for theire refraction and contumacie in disobedience, and all kept sure, accordinge the lawes and prescriptions of regular orders in that behalf, were brought to the discretorium (which is, as much to say, as the house of Commons, or lower house of Chapter, resemblinge a Parliament); the upper house or diffinitorium, beinge there assembled for that purpose, did severally and publickly acknowledge theire faulte, cryed mercie and forgiuenesse, not onely for themselues then present, but allsoe for and in the behalf of other such of the same faction that adhered unto them thitherunto, and were then absent, by reason of the iniquitie of the times (as they gaue out), promisinge with teares and exteriour remorse of conscience publicke and genuine satisfaction to God and the world. The Fathers, prone to indulgence, knowinge them to be men and not angells, and therfore subjecte to relapses (as obsearvers of theire divine Master, our Saviours charitable rule in that behalfe, to forgive your brother what he had don amisse against you, or his proper soule, as you would that he forgive you your owne), willingly condescended to theire motion, and leaste suspition might be conceaved of any partiall doome herin, referred the same unto the generall chapter of the whole Order (whoe noe doubte would prove indifferente). In the meane time that the Fathers of the province receave a resulte from thence, those to be under the charitable wings and self benevolence of theire respectiue superiours, and not pleased to publish this much unto such as were then present, but by a publicke instrument seuerally subscribed unto by the delinquents to be notified unto all absent, which was registered in the province archivs, as a caution or pledge of theire future good behaviour, and thus were absolued from theire former apostacies and excomunications (except that of My Lord Nuncio, whose authoritie in that behalf I may lawfully call in question), and dispensed in theire seuerall non regular irregularities, were dismissed by obedience to theire seuerall habitations or places of refuge. A new Provinciall, Fr. Francis Sullevan, was subrogated, guardians and diffinitors accordinge custome were elected. The diffinitors, Fr. Iames Tyrrell, diffinitor of Linster; Fr. Mellaghlin Corcran, diffinitor of Vlster; Fr. Daniell Kelly, diffinitor of Conaght; and Fr. Jeremias Harbert, diffinitor of Monster; Fr. Patricke Brenan, custos custodum. 652.

Chapter resemble parliament.

The reconciliation of those apostats.

A new Provinciall and his Diffinitors.

1650. The chapter thus managed was dissolued with the acceptation of all well affected.

653. They turne to theire former vomitte.

But noe sooner were those practitioners of disobedience at libertie then turned to theire former vomitte of faction and self-disrespecte unto superiours, nay, contrarie to both divine and humaine lawes, forgettinge the worth of such theire ranke (if any they had), and theire publicke engagment of fealtie, sided with those of the kingdome incendaries as formerly, and such as were not at the said chapter; and in whose behalf those became sureties, would not condescende to that agreement, nor submitt theire hearde-stiffy necks unto the sweete yoke of obedience, of lawfull superiours, rather did run theire former desperate course of apostacie, whose names are by the under-written knowen

Walsh the ring-leader of this apostat crue.

Fr. Iames Delamare.	Fr. Christopher Flattisbury.	Fr. Peter Walsh.
Fr. Anthony Sweetman.	Fr. Teige Gorman.	Fr. Iohn Barnwall.
Fr. Bonaventura Fitz Gerald.	Fr. Iohn Dormer.	Fr. George Barnewall.
	Fr. Didacus ———.	Fr. Mathias Barnewall.
Fr. Didacus Canin.	Fr. Iohn Lecester.	Fr. Lodovicus Fitz Gerald.
		Fr. Laurence Dillon.

Ormond and his peeres.

Those with others of the same feather, theire associats, would not condescende unto the former submission, don in theire name and behalf (as aforesaid), rather held out against all that is regular; nay, seuerall of these that personally submitted did recoile and recant, chiefly Fr. Valentine Browne, Fr. Iohn Dillon, and others whom wee leaue for another occasion, and turne to the treacherie of Athlone, from whence wee made our digression.

CHAPTER XVI.

654. Senec. Plini. Paneg. Plut. Virgil. Lucan. l. 2.

The buildinge whose grounde sels are rotten may for a time be under-propped and kepte up; but when it is once fallinge, there is noe possible meanes to stay it; soe the gouerment whose fundation is layde in bloude, or banishment of the nobilitie and oppression of the Commons may subsiste for a while, but when it once begins to fall, the downe fall is violent and sudaine.

——sic sors incerta vagatur. ——fertque refertque vices, et habent mortalia casum.

The fetch of this peere to hinder the clergie acte.

The butt and objecte of all the machin of Athlone busines of both suposed freinde and foe did tende to the distraction of the Irish nation, and to hinder the clergie declaration and censure (as no. 650 mentioned) to be published accordinge its purporte. The enemie deputy, receavinge intelligence (as above specified) to marche unto Athlone with the bodie of his armie, havinge all things in a readinesse, upon the arrivall of Sir Charles Coote, tooke his jorney accordinge covenant, and arrivinge thither, seated himself before the towne; butt Clanricard beinge on the other side encamped, the engagers on Earthons behalf, for shames sake, durst not comply with, as provinge too publicke a treason, though Sir Nicholas White, Costllaghs father in lawe, did undertake the accomplishment, but the busines cedinge, gott a rounde taunte for his paines from Deputie Earthon.

Earthon, therfore, and Coote, encampinge before the towne on Westmeath side, many of that county gentlmen, resortinge thither, the Protestant Bishope of Clogher, Colonell Jones brother, somwhat acquainted with seuerall of these Median gentrie, and specially with one Richard Dalton of Drollanstowne, Iohn Dalton of Mullin meaghan, Thibott Dillon of Conorstowne, Charles Mellaghlin of Ballindery, and others, invitinge them one day to his tent, wheare fallinge to seuerall discourses, Iohn Dalton, conceavinge by the freindly behaviour of the Protestant prelate that he might use censeritie, and proceedinge with some libertie in his familiar intercourse, beinge a well spoken gentlman, made his apollogie, tendinge to the knowledge of a flyinge reporte, giuen out of the interception of some letters sent unto Earthon by Costllagh or his ladies (as above mentioned). Pardon, sir, said he, the bouldnesse, if anythinge distastfull I utter, free libertie graunted by the prelate. My Lord, said he, I mervayle how could you conceaue to haue gott the castle of Athlone perforce by such an armie, your siedge onely of one side, and this maine riuer Shanon betweene you and it, unlesse you had some promise alreadie of it upon your arrivall. Sir, said the prelate, I doe not much care whoe heares it. My Lord Dillon wrote a letter to My Lord Earthon to Dublin desiringe his safe conducte for 20 daies, and that he had seuerall business of greate and propre concearnment to intimat unto his Lordship, which he could not with saftie comitte to writinge, leaste to be intercepted, etc. Upon receipt of this letter it hapned, said the prelate, that I was in the house, and My Lord Earthon shewinge me his safe conducte, pursuant to the said requeste, wherin he made mention, that My Lord Dillon did in his proper addresse desire the same, wherupon I adviced My Lord to forbeare mentioninge any such matter in the said saf conducte, rather to send it as by a proper motive, without makinge relation of any former suite for it, otherwise assured his Lordship that would giue a maine rubb unto the future action, and marr all our pretences in that behalf; notwithstandinge all this My Lord would not alter his text, but sent the same awaye to Costllagh.

1650. 655. Earthon in campe before Athlone. Clogher did invite those gentlemen. Iohn Daltons censeritie with Jones. Bishope Jones relation touchinge Dillons treacherie. A saf conducte to Dillon.

Costllagh, receavinge it, weighinge the danger of his honor and reputation, now at a stake if this were knowen, would not (accordinge my predixion, said the prelate) putt the same in use, yett wee were sure of the assecution of his former engagment upon sight of our persons, and caused his ladies to insinuat this much, as persons of leaste notice and consequence, and though wee heare some were intercepted, others by way of Sir Nicholas White came to our hands. This confidence, Sir, of havinge bothe town and castle upon sight, was the occasion that wee did not bringe a more florishinge armie alonge, to leager the castle on both sides. To know this much was the aime of Mr. Dalton. See, kinde and indifferent reader, how this clandestine treacherie, with its grounds, came to be publicke.

656. Sir Nicholas White.

Earthon and Coote continuinge in campe before the towne some daies without any greate purpose, this remaininge, the other with a stronge partie of horse and foote marched to Delvin Macoghlan, easily tooke Kilcolgan, Kincora, Streamstownes, Birr, and possessed himself of all countrie, leavinge garrisons therin, ecept Rachra, wheare Mr. Terence Coghlan had his residence at present. The enemie besiedginge the same, Mr. Coghlan did send for relife unto Clanricarde, wher-

657. Delvin taken.

1650.

The enemie beaten from Rachra.

The losse sustained by the enemie at the siedge of Athlone.

The enemie marched and dislodged.

upon the Vlster forces were sent thither, whom Clanricarde was not to spare. Bryan roe Oneylle was chiefe comaunder of that partie, whose Leutenant-colonell was worthy Sheane O'Hagan, whoe assayled the enemie in his trenches, killed many, and did putt the rest unto that extreamitie, that volens nolens must dislodge and raise his siedge to his losse and disgrace, leavinge garrisons as formerly, and not thrivinge at Rachra, marched to Athlone, wheare duringe his aboade sustained much trouble and damage, lost the matter of 400 horse, caried away by night by idlers or tories, as they please to tearme them; sure if our standinge forces did prove as manly as those, they might utterly destroye the enemie in that interim, but had not the grace to doe it, rather gaue a rubb unto such as, with the hazard of theire proper liues, anoyed him, waitinge on those poore soules in privat passadges, pilladginge therin of all the bootie the caried, whoe should rather encourage and countenance them then depriue them of things that did coste them noe lesse then the hazarde of theire hearts bloude. The enemie, seeinge how idle he spente his time there, hoised saile, and marched awaye to theire proper garrisons, Earthon to Dublin, and from thence to the siedge of Limbricke, and Coote to the North with his partie. In his marche neere Roconnell, some of his horse mette with one Fr. Bryan Geoghegan, a Franciscan fryer, and tooke him prisoner, caried him alonge to the North, where, makinge an escape, arriued to his proper monesterie at Montefernan.

658.

Clanricard before Kilcolgan.

The courage of Wm. Bourke.

Owen O'Dochardy.

Kilcolgan yelded.

Cloghan won.

Clanricards intention discouered.

Clanricarde, now enformed of the raisinge of the enemie siedge, not well brookinge Macoghlans countrie to be in the enemie possession (not that he was any thinge tender of its saftie, nor of the publicke goode, rather for his owne privat ends, as borderinge on his Conaght province), marched through Athlone and to Macoghlans countrie; sittinge before Kilcolgan, comaundinge summons unto the deffendants, a negatiue resulte returned, as beinge confident of relife next morninge, which was accordinge expectation on foote and drawinge on towards Kilcolgan, was to come by a foorde at Fyarbane, the bridge there alreadie demolished, but a partie of horse and foote of the Irish armie, under the comaunde of Colonell William boy Bourke, marched to defende that passadge; the enemie arrivinge, was brauely opposed by the Irish, whoe noelesse worthy behaued himself to recover the passadge. Colonell Bourke lost two horses. At lenght with a pike in his hande had his intent, the defence of the passadge, and the rather by the sudaine and unexpected suplie of Major Owen O'Doghardie did put the enemie to rout with present. Kilcolgan garrison, certified of the busines, capitulats for quarter; beinge graunted of bagg and baggadge, marched next morninge to Birr, and Clanricarde to Cloghan, wheare was another enemie garrison, which was won after some petty losse upon quarter as the former, wherin he shewed himself more indulgent then was warrantable by the lawe of armes, circumstances considered. By this Macoghlans countrie was cleere, the comaundinge peere made some staye there to refreshe his men, and was earnestly suplicat by both armie and gentrie to followe his fortune and marche towards Birr with his ordinance, beinge seuerally and truely enformed that upon sight would yeld, as not havinge sconces or forte capable of any stronge defence to guarde or shelter the enemie, onely one gate-house existinge of the former buildings and allsoe relife farr off—noe neerer then Lim-

bricke. Noe perswations did prevayle with Clanricard, he will not yeld to any such reason, his will must stand for lawe, and his non-complyance with the publicke vote of a councell of warr: all of the former resulte (though knowen to be uerie dangerous, as smelinge of faction and treason) must stand for satisfaction. 1650.

Limbricke beinge leagered (as no. 616 touched), Huigh O'Neyll, Major-generall and Governor of that citty, did write verie earnest for relife to Ormond and to the dellegats sittinge in Galwaye, as above specified. Ormond did comaunde Castlhauen thither with some horse and foote. The Major hearinge of his aproache, he caused the gates to be made sure, and would not giue waye to Castlhavens partie to inter the towne, as havinge true information by wofull experience of his malapart proceedinges hitherunto. At lenght Castlhauen himself was admitted to the cittie, with the matter of one troupe of horse; the rest was dismissed, for the Governor was not willinge to intertaine any that did smele of faction, of which corrupt stuffe he had plentie alreadie. Wherfore he writes the seconde time to the dellegats, that they advice Bryan roe Oneylle with two regiments of his Vlster forces to marche towards Limbricke, as one that was earnest for the cause in agitation, and allsoe a mercenarie or a souldier of fortune in the province of Conaght; the dellegats did writte accordingly unto Bryan roe, but the letter was intercepted and brought to Ormond, whoe remitted the same with a proper one to Clanricard, perswadinge him to marche from his campe in Delvine with 3 regiments of foote, wherof two to be Vlstermen, and give out that he went to relive Limbricke (all which wos don in disrespecte of the clergie), and to leaue both the armie and Limbricke in disposition of beinge lost (as after it proved). Those letters cominge into the hands of Clanricard in his campe, departed in the posture aforesaid, appointinge Major Luke Taaffe chiefe comaunder, and caused his ordinance to be transported over the Shanon to Conaght, but arrivinge to his proper home to Clanricard, stayed there, and never offered to reliue Limbricke, as was giuen out. 659.

Huigh Oneyll desires relife.

But how complyed with?

Greate faction in Limbricke.

Huigh Oneylls seconde addresse for relife.

Treacherie of Ormond and Clanricard.

Major Taaffe, now chiefe comaunder of this Irish partie in the field, a yonge man, a fresh water souldier, without the leaste insight in martiall discipline, and noted of refraction hertofore, a practitioner of disloyaltie, comaunded his armie to march to Lusmach, where (if they intended any service) was impossible to acheive any, beinge in a nuke betweene boggs, woods and the Shanon, and another riuer, soe that it was rather a place destined for slaughter in such an occasion then for any service, in the judgment of any understandinge witte; all his councell of warr and the primest gentlmen of them partes adviced him to the contrarie, but all would not searve the turne. Major-generall Neylle did write unto this campe from Limbricke, desiringe they should be waire, and keepe themselues in places of saftie, and that a stronge enemie partie did marche from Limbricke siedge, and was thought they aimed that way, for there was nothinge now soe freshe in theire memorie as the routinge of that partie, least it should come to a considerable bodie. Some prophecies were tould Major Taaffe tendinge to the destruction of an Irish armie in that place. 660.

Major Taaffe chiefe comander.

Comandes his armie to slaughter.

Many intelligences and motiues against Taaffes proceedings.

All those pregnant motiues were not sufficient to alter the minde of Major Taaffe to continue his resolution in that fatall place; himself and Sir James Dillon his uncle, and others of theire faction, went to Gerrott Moores castle for theire

Taaffe and Sir James Dillon put in saftie.

1650.
The skirmishe of Lusmach.

saftie, leavinge the armie in the said nuke, without either centrie, centinell, or garde, a mightie foggy daye. The enemie, spieinge his advantage, rushed upon them unawares, both horse and foote; the infanterie through a bogg, and the horse came in that onely straight that was to be defended and guarded against any such attempt, without any resistance, beinge naked and carelesse (confidinge in the strenght of the place, and in the intimation of securitie delivered and assured by theire comaunder), made havocke of all this Irish partie, whoe thought it more safe in that exigence to trust themselues unto the mercie of a mercilesse element, the boysterous river Shanon, to be transported by its swift streame unto another alien continent, then to abide the tiranizinge sworde of that heade-stronge and cruell enemie, wherby a multitude was saved, fewe men were killed, the foggy skie a good shelter then. But the thrice valiant Sheane O'Hagan, Leutenant-colonell for Bryan roe, seuerally spoken of hertofore, with some of his regiment, was killed, as not knowinge how to flye, rather trained to face his enemie, though with odds. One Captain Dillon, Sir Luke Dillons son, whoe was founde in a petty castle, was hanged. The Irish lost many of theire horses and armes, such as escaped was deemed rather a miracle then any humaine industrie. Major Owen O'Dochardy saved the most parte of his Vlster horse, but how was not knowen, but by all men wondered. Major Taaffe and his uncle, Sir James Dillon (as was giuen out), passed leasurely the Shanon before the skirmish began, which gaue wayes to many constructions of theire disloyaltie and treacherie, as well for the former posture of the armie, theire want of scouts and centinells, as of theire passinge over the Shanon in such a season for theire proper securitie. Lett any indifferent man judge, whether this was reall proceedinge or its contrarie. By this collogingc deportment the Irish lost that day both theire honor, liues, goods and the field.

Leutenant-colonell Sheane O'Hagan killed.

Doghardy and his horse saued.

Major Taaffe and Sir James Dillons character.

CHAPTER XVII.

661
Dion. Cass. Tasso. Can. 1. 2. Tacit. Hist. 4. Proverb. Hisp.

THAT mans hapinesse is greatest whoe hath beene in miserable condition, for h tasteth the double sweetes of remembringe his forepassed miserie and enjoying his present felicitie; soe, on the contrarie, the greatest miserie is to haue been hapie; various is the estate of men in theire greatnesse, and greate is theire miseri in theire fall.

Quando tengas mas fortuna: Mira que es como la luna.

About this time a partie of militarie forces gathered together for the clerg service in pursuance of the declaration and excomunication of Jamestowne co gregation against Ormond and his adherents, under the comaunde of Edmon Dempsie, Bishope of Laghlin, and Anthony Geoghegan, Bishope of Clunmacno neere Killihie, wheare for the same intent, Bryan Mc Phelim Byrne, Daniell o Kevanagh, Luke Tuhill, Luke Byrne, Roger and Lewes Moore, Colonell Arth Fox, Leutenant-colonell Charles Molloy (there apointed Colonell of foote, Jam Dempsie his Leutenant, and Teige Conor his Major), with seuerall other gentlm of qualitie. The forementioned acte of Jamestowne congregation was here publish

The Bishope of Laghlin and Clanmacnose campe.

by the assent of the most parte of the clergie of the province of Linster, together conuened for that purpose; the question was now of a Generall in Linster, all the clergie of that province was highly obliged unto the Earle of Westmeath, not for any of his proper meritts, rather for his grandfathers sake, whoe in transcendent degree obliged all Catholicks of the whole kingdome in time of greatest supression to his deuotion, for his inumerable toiles undergoen for theire sakes, to be in the predicament of gratfull men for such a publicke and comon obligment, they were to choose this his grandchild (alias unworthy of theire favour) to be Generall of the Catholicks of Linster, and the rather that he shewed himself in the present times antigoniste of My Lord Dillon Costllagh, in whose contestation he did leade the matter of a legion of infanterie unto the field, inpovverishinge such places as he thought any way deuoted to Dillon. 1650.

Westmeath voted by the clergie Generall of Linster.

His grandfathers deportment.

Beinge certified of the Linster clergie intention touchinge his promotion (as aforesaid), comaunded some of his foote and a troupe of horse towards the Kings countie. But in noe meanes would joine with the bishops partie (though gave out, they were of one and the same intentions), and under colour therof were not hindred in any theire irregular proceedings, loiteringe time and undoinge many men by those extravagancies, they turned both obedience and backe to the churche obeysance, and joined with Clanricard, chiefe favorit of Dillon, a contemner of churche designe and an opposer of his exaltinge. Ormond and Clanricard duringe this time insisted in theire former petition to the dellegats for the nonpublication of the declaration and excomunication, now obtained the suspense therof unto further time, in high prejudice of the comon cause and disrespecte of the whole clergie, though none guiltie herof other then such as heretofore were charactered with the enfamous staine of both perjurie and faction, notwithstandinge thriued soe well that many that adhered unto the churche (obsearvinge it volubilitie) cecinit pallinodiam, and this partly by the frequent insinuations of such belyinge ministers as were sent by Ormond to the campe, Sir Richard Barnewall, Patricke Bryan, and Sir Walter Dungan, whoe was not ashamed to tell the Bishope of Clonmacnose publicklie that he and his partie did run headlonge to rebellion. Those ministells of iniquitie, with theire double tongue and cankered hearts, left the most parte of the souldiers in the verie next disposition of recantation, thus many ran to theire owne proper homes and dispersed, which had beene the prime objecte of those refractorie peeres. 662.

How Westmeath behaued himself.

Clanricard.

How ill some of those dellegats behaued themselues.

Sir Richard Barnwall, Patricke Bryan, and Sir Walter Dungans proceedings.

Another mischiefe did follow the former, for in this time to publish unto the world the uenemous poyson of Ormonds cankered hearte towards the clergie, he comaunds one Colonell Wogan, a Protestant, a fitt trincher of such a carver, to attache the bodie of Iohn Mollony, bishope of Killaloe, and sease upon all his goods to the use of James Buttler, Earl and Marquesse of Ormond, which was fourthwith putt in execution; £1500 readie money and gould, beside his plate and houshold stuffe, was brought before Ormond upon good accounte of the bishops goods and himself in the nature of a prisoner (you may supose other summ was concealed and embeazled by the unconscionable executioners), and 12 lustie horses, and furniture for 40 horse, for the good bishope was to make up a brave troupe at his owne charges for the publicke service (as all the bishopes were accordinge theire abilitie to make up an armie), whoe remained in the said nature of a prisoner upwards of 4 weekes, and 663.

The Catholicke Bishope of Killaloe putt in restrainte.

1650. because this was highly conceaued, and noe guilte founde or knowen in the prelate, other then his loyaltie to both kinge and countrie, and zeale of holy religion, was soe handled by him, whoe rather should cherish him for his reall and benemerittinge proceedings (if any sparke of loyaltie did harbour in his brest) by the suggestion of some, his Comissioners of trust was at lenght enlarged, and a kinde of an assignment graunted him; all desperat, and not solvente, and his proper goods (as was giuen out) imployed in the present payment of the armie, non existinge for the present, other then a regiment of horse of English Puritants that waited on the person of his Excellencie. And thus was the goode prelate cheated of his money, hindered of his religious intentions, depriued of his horses and furniture, with other abiliments, his proper libertie restrained, with seuerall menaces euery daie to be executed; lett any man of an indifferent vote judge whether this was legall, loyall, faithfull, and honest, or treacherous, disloyall, perfidious, and dishonest, to whose iudicious doome I referr it.

664. The clergie insisted still on the declaration against Ormond, though the excomunication publication was hindred by the faction of some of the dellegats, as aforesaid. Ormond therfore comaunds an assembly to meete in Loghreagh about the first of November, 1650, wheare fewe of the clergie apeered, other then such as were still of the faction. The fewe well affected that attended there were Antonius Clonmacnosensis, Robertus Corcagensis, and Walterus Clonfertensis, whoe too often moved for reconciliation to his Holinesse and his Nuncio, provinge the validitie of his censures. Movinge allsoe the compliance of Generall Neylles application (as no. [*blank*] touched) in regarde of the multiplicitie of theire opposers, could not thriue. Montgerrott, a poore dotinge ould man, was a braue stickler for the contrary sense, which was grounde enough that others of the like graine did speake high and beare swaye in this factionall assembly. Tuamensis, Drumorensis, Aghadensis, and others of this relapsinge broode, did both seconde and mantaine all factionall motions. Sir James Preston, or Don Diego, played his parte verie well for both churche and kingdome, though mightie stoute; but a single man could doe verie litle to any purpose.

665. You shall obsearue, by the way, that this Sir James Preston, since the takinge of Waterford by the enemie, which was last August, the plague beinge mightie reefe there, thitherunto runinge the same score with his father and factionists; but now better enformed, as well by foraigne intimations as proper observations, was quitt altered, wherby did insinuate his desires unto the clergie, makinge large promises of fealtie unto seuerall prime members therof pursuant to those recent intentions, harbouringe some suspition of one Major Ricard Grace, gouernor, that was about that time of Birr, for Ormond, that he was not zealous for the comon cause, whom findinge with a small traine, caried him in the nature of a prisoner to the castle of Palise in Ferkoll, wheare he continued for some weekes; in the interim, Sir James, makinge some necessarie jorneyes too and fro, some of the said Grace, his troupe layinge still in ambushe for him, narrowly escaped. But some favorable oportunitie was offered, that those troupers did cary away from the said castle the forementioned Grace perforce, whoe, at libertie, shewed himself there after mightie plyable and concordant towards the clergie affaires, as hearafter will apeere in due place.

Ormond, after all his prodigalities, beinge now like a bankroute or a shipe lost on the continent by the furie of sourcinge waves, is visited by many hungrie and covetous debters, assigned upon that shipwracke-caske to force payment. Soe this peere intringe this kingdome two yeares agoe, with winde in popa, with a full saile and prosperous gale (as was thought then), which contrarie and high winds of faction, treason, covetousnesse, reuenge, perfidie, and disdaine, did soe shake his vessell, flyinge too loftie, like another Icarus, with his borowed feathers, that he suffered shipwrecke; all mens eyes now cast upon him, not for any comisseration or pitty they had of him as the sole sublunar cause of the nations distruction, onely to see him now brought unto such a poore and humble posture (as at present) (are somwhat satisfied) in sayinge, ecce homo, see that greate peere that not longe agoe compited withe the prouude angell, similis ero altissimo, is growen now soe weake, humble, and abjecte, that he beggs of the members of the congregation (whom not long agoe he menaced and disdained) a certificat for his future calefication in Catholickes countries; but nemo illi daret, except such as haue beene still of the sense of that Luciferan rebellion, faction and treacherie, as Tuamensis, Aghadensis, Limbricensis, Kilfornorensis, Killalensis, and Drumorensis, whoe fourthwith graunted his request and signed therto, and allsoe worked theire best endeavours to cause Clonmacnosensis, Corcagensis, and Clonfertensis, there then resident, to doe the like; whoe absolutely denied the same as ever yett averse unto faction, and stiffly deffended both My Lord Nuncios excomunication and the late acte of Jamestowne congregation pursuant herunto, would by noe meanes signe unto the said instrument as distructiue to the said clergie acte. Ormond havinge this forsaid instrument signed as aforesaid for his safe conducte, leavinge (by the acceptation of the greatest vote of that zeude-assembly) Clanricarde with the kings sworde, with the honorable title of Lord Deputie-generall of Ireland (which was Judas kisse to our Saviour). Clanricard for his Majestie, incidit in cyrthem, cupiens vitare Caribdem, takes his leaue with Insichuyne and others his apostat traine and cavallirie, with the courses of clergie men, widowes, orphans, poore and riche of the well affected, but with the sighes and groanes of the factionists.

1650.

666.

CHAPTER XVIII.

As wee obsearue in nature that keene and razor witts, which will take a hair of the hande, doe turne edge at a more solid substance, and are apter for a fine conceite then a sounde deliberation, whearas the tough and dull axe is able to encounter the harde and sturdy oake, and to over master him; soe experience teacheth us that hott and firie spiritts are apter to gett a purchase then to keepe it, and to win the garland then to weare it; whearas the benefitt of treasure is not in the acquisition, but in the fruition, for goods are not good but by the use. He therfore that hath the fortune to gett the victorie, but not the judgment to make use therof, hath both the one and the other for his greater fall.

667.
Tacit. Hist. 3.
Claud. bell.
Arist. Ethic.
Prob. de Han.
Livi. l. 21.
Senec.

Hodie penes hostes erat victoria: At non habebant ducem, qui sciat victoria uti. Plut. in Cæs.

It is well knowen unto such as were acquainted with Ormond that he was of

1650. quicke and razor witte in sudaine and matters of smale concearnment, but euer in his proceedings did turne edge at more solide substances; he was noted to be apter for a fine conceite then for a sounde deliberation, whose firie and hott spirit was more prone and sutable to win the garland then were it; he came to that height of honor that of a subjecte there was non plus ultra to be looked for, and likly som what more he expected or aimed at, those beinge solid essences was not of abilitie to make use of them, accordinge the degree of his ranke and the circumstances of the times. A man of a shallowe witte might conceave strange that a yeare and a halfe is now effluxed since the froathing ebb of distracted Ireland did begin, and the comon enemie have gott in this interim almost three intire provinces without the least rubb. Was it euer heard in any historie that in such a diluge the loosinge hand did not sue the conqueror with some conditions, either of cessation of armes for some certaine time, peace or submission, or some such application, to borowe time and keepe breath in a nation soe loyall to his Majestie untill acquainted of the proceedings? But Ormond had don noe such matter. I am confident the very enemie would willingly embrace such a motion, and if this peere were either true to kinge or countrie, would move it in theire behalf; but noe such was don which sheweth his litle censeritie in a matter that soe neerly concearned the intrest of his royall master. Ormond not onely have neglected soe maine a pointe for the behoofe of the nation intrusted unto his care in soe extreame an exigence, but worked all the meanes for its extirpation. All such as any waye he thought to be of abilitie, or intention to giue the comon enemie a rubb, or the kingdome any asistance, would worke his full endeavours to his disablinge or distraction, as wittnesse Huigh Oneylle in the defence of Limbricke, the Bishope of Killaloe, makinge up a braue troupe, the clergie of Linster gatheringe an armie, D. Anthonios frigatt seased upon at his departure now, to the utter ruyne of all maritime affaires for the poore Catholicks. But we leaue him in his jorneye for France, and turne to Clanricard and his zeudo-Assembly in Loghreagh.

CHAPTER XIX.

668. Mac. dis. l. 1°. Xenop. Cyr. ad filios. Suet. in Vesp. Eschin.

It is a hinderance to the generall service and a furtherance to the generall destruction to giue him manifest cause of discontente, and yett after employe him in a greate place of charge; for neither can the state be assured of his fidelitie when he is used, nor he of theire favour when he is accused.

Tam est periculosum malicioso potentiam, quam furioso gladium dare.

The reallists and royallists by woefull experience were seuerally acertained of Clanricards double dealinge and thwarte proceedings since those comotions; and he, too sure himselfe that in the comon sense of all indifferent witte, was branded with the same character, and consequently not well pleased with such whom he reputed his antagonists, notwithstandinge winked at the matter untill he had the kings sworde and managinge of the kingdome in his power, as the non plus ultra to be aimed at. True it is they could never affye themselues in his fidelitie in the

assecution of his charge, nor he of theire loyaltie and reallitie towards him; by 1650.
those reciprocall misunderstandings a gape was open for the misservice of both kinge and kingdome, and another for the generall distruction; for it beinge as dangerous to investe a malitiouse man with power as to giue a madd man a naked sworde in his hande, notwithstandinge all there extante condescended to his promotion.

The onely cause the well affected could yeld for condescendinge to this peeres 669.
greatest (notwithstandinge theire former jealousies) was leaste in refusinge him, beinge Catholicke, to be Deputie, and not pleased with Ormond, as Protestants would be reputed malcontents with any gouerment, rather inclined to breake square with all that is derived of monarchie (as the faction was too apte to brute), not to giue waye to such jealousies, they were pleased to aprove of his newe institution, though more then sure of his future and past refractione (as hearafter will apeere), whoe, consideringe how matters were caried (though deriued his power from Ormond), did now move two things contrarie to the capitulation of Ormonds peace, the one, the power of the comissioners intrusted, the other, the inative authoritie of the clergie to binde perjurous and refractorie persons by censures to complyance; in this motion he pretended sole authoritie unto himself, without dependencie of either comissioners or clergie, and not to call any his actions in question, which propositions were proposed and admitted by onely such refractorie persons, whoe euer yett were pleased, with any such as did not conduce to the publicke good, advantage of the people, honor of the nation, profitt of his Majestie, favour of religion, or the consonancie of oathe of association.

CHAPTER XX.

Soe goodly a thinge is vertue in itself, as euen her shadowe, if it be in princes, 670.
doth much goode: to particular men by imitation, and to the publicke by Lip. Pol. l. 4.
participation. Whearefore, though simulation what is good, and dissimulation Senec.
what is euill, be vices in a privat man, yett in a publicke person they are Thyest.
necessarie evills. In whom to be ouuerte in expressinge his nature, or free in Cic. Ep. l. 1.
ventinge his purpose, is a thinge of dangerous consequence; for it harmes himself, Cic. Offic. l. 3.
and armes his enemie with prevention.

Nescit imperare qui nescit dissimulare.

This newe authorized peere, in his now proceedings, like a true child of Adam, was scarce created, when he gaue inditions of his fall; though courtier, noe polititian, as not ashamed in publicke audience to call the Bishope of Clonmacnose a traytor, a rebell, and factionier, for noe other cause other then beinge (accordinge his principles) constant and pursuant to both function and oathe, observant of the acte of Jamestowne congregation, My Lord Nuncios excomunication, and other things tendinge to the publicke good of both religion, kinge, and nation. If polititian, he could not be soe ouverte in expressinge what inwardly laye hide in his breaste, nor vente his poyson soe publickly against braue prelats, which, if

1650. worthe theire eares, would proue dangerous. Many speeches were offered in that partiall assembly pro et contra, amonge the rest was one more esteemed then others, as cominge from a novice in the arte of such publicke meetinge, though master in his deportment, and from a yonge gentlman of the same extraction that this moderne governor is off, in his speeche doe shewe litle or noe adulation, rather the behaviour of a graue councellor, his learninge and maturitie doe beare testimonie, which is as followeth.

CHAPTER XXI.

William Bourke Fitz Iohn of Castlleckan, his speeche.

671. Saincte Thomas of Aquine giveth noe other reason for the longe continuation, state and greatnesse from an expicable beginninge of the Romaine empire above all other nations, but theye caried all waies with them, animum in consulendo liberum. The prouude Tarquin kings suffered for theire arrogancie, the pretors and triumvirs for theire ambition and covetousnesse, and euery free borne was admitted to deliuer himself for the good of the comonwealth. Vpon this score, Sir Richard Blake, I haue a desire to discharge meselfe of my dutie and accompte, for the trust imposed me, and if any be pincht at what I shall saye, I humbly pray I may haue the least loosers libertie. Beinge by the last goverment deeply pitted, and the rather I intende not to pointe at any one in particular, but by truly representinge the seuerall corruptions crept into the former gouerment, the now established Lord Deputy for the glorie of God, of the churche, and the peace of this kingdome, may be enabled to governe us, with the armies of justice and pietie, and recover his Majesties intrest by fortunat valour, which wee lost by our unhapie and unfortunat
672. disunion. When I obsearve how many large subsidies the Catholicks of this kingdome, over and above theire abilities, bestowed on his sacred Majestie in the last peace, to haue Poynings acte onely suspended, and admitt us to privat masses, it transcends my capacitie. Whearfore this house should not with more alacritie disburse theire substance, to route out the budds of iniquitie, whoe thirst after our lives and liberties, and expose ourselues to mantaine the full splendour of our religion, whearunto God himself did out of his extraordinarie bountie leade by the hands. But that it feares me an unhearde of heresie spronge amonge us, and obscured all our actions, soe farr that wee are dejected amonge all other Catholicke nations, and reputed onely privat missalists. And for that Father Mallons reply to Doctor Usher, Primat of Ireland, warranteth me, the naturall influence of this kingdome will not admitt any true heresie, soe it feares me it brideth this age, but conditionall Papists, which my opinion is strenghtned by your actions, neither of you will searve for his religion or majestie, but prævia conditione for his owne intreste: whereby the comonwealthe is brought to this calamitie. And seeinge you degenerat in all points from the worth of your ancestors, and fayled the hopes his Holinesse and other Christian kings had of your integrities, I hope you will giue me leaue to tell you what nation you are. You haue the precipitation of Frenchmen

but not theire charge; the slownesse and ambition of the Spaniardes, but not theire 1650.
fortitude; the obstinacie of the Numantins, but not theire resolution, whoe durst not call for a bitt of breade to theire wiues before they presented them with a Romaines heade, and yett you will present your ladies with phesants and pattridges, and noe Rounde-heades. The perfidie of Scotts men, but not theire hardinesse. The covetousnesse of the Swissers and Germaines, but not theire valour. You must haue your gelte in your pocketts before you fight. The bellies of a Hollander, for you haue a 100 men to eate, but tenn hands to fight. Wee are the verie obstinat Jewes, but not theire union. The tender backs of Englishmen, for you cannot marche without scarlett and violett, not gott by theire spoile, but not theire policie.
Truely wee are the verie obstinat Jewes, whoe denyinge the true Messias (populus 673.
hic duræ cervicis est), are merito by his uncontroable decree made the scorne of nations, and which is worste, to my greefe I saye it, wee are the dreggs of Israell and the lice of Jacob, soe forgettfull wee are of the Egiptian thraldome wee endured under the Pharaoes of Dublin in the last peace, to whom wee did not onely moule theire breeke at our owne proper charges, but at theire pleasure had our haukes, doggs, horses, our wiues and maidens to satisfie theire lust; but beinge sett allmost at libertie, from the tallons of heresie, by Gods unexpected favours, contrarie to all humaine judgments, haue hitherto readier heartes to returne to our former vomitts and Egiptian durance, then endure any calamitie of warr, for the glorie of God, the quiet of the churche, his majesties right and comon libertie. Wee haue sent agents for a Protestant Leutenant (tu es qui venturus es, non alium expectamus), not regardinge Moyses on the montaine of aduersitie and troubles, and to adore him, all our gould and earings of our wives and maides were melte, to make not a goulden caulfe, but a goulden bull, wherin our Aarons had a helpinge hande, in whose verie suet and tallowe our substance was transported unto foraigne kingdomes, (for want of faithfull searchers) wheare he may most munificently spende what cheerfully bestowed. I doubt but was the Irish Messias (quia non auferetur sceptrum de Juda, et dux de femore eius, etc. The kingdome was ours at his cominge, wee lost it in his gouerment, yett for all that our Aarons hath don there is noe infliction putt upon them, and that for the onely preservation of the comons, as Aaron escaped with impunitie, though the Jewes were sorely punished by God, and now to satisfie his Holinesse they would enjoyne us to penaunce and fastings for theire proper demeritts. Is it not enough wee faste the Wednesdaie for abusinge his Holinesses Nuncio, as tradition warranteth me, without that they intende to force us to faste the Sundayes, and become Puritants? I can heardly become a judge of theire deportments of the most Reuerent synod held at Jamestowne, wherin the last Lord Leutenant was highly charged by the most reuerent prelats, and upon a further declaration discharged, wherin they behaued themselues most effeminat, in charginge him at first without merittinge, or if his Excellencie did meritt such unworthy declarations to chaunce theire opinions; for my owne parte I finde noe other vice in him but that he wanteth faith, the source of vertues and motiue of fortune, without which all other vertues are deade, as to my griefe is experienced in his actions, beinge otherwise most vertuous and politicke.

Horace, in his heroicks, describeth this nation, humano capiti cervicem pictor 674.

1650. equinam iungere si vellet, et varias inducere plumas undique collatis membris ut turpiter atrum desinat in piscem mulier formosa superne, spectatum admissi; risum teneatis, amici. This mulier formosa is the Generall Councell, ministers of State. She was noe virgo, but a prostitute for every woer, the horse necke besett with feathers are our comaunders in chiefe, our colonells and souldiers, the feathers theire topps, hatt-bands, cuffs, wheare to flye withall, they fastned them, like Icarus, Icarijs nomina fecit aquis. The other parte of this monstrum atrum piscem must of necessitie be the pike and codd, soe as the greater pike eates the lesse, soe the armie and ministers of state doe eate up the comons; and as the codd, seeinge the tempeste doe swallowe stones to sticke to the grounde, for feare of the surginge seas, soe our comissioners and comannders doe run to theire castles, leavinge us exposed to the furie of the enemie. Neuer a member of this beaste was truely vnited, and soe wee are, and if any union be, non est unio entis continui, sed contigui, for it is soluble upon any occasion, not agreeable to the prophecie. *Gaoidhil is Goill oc denaid combaidh daigionn anaiged sluagh Sasanach nach uilasa a congionn.* Distrust swayeth amonge us, the ould Irish families doe diffide in the English, the English families hopeth nee better in the Irish. But I propose, as a faithfull phisician, to searche unto the slidroote of this infirmitie, before I plaister this putrifiinge maladie, givinge you this lesson, as an antidott against the raginge venome administered by the spirit of perdition, a greater the furies of hell could not invent. Cornelius Tacitus, in the 217 page, recordeth that upon the declininge of the Romaine empire, the Tenulians havinge expulsed the Romaines out of theire territories, sent theire ambassadors to them of Collon beyond the Reyne, as theire confederats, desiringe them to race theire walls of theire citty, and to kill all the Romaines. The Albigenses answeared they could not with saftie breake downe theire walls, and as for the Romaines, such of them as came unto theire lands of late, weare either killed in the warres, or returned to their natiue countrie: And as for the ould Romaines whoe with them remained, and with whom they weare lincked in bloude and mariadge, they could much lesse comitt such a barbarous acte, without they had a desire to kill the Albigenses too. And if this be not a motiue sufficient to make a totum homogenium cum reliquis, take the sacred writte, and you shall finde that the whoore in Jerico, for savinge Josues spies amonge her hempe, had (notwithstandinge the citty was sacked by the Jewes) her conditions faithfully obsearved; and if God had been pleased to establishe the Irish Monarchy,
675. could they expulse the English familie, in whom they are lincked, and with whom they haue joined and shed theire bloude? And therfore I would haue one of eache familie, in the name of the whole, to take the oathe of union and incorporation, that upon the breakers therof God may rise in judgment, as hapned in Hungary and Turke. All the euills of this kingdome proceede from our comaunders of ciuill and martiall affaires. *Taeile daoirse diothana* etc. Ecce hominumque Regumque dolus perjuria secum, aera pestiferum bella, famemque trahant. Truely they are soe emperious, they cannot be brought to question for any theire actions, soe that theire pleasure is the lawe in actu exercito, and justice in actu signato. Yett I am sorie the Lord desearues to haue them our gouernours. *Tug Dia is deibhinn linn ni coir lethfhir ar Fhéilim é do phéin ar an pobal, a thoil ó nach dearnamair*—nec Phelemci vitijs

ribuendum est, quando mœrentem affligit populum, peste, fameque deus. The lord 1650.
bishope of Killaloe, whose knees are corned with continuall prayinge, was deceaved. Our morninge starr noe sooner breatheth under this fatall clymat, but was eclypsed; he caried not light to fower aclock, and soe the rest: And good reasone misgoverment with the abortive fruite should befall the land, and brande his unhapie gouernor with perpetuall dishonor. I finde that God bide Salomon call for any thinge, and he should comannde him, beinge soe rauished with odour of his extraordinarie sacrifices. Salomon was onely pleased to demannde, but scientiam et disciplinam, ut regat populum, Israell; wherfore God said unto him, because thou haste not desired kingdomes or riches, but wisdome, thou shalt haue both. But tell me, Sir Richard Blake, was this the petition of the comissioners of truste, generall councell, comannder, or others? Noe truely, but to haue for his seaven daughters, seauen captains of horse, etc., lord threasurer, lord channcellour. I aske you but one worde, whether any man of the kingdome had considerable office; but they, or such as depended on them? It is said God was not with them in theire battle, and I sweare he was. When Josua was comannded to leade the Israelits unto the land of promise he would not, without that God did leade him another, and he would not leade them himself; quia populus hic duræ cervicis est, leaste he should cutt them by the sworde, and soe the drawinge sworde of God killed us and not the enemie. Wee are soe impudent to upbraide our actions, that wee wonder wherfore the eternall majestie doth not wonders in this quarrell, as he raised the river of Jordan unto a steepie mountaine; but you doe not call to minde how they raised seuerall stones from the deerie bottome of the riuer, ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Wee neuer disburste a £1000 to repaire any churche since the warr began; notwithstandinge God killed 10 for euery one wee killed, and yett like hypocrits wee must be tearmed Catholicks, which penes nomen suteth with our conditions. The pallace mice and flatterers gaininge the benefitte of our sweate, as Vlysses had of Aiax, nos inhonorati et ignis respectibus orbi, obtulimus, cum nos ad cuncta pericula simus. Our cowes are hanged, and not the thieves; euery destroyer of the comon-wealthe hath the publicke faith obsearued him, and more largely then the councell of conscience of kings of Spaine, wittnesseth that of Lisborne, and yett wee haue not the publicke faith obsearued in any pointe, soe that I am of opinion they haue concilium conscientiæ for us and not for them. Dixi. finis.

If you had obsearued well this speeche, you might conceaue therin the prime 676.
objecte of this our historie, nay an evident proofe therof, which is full fraught with displayinge faction and disunion, he ingeniously toucheth every man, both churche and laitie, obnoxious of either. You see what he speakes of the high cedars, lieutenant comissioners and comaunders, deputie and recantinge prelats, with such eloquence, maturitie, fidelitie and moderation, though pinchinge, that none but such as are with nothinge satisfied may carpe at, or alledge the leaste sillable of his speeche not to be true, and genuinly applyed to purpose. He is the onely man of indifferencee of his name that I know now extant. You see what character he giues the goverment and its rulers, if Vlysses himself, which he meanes by Vllacke Bourke, alias Clanricard, but his reward was frownings, discountenancie, disrespecte, ossitations, to shewe therby theire wearinesse and his

1650. tediousnesse; but the well affected were highly pleased, and comended such extraordinarie tallent in soe fewe years.

CHAPTER XXII.

677. Plin. Tacit. Hist. Cæs. Com. l. 4. Horat. Virg. Eneid. l. 2.

The inconstant multitude is naturally desirous of noueltie, and apt for change, hopinge for more then they should, and enduringe lesse then they ought, and euer in dislike with the present times. They consider not, that though they change theire lord, they change not theire tenure, though they quitt theire ould master yett they are still in service. They should therfore purge this humor of newefangled-nesse, and remember that if the same condition of servitude canot be avoided, it skills not whether it be under Lord Iohn or Lord Thomas, and soe sitt still.

> Romæ Tibur amem ventosus Tibure Romam.
> Sæuisque animis ignobile vulgus.

A seeminge recantation of the Assembly of Loghreagh of an instrument against the Nuncio.

Seuerall motions were made in this zeudo-assembly, the eiection of My Lord Nuncio, which was conceaued most haynous by the very aduersaries, for the mane of it, as the first of its nature in the Christian worlde. The complyance of Owen Oneylls application, as no. 575 mentioned, and others. To the first unanimously they condescende to disclaime in it in hæc verba.

Whearas, wee the nobilitie and gentrie of this kingdome, convened in thi assembly, beinge therunto admonished, by the prelats and pastors of our soule haue reflected upon certaine words inserted in a letter, subsigned by Sir Richar Blake, Knight, the then chaireman, by the comannde of the assembly, directe and sent awaye to the most illustrious Lord Iohn Baptista Renunccini, Archbisho and Prince of Firma, his Holinesse Nuncio in this kingdome at that time, date the 19th of October, 1648, the words of which letter beinge these.

They doe therfore lett your Lordship knowe that there is a declaration a protestation in preparation against you, to be sent unto his Holinesse, importing in parte the matter contained in the inclosed, wherof your Lordship may be pleas to take notice, and prepare your self for jorney to Rome, and defence against th charge there. And in the meanetime, that your Lordship, on the penaltie whi may ensue, by the lawes of God and nation, by yourself or any of your instrumen directly or indirectly intermedle not in any the affaires of this kingdome. Whi letter hath beene alreadie cancelled, and taken of the file of the records of t kingdome, upon notice receaued of his Holinesse displeasure therat; That t contents and constructions of them words might drawe upon us, wee haue conceau it our dutie, to secure all aprehensions and feares, by recurringe unto his Holines and prostrate at his feete, imploringe that if by the said words, or any acte of ou or the then Supreame Councell, or of any other of us, duringe his distance betwee the gouerment and his Holinesse said Nuncio (savinge allwaies the benefitt of t late apeale, and the matters therin contained, and dependinge therupon to therin concearned), any censure of holy churche, or his Holinesse displeasure h

Note theire colloguinge.

beene incurred, wee may be free therfrom, and receaue his benediction. Dated at Loghreagh, ut supra. 1650.

The articles (in number 18) and fore parte of the letter is not herin expressed, which had beene most unchristian as may apeere, by this pis-melle of it, all the charge is premunirie sett fourth in the acte of Queene of Elizabeth anno ii°, against all such as bringe in foraigne jurisdiction (which is knowen to be intended by Papall authoritie), and this same letter doe allowe and confirme the same, by that clause that your Lordship intermedle not in any the affaires of this kingdome, directly or indirectly, by yourself or any your instruments, under paine, etc.; the penaltie mentioned aforesaid, is that of the foresaid acte of Queene Elizabeth; but how well this hereticall lawe sutes with Confederat Catholicks sworne for the propagation of holy religion lett any man judge. You may obsearve how sathanicall these ante-Catholicks doe abuse the lawe of nations (though neuer theire prime benefactor, nor derived his power from the Pope of Rome, the vissible heade of theire quondam mother the churche), banishinge as traytor, against theire hereticall and Henrician lawe, the embassador of a prince, with full power invested, with solemnitie receaued, and sworne to obsearue and obeye. This fatall clymat of ours brookes noe such ambassadors, for we haue receaued by tradition that one onely Nuncio arrived to this kingdome before this man, and was in like maner abused, in punishment therof Wednesdaye abstinence was enjoined the nation, when all the whole nation, present and future, was soe punished for such an acte in the infancie of theire Christianitie, what thinke you will become of them, comittinge such a haynous offence against all the lawes, humaine and divine, against oath and covenant, and in the ould age of theire religion? But the authors of this execrable edicte is nothinge sensible of the punishment immediately inflicted on them by the omnipotencie of God, as sworde, famen, and plague, which in a transcendent degree is due (as by woefull experience wee see) to theire contumatious disobedience, perjurie, and excomunication; for, if any remorse they had of those things, or weare any jott tender of theire consciences, they would submitt unto his Holinesse censure in that excomunication, justly inflicted on them by My Lord Nuncio (notwithstandinge theire frivolous and most illusorie appeale), and not except against it (as in this colloguinge submission is sett fourth), and the rather, it beinge conformable to theire publicke engagment to Generall Owen Oneylle, upon the agreement with Ormond (as no. 575 touched), wherby I am of opinion that it were more safe and lesse dangerous to wage open warr with such perfidious people, then under the vizard of religion and honestie to deale with as Confederats, whoe are as our Saviour tells us, and comaunds to be ware off, lupi rapaces sub pelle ovina; and the Scripture in another place disciphringe sayeth, cor eorum longe est a me; but theire hearts doe styre by a contrarie carde.

678.

Queen Elisabeth and Henry the 8ths lawe is here instanced.

The inhumanitie of those.

Another Nuncio banished by the Irish. Why Wednesday is fasted.

The fruite of excomunication.

This contrary to theire publicke engagment.

Math. 7.

Math. 25.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Cyneas the ambassador, after the first daies audience, could remember euery senators name in Rome, and Cyrus was able to call euery poore souldier by his 679. Seneca.

1650. Terent. Salust. Tacit. Hist. 4. Laert. l. 5.

name, that was in the campe. Such perfecte memories as these men naturally haue of euery little wronge don unto them; for benefitts they write in dust, wrongs in marble: as well those they offer, as those they suffer. Therfore the guilte of havinge don a wronge, hath such deepe impression in the injurer, as he neuer after affieth in the partie injured, nor treateth with him in any senceritie.

Quid cito senescit? quid tarde? gratia et injuria.

This ante-assembly dissolued.

This conventicle assembly dissolved about the 23 of December this yeare; the reecent Deputie began most imperious to govern the Catholicks to the destruction of both kinge, countrie, and religion, and if Ormond was euer obnoxious of any such tainte (as truely he was) Clanricard shewes himself now more then any therin, though under the vizard of holy religion, as a conterfeite or seeminge Catholicke, whose acts mightie swarved from the principles therof (as hearafter more at large will apeere). You remember I made mention no. 669 with what character Clanricard was branded in the opinion of all reall and royallist of the kingdome, and how he was not ignorant therof himself, and consequently offended, notwithstandinge condescended to his promotion (for reasons there alleadged). But Clanricard promoted, as aforsaid, had as a naturall man a perfecte memorie of all these petty wrongs (as he conceaued them to be) don unto him, did write them in marble, and this last with many others in dust. Such impression did this comon injurer take and roote in his hearte against his loyall confederats, that he neuer after affyed in them, nor treated with them in any senceritie. As hearafter more at large.

The prouude behauior of this Peere.

680. Linacres in Math. 5.

This Peere in the opinion of Thomas Linacres, a learned Englishman, is not a Christian, or the sayinge of our Saviour in the 5th of Mathew (wheare he comanndeth, diligite inimicos vestros, etc.) is false: aut hæc vera non sunt, aut nos Christiani non sumus, said this author; true it is that his disposition is such, that he soe strangly is affected, as he tender his reuenge equally to his owne life, towards those his reall confederats, his now plotts are how to circumvente, his traines how to surprise, his whole consultations how to inflicte due revenge wheare he alreadie conceaved distaste. Men of this nature are like the bulls of Basan, whoe rome and roare, and when the preye falleth, they stare on it, and teare it with theire teeth, whom may be truely verified this of the poet:

The Christianitie of Clanricard.

Nec leges metuunt, sed cedit viribus odium,
Mœstaque victrici jura sub ense jacent.

The same in English:

They feare noe lawes, theire wrath giue way to might,
And what they plott they act, be't wronge or right.

681. The naturall and acquired disposition of Clanricard disciphered. Like his father to be against the Irish.

The disposition of this peere may be conceaued, either naturall or acquired. The first, for as Rome brought fourth the Pisoes for frugalitie; the Metelli for pietie; the Appij for austeritie; the Manlij for affabilitie; the Lelij for wisdome; and the Publicolæ for courtesie, which conditions soe apeared lineally in theire successors, as they seemed representers of theire ancestors natures, as well as features, noe other reason can be giuen touchinge these distincte affections saue those prime seeds sowne in them by nature, which produce not onely these dis-

positions in themselues, but dilate or propagate theire effects in others, to wit, those in whom they haue stamped a likenesse both of image and condition. 1650.

But to knowe or collecte how men are affected, by reason of this predominant disposition, is by three or 4 maner of waies. First, there is noe course in itself more directe or lesse erringe, then to obserue what delights they affecte, or company they frequent. The Emperour Augustus, beinge at a combat, willinge to knowe the inclinations of his two daughters, Julia and Livia, and obsearvinge what company frequented them; graue senators talked with Livia, but riotous persons with Julia; wherby was satisfied what temper they were off, for alwayes persons of like condition love to consorte together; theire qualitie and equalitie of disposition moues a desire of familiaritie together. 1. What company the Peere resortes unto: that of Julia.

The seconde, to knowe the disposition of man is to obsearue with a watchfull eye how the partie beares himself in a passion which is of that violence that many times it discouers what he be, though his purpose was to walke neuer soe covertly from the eye of popular observance. Tiberius comonly couered his plotts soe well that none could diue unto his thoughts, pretendinge euer most smoothnesse when he intended a tempest; yett when his spirits became nettled or encensed, soe farr did passion transporte him as his nature was aparantly expressed, without further character. Other manifest discoueries may be made, how men are affected or disposed, when they are least themselues; with griefe I speake it as in a transcendent degree deuoted to Bachus; forgoinge the name of reasonable man, as estranged from the use of reason, drowninge his understandinge in that tipplinge excesse. In high Germany the parents of such children as should be maried will see those which should be theire sons in lawe to be drunke before them, to see what disposition they are of, before they mary theire children unto them. For therby, if subjecte to any vice, will discover it, havinge noe locke to keepe it secret; but in this you shall discrie different humors, accordinge the diuersitie of dispositions of the parties; some lumpish, some jocounde, some weepinge, others laughinge. Wee reade of Phillipe, and his son Alexander, two distincte conditions when they were drunke: the one shewed his rage and furie towards his foes, the other towards his friends; the former is a more generous spirit, for nothinge can be imagined more ignoble then to triomphe ouer our friende. Soe nothinge relisheth of better resolution then upon equall tearmes and without bravinge to shewe our spirit upon our enemie. 682. 2. Wittnesse his passion with the bishop of Clonmacnos, no. 670. 3. His tipplingo moode. Aug. de Verb. Apost. Ser. 4. In this is Alexander.

If you yett insiste to see the disposition of man to the quicke discouered, and take of the veile wherwith tapissied, looke him in the face when advanced or promoted to honours, and then you shall cleerly discover what he is, and pourtrayed to life; this is the best lecture of mans anothomy. Galba was in the comon opinion fitt to gouerne, till he did sitt at the stearne. Many haue an excellent gift of shadowinge what they are, like pictures, as longe as they are obscure and privat; but bringe them to a place of more eminente note, and giue a lustre unto theire obscuritie, you shall viewe them as perfecte as if theire bodies were transparant, or windowes in theire bosoms. Then you shall see one soe unmeasurably haughtie, scorninge to converse with these groundlins, his inferiours, and bearinge such a state (that was before comon) as if he were altered noelesse in person then place; 683. 4 In his promotion is discouered. Is both prouude and haughtie.

1650. another not soe proude as covetous, for noe passion is better knowen unto us then the covetinge or desiringe passion, and such a one makes all his inferiours his sponges, and ostridge-like can digest all mettalls. Another, whose well tempered nature haue brought him to the perfection, as the state which he presentlie enjoye makes him noe more prouude then the losse of that he possesse would cast him downe. This, Camillus-like, is neither with the opinion of honor too highly erected, nor with the conceite of affliction too much dejected. This sorte is soe evenly poized, soe nobly tempered, as his opinion is not grounded on title, nor his glorie on popular esteeme; he is knowen to himself, and that knowledge haue instructed him soe well in the vanitie of earth as his thoughts haue taken flight, vowinge not to rest till they aproache heaven. Pompey, combred with his honor, exclaimed to see Silla's crueltie, beinge ignorant himself after what sorte to behave in the dignitie he had, and cryed out, O perill and danger, never like to have end. Such is the nature of noble spirits, as they admire not soe much the dignitie of the place to which they are advanced, as they consider the burden which is on them imposed, labeuringe rather how to behaue themselues in theire place, then arrogate glorie to themselues in theire place. But how contrarie to this doctrine doe our present peere shewe himself in this his recent advancement in the rounde circumference of this man (when not raised to the present height), wee noted diuerse honest and censere dispositions, whose gaine seemed to be godlynesse, and his glorie the profession of a good conscience, now wonderfully altered, becominge soe corrupte by the vaine pompe or triflinge trash of the world, preferringe the pudle before the pearle; we behould this man soe upright (as it seemed) to behaue himself without staine or blemish, virtuously affected and charitably disposed in his youth and midle age, and euer till his raisinge to higher honors; but the eveninge crownes the daie. What could be imagined better or more royally promisinge then Neros quinquinium? what excellent tokens of goodnesse? what aparant testimonys of a virtuous goverment? what infallible grounds of princely policie, mixed with notable precepts of pietie? Yett who knowes not how all the vices of his ancestors put together seemed by a lineall descente to be transferred on him, the paterne and patron of all crueltie, and the author and actor of all vilainie, the plotter and practicer of all impietie; soe as, if all the titles of cruelties were lost, they might be founde in this tyrant. This our furie of revenge, whose heart is full of wrathe and ire, may be assuredly certaine, that his sumptuous banquettinge, his midnight reuellinge, his unseasonable riotinge, his phantasticke attiringe, and his formall courtinge, shall leave testimonie against him in the daie of revenge. Now lett us turne to our storie of this peeres proceedings from whence wee made our digression

Nihil difficilius quam bene imperare. Diocles. dict.

The change of Clanricard by his promotion.

Neros beginings and his end all alike.

CHAPTER XXIV.

684. Tacit. ann. 1°. Jero.

It was one of his policies, out of whose actions sprange many of the Florintin auxioms, to giue most assurance of his faith and freindshipe to that man whom h first ment to deceaue and despoile of his state. He therfore that upon such trus

disarmes himself and puts the sworde into the others hand, is guiltie through his foolish credulitie of his owne proper ruyne, for such actions as these are plaine perfidie in the one, and meere maddnesse in the other. 1650. Philip Mac.

Pace suspecta, tutius bellum.

Upon the surmishe onely of honestie and censere disposition in the proceedings of youthfull age and midle deportment of this peere, all that zeudo-convocation did condescende to his now promotion, which proved theire maddnesse, and soone will displaye his perfidie; to trust a sworde unto the hands of such a man upon such a trust and disarme himself, is to be guiltie of both foolerie and self credulitie; all the new invested intentions are to breake square with all confederacie, and shake hands with disloyaltie and faction, which he thus begins. The newe deputies treacherie.

In Conaght, upon winter quarter, were some Vlster and Conaght regiments, really for both religion and kingdome affaires and well inclined, specially Bryan Roe Oneylle, Alexander Mc Daniell, Colonell Daniell O'Kahan, Manus roe O'Kahan, Richarde Bourke, and Randell Mc Daniell. Deputy Clanricard obsearvinge theire loyaltie towards the generall cause, thought it suited not with his intentions (as aforesaid) theire continuance in Conaght. Wherfore he worked with his minion, the Lord Dillon Costllagh (by Ormond apointed Generall of Linster), Sir James Dillon, Sir Walter Dungan, Colonell Charles Molloy, Colonell John Fitz-Patricke, Colonell Lewes Moore, and others, eiusdem farinæ, to envite the forementioned Conaght and Ulster regiments to Linster, himself in person made the motion unto eache colonell respectiuely, promisinge Bryan Roe and his Vlster partie to sende them theire winter quarter in readie money unto Linster, and allsoe in the faith and worde of a noblman did engage his honor to send them £200 in money, 200 musketts, and a quantitie of amunition and matche, as a gratuitie of his proper liberalitie, soe earnest I am, saide he, of the intended now service of Linster. To seconde the newe deputies motion herin, and to colour what he pretended, Costllagh and Sir James Dillon did write for them, assuringe them by theire saide addresses to haue all things in a readinesse against theire arrivall; Fitz-Patricke and Moore did write by Colonell Charles Molloy, whoe in person possessed them in the behalf of himself and the other two colonells to joine with them in Linster upon sight, to which they condescended. This tragedie soe cuningly acted and brought to its wished end. 685. A partie of Vlster and Conaght forces towards religion well intended. The fetche of this newe deputie and his factioniers. Colonell Charles Molloy agent.

Colonell Richard Bourke and Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, marchinge over the Shanon, came to Macoghlans countrie. But Bryan Roe and his Vlster partie marched towards Athlone, there to be transported, and though invited (as aforesaid by Costllagh and Sir James Dillon, in whose possession the towne of Athlone was at present), with much adoe gott passadge; passinge now the Shanon, the bounds of Conaght, a randezvouz was apointed by Viscount Costllagh, and his uncle Sir James, in Kilbegan, within 4 dayes next ensuinge, that those with all the forces of Westmeath and Kings countie would there apeere; interim this Vlster partie to quarter upon the 4 baronies of Kilkeny, Rathconrad, Clonlonon, and Moycashell, and notwithstandinge that this had its proportion of the saide cessment, Sir James Dillons regiment, with his then Major Fitz-Zymons and Charles Dillon, son and 686. Richard Burke and Randle Mc Daniell. The Vlster partie deceaued by Costllagh and Sir James.

1650. heire unto Costllagh, captain of a troupe, did marche with his horse to the said barony of Moycashell, expectinge the said meetinge, impovverishinge it for 2 or 3 daies, beinge theire onely scope and pretence. But the said randezuouz daie at hande, the said Dillon partie dissembled to have receaued orders from Athlone to turne thither, leaving the Vlster partie disapointed of soe much; onely a letter came to them from Sir James Dillon certifyinge an urgent occasion to have forced that non complyance, and withall assured a generall meeting in the same Kilbegan within eight daies more, upon the receipte of this letter, this partie marched towards Ferkalle, desiringe Colonell Charles Molloy pursuant to his promise and ambashie, to bringe his men unto a bodie and joine with them; whoe excused himself that he had but fewe, and those on winter quarter, and would not by his comannde forgoe the same in soe unseasonable a time (beinge in the month of February), which resulte was too far from his former engagment that waye. I knowe not what amused him now, beinge soe earnest in a busines of this graine before, sparinge neither labour nor charges to bringe those unto the country, but now extant, will stirr neither hande or foote (though his loyaltie be knowen, his imbecility over swayeth his other intentions): Thus frustrate of Colonell Molloys complyance, began to suspecte some colloguinge mistery occasioninge those rubbs in the very comencement of theire intended service in Linster, and though such a breache in such members alreadie faylinge was motiue enough to stopp theire further tryall; but to leaue noe stone untouched, nor pulse unhandled, where any benefitt to the publicke service might be expected, they marche to the quarters of Colonell Fitz-Patricke and Colonell Moore to be properly ascertained.

Theire perfidious adresse.

Charles Molloy, Lewes, Moore, and Iohn Fitz-Patrickes untowarde complyance.

687. Arrivinge unto Iregan, there mette Colonell Lewes Moore, and from thence wrote theire dispatches unto Colonell Fitz-Patricke, puttinge each in minde of theire promise and engagment to joine with them for the Linster service, the one tould them he had noe considerable partie, and what number did depende of him were at present here and there scattered, and not like to be had unto a bodie this longe time: The other writtes his answeare, that he was sorie he could not complye with theire desire at present, in regarde his men were assigned to theire winter quarter in three seuerall counties amonge the enemie, and if they offered to leaue them places in a publicke waye they would be soone cutt off, wherfore desired pardon untill the ensuinge springe (quando solent reges ire ad bellum). You see what friuolous answeares those braue servitors of religion, kinge, and country giveth unto those theire double confederats and associats, soe much desired by them, by importunity.

Deceaued in theire opinion.

688. This Vlster partie, obsearvinge how they were beguiled (by such in theire opinion hitherunto well affected), by faction and treacherie undermined and won unto a reprobat sense, they began to plunder and pillage whearever they went upon theire returne, and specially Bryan oge O'Duyne and Bryan O'Dempsy, not that they desearved any such more then others for the present (that wee hearde), but for some ould deservinge jealousies, caried awaye all theire cowes and cattle, and marched to Killihie, and from thence to Ferkall, as expectinge the seconde apointment of Costllagh at Kilbegan for a randezvouz, as afore mention.

689. In this interim Colonell Bourke and Colonell Randle Mac Daniell, with theire

Conaght partie, arrivinge into Macoghlaines countrie (as aboue mentioned), did leade a very poore life, which to redresse, Colonell Bourke, chiefe in comannde, addressed himself unto the Governor of Birr, obtained the benefitt of a parleye, simulatinge to become of his partie, wherby borowed time, with a quarter assigned his men untill he applyed himself unto Deputy Earthon, then resident in Kilkeny, for his conditions; thither poasted, wheare he spent 3 or 4 daies; which spent, returned back to his owne men, livinge then, by reasone of the cessation betweene them and the enemie, in farr better condition then before, and lesse dangerous; Colonell Alexander MacDaniell, chiefe in comannde of the Vlster partie, enformed of the absolute revoulte of these Conaght regiments, marched towards theire campe as privat as he could, intendinge to surprise them, or at leaste cease on theire armes and use them like enemies. But confidinge too much in the loyaltie of the colonells, thought fitt to acquainte them of his said intentions, leaste anythinge was acted amisse by misconstruction, which accordingly was don. Upon receipte of which addresse Colonell Bourke returned answeare that he and his were true servitors of the cause, and all he did, did tende onely to relive his men in that extreme exigent; wherupon they both conferred in person, and assured eache other of fealtie, wherupon both these parties marched to Westmeath, to attend the saide randezvouz in Kilbegan. But those mushrome Dillons was neuer soe faithfully given as to comply with any theire promisses, though neuer soe often assured by oathe and covenant.

1650.

Colonell Bourke deceaued the enemie.

Alexander Mc Daniells application for the recoope of those men.

The faithfull complyance of Costllagh.

This partie, the seconde time frustrated of theire reall intentions towards the kingdome service, ambigious what best to doe, Sir Walter Dungan (another brave pillar of comanndinge power in Linster) inters nowe to acte his parte of that falacian scene, desires them in person to continue theire billette, on the barony of Moycashell and Clonlonan for 4 daies more, and did undertake by all the faith possible to bringe the other respectiue-faylinge parties unto a bodie, and would marche with a goodly bodie of an armie to Loe Linster out of hand, where he was sure to receaue a mightie increase of both horse and foote, these parties condescended to this third motion (though know to come from such another fonte as the former two), settlinge themselues accordinge assignment: Sir Walter Dungan, as practitioner of such deceitfull dealinges, takinge his way towards Macoghlans countrie (simulatinge to gather people to the said randezvouz), and turnes backe to Monterregan, to Ferkall, and soe to the countie of Kildare, leavinge the northeren and Conaght parties expectinge that never apeeringe randezvouz, and soe deluded a just punishment of prodigall beleefe.

690.

Sir Walter Dungans cheitinge deportment.

In eache the parties are deceaued.

Havinge now to theire losse tryed to the uttermost those neuer famous for faithfull, but infamous for periurie, treason, and faction, most sensible of the wronge receaued by Clanricarde and those his minions, desirous to turne to Conaght againe, to fishe there in pudle water, in reuenge of former affronts, the two Conaght regiments tooke directly theire course thither, vowinge against Clanricarde as against a traitor of religion, kinge, and countrie. But the Vlster partie, caryinge Mr. Henry Dillon of Bellanagloghduffe in the nature of a prisoner to Faghny Ferrall of Newetowne, in the countie of Longforde, in lewe of £500 payed by him to Generall Owen Oneylle for the securitie intred into him for the

691.

The Conaght partie, disavowinge in the deputie, thither marched.

Henry Dillon prisoner.

1650. The Vlster partie went to the countie of Cavan.

payment of that sum on the enlargment of Richard Dillon of Loe Baskneagh, payable by all Dillons, jointly and seuerally (as no. 465 mentioned), and from thence marched to the countie of Cavan, deluded of the Lord of Costllagh and his factious adherents, wheare wee leaue them for a while, and speake of other occurrences in that time hapninge.

CHAPTER XXV.

692. Tacit. Hist. 4. Sal. de Rep. or Josep. Bell. Jud. lib. 5. Plut. Alex. Alciat. Emb. 126.

The frogge and the mouse were better take up theire quarrell than that the kyte should be theire umpire; for it hath been a practice as ould as since Phillipe of Macedo, to nourish warr betweene two neighbouringe princes, to the weakninge one of another, that the third, a stronger, might take his advantage, and seize upon both. It is therefore a prudent deliberation in the weaker (havinge smoaked his drifte) to compounde theire difference betweene themselues, and prevent the practicers designed a plotte.

Dum sæuis ruerent in mutua vulnera telis,
Vngue leæna ferox, dente timendus aper;
Accurrit vultur spectatum, et prandia captat.
Gloria victoris, præda futura sua est.

How publicke and comon is Clanricards treacherye.

It is too well knowen in these 3 kingdomes, nay in most parte of Europe, that Clanricarde, since those comotions haue beene, as well against monarchy as against royall and loyall subjects (which in Ireland is none of the faction), though promoted by his Majestie to the honorable title of Marquesse, and by the Irish to his now dignitie of deputie and Generall-governor of the kingdome, and noelesse is he auerse unto all that is Catholicke, or that haue any relation to the imunitie or dignitie of holy churche (without the leaste grounde that euer wee hearde, other then his inative and acquired disposition to acte naught unto both ancient Irish and churche), however, pursuant to this his intention, nourisheth warr or intestine broyle betweene his faction and the royallists, to noe other purpose, then that the kyte (havinge alreadie banished the eagle) should inter betweene both as umpire, and take all to himself, whose drifte he smoaketh, but will not, like a prudent peere, or a loyall subjecte to his royall master, compose the difference betweene themselues therby to preuente the kytes further proceedinges, rather render all occasiones of weakninge the Irish forces (as partly observable in the practice used towards the party mentioned no. 690 and 691), whose dispersion gave full raines unto the comon enemie to range at pleasure. For noe sooner was this partie out of Westmeath, as aforesaid, then the enemie in all haste, in two seuerall bodies, marched thither, the one from Kilkeny, the way of Iregan and Ferkall, under the leadinge of Comissarie-generall Iohn Reynolds; the other from Trim, under the conducte of Major Standley. The butt and objecte of this Birr armie (as was conceaued) was Dunore in the barony of Moycashell, that soe privatly marched that noe relation was had of it till within a mile to Dunore aforesaide, then began euery one to shift for particular saftie, as well liues as goodes, drawinge away theire cowes and cattle towards the countie of Longforde, leavinge all else theire substance behinde to the enemie mercie; onely Dunore, the magazine of all that

Acteth all things for the enemie avayle.

693. Comissarie Reynolds and Major Standly marchinge to Dunore.

Irish garison of Dunore.

countrie, was manned by Conly Geoghegan, landelord therof, and though had a passe from the enemie, and payed contribution, did not abide his cominge, but left the matter of 50 youngmen and his stewarde, one James Geoghegan Mc Neylle, there as safguarde, comanndinge them to make use of theire said protection. The comannder and souldiers therof, all fresh water men, more haughtie than imported, and more manly then venterous. 1650. Conly payed contribution.

Major Standley, comannder of the other enemie armie, better acquainted with Conly, as to him payinge his contribution, enformed of Reynolds aproache thither, turned taile from Tirrells pace towards Mollingare, which gaue waye to many misconstructions, that this was don least any humanitie should be used by him towards his contributor, and suffered the other as a stranger to deale alone with all seueritie. Reynolds, therfore, arrivinge to Dunore, the comannder of the castle, havinge the enemie passe, as contributor (as alreadie mentioned) pursuant therto, applyed himself to the enemie comannder, shewinge it and desiringe the benefitt therof, as not to enter by force into the bawon or castle, or use any hostilitie. The comannder answeared that he allowed of the petition, but saide that he and his comannders must lodge in the castle, and his armie encampe in the towne, but comitte noe outrage, onely meate and drinke; the contributor desired this much under his hande, whoe denied to giue any thinge in paper, though by word of mouth made faire promises mingled with many treates. The comannder of the castle fearinge the worst, and confidinge too much in his saide passe or certificat, offered to conducte the enemie comannder to the castle; but one of the souldiers on the battlment, obsearvinge him cominge in, and not knowinge upon what score or condition, timerous of some ill consequence (either out of rashnesse, foolerie, or distemper, or both) cryed aloude that he would shoute at him. Then the enemie comannder, in sight of the faire magazine of the place, and havinge alreadie hearde by publicke and flyinge relation how plentifull it had beene, takinge the souldiers braggs as an excuse to turne edge unto the castle, unmindfull of his faire past promises, turned out unto his armie (notwithstandinge the castle gouernor seriously assured him of proper saftie and his owne complyance, all which will not searue), but gaue comannde of advance unto his armie, and assayle the bawon, which was peremptorily acted, killinge without mercie all they mette withall, both man, woman, and childe. The warde did not knowe how to behaue themselues, as havinge alreadie forsaken theire poastes, deeminge all to be well when they sawe in the begininge both enemie and theire proper comaunder freindly cominge together, now seeinge the slaughter, and all turned to a contrary sense, thought it proceeded from the souldiers licentiousnesse; but the furie of the enemie, and the execution growinge still, the deffendants were both dismayed, discouraged, and beside themselues, esteeminge it rather a dreame then any settled busines soe extravagant channces in a moment. 694. Standleys returne; why? The enemies inhumanitie. The freedome of Dunore pleaded. Reynolds promise. The cause of Dunores unhapy takinge. The fatall behavior of the warde.

But these poore men were soone waked from this supine slumber, for the enemie did advance without oposition towards the castle grate, over heade of the same was a dininge roome the enemie thither rushinge, wheare findinge a small windowe upon the castle walle, wheare they began to make an assaylable breache. The poore governor, obsearvinge the same, caused 3 or 4 men to make good the 695.

1650. James Mc Neyll Geoghegan killed.

same by shott, whoe playinge somewhat remisse, went to reliue them himself in person, but presently by the assayllants receaued a deadly wounde, and was carried thence unto another roome (of which wounde within 48 howers died). Upon his faylinge others were both discouraged and killed there, and such as outlived forsooke the defence of the saide windowe, excepte one onely man, by name Wm. Dea, whoe couragiously behaued himself; an assayllable breache beinge made, permitted none to inter, maugre all theire might, crueltie, and number, till a parley was sounded, a quarter of theire liues granted, and the castle doore made open for the enemie, which intringe, this Dea forsooke his said poaste by the comannd of Reynolds himself, then standinge at his backe, leaste, said the comannder unto him, you be knocked to death by the souldiers findinge you in that posture. Rushinge now unto all the roomes of the castle, breakeinge chests and trunks—a very rich place it was, with all kinde of comoditie, gould, siluer, plate, broad-cloath, cambricke, holland, diaper, linnin, gallant sutes, as for meate, drinke, and corne in abondance, non such did the enemie see since he came to Ireland. This was it that occasioned the breache of faithe and covenant in the comannder, and the inhumanitie of the other, that receaued the contribution from hence, to turne taile and leaue his contributor to the mercilesse doome of a cruell stranger. 40 or 50 of all sortes were killed, all the rest stripped and pilladged that night and next morninge, makinge awaye all that was either eatible or venable within 4 monthes the chiefe comannder restored Conly the emptie caske of his castle, as contributor, but noe redresse of all his damages sustained.

William Dea behaued himself very well.

Dunore taken.

A very rich place.

Covetousnesse did hoode justice.

50 killed in Dunore. It was restored.

696. Ballimore taken.

After the takinge of Dunore, the enemie ouer-ran all the countie of Westmeath, placinge garrisons whereuer he pleased. Ballimore, a stronge forte belonginge unto My Lord Neutreuell, wherein resided himself at present, did wish seuerall times thitherunto to haue this enemie neere home, his neighbours havinge him now in Dunore, 3 or 4 miles distant (accordinge his former wishes), to endeere himself that waye (as beinge still of Ormond and his adherents faction) invited him to his house of Ballimore, whoe acceptinge the courtesie of the peere, arrivinge, obsearved the situation of the place, the strenght and consequence of it, beinge a throughfare towne, half way betweene Mollingare and Athlone, from each one dayes march, and allsoe an important seate to crubb the countie of Longforde, for these respectives, against the stamocke of theire benefactor, My Lord Neutreuell, did garrison the forte, and within few dayes after could not brooke the very sight of this nobl-invitator, which proved the just judgment of God, and consonant to all policie. Though treason is loved, the traytor is hated.

Neutreuell banished thence.

[THE FIFTH BOOKE.]

1651.

CHAPTER I.

697.

Wee comence the yeare 1651.

Lip. Pol. l. 4.

The contrye cormorant makes his advantage of his poore neighbours distresse, and raiseth the market as he sees his neede. Soe a covetous prince will not affoorde one

barley corne of his asistance at a lesse rate then one of the fairest gemmes in his neighbours crowne: a price soe high, and his necessitie soe greate, as he can neither with his honor grannte, nor with his saftye denye. But in soe disastrous a dilemma as this he is rather to stake all his fortunes upon one channce of hazardous battle, than to share with soe couetous, ambitious, and false a freinde. 1651. Tacit. Hist. lib. 2. Plaut. Amph. Guid.

Ah nimium quod amice petis, moderatius opta : Et vti quæso contrahe vela sua.

There had beene at the instant at the comenement of this yeare noe martiall man of the standinge forces of the factionists now in Linster, except the relation of two reformed, or rather deformed, regiments of horse and foote that depended on the Earl of Westmeath, all the rest flocked to Conaght, but would to God those did not continue, as beinge the greatest tyrants, raisinge the markett as they sawe theire neighbours distresse, would not face a single enemie in theire behalf without they giue them for present satisfaction all they were worthe in this worlde, which was impossible to grante; the poore mens proper necessity beinge such, wherby were forced to stake all, both life and fortune, upon the hazardous channce of an humble submission unto a bloudie and cruell enemie, then to share with soe covetous, ambitious, and false freinds. How cruell Westmeath's men to the natiues.

The enemie at this time did range at pleasure in all places and in loose companies in the countie of Westmeath; but Westmeathes partie never gave as much as an attempte on any enemie, rather followinge the poore countrie peasants and fugitive churchmen, drawinge fewe beastes through woods and boggs to the hazarde of proper liues and best fortunes, flyinge the crueltie and mercilesse behaviour of the comon enemie, whoe like a diluge ouerwhelmed the whole countrie with resistance. I am an eye-wittnesse meself that some poore men of the countrie, and some of the religious men of Montefernan, goinge together flyinge (as aforesaid) from the enemie, whoe followed unto the brim of a bogg; Westmeaths horse come afoote the other side of the bogge upon those run-awaies, highly abusinge them, and caried awaye some of theire fewe cowes: widowes, orphans, and other forlorne and distressed people cryinge and howlinge in theire pursuite, a pittifull sight, which, with the tearinge and fatherlie intercession of the saide religious persons then extant, did not mittigat or aswadge theire ungodly inhumanitie. Others observinge afarr of this impietie of their quondam associats, in sight of these verie actors did choose rather to turne backe unto the comon enemie then abide such proceedinges, and dayly incursions of these Antechristian Catholicks. All the reason they could render in the behalf of these exorbitancies was, that the house of Fyena (of greate concearnment for the publicke) was too barren of meate and corne, and to keepe a garrison there must be maintained by the countrie, and perswaded the poore men to be patient, that satisfaction will be given, wherupon the poore men (though bereaved of their substance) was herby somewhat satisfied. 698. The inhumanitie of those seeminge Catholickes. The unmercifull behaviour of Westmeathes partie. False surmishes of defence.

The enemie, triumphinge in the countrye, arriued to Fyena, and sent summons into the forte. The Earle there then returned a negatiue resulte, but did not man the Tochar Castle, which was a demonstratiue argument he did not intende to defende the place, the beastes and corne of widowes and orphans was caried thither, with a million of curses, upon the pretence to defende the place; but noe such doe 699. Sumons to Fyena.

1651.

Captain Scurloge revoulted.

James Barnwall, Leutenant-colonell for the horse. Of Westmeathes character.

The Earle desireth succer.

The provinciall councells desire.

Phillipe O'Reylly and Alexander Mc Daniell to reliue and defende Fyena.

Westmeaths sudaine and unexpected departure.

700.

500 men to the Toghar defence.

Gen. 9.

Deserted the place.

Tipplinge, the enemie killinge.

Phillipe fled.

apeere, Christopher Nugent, the Earles Leutenant-colonell, with three score foote is there; all his horse is scattered here and there. Captain Scurloge went with his troupe to the enemie; the Earles Leutenant-colonell of horse, James Barnwall, a brother to Sir Richard Barnwall of Kirkstowne, now and then in the enemie quarter, not actinge anythinge to his prejudice, but playinge the ambo-dexter, this man, as his foresaid brother, was never yett true to the cause, a cowarde, a periurer, a plunderer, and seuerally excomunicated. The house of Fyena was left soe naked by the Earle, that nothinge except the said forced provision was left there, nay, not soe much as a stoole to sitt upon; but all was transported unto a forte he had upon the Shanon, in the county of Longforde, which was a cleere evidence of his faylinge in the deffence of Fyena; to colour somewhat his intentions herin, tooke his course in person towardes the county of Cauan (where the Vlster provinciall councell did reside); arrivinge thither, addressed himself unto Phillipe Mc Huigh Reyllye, desiringe relife to defende Fyena aforesaide, the onely bulwarke and gatehouse of that county. The provinciall councell answeared, that if he did giue them the forte to be maned it would cost them too deare, or they would defende it; but to defende it for him, whoe euer yett proued refractorie, did proue too much humanitie in them, notwithstandinge theire extravagant disputes and discouery of jealousies reciproeally, Phillipe Mc Huigh, with his proper regiment, and Alexander Mc Daniell, with his Vlster partie (spoken of no. 691), marched towards Fyena, in sight therof, the Earle left them in theire marche, poastinge forwarde simulatinge to scoute for theire future saftie, and takinge a crosse way, was soone out of the waye towards Termonberra, his proper holt on the Shanon: the Vlster partie, this in the prime of theire intended service by this peere beguiled, marched home, never dreaminge of his flight, addressinge themselues to the governor of the forte, Leutenant-colonell Christopher Nugent, to haue his admittance to place themselues with him, whoe in noe maner or reason would condescende to this theire honest and reasonable requeste, but must stande at all hazarde in the towne, or quitt all.

Whearfore, settlinge themselues in towne, 500 men were comannded to defende the Toghar. The towne did abounde with meate and drinke, and specially with aquavitæ (liquor too well beloued of the northren people), those men beinge not provided for at the said Toghar without either relife or orders deserted the place, and turned backe to the towne to see theire comrades, whoe at that instant were more like theire father Noe, when he cursed his son Cham, then any waye to expostulate the reason of the saide parties returne. The warie enemie watchinge his oportunitie, havinge espied the passage free and the Toghar deserted, ran poaste haste towards the towne, that scarce had those poore men the leasure to call to theire hostasses for liquor, when hearinge a bloudie alarum, such as was more sensible and least in occupation runinge awaye, not stayinge soe longe as to giue notice unto theire carelesse comaunders. Phillipe Mc Huigh, by channce, had his horse by, whoe obsearvinge some tumulte, the clatteringe of armes, hynninge of horses, and the hydious out-cryes (as of distressed persons), beinge more temperate and warie (though nothinge vigilant, as one of his then encumbencie should be in such an occasion), more actiue then accustomed, leapt upon his horse, leavinge th

rest, as well comannder as other, to the enemie mercie, or to the goodhapp of an Icarian heele. 1651.

The leadinge starr of that northren spheare ecclypsed and vanished, all the remaine castinge of theire armes to render themselues better exposed for celeritie, ran in a routinge maner, never examininge whether advantagious or noe, nor usinge soe much manlinesse as to giue one glannce about them to be truely certified, from whom, whether, or wherfore soe shamefull a speede? By this theire supine carelessness and the unskillfullnesse of theire comannders they were miscaried, either taken prisoners or killed, except fewe that overran the rest. Here was killed Colonell Manus roe O'Cahan, and many others, the matter of 300 taken prisoners, with Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, Antrims brother. The enemie after this defeate did onely face the forte; without usinge any violence or force, was presently surrendred with onely quarter of theire lives, thus those braue warriors thriued after theire seuerall attestations to the contrary, and noe marvayle, as loaden with 1000 maledictions of both poore, widowes and orphans, nay, was publickly bruted, that these poore men here perished were betrayed by both peere and his substitute, which proved a tiranicall acte to shell the lives of his abetters, and specially his owne uncle, Alexander Mc Daniell. 701.

The Irish killed and taken prisoners.

Manus O'Cahan killed and others.

Alexander Mc Daniell and others taken prisoners.

The enemie, now possessed of Fyena, leavinge a garrison there, marched away, and unchristianly used theire saide prisoners, forcinge them to drawe theire ordinance towards Mollingare; not that they wanted oxen, but to shewe severitie and disdaine unto this nation, and desearvingly, as beinge distracted, rent, and devided unto seuerall factions, wherby enabled the enemie, and rendred themselues obnoxious of theire now proper slaverie and future extirpation. All these prisoners were sent unto Dublin, and either miserably perished there, or were transported to S. Christopher as slaues: except Colonell Alexander Mc Daniell, whoe was sent to Waterforde, and from thence to London, as hearafter in its due place will apeere. 702.

Fyena taken.

The cruelitie of the enemie towards theire prisoners.

Fyena taken as aforesaide, Westmeathes partie, in many loose company, in the nature of Tories or idlers, ranged in the countrie, usinge all mischiefe unto the distressed natiues, but neuer facinge any one of the enemie, though single he were: by this trade of plunderers increased soe numerous that his adherents were neuer soe many, euery captain in this irregular regiment is independent, euery souldier a libertine, and every garrson a comaunder: noe priviledge or imunitie obsearued either to place or person, to prieste, churche, monesterie, or religious, pilladginge and plunderinge whearecuer they went, without regarde or exception of persons. Lodginge one night in Iohnstowne, in the county of Longforde, in the deade of night gaue a false alarum, the religious (then remaininge in towne) affrighted, ran awaye, not knowinge whether. The poore inhabitants, followinge theire distressed guides, some were pilladged in theire said pious prosecution, others riflinge the houses, by this ungodly stratageme alreadie deserted, and within fewe daies the fryers house was by them demolished, with all that it contained, naye, the bookes, pictures, and other things belonginge to the very alter, unchristianly and heathezly turned to prophane uses, and not contented with these exorbitancies, went where the saide fryers and those of Montefernan were at keraght with theire fewe cowes (theire onely relife, caried all the whole awaye, and notwithstandinge seuerall 703.

The unchristian deportment of Westmeathes men.

1651. papall excomunications anexed to such an acte, and the fryers actually denouncinge the same), would neuer restore any, but, that theire Leutenant-colonell, Christopher Nugent, hapninge to be in place of theire randezvouz, as more humaine then the rest, caused present restitution in totum to be made, what, should God concurr with such people, or theire comannder, in any acte morally goode or virtuous? Noe—.

CHAPTER II.

704. Cato in Plut. Curt. l. 4. Vellei. l. 2. Stobe. Sen. Plato.

Hope is in the mind of man, as is the vitall spirit in his body: the first that possesseth and last that leaueth the hearte. But hope fastened upon noe other grounde but will is like the mushrome, which starteth up in a night, and onely of all other plants growinge without roote, is easily blowen awaye and perisheth. Soe doe the actions of men built upon this light sande and loose hould of willfull hope; because it makes that seeme easy and feasible to the eye of theire imagination, which reason and the event sheswes to be most difficulte and dangerous.

Spes nihil aliud quam vigilantium somnium.

It is sutable to our present purpose to speake heare of Fa. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conallmore, in the countie of Kildare, and prothonotarius apostolicus, residinge in the Surbonicall Universitie, studyinge both divinitie and canon lawe, to his exceedinge credit, wheare receaued orders and comaunde from the Congregation de Propaganda Fide in Rome, to come to Irelande, imediately from his Holynesse, with privat instructions to be onely imparted unto the respectiue prelats, that by his desire may hould a national Congregation, and therin prescribe a modell of gouerment accordinge his saide instructions, tendinge to theire proper saftie, liues, and fortunes, till some waye reliued; for this purpose had many credentiall letters from the said Congregation members, and he onely to enforme them from time to time of the affaires of the kingdome, and the clergie acte; in vertue wherof tooke shippinge and arrived unto Galwaye, about the 14th of Marche this yeare (I speake heare accordinge the new computation), where fallinge sicke of an ague, could not comply with his saide designe till the matter of two monethes were effluxed.

705. If you will be soe curious as to knowe how amonge thowsands this gentlman was selected by the Congregation of Cardinalls for such an honorable errant, for your satisfaction you may obsearue that Abbott Crelly was a yeare agoe dispatched from Ireland to England by the Marquesse of Antrim, as proper agent, by like, to procure some conditions from the parliament. But the honorable peere havinge receaued some poore conditions at home, either by the saide agents procurment or proper industry, how euer his Excellencie, accordinge the iniquitie of the times, was pleased any waye to settle himself. The abbott by his continuance in England came to be acquainted with the Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide. Theire eminencie likinge well of his good correspondencie, imployed him agent there, to certifie them from time to time of the affaires there. To putt those

desires in due and plausible execution, he thought necessarie to haue some zealous 1651.
person in the kingdome of Ireland apointed from the saide Congregation, both to promoue the ebbinge affaires therof, as to keepe touche with that holy Congregation, and pointinge at the Prior of Conall, at that present studyinge his divinitie and canon lawe (as aforesaide) in the prime Uniuersitie of Paris: with whom the saide Congregation was fully acquainted, by the intimation of the late Lord Nuncio and his dean, Dionisius Massarius, now secretarie of that Congregation. The Congregation hereupon acquaintinge Fa. Prior of theire desire, that he should addresse himself to repaire unto Irelande with such errants as pleased them to eneruat, and other instructions to further the saide designe. The Prior, upon receipte herof (not degeneratinge from his predicessours), presently obeyed, offeringe both life and persone for the restauration of holy religion in his now miserable countrie. The holy Congregation, possessed of his generous and pious resolution, caused theire Secretarie to write unto both him and Crelly in theire behalfe, whose tenor are as followeth:

Subscribed: To Father Crelly in England, 706.

Perillustris et Reverendissime Domine:

Pro complimento justi desiderij Dominationis Vestræ mitto inclusam ad clerum Hyberniæ cum instructione ad dominum Priorem Antonium Geogheganum, ministrum, qui vult pro salute miseræ patriæ reparare Hyberniam. Vere non possum, his literis exprimere gaudium pro tam generosa resolutione, in qua, si aliquam Dominatio Vestra habet partem, proculdubio etiam merito maximi particeps erit apud Deum et apud homines. Tuba canam ego in gloriam vestram, et ne parcatis laboribus, non sanguini, non vitæ, pro servitio Sanctissimi Domini mei, et pro fidei meæ Catholicæ honore. Quis scit, fortasse ipse Deus vobis decus, vobis gloriam honoresque servavit. Agat Dominus Antonius generose peragat Dominatio vestra et diuina gratia semper utrique asistat, prout enixe præcatur

Dominationis Vestræ Perillustris et Admodum
Reverendæ devotus et verus servus
Romæ die 19 Decembris, 1650. Dionisius Massarius,
Secretarius Sanctæ Congregationis.

Altera subscribitur: For Father Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall.

Perillustris et Admodum Reverende Domine: 707.

Dominus Abbas Crelly significavit mihi promptam Dominationis vestræ voluntatem pergendi in patriam, ut ipsius patriæ salutem quærat. Ego gratulor Dominationem vestram de tam pia resolutione, ac ut eo utilius possit opus perficere charitatis, instructionem quandam mitto per manus Domini Abbatis Crellij. Poterit Dominatio vestra executi juxta suam singularem prudentiam. Cæterum pergat Dominatio vestra cum spe Divini auxilij, et, sit certa quod ab ipso Deo, nec non a Sancta Sede Apostolica maximum reportabit meritum, cum totum negotium sit pro servitio sanctissimi Domini mei, ac pro bono religionis Catholicæ. Ego promitto quod nullam occasionem dimittam in qua possim efficere ut labores et pericula, ac in-

1651. commoda a Dominatione vestra suscipienda sint pluries recompensata. Interim Ipsemet Deus adiuet, protegat, ac defendat Dominationem vestram in tam sancto itinere, ac felicissimum concedere dignetur finem communis desiderij, prout præcatur

Dominationis vestræ Perillustris et Admodum Reverendæ Addictissimus servus et amicus verus,
Romæ die 19 Decembris, 1650. Dionisius Massarius,
Secretarius de Propaganda Fide.

708. The Congregation of Cardinalls, the linguiste of his Holinesse. Intrustinge soe transcendent incumbencie, by soe eminent authors as tho Congregation of Cardinalls, the linguiste of his Holinesse, to such a personage of soe tender yeares, as those letters, and other his privat instructions imported, is indicible calefication: let none thinke strange, this choice to be extravagant, this greate honor to be cast upon the shoulders of a youthfull joven, for it is as ancient as the seconde descent of mankinde that yeares are not reputed, but vertues. The service, gratuitie, and offerrings of Abell, yongest son of Adam, were of God Allmightie accepted, and those of his eldest brother Cain despised and contemned. Isaac, the yonger son of Abraham, apointed by Divine providence to be the third pillar of the Jewes generation, and his eldest brother Ismaell neglected and left out of the booke of genealogie. David, the yonger of his seauen brothers, was raised by God, not onely himself and his posteritie to be kings of Jewrie, but allsoe our Saviour himself, as a badge of honor to derive his petegree from him, but his eldest brothers not spoken off. The Son of the Virgin choosinge his Apostles, amonge the rest called Iohn the Evangeliste, of verie tender yeares, the yonger of all the disciples, Juvenis ille erat notus Pontifici, a youth, notwithstandinge, was more intimat with our Saviour then any of all the apostles, made him secretarie of that Divine cabinett, ruminatinge in the retirment of his Masters bosome, what after he published of him to the worlds viewe, sayinge, to prove his Divine generation, in principio erat verbum, etc., wherby is called Aquilla Evangelistarum, the Eagle of Evangelists. Pope Boniface the Eight, of hapie memory, did apointe S. Lewes of the Order of Minors to be Bishope of Tolosa in France (that flocke newlie reconciled to our holy mother the Catholicke Churche), beinge not passinge 22 yeares of age then.

Gen. 4. Gen. 21. 1 Reg. 16. Math. 1. Math. 4. Joan. 18. Joan. 13. Joan. 1. Augustinus in Joan. In Chronicis Minor. Vita Sancti Ludovici.

709. Sure there was somethinge founde in this yonger sorte considerable in the sight of the Divine Majestie other then yeares, thesaurus absconditus, shutt up from all understandinge, except Gods infinit one, as the Holy Ghoste doe beare testimonie, consumatus in brevi, explevit tempora multa, that in a shorte time brought greate matters to passe; though yonge in yeares were mature and ould in vertuous tallents; hoare, not in theire haire, but in theire sense and understandinge; ould, not by the diurnitie of time, but by the gravitie of theire godly life and catholicke behaviour. What then should any man thinke strange of the choice made here of our present Anthony (soe well grounded) for such a taske, notwithstandinge his yonge yeares, for pursuant to the alreadie motiues, My Lord Nuncio Apostolicke, when this man was scarce 24 yeares of age, made him prieste, bestowed on him that greate dignitie to be Prior of Conallmore, noelesse then to be Lord of Uper House of Parliament (accordinge the lawes of England in Catholicke times), and

Sap. 5. Anthony Geoghegan, prior of Conall. As the list of lords of parliament doo sett out.

withall to be prothonotarius appostolicus, previdinge of what stuffe this partie was made off, whoe both learned and taught (in imitation of S. Augustin, the lanterne of Gods Church, and holy doctors) philosophie, logicke, and all other authors conducinge to humanitie with greate acceptation, and learned his divinitie and canon lawe in the prime Universitie of Paris, as by both possitive and speculative theoricke may apeere; and the genious testimonie of the chiefe doctors there doe by publicke instrument auerr his integritie, censeritie, zeale of holy religion, constancie in aduersitie, modestie in behauiour, prudence in deportment, humiltie in demeanour, veritie in speeche, charitie in actions, gravitie in deliuerie, deuotion in countenance, and vigilancie in undertakings, are in this man in theire fonte, not by any faininge fiction or humaine acquisition, but either inatiue or by Divine providence ingrafted in him. What then shoulde any thinke strange such a heape of dignitarie honors to be cast on the shoulders of a jouen of soe unreepen yeares, indued with those Divine qualities? And not soe yonge either, but his yeares may dispense with any promotion, how eminent soeuer, beinge 30 yeares of age at presente.

1651.

The Nuncio's esteeme of this Anthony.

The objecte of this Discouery is against Oliuer Deize, his false intimation of this qualified person.

Cessat latrare, all this is true.

Receavinge therefore his comanndes, in humble obedience therto, tooke shipping and arriued to Galwaye the 14th of Marche, as above mentioned, where was a kinde of a congregation by such of the clergie as then hapned to be extant, for the most parte Conaght men, Clanmacnose, Drumore, and Dune, from Ardmagh province, though by noe indiction or allowance of My Lord Primate, and fewe others of Monster were there; there was allsoe then in Galwaye an agent from the Duke of Loraigne, by name Stephanus Hinius, Abbott of S. Catherine, expectinge a resulte from the kingdom for the admittinge his master Protector of this Catholicke nation. Fa. Anthony addressinge himself unto the Archbishope of Dublin, then resident in towne, by whom he learned all the kingdome affaires, whoe shewed his Lordship his errant, as a true childe of the Holy Sea, was mightie glad of it, and adviced him (in regards the faction prelats, Tuaime, Kilmacho, Kilalla, Killfenora, etc., were dangerous to be priuie unto those matters other then by degrees) to addresse himself unto the late dellegats, that asisted with My Lord Nuncio in all his troubles in this kingdome, as more constante and zealous, and to imparte the same to the Bishope of Clonferte (whoe hitherunto shewed himself a good stickler in those affaires). Fa. Prior thus instructed, to put all in due execution, conferred with Clonferte, and beinge sworne to secrecie, imparted him what he had in truste, whoe shewed a greate deale of willingnesse to second the same to his power, non obstante, revealed all to the ill affected, whom he knewe well to oppose in imbrio ore, attendite vobis de falsi prophetis qui veniunt ad uos in vestimentis ouium, intus autem sunt lupi rapaces. Beinge therfore notified, as aforesaide, the zeudo-congregation did sende dellegats unto Fa. Prior (as sicke himself and unable to come towardes them), that he should acquainte them by the saide dellegats (whoe haue beene Clonmacnose, Corke, Dune, and Imly) what he brought in comission from Rome: for theire satisfaction he shewed those what he had, and did sende onely his lettres to the rest, and not his instructions: whoe missinge the maine pointe, and wheare styred all theire drift, within fewe daies after, desirous to haue a sight of his saide instructions hitherunto concealed, tooke

710.

By the President, Tuamensis, you may judge what congregation it be.

Thomas Fleminge, Archiepiscopus of Dublin, a braue prelate.

His advice to the Prior.

The Bishope of Clonferte, a braue stickler hitherunto, but now—

Math.

The prelats comes to the priors chamber.

1651. the paines to goe to his chamber, Tuaim and the rest his associats. But what he shewed was attested onely by the secretary of Cardinalls Congregation, which was sufficient by any indifferente judgment, notwithstandinge Huigh Bourke, Bishope of Killmacho, was not ashamed to affirme there in publicke audience that it was not fitt that they should keepe any correspondencie with the prior, havinge but a letter only signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, and not by either Pope or Cardinall, which in his opinion was nothinge authenticke. To this he perswaded all the rest of the faction, an easie busines.

Huigh Bourkes judgment of Fa. Priors power.

CHAPTER III.

Apollogicall abridgment of Fr. Huigh Bourkes demeanour.

711. LET none be offended for describinge here a breefe of this gentlmans behauiour. You see what judgment he passeth of Fa. Priors authoritie, because, saide he, it is onely signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, not by Pope or Cardinall, therfore not authenticke. O poore shifte of an ould courtier. This man, a Franciscan fryer, could neuer be ruled to staye in one convent, nay, nor in any one kingdome, under the sweete yoke of obedience, runinge from courte to courte, that he wearied all the courts of Europe with his pretences, suites, and beggeries: with a subreptitious bull from his Holinesse to be comissarie vissitator of his owne Order in Irelande, arrivinge thither, his irregularitie discovered, highly empeachinge the province, was banished by the Fathers of the same Order; then went unto Spaine, France, Italy, Germany, Pollande, turninge to the Lowe Countries, went to Hollande and Englande. A generall Chapter of his Order to be celebrated in Rome, made all the suites possible to be member of that convocation (which none could be under the degree of provinciall or custos, wherof he was none), tooke his course for Denmarke, where 4 or 5 religious did lurke, findinge them out, promised those poore men mountains of gould for onely nominatinge him provinciall to sitt in the foresaid generall Chapter in Rome, and allsoe promised to carie one of the saide religious alonge in his company to be an eye wittnesse of his actinge in the behalfe of the furtheringe of that province in Catholicke religion. These iunocent soules, beleevinge what they heardc, and havinge an ardent desire for the holy promotion of theire natiue countrie, condescended to his motion (accordinge the ould prouerbe, the lyer deceaveth the covetous). Goinge, therfore, to the generall Chapter with that bare name of Provincialis Daniæ in paper, and though by the importunitie of many newe suites, was admitted as such to the saide convocation.

His frequentinge of courtes.

A subreptitious power to vissitt the province of Irelande.

His suite in Denmarke.

The prouerbe.

712. All this was by him hatched, beinge sure and certaine in his proper idea, if vocall in the saide Chapter, would there become soe factious that he would be a Diffinitor-generall of the Order (wherof are onely 12); but faylinge in his designe, was left in puris naturalibus. This Chapter finishinge, but his fresh endeavours comencinge, left noe stone unmoved, nor any courte unfrequented, insinuatinge

His intentions herin fayled.

ıimself and his labours unto euery prince in particular, and to all in generall, becominge (as was thought) a double spie for eache, pro et contra, and euery one n numero thought him onely devoted unto himself. By this jugglinge, gott etters of favour from Catholicke princes to the Generall of the Order of Minors, to nploye this man in some beseeminge incumbencie, whoe by the often desire and ressinge intercession of soe eminent persons (though against his stamocke) gaue im a patent to be visitator of three Franciscan Irish colleges in Louaine, Rome, nd Prage. The nomination of both locall superiors and visitators of those espectiue colleges doe (accordinge the statutes of the Order) belonge unto the rovince of Irelande's apointment, and the visitators power is onely in three yeares emestris: notwithstandinge all these rubbs, and the reclamation of the province f Ireland against his saide office, continually went to and fro betweene Lovaine nd Prage, as postilian onely to haue accesse into the Emperour and Kinge of paines courtes, as for Rome, Fr. Luke Waddinge did not admitte the execution f his authoritie there, nay, nor his feete to treade on that holy grounde. Spendıge some yeares in those irreligious vagations, went unto Spaine, presented imself into his Holinesse by the intercession of his Catholicke Majestie, to be ishope of Kilmachoe, the very worste in all Irelande (wherin was his owne rother, Oliuerus Bourke, a Dominican Fryer, vicar apostolicke, contrarie to the ıle and statuts of his saide proper Order); his Holinesse loathe to deny his atholicke Majestie, the motion allsoe pursued by the often pressinge insinuations f qualified members of the Order, not that they were any thinge tender of his romotions, or that he was worthy of it by any extravagant demeanour, but that e Order should be ride of soe turbulent a spirit, the fiat came to him, and was nsecrated bishope.

1651.

His labours and insinuations to foraigne princes.

His apointment by the Generall of the Order.

Luke Waddings opposition.

By the intercession of the Kinge of Spaine made bishope.

His Catholicke Majestie, havinge soe highly obliged this man in this and other faires of high concearnment, adviced with him to send an agent in his company to Ireland, and that he should asiste the saide agent in any his affaires there: hoe promised faithfully all to the kings desire. The Earle of Birhauen (grand ilde into O'Sullevan Berra, banished for adheringe into Tyron in his late warrs, d created earle by the Kinge of Spaine) was sent agent unto Irelande in company this prelate, unto whom his father was a prime benefactor; all which tyes and ligations notwithstandinge, and the liberall benevolence of the agent himself, as one as this Huigh Bourke arriued unto Kilkeny, conferred with Ormond and his ctionists, became a prime member of it, and was as earnest against My Lord uncios censures, before then published, as any prelate coulde be. And not onely is, but shewed noe countenance unto the Spanish agent, accordinge promise, or complyance of paste obligations, rather (as was truely bruted) worked with mond to shewe him none at all; wherby came to passe that Ormond was to sease on his frigatt under colour to transporte his ladie in, resident then in France, ich the earle agent thought to derogate from the honor of such as he represented, d would giue waye therunto. But Ormond desired by this some seeminge asion against his person, occasiones querit, qui vult recedere ab amico. Some h intimation came unto the knowledge of the agent by friendly intelligence, ke the occasion by the foretopp, would not expostulate, but embarked himself,

713.

Earle of Birrhauen, O'Sullevan, agent for Ireland.

The prelats noncomplyance, betrayed the trust reposed by the kinge on him.

Birrhauen to be imprisoned hoysed sayle.

1651. The prelats character.

his lady, and goods, and sailed for Spaine.. I write this much that you may learne by it the ingratuitie of the present gentlman, as an abridgment of his behauiour, wherby the curious reader might prye to his other actions which canot be other then disobedient, disloyall, distrustfull, disdaininge, distastinge, disaffected, ambitious, couetous, pertinax, peremptorie, captious, headstronge, littigious, wranglinge, invious, ungratfull, and accordingly giue credence unto.

714. His foollish assertion aboue mentioned.

Is not, therfore, meere fopperie the assertion of this man, that an instrument signed by the secretarie of Propaganda Fide is not authenticke, because the Pope did not signe unto it? All the bulls, decrees, canonization of sainctes, and fiats o meeters are not signed by either Pope or Cardinall, excepte the originall, whicl is to be kept in archivo Vatticanæ, but attested, by either clerke of the respectiu offices or secretarie, or by any prothonotarius apostolicus: and such faith anc credence is to be giuen those copies soe attested as to the originall. This mar seeinge the praxis herof in all the courts of Europe, canot be ignorant of it. Sc noluit intelligere ut bene ageret, he might be sure that the secretarie of that hol Congregation of Cardinalls is at leaste in attestinge equipolente unto a prothonotarius apostolicus, as by his place noclesse, and aliquid ultra, as a sheriffe of . county, is an esquire for the time beinge, et aliquid ultra: the suposition grannted which is indeniable, the conclusion followinge, which is our intention, is warrantable, and the former assertion illusorie, ignorant, and erronious, however avaylec for that present. But by the serious industrie of Fa. Prior, this Congregatio comannded the Bishope of Clonferte, as secretarie of the same, to giue Fa Anthony letters to be transmitted, importinge the state of the kingdome affaire (pursuant to his instructions), but called for severall times, many tergiversation used, but importuned at lenght, answered that he transmitted his dispatche alreadie, which was contrarie to bothe the Congregations sense therupon, anc disparadgment of Fa. Priors authoritie. Thus did Clonferte (in whom had th Lord Nuncio mightie confidence) playe his parte of that scene; posuit manum ac aratrum et respexit retro.

Hugh Bourke, his ridiculous assertion.

Walter Linche, his inconstancie.

Luc. 9.

715.

It will not prove impertinent unto our proceedings (for the satisfaction of al such as will be disaffected by desire to be well grounded in this busines) to giu here a touche of Fa. Priors instructions from courte.

Instructions from Rome by Father Prior to the clergie of Ireland.

1 First, to make a newe confederacie and union.

2 Secondly, to giue his Holinesse satisfaction in the injuries offered him and hi ministers.

3 Thirdly, to institute a Catholicke Protector.

4 Fourthly, that some eminent, constant, and faithfull prelate should be sen unto Rome.

All which are both godly, Catholicke, and most conducinge to the comon goode c the nation and furtherance of Catholicke religion. But the zeudo-congregation c Galwaye and its preses Tuamensis did, viribus et posse, oppose all, and writes th subsequent addresse unto My Lord Primat, wherin he vents some what of h poysoninge humor.

716.

Illustrissime ac Reverendissime Domine,

Non ignorat Dominatio vestra Illustrissima quomodo hyeme proxim

præterita convenerint omnes Episcopi regni Hyberniæ, paucis demptis, quorum infirmitas et temporum injuria impediebat præsentiam apud Loghreagh in assembleya, ibi tum celebrata, et quomodo postquam satisfecerint gravissimæ querelæ laicorum contra acta apud Jamestowne procurarunt decreta comitiorum de aliquibus mittendis Romam ad satisfaciendum pro eisdem Domino Nuncio: Mittantur Illustrissimus Dominus Dunensis Episcopus, et Reuerendus pater, frater Oliuerus de Burgo pro qua missione Dominus Prorex subministrat media zelosè, et omnia habet parata, instructiones scilicet et epistolas: Rogauitque prelatos ut mandarent epistolas mittendas cum dictis Dominis, dictarum literarum per prelatos scriptarum copias, de consilio omnium, mitto ad Dominationem Vestram Illustrissimam precorque humillime dignetur eis subscribere, et ad me quatocius remittere transmittendas post dictos Dominos proxima occasione data, nisi eos repererint Galuiæ, de hoc satis. Septima die Martij convenimus Galuiæ in appulsu Domini Stephani de Henin serenissimi Ducis Lotharingiæ legati, cum quo conventum est per Dominum Proregem super pecunijs recipiendis, assignatis Limbrico et Galuia cautionarijs pro eisdem præsentia subsidia recepit regnum si non recepit a meo discessu, futura speramus larga, quod Deus det; Dominus Antonius Geogheganus tulit ad clerum regni literas a Domino Dionisio Massario, Decano Firmano, nunc secretario de Propaganda Fide, quibus significat affectum etiam et desiderium Sedis Appostolicæ erga regnum, et quærit comandari prælatum et futurum promittit agere beneficium et proficuum literas videlicet ac proinde semper sedeo et sacras tibi manus deosculor.

1651. Tuamensis, his letter to My Lord Primat.

Dominationis Vestræ Illustrissimæ Addictissimus Servus,

Joannes Archiepiscopus Tuamensis.

Tuamæ, 8uo die Aprilis, 1651.

CHAPTER IV.

The tongue and the hand are unruly members wheare honestie and reasone have not the rulinge of them. The tongue is alwaies the more readie: but the hande in this is the more dangerous: that what is spoken may be helped, by supposition of mistakinge, or disagreement in the reporters, or deathe: whearas that of the hande appeereth to posterity, surviveth the speaker and hearers, and remaineth as a thousande wittnesses. Wherfore, as noe vice layes a more fowle aspersion upon man than that of ingratitude, soe noe evidence is soe stronge to tainte him therwith, or conuicte him therof, as his owne hand-writinge in detestation of that vice and approbation of the contrary.

717. Mac. Disc. 3. Plat. Juvenal. Sat. 3. Comm. Proverb.

Vox audita perit, sed litera scripta manebit.

The veine of those petty Bourkes, Tuamensis and his two brothers, Huigh and Oliuerus, may seeme strange to any that is both well affected and fully acquainted with them; they cannot thrive but in faction, nor fish but in pudle water (pardon, sir); scarce have this gentlman finished the peremptorie time of honest studient (honest because mendicant), when aspiringe to fly aloofe, with more then Icarian winges, was graduated of doctor in a hackney universitie or colledge in France

The condition of those Bourkes.

John Bourke graduated Doctor.

1651.
His pretences.
Vicar-generall of Clonferte.
Bishope of the same.

(wherof it abounds), and came to Ireland to acquire a purse for an atturneye in Rome; within a shorte time was nominated Vicar-generall apostolicke of Clonferte diocese, a great antagoniste of regulars, with continuall suite and mightie expense in courte, by the seconde hande to be made Bishope of Clonferte aforesaide, whoe continued his vicarage for a longe time, till (accordinge our Saviour's sayinge) by his importunitie gott the fiat of a myter, as desired. The now warr of Ireland on foote, to indeere himself unto My Lord Nuncio behaued himself publickly conformable (sed non propter Jesum Christum tantum), till Molaghlin O'Quilly, of hapy memory, a most worthy prelate, Archbishope of Tuaime, was killed in Sligo, as n°. [*blank*] whoe obsearuinge his owne time, searuinge to purpose, that greate seate to be now vacant, dissembled the best he could; puttinge on a conterfeite vizard, shewed greate humilitie, obsearuinge all My Lord Nuncio desired, and zeale for holy religion in all publicke meetinge, wherby did win the goodwill of this princely prelate (the sole obiecte of his intentions), pursuant therunto he recomendes this gentlman to his Holinesse to be promoted unto that vacancie, which was imediately complyed with.

By craft elected Archbishope of Tuaime.

718.
Now antagoniste of all ciuill pretences of the nation.

Clonfert, now seeinge himself seated in that chair of non plus ultra to be expected, and his pretences to haue come unto a full period, began to shewe that he did not degenerat from his former brothers, shoed faction, raised mutinies, disjoyned unions, seuered confederacies, dismembred associations, naye, opposed all the power and conation of My Lord Nuncio, and continues still unto this daye against the Sea of Rome, its ministers, nationall Congregation, and any thinge conducinge to the honor or profitt of the Irish nation, in confirmation wherof you see his letter here, full fraught with leasinge, faction, contempte, and disdaine of both spirituall and temporall princes. He writes in a gyringe maner of the subsidie sent, and to be expected by the Duke of Loraigne. Tellinge that Fa. Anthony Geoghegan arrived, he makes mention onely of him as a postilian from Dionisius Massarius, Dean of Firma, to the clergie of Ireland, not mentioninge once his proper authoritie or mission by a higher power, rather cutts him shorte of all his paste and presente stiles, callinge him onely by his bare name. I say, Doctor Iohn Bourke herin is uncivill, and the Archbishope of Tuaime is noted here to derogue from the Congregation of Cardinalls both missive power and ministers; whether Catholickly, civilly, legally, or learnedly lett any indifferent man judge.

His colution discouered in his letter.

719.
A palpable falsehoode.

Is not with a brasen forheade he desires here the consent of My Lord Primat to admitt of his brother Oliuerus for agent unto Rome, choosen by a conventicle of factious prelats, and though he sayeth that all the bishops of the kingdome made choice of him, volens nolens, Mr. John Bourke, the contrarie is true, for 3 of the 4 archbishops of Ireland was wantinge then in Loghreagh. From the 3 provinces of Ireland was onely 5 bishops, Vlster, Monster, and Linster, whoe were Corke, Imly, Clonmacnose, Dune, and Drumore, wherof this last onely signed to that election of Oliuerus his mission, soe that onely the Conaght prelats (as suitinge to theire factious principles) signed unto this election, fathered upon the whole kingdome prelats. Such another universalitie he useth in the disanullinge of Jamestowne acte, conceaued by all the clergie of the kingdome personally there, or by theire proctors, and signed as a proper acte, and nowe derogued and recalled by

ıese fewe Conation refraction. The Bishope of Dune and Doctor Meara weare hoosen in the nationall Congregation of Clonmacnose by the whole number there, emine discrepante, because this was more honeste then the other, and more gally choosen, as by the whole kingdome prelats, it will not stande, Clanricards rchbishope will disanull this Congregation decree, as he did Jamestowne acte, and ı disrespecte of both choose, as aforesaide, an apostat fryer, a publicke and knowen nemie to both nation and religion, a paterne of disobedience, seuerally excomunicated, a jure et ab homine, a double brother of John and Huigh Bourke by loude and imitation of actions, and thought by his brazen foreheade to gett his esire therin of My Lord Primat, affirminge in his saide letter, as prime motiue ıerof, that the deputy Clanricarde did zealously prepare all things for theire rney (by the name of all things meaninge onely his instructions), and comannded ıe prelats to haue theire letters in arcadinesse for them.

1651.

Bishope of Dune and Doctor Meara choosen agents in Clonmacnose.

Oliuerus Bourke, a Dominican fryer.

What zeale Clanricarde had.

O braue, and because he saide soe, My Lord Primat must acte a thinge conarie to both his conscience and honor, to recall by this both the acts of all the relats in Clonmacnose and Jamestowne, wherunto he subscribed. It seems then ıat this prelate (by conventicles disanullinge those publicke acts, wherunto he gned himself, with an oathe to obsearue them to his power) did not peruse or put use our former Aphorisme, for, sure he wanted not by those oppositiue conadictions, to the high preiudice of his honor acte, as he had don, to signe ıto Clonmacnose and Jamestowne acts, and now himself with his fewe reıctorie prelats, birdes of the same feather, and members of the same graine, deroıinge and disanullinge the same, which are as contrarie as black and white, ens ejus privatio, creatio et privatio, etc. Why did this man, and those his quaces, signe unto the former acts if against reason or conscience? wherin is entioned, that they were with maturitie and deliberation conceaued, and likly e, for all the prelats were asistant, all the vicar-generalls, provincialls of Orders, ctors and greate diuines, disputinge and canvassinge eache question, pro et con, and after all was don, aproved, ratified, and confirmed, what was then signed Tuamensis and the rest, and now himself alone with his fewe Conatian tribunes, d privat influence of that predominant planet Clanricarde, with his adherent st-starrs, will disannull all this, what evidence more stronge to tainte him of rtialitie, inconstancie, and refraction: or proofe more pregnant to convicte him ingratitude to the Sea of Rome, of falshoode to his religion and countrie, and small respecte or decorum to his honor and reputation, then his owne handeitinge in detestation of his present, ungodly recantation, and aprobation of its ıtrarie. Of all this was nothinge sensible, rather thought to amuse My Lord Iimat, offeringe to induce his Lordship to doe the like abomination. Whoe, like nself, answeared, that he would not onely deny what was suggested, but in his rponsiue addresse gave him a rounde checke, and to the rest of prelats asistinge n in Loghreagh, as not complyinge with either the duetie or obligation of whom y represented, or haue don any thinge praise worthy, rather all dishonorable, ieligious, inconstante, and destructive to both religion and nation. This same plat did signe to My Lord Nuncios excomunication against the contrivers, etters and embracers of the Cessation of Insichuyne, and to the choice of

720.

Tuaimes intention.

Obiections.

In the disanullinge noe such maturitie, only Clanricards surmishe.

Proofe against Tuaime.

My Lord Primats answeare.

The signinge of Tuaime and his recantations not like other doctors.

1651. dellegats to asiste with his Lordship in any other matter conducinge to that effecte, but soone after, upon his first conference with the schismaticall, reputed-supreame councell, not onely recanted, but allso oposed, viribus et posse, My Lord Nuncio, and this disrespectivly in Galwaye in publicke meetinge, contestinge with his Lordship for presedencie, which was too, too exorbitant and erronious; soe that this good prelate cares not to signe to one thinge now and to its oppositt after (though both be points of religion). The recantation of Catholicke doctors is still from worste to best, but that of our present doctor from good to ill—which is obseruable.

CHAPTER V.

721. My Lord Primats desire to conferr with the Prior.

My Lord Primat was mightie desirous to see Father Prior and his instructions from Rome, not for any curiositie as the former prelate, but really to apply himself accordingly, as euer yett had don. Enformed, therefore, of his weaknesse occasioned by his jorney and dangerous infirmitie, and allsoe well knowinge all passadges to be mightie perillous, his Lordship did comannde Fa. Thomas Makyernan, a graue and religious father of the Order of Minors, and a prime stickler for the restauration of religion, to conferr with him, and did send by him the ensuinge letter of credence:—

His letter of credence in behalf of Thomas Makyernan.

Reuerende Admodum Domine,

Tuas datas 6° Aprilis accepi tandem, quibus significas te habere aliqua a Congregatione Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide mihi comunicanda, nec quicquam super ijs quæ Galuiæ ab appulsu vestro in regnum nacta sunt mihi ab ullo est comunicata. Quare rogo Dominationem Vestram, si temporum injuria permittit ut huc accedat mihi comunicaturus quæ comunicanda sunt. Interea Pr. Thomas Makyernan vel alius ab ipso deputandus in confinibus Conaciæ tuam Dominationem conventurus est, cui (si sit molestum Dominationi tuæ ulterius versus has partes tendere) intimare poterit verbo vel scripto, quæ mihi comunicanda forent. Interea Dominationem Vestram delectam adhibeat cautelam in negotijs sibi comissis, quod spero et opto. Dato 10 Maij, 1651.

Reuerendæ Admodum Dominationis Vestræ Addictus,
Hugo Ardmachanus.

My Lord Primats zeale.

The plaine stile of this greate prelate doe easily discouer the realitie of his intentions and censeritie of his proceedings, and leaste any of the zeudo-congregation of Galwaye should misenforme his Lordship touchinge the mission of Fa. Prior, as Tuamensis have malitiously touched in his letter, he desired Clonmacnose a Seraphicall childe, and consequently most obseruant to the Sea of Rome, to write his testimonie of the proceedings in Galwaie concearninge Fa. Priors busines to My Lord Primat, in hæc verba.

722. Illustrissime ac Reuerendissime Domine,

In aduentu Reuerendi Admodum Domini Antonij Geoghegani, Priori

Conalliæ, cum epistolis Illustrissimi Domini Secretarij de Propaganda Fide, visum est mihi et alijs Dominationis Vestræ amicis Galuiæ tune degentibus ob urgentes rationes præfatum Antonium inducere ut suam missionem, et aliquas e suis instructionibus congregato clero super causam Serenissimi Ducis Lotharingiæ tunc Galuiæ sedenti, saltim, quibusdam ut ea ostenderet, a quo erant, ut pars illa cleri Illustrissimo Domino Nuncio olim aversa offenderetur aliqualiter: Pars vero ei adhærens minus remissa in causa Domini Antonij comissa, facta sit. Vnde, ut solemus quisque abundauit suo sensu, et in nullo satisfactum est intentioni, aut desiderio Sacræ Congregationis Cardinalium per prefatum Dominum Antonium Prælatis huius regni significandæ, licet Dominus Clonfertensis tanquam secretarius Congregationis cleri Galuiensis rescripserit ad Reuerendissimum Secretarium præfatum. Quare visum est mihi et alijs amicis consentaneum, ut Illustrissima Dominatio vestra revocet suam provinciam in confinibus Conaciæ ut mature consideratis negotijs et instructionibus Reuerendissimi Domini Secretarij comissis curæ ac discretioni præfati Domini Antonij (quæ præ ceteris in oculis Sedis Apostolicæ elucet) promptitudo et obedientia in rebus ad eandem sedem pertinentibus præfulgeat. Ego etiam conabor ut præfati censeri ex utroque clero tam seculari quam regulari aliarum provinciarum adsint, die et loco ab Illustrissima Dominatione vestra assignandis per se, vel per suos procuratores, ut res hæc fiat cum maiori satisfactione sedis Apostolicæ, ad quem finem dignabitur Illustrissima Dominatio vestra scribere Illustrissimis Dominis Dublinensi et Cashallensi eorumque Suffraganeis erga sedem Appostolicam bene affectis, Bellalug vel aliqua insula prope, est locus tutus et conveniens ad conveniendum, iudicio eius, qui manus gratiæ, vestræ officiose deosculatur uti.

1651. Clonmacnose his letter to My Lord Primat in the behalf of Father Prior.

Illustrissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Addictissimus cognatus et servus,
Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

Clonmacnose, 30 Maij, 1651.

It is aparant by this testimonie of him, that proued euer yett constant, for the Nuncio, that Fa. Prior had a comission and privat instructions, not from Dionisius Massarius onely (as Tuamensis and his brother Hugo Duacensis doe calumniously averr), but by the Sacred Congregation of Cardinalls, though he as secretarie, in duetie obliged, did signe to them, which apeeres by the other clause of this extant certificat: that the Clergie of the Congregation of Galwaye gaue noe satisfaction in any thinge proposed by Fa. Anthony, to the intente or desire of the holy Congregation of Cardinalls. By this was knowen what he shewed, and the contents therin incerted, was both the intente and desire of that holy courte of Propaganda Fide. And to shufle this matter off and bride confusion in the auditorie, like an uncivill taverne house, euery one abounded in his owne sense, though against one another, yett the most parte agreede to be against the Sea of Rome and its ministers; and to shewe in effecte this much, they caused Clonferte, as secretarie, to write unto the secretarie of Propaganda Fide, and this onelye not for complyinge with his desire, but that it was contrarie to his instructions, or rather the sacred Congregations: Judicet Deus inter me et vineam istam.

The constancie of Clonmacnose.

An inductive sense of this lettre.

By this time now Fa. Thomas Makyernan with his credentialls (as afore- 723.

1651. Thomas Makyernan came to Father Prior.

mentioned) arriued to Raghra in the Kings countie in the begininge of June, where Fa. Prior was at presente, with whom he seriously conferred, whoe might bouldly open unto him the secret retirments of his hearte, which he did, and addressinge himself for jorney, in his company to the northe, went into an iland of Loghrye, wheare fryers minors had theire aboade then, what did they obsearue butt Costllagh and his two uneles, Sir Luke and Sir James Dillon, privatly in Rapadine, in a conventicle, treatinge of the surrender of the towne and castle of Athlone to the comon enemie, which was in agitation this halfe yeare at leaste, by Sir Robert Thalbott, Sir James Dillon, Iohn Bellewe, and Stephen Dexter by Costllagh apointed agents betweene himself and the deputy Earthon for that purpose. Fa. Prior, obsearvinge these distempers, and the eminent danger of his proper saftie to putt himself into jorney, the enemie alreadie marchinge towards Athlone, and allsoe to giue notice unto his uncle, Terence Coghlan, channced his course, and by Fa. Thomas Makyernan writtes the ensuinge letter unto My Lord Primat:

Costllogh, Sir Luke, and Sir James Dillon treatinge of the surrender of Athlone.

Sir James Dillon, Sir Robert Thalbott, Iohn Bellewe and Stephen Dexter agents to the enemie.

Father Priors letter to My Lord Primatt.

Illustrissime ac Reuerendissime Patrone mi colendissime :

Vestras per latorem Reuerendum Admodum P. Fr. Thomam Makyernan recepi literas et eidem quæ pro presenti comunicanda sensui ex ijs quæ Illustrissimus Dominus Secretarius Sacræ Congregationis Eximiorum Dominorum Cardinalium de Propaganda Fide mihi comisit impertitus sum, sicut et processum Episcoporum, quibus in appulsu Galuiæ obuiam factus sum, fuse enarraui de quo, hic reticenda, præfatus pater gratiæ vestræ dicet. Coeterum adviscendum gratia vestram eo nunc profecturus ab ipso itinere, disuadent, tum prædictus Pater Thomas, tum alij amici animaduertentes varias comunis hostis incursiones, atque inde itinerandi periculum: verum ubi primum commode potero illuc accedam. Interea lator poterit omnia exparte mei Dominationi vestræ Illustrissimæ proponere, atque fusius, quas comunicanda habui exponere, sicut et quæ super negotijs faeienda concipit insinuare, ut patrocinio, consilio, et directione vestra satisfactoria Illustrissimæ Dominationis Domini Secretarij epistola respondeatur, cum alioqui ex responso ab Episcopis Galuiæ congregatis dato ijsdem literis ad mentem Sacræ Congregationis de Propaganda Fide non sit conformiter responsum et Deum viuum Illustrissimæ Dominationis vestræ summe propitium imprecans, manus submisse deosculor, uti gratiæ vestræ

Addictissimus servus verus

4° Junii, 1651. Antonius Geoghegan.

In dorso sic:

Illustrissimo Reuerendissimo ac Patrono suo Colendissimo Domino Hugoni Archiepiscopo Armachano, Totius Hiberniæ Primati, etc.

CHAPTER VI.

724. Tacit. Hist. lib. 12.

Some men are safe, but not secure: such are they, whoe after a foule facte secretly comitted, or a greate wronge closely offered, have a conseience of the

guilte still dwellinge in them, though the danger of the punishment be over past, for albeit they labour to hide it from others, and by all veiles of artefice to keepe it from the light, yett can they neuer perswade themselues but that it is knowen; and therfore as they in theire nature ever feare the partie wronged, soe the other in his reason should neuer affye in them, for there is noe sinceritie in reconciled enemies. 1651. Senec. Lucan. l. 5. Juven. Sat. 13. Ovid. Pont. i.

Pœnitet ô, si quid miserorum creditur ulli,
Pœnitet, et facto torqueor ipse meo!

Wee haue made mention, no. 715, of Fa. Anthony Geoghegans instructions from the courte of Rome to the prelats of Ireland, to choose a Catholick protector for the nation, and in the subsequent number, in Tuamensis his letter unto My Lord Primat, there is a touche given of the Duke of Loraignes agent, the Abbott of S. Catherine, to have arrived unto Galwaye with a present subsidie. That you understande the grounds of this, you maye obsearue that the well affected of this kingdome, conceavinge it, at its last period of ebbinge (occasioned by treason and faction), did seuerall times in publicke assemblies moue to make choice, and call for some Catholicke prince to be protector of this nation; this often moued, pro et contra, wherby fell to various intentions whoe should be the man, some would haue the kinge of Spaine, others the kinge of France; others none of both, rendringe for reason, that these two greate Catholicke monarches were alreadie aduersaries eache to other, and choosinge the one for that purpose, the other would harbour greate jealousies against the nation, which had beene grounde enoughe to diswade both from beinge elected; thus noe agreement of voices herin apeeringe, after longe debate, by comon consent, did nominat and electe his highnesse the Duke of Loraigne, a Catholicke and riche prince, a greate warriour, and a man mightie desirous of honor, and consequently of any imployment conducinge to the same.

The Duke of Loraigne choosen Protector of the nation.

This agreede upon, dispatches were sent unto his Highness importinge the nations desire, wherupon his Highnesse was pleased both to embrace the said motion and send a proper agent, the Abbott of S. Catherine, Stephanus Hinius, with £20,000 subsidie, and invested with power to treate with the nation touchinge theire saide desire; whoe arrivinge to Galwaye makinge knowen his errant, wherupon a grand councell (to avoide the name of assemblye) did sitt and treate of the busines, examininge whether behooufull or noe, many rubbs did apeere, many factious ambages used, many tergiuersations and delayes inuented, much time spent without benefitt, Deputie Clanricarde, conceauinge some indifferencie in the saide councell, would admitt noe power or authoritie to reside in either assembly, grannde councell, or comittee to make or receaue conditions with his Highnesse, or any other foraigner, other then in himself imediately, this moued by him, was by factions and subreptitious votes agreede upon, the power therefore onely existinge in him, must choose agents for that purpose suitinge to his intentions, as neere as he maye, pursuant therto did nominat the Viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne agents to the Duke of Loraigne, whoe with full power were authorized to treate and conclude, upon what condition they thought in theire discretion beneficiall for the nation, loaden with this omni-

725.

Stephanus Hinius, Abbott of S. Catherine, agent for his Highnesse.

Clanricards power.

Viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geffry Browne, agents by Clanricarde apointed to the Duke of Loraigne.

1651. moda potestas, were dispatched from Galwaye, the Dukes agent still continuinge in the kingdome accordinge orders expectinge freshe instructions from his master, and the nation resulte from time to time to be transmitted. Those agents arrivinge to Bruxells in the Lowe Countries, wheare his Highnesse was at present. But before they did conclude any thinge with his Highnesse, enformed of the Bishope of Fearnes beinge in the same towne, did conceaue fittinge to be adviced in such an important affaire by the prelate, pursuant therto did dispatche theire proper addresse unto his Lordship settinge fourth theire saide desire, in returne therof writes unto them, amonge the rest the subsequent, sent unto Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, by Clanricarde.

A copie of parte of a letter from the Bishope of Fearnes to the Lord Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Geffry Browne, Agents for the Duke of Loraigne.

726. The Bishope of Fearnes letter of advice for the said agents.

I doe with all censeritie offer my owne opinion what is to be done by you in this exigent, which is, to the end the agreement you are makinge with his Highnesse the Duke of Loraigne become profittable to the nation and acceptable in the eyes of God, that you will imediately, with humble heartes, make submission to his Holinesse in the name of the nation, and begg the appostolicall benediction, that the light of wisdome, the spirit of fortitude, victory, grace, successe, and those blessings of God wee one time enioyed, maye returne againe unto us. The necessitie of doinge this the greater, that the person from whom you came with authoritie is for seuerall causes excomunicated, a jure et ab homine, and is at Rome acconnted a greate contemner of the authoritie and dignitie of churchmen, and persecutor of My Lord Nuncio and some bishops, and other churchmen. Some of his owne letters came faire for the purpose herof. You maye be pleased to call to minde that he, though much and often moved therunto, never ioyned with the Confederat Catholicks untill he founde the oportunitie of bearinge downe the Popes Nuncio, and had the Lord of Insichyne (whoe not longe before dyed his hands in the bloude of priestes and innocent soules in the Churche or Rock of S. Patricke in Cashell) to cope with him in societie of armes. The nation hath noe cause nowe of joye in that comunication of those two starrs. Doe you thinke God will prosper a contracte grounded upon the authoritie of such a man? If some other waye be not founde of reconcilinge him unto us? that therefore what is prophane maye be made holy, and what is rotten sounde. Saye in the name of the nation with the prodigall childe, surgam et ibam ad patrem meum et dicam ei, pater peccavi in cœlum et contra te, and imediately goe to his Holinesse Inter-Nuncio in this citty to make this hapie submission, quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia, this beinge don, goe on cheerfully in the contracte with this most Catholicke prince, whoe did he rightly knowe the busines without such submission would neuer enter upon a bargaine to presearue or rather restore holy religion in a kingdome, and with agents bringinge theire authoritie from a withered, accursed hande, and God will send his angell of strenght and light before the people, at leaste many of them, whoe lyinge in darknesse and shackled with the irons of excomunication, etc.

Clanricards incomies.

Note well.

This letter was written the beginnge of July, 1651. Pursuant to this advice of My Lord Bishope of Fearnes, the agents haue don accordingly, submitted, as herin suggested, and after concluded with the Duke, whose articles are as followeth. 1651.

Articuli transactionis initæ inter serenissimum Principem Carolum Quartum, Dei gratia Lotharingiæ Ducem, etc., Et Theobaldum Vice-Comitem Taaffe, Nicholaum Plunkettum, equitem auratum et Galfridum Browne armigerum, Deputatos et potestatem habentes ex parte Regni et Populi Hyberniæ. 727.

The transactions or articles of agreement for the protectorshipe of the Duke of Loraigne.

Serenissimus Lotharingiæ Dux in verum ac regium Hyberniæ protectorem (quod etiam ad ejus heredes, successoresque transibit) conotabiturque assumetur, ac publice habebitur, collata in eum hoc nomine omnimodo regni administratione, potestate, authoritate, cæterisque rerum apicibus ad regium protectorem recte spectantibus, juxta conditiones his subsequentibus articulis spectatim explicandas.

Ac primo quidem cum in hoc tractatu potissimum Religionis causa versetur equum posciscentibus visum est ab imploranda summi Pontificis benedictione ope que paterna, rem totam auspicari, quam opem, ut sibi tam in divinis quam in humanis non defuturum sperant, ita se in perpetuo Sedis Apostolicæ suæque Sanctitatis obsequio ac fide constantissime permansuros protestantur.

Ad ea vero suscipiendæ a sua Celsitudine huiusce protectionis rationem cum eo demum accesserit ut in hostibus Regis Magnæ Britaniæ bello persequendis operam quoque suam consociet, eique quantum in se situm erit opitulabitur: tantum abest a consilio quicquam de jure in eadem Hyberniæ regio decerpendi, ut potius testatum vellet, paratum esse animo post restitutam in debitum statum religionem, regnum omni se in manus suæ Majestatis authoritate abdicandi, profusis prius sumptibus in eam rem præ expensis quos ad exitus, ut præveniri possit, prædictorum populi et regni obedientia et fides, suæ Celsitudini addicetur, alterius cui quis superioritati nequaquam obnoxia, sicuti sua Celsitudo partibus suis non deerit ad expellendos inde hæreticos religionis Regis perduelles, nec non ad res fidelium hujusce regni subditorum recuperandas, tuendasque supremum armorum in eodem regno imperium tam presente quam futuro tempore delectus militaris, cæteræque belli gerendi rationes a sola suæ Celsitudinis persona, nutuque dirigentur, aut alterius fidem Catholicam profitentis, quem in sui absentis vicem, pro arbitrio subdelegare voluerit, seclusis omnibus quibuscunque.

Præcautum quoque est, et utrimque provisum ne sua Celsitudo in regnum urbes, ac loca, ipsi cautionis titulo concreditæ, quicquid nova, et rerum inducat securitatibus, privilegijs, immunitatibus, proprietatibus, bonis, latefundis, statibus, aut omnino primarijs regni legibus adversantia, sed horum omnium fruitionem, fidelibus regni subditis integram illibatamque servabit: retenta tamen sibi, si quid deinceps in boni publici detrimentum acciderit remedij ferendi authoritate.

Quoad iudiciorum exercendorum rerumque civilium procurationem attinet, hoc etiam in conventione venit, omnia secundum fundamentales regni legis, et formulam policiæ a sua Majestate gubernatore, comitijs institutæ, absque ulla inovatione, processura, comitiorum autem habendorum ratio eadem ante hac constabit, nisi quid sub ortis adversus regimen quærimonijs, aut urgentibus negotiorum momentis extraordinem peragendum erit, quibus casibus quemadmodum prisca regni jura priuilegiaque deposcunt.

1651. Prædictorum comitiorum indictio penes suæ Celsitudinis arbitrium erit.

Postquam vero Deus optatos hoc in regni sucessus religioni suæque Celsitudinis armis indulserit. Si Comitijs publicis opereprætium videbitur supetia suæ Majestati submitti aduersus hostes in alijs suis regnis debellandos, ad id consilij jam nunc sua Celsitudo incunctanter accedit. Quod si urgente rerum necessitate suæ Celsitudinis iter in Hyberniam impediri fortasse cogatur, in ejus delectu et voluntate iam tunc erit aliquem Catholicæ pietatis virum quemcunque talibus curis haud imparem indicaverit huic obeundo muneri substituere, a quovis alio independentem, qui etiamsi suæ Celsitudini visum fuerit, in comunionem omnium conciliorum sive ad statum sive ad politicam pertinentium pari jure cum cæteris consiliarijs legittime constitutis adhibeatur.

Urbes, Castella, et latifundia, ab hostium manibus erepta, ad legittimos dominos revertantur in partibus Catholicis constanter perseverantes sub imperio suæ Celsitudinis, eiusque utique erit ijsdem in alijsque arcibus, munitionibus ad libitum prout commodo et securitati nationis, suaque expedire censuerit, præsidia imponere.

Quæ quidem, cæteræque copiæ atque adeo omnes exercitus stipendia capient, tum ex regni vectigalibus, prout ejus ratio ferre poterit. Tum supplimenti loco ex proprio suæ Celsitudinis ærario, cauta hujusmodi pecuniæ præfatione sicut alia Catholicorum sumptuum, qui in similes usus, consumpti sunt, aut in posterum insumentur.

Hostium vero, aut damnatorum pœna aut prætium aut remunerandis ijs qui fortiter se pro religione, regnoque gesserint, prout suæ Celsitudini equius iudicabitur, consultis super hoc comitijs generalibus.

Præter viginti librarum Anglicarum milia, iam in usus regni numerata pro expensa sua Celsitudo eam pecuniæ summam, armorum, navium, munitionum, omnesque aparatus, comeatusque bellici, vim atque copiam supeditabit, quæ nec supra illius facultates sint, nec infra belli continuandi regnique recuperandi necessitatem. Cujus omnis pecuniæ recuperationem, tum, quæ ad hostem attinet: tum quæ ad proventus annuos in legittimam stipulationem deductos universa gens Hyberniæ ad ultimam usque solutionem erga Celsitudinem suam obligata subjacebit, in ejusque rei cautelam, infra dictæ urbes, nimirum Galuiensem, Limbricensem, Sligoniensem, Athloniensem, cum arce Waterfordensi et Regia Duncana arx: Si tamen ob hostium occupationem liberabitur, in manus ac possessionem suæ Celsitudinis, ejusque hæredum ac successorum consignata ad integrum usque (ut jam supra expressum) satisfactionem permanebunt. Hoc insuper utrimque condicto, quod prædictæ urbes, arces, et castella debita versus suam Celsitudinem eiusque hæredes ac successores, fide, præsidia ab ipsis imissa cum opus fuerit admittere, nullo prætextu detrectabunt, promptamque ipsis obedientiam vigore præsentium transactionum exhibebunt.

Cum vero collectæ fient ad prædictam pæcunia, tam summæ capitalis, quam proventuum armorum in legittimam stipulationem deductorum suæ Celsitudini persoluendam taxæ, sectionesque priuatorum bonis ac censibus imponentur, idque sui cujusque partem æquali proportione distribuendam non ex comitiorum generalium præscripto attemperandam.

Præfati vero deputati cum sua Celsitudine convenient de certa quadam methodo, qua censerus accuratusque impensorum ab eo pro regni commodis facturum cal-

atus, ratioque iniri ac subduci queat, certas personas ad id muneris proponendum 1651.
comitijs tamen generalibus licite ipsis placuerit mutandos.

Denique neque de inducijs, nec de armorum cessationibus, nec de pace quicquam
ua Celsitudo dissentientibus dellegato et comitijs, nec vicissim delectus et comitia
eclamante sua Celsitudine diffinite pasciscentur. In cuius rei testimonium dictus
erenissimus Dux Lotharingiæ manum suam apposuit et sigillo muniri curauit.

22 Julij, 1651. Carolus Loraigne.

Locus Sigilli.

opia vera: Ita testatur
Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

Those conditions in Latin I doe not exactly translate into English, though hapily 728.
any men that doe not understande Latine will carpe at my negligence herin, for
hose sake I tell onely the summ as an abridgment unto other matters hearafter
be treated off, which is as followeth:

First, his Highness is choosen regall protector of the kingdome of Irelande, with 1.
l the power, administration, and authoritie lawefully belonginge to such is to him
rannted, to his heires and successors, accordinge the tenor and purporte of the
isuinge articles.

In as much as religion is the prime objecte of this busines, both parties inter- 2.
iannceably, and by common consent, doe implore the apostolicall benediction, and
e vowe and protest before the worlde to be most obsearuant unto his Holinesse
r euer, and continue allwaies moste constante in the Catholicke faithe, and neuer
swarue from the true rule of holy belife. His Holinesse doe promise to asiste 3.
id helpe his Majestie the Kinge of Britaine, accordinge his power and abilitie,
gainst his aduersaries, now the Parliament of Englande, and will desire nothinge
his royall right in the kingdome of Irelande, but religion therin planted, to
e natiues theire birth right restored, and his proper charges undergoen in this
isines payed, will freely relinquishe the same in his Majesties hands.

Duringe his service and the non-payment of his charges, the rule and gouerment 4.
the kingdome, as well civill as martiall, to be onely in his hands, or in the hands
some other Catholicke imediately by him apointed.

Provided allwaies that his Highnesse will not introduce any other lawe, statute, 5.
custome unto the citties or townes in his hands for caution to the hinderance of the
curitie, priviledges, imunities, properties, goods, lands, and estates, or against the
ndamentall lawes of the kingdome, rather will inviolably obsearue those and theire
nefitt giue to the Catholicke subjects. Onely will hould the authoritie in his hand
yelde remedie, and redresse abuses hearafter hapninge, for the publicke behoofe.

The ciuill pleadings to be used accordinge the fundamentall lawes of the 6.
ngdome, the forme of policie by his Majesties gouernor, or councell table hereto-
re used, and not by him any waye reformed.

The election of a Councell shalbe, as heartofore, by an assembly: The callinge 7.
of such assembly is onely left to his Highnesse disposall.

After, that God Almightie will be pleased to grannte good successe unto religion 8.
airs, and by the meanes of his Highnesse armies in this kingdome, if it seeme
pedient unto an assemblye or kingdome councell to send succours unto his

1651. Majestie against his enemies in other his kingdomes, his Highnesse will doubtlesse condescende.

9. If by urgent occasions his Highnesse may not come unto the kingdome of Irelande, then is it in the hands of his Highnesse power to institute and nominate some Catholicke not unworthy the place to be governor from himself, imediately without dependencie of any other whom soever, as to his Highnesse will seeme fittinge, whoe in matters of weighty concearnment, accordinge the lawes of the kingdome, of state or policie, will joine with the councell or assemblies, as if his Highnesse in person were in place.

10. The citties, castles, and land won from the enemie shalbe restored to theire proprietors in Catholicke places, they constantly perseveringe in the obedience of his Highnesse government.

11. It wilbe allsoe lawfull for him to place others in other garrisons, forts, and castles, as he will judge fittinge for the nation behoofe, whoe will take in the meanes of the armie, acruinge as well out of the kingdome, manopolie, and customes (as may reasonably suporte it) as the remaine out of his Highnesse threasurie (the caution of which moneyes, as aforesaid), as other leuies of Catholickes aplotted for such uses hitherunto, or hearafter to be aplotted, the ransome or penalties of condemned persons and enemies, or the pension of such as behaued themselues best for religion and kingdome affaires, as to his Highnesse in justice and equity shalbe thought fitt.

12. A generall assembly beinge adviced touchinge those moneyes, excepte the 20 thousand English pounds alreadie counted for the kingdome use, and what other sums of money, armes, shipps, munition, and other necessaries and ingine for warr his Highnesse will liberally bestowe, which will not exceede their abilitie, or the necessitie of continuinge the warr or recoveringe the kingdome.

13. For the recouery of all such moneyes as belonge to enemies, as annual casualties, deducted unto a lawfull stipulation, all the whole Irish nation shalbe lyable to the whole payment therof unto his Highnesse.

14. For the further securitie therof, the ensuinge citties and townes are to be giuen unto his Highness in caution of payment; viz. Galwaye, Limbricke, Sligoe, Athlone, the castle of Waterforde, and the regall forte of Duncanan; but if his Highnesse will win those from the enemie, then himself, his heires, and successors are to keepe the possession therof (as aforesaide) till payed of his whole expences.

15. Furthermore, wee notifie unto either partie that the saide townes, forts, and castles, in vertue of this present transaction, will them, or such of them as be in theire hands surrender unto his Highnesse, heires or successors, and willingly will yelde obedience unto, all excuses, tergiuersations, and pretences to the contrarie notwithstandinge.

16. Whearas collection of the saide moneyes wilbe made, as well the totall summe as the meanes of our armies, by a legittimat stipulation deducted to be payed unto his Highnesse, the taxes, aplottments, and sections or subdivisions of privat men shalbe imposed on theire goods and rents, and the same to be giuen by equal proportions, eache persons due and noe more, and this not to be altred by either councell or assembly prescription.

The above mentioned deputies or agents, with his Highnesse, will prescribe a peculiar methode, wherby an exacte aceonnte of what his Highnesse doe spende for the kingdome avayle maye be truely knowen, and persons of truste apointe for this busines, whom a generall assembly may upon occasion alter. 1651. 17.

Lastly, that neither peace, cessation of armes, or treague may be concluded by either partie, the other reclaiminge or disagreeinge; his Highnesse against the councell or assemblie, or they against his Highnesse. In testimonye wherof, his Highnesse, the saide Duke of Loraigne, did subscribe his hande unto those articles, and caused his seale to be fixed unto, the 22 of July, 1651. 18.

Charolus Loraigne.

A true copie. Place for the seale.

Ita testatur

Fr. Ant. Clonmacnose.

CHAPTER VII.

THERE is noe securitie against a reconciled enemie, and one of notorious perfidie, but diffidence and houldinge him out at the swordes pointe, for if they credulitie bringe they within distance of his reache, and that he see they life lye open without good guarde, his malice and revenge straight take the advantage and playe theire parts, makinge the acte tragicall and the scene bloudie. 729. Horat. Odyssey, b. Senecæ. Suas.

Cum inimico nemo in gratiam tuto redit.

Wee made mention, no. 723, that agents were apointed by Costllagh betweene him and the enemie for the surrender of Athlone, and that he and both his uncles were treatinge of the same at Rapadine; all things agreede upon, onely to acte somethinge of newe, wherby to brand himself with the indelible character of treason and perfidie, within two points he endeavoured to acte, to bringe the Linster forces (wherof he was generall by Ormonds apointment) unto Conaght, and then to shutt the floode-gate of Athlone against theire returne with saftie, the other to bringe the heads of some of his best friends upon the stage, which he comenced thus.

The treasonable intention of Costllagh to bringe his freinds and associats upon the stage.

Sir Thomas Armstronge residinge in Dublin since the defeate of the Vlster armie under the conducte of the Bishope of Cloghar, in Tyrreonell, as no. [*blank*] mentioned, Castellagh writes him a letter by a kindsman of his owne, by name James Tuite, importinge a desire to knowe by him in what posture the kings Majestie was in England, whoe adhered unto him? how stronge he was? with a true relation of the composure and strenght of Sir Charles Cootes armie, now drawinge towards Conaght from Vlster, Tyrreonell-waye; Sir Thomas receavinge this addresse, as a man of very good intelligence that waye, returnes the ensuinge resulte. 730.

Sir, his Majestie is in a hopfull condition, Sir Charles Coote began his marche towards Tyrreonnell, whoe is onely 1500 foote and 500 horse stronge, and might be easily opposed in the straights betweene the counties of Dunegall and Letrim. I desire your Lordship to edge on the Lord-deputie for that service, which in my 731. Sir Thomas Armstronge's letter.

1651. opinion did yeld a shrewde rubb unto the Parliament-affaires in Ireland, for the kings partie doe dayly multiplie in England, and the enemie here distracted, receauinge the leaste foyle, did mightie encourage the one and discourage the other. I will allsoe, by the asistance of Sir Robert Biron, knight, endeauour to give the alarum here abouts, as they goe to the fielde, which wilbe sufficient grounde to diuerte them from you there; fayle not, etc. Signed, Tho. Armstronge.

Iames Tuite agent for Costellogh.

Tuite returninge with this resulte unto Costllagh, whoe perusinge the same, was very glade, as his smiles did manifeste (but his cankred intentions did otherwise worke), for presentlie did manage all things to the defendinge and strenghtninge the castle and towne of Athlone, did apointe his uncle, Sir James Dillon, and Sir Robert Thalbott, joint gouernors for both towne and castle, did furnishe the forte with a braue magazine of pure corne leuied in all the countrie, and what was founde of that stuffe in the ilands of Loghry was transported thither, soe that neither provision, amunition, or ordinance for a longe siedge was wantinge, that all men thought his proceedings to be both reall and loyall; but noe souldier did he admitt into that garrison other then such as suited to his intended designe. Now the other.

Costelloghs endeauours for Athlone.

732. By vertue of his authoritie, Generall of Linster (to ensure his game), he sent dispatches unto the standinge forces of Linster to marche in all hast towards Conaght, both horse and foote, to oppose a weake enemie (as he tearmed then Sir Charles Coote), and leaste any did disobeye his comannds, desires Clanricarde, as Deputie, to write unto the seuerall families of lowe Linster that did comannde any men, in a more pressinge waye to marche with all expedition, which was exactly don by Clanricarde (as one that was skillfull in the invention of the like lesson). Upon receipte of these respectiue dispatches, the Byrnes and Keuanaghs had a braue partie of both horse and foote. Collonell Daniell oge Keuanagh and Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim had two braue foote regiments, Colonell Sir Walter Dungan a regiment of horse, Thomas Scurloge his Lieutenant-colonell (a reall man at present, but stepinge towards Athlone to knowe what the matter might be, was neuer after the same man, and did not goe to Conaght, as smokinge what they ment), and Charles Kevanagh, Major, to whom, for the most parte, all the horse did belonge. Roger Moore pretended the fiat of a Colonell of foote; Colonell Charles Molloy had a foote regiment; Colonell Lewes Moore a foote regiment, and the name of a regiment of horse; Walter Bagnall and Sir Thomas Esmond, though Colonells, had not the number of men compitinge theire name, whose nomination onely tended to make upp the number of factioniers to beare swaye in the Councell of warr. All these in a goodly bodie did marche towards Conaght. But what of the Linster forces did belonge unto Westmeathe, Costellagh, and Sir James Dillon, were scattered in loose companyes, ranged at pleasure in the countrie, undoinge the poore natiues, extortinge and pilladginge whearever they went; all this by the allowance of theire proper comannders, to render them unusfull and disservicable.

The Linster forces for Conaght.

Dillon and Westmeath, his forces.

733. At this time Limbricke was leagered hearde upon three quarters of a yeare by Deputie Earthon, and none to reliue it in the fielde but Mortagh O'Bryan and Dauid Roche, both dilligent and loyall seruitors, very often actinge theire parte very well to the mightie preiudice of the enemie, by whose vigilant care and manly

The continuance of Limbricke siedge.

ndustrie theire number of both horse and foote did dayly hopfully increase, soe hat within a shorte time it was thought they would come to very good issue, vhich conceaued by Clanricard and his faction, did comannde Castlhauen with ome fewe horse to Monster, to adhere unto the former partie, as chiefe comannder ınder the vizarde and name, to reliue Limbricke (but as sure as death to worke ent and division there). Castlhauen thus dispatched, arrivinge thither, shewinge iis comanndes, was well knowen by that partie, and the prime objecte of Clanri-arde soe comanndinge would not obeye, wherupon, accordinge instructions worked, liuision and jealousies betweene the two former comannders, Mortagh O'Bryan nd Dauid Roche, which, takinge roote, did the like with the troupes, promisinge raue meanes and preferments, and to followe him, and relinquish both the other. By those surmishes he won the hearts of allmost all the cauallrye, soe that he was omannder now neere a 1000 horse. In possession of soe many horse, to bringe his lesigne unto its period, dissembled a flight from his quarter by a false alarum from he enemie (leavinge the two other poore comannders in blanke), cominge straight vith his saide horse towards Athlone, plunderinge and pilladginge where euer he vent; passinge through Athlone, he marched towards My Lord deputy Clanricarde, o giue an accounte, and gett his further orders, wheare repairinge, obtained his omanndes with his horse for the countie of Clare, and to be asistant unto Major-generall Huigh Oneyll, Gouernor of Limbricke; thither this warrior marched, where indinge that noble and faithfull seruitor recrutinge some men, I meane Mortagh)'Bryan, whoe by the distraction hapninge betweene him and Dauid Roche, oc-asioned by Castlhauen, as aforesaide, was forced to come to the countie of Clare for ecrute and musteringe of men; but Castlhauen thither arrivinge, used all hostile ehavior towards the natives, only for adheringe unto the saide Mortagh, hanginge nd punishinge all such souldiers that came unto his hands belonginge unto the oblman, soe that none durst apeere unto him for recrute or otherwise, dependinge f Mortagh, but was punished under the name of Torie.

1651.

Mortagh O'Bryan and David Roche.

Castlhaven with comission to Monster, and why?

His treachery there acted.

His hostile behaviour in Tomond.

Castlhauen allsoe did contest with Major-generall Neylle in Limbricke, beinge dmitted thither with a 100 horse, used all the meanes possible for mutinie, rent, nd division in the cittye; but not inkindled for the present to any purpose, for he zeale of Dominick Fanninge, vigilancie and industrie of Huigh Oneylle, applyed hemselues with seasonable salues to those ruptures, which Castlhauen obsearuinge, pointinge there his temptinge and zelopytinge spirits, deserted the towne and ncampinge his troupes on the other side of Limbricke, Tomond waye, which the nemie could not yett leager, and from whence the leagered was sure to receaue rovision (the other side beinge stoped by the enemie), whence he suffered noe bitt o goe to the cittye, wherby that side was as prejudicious unto the defendants as hat of the enemie; thus did Castlhauen (if hyperboles will saue the turne) most hristianly and faithfully leager Limbricke, breede division, opposed the seruice of Iortagh O'Bryan and Dauid Roche, did plunder and pilladge all the territories rom whence all the provision and relife, by markett or otherwise, came to the cittie as stopped;—loe the diservice of Castlhauen and all conducinge to the enemie ehoofe.

734.

His contestation with Huigh Oneylle and Dominicke Fanninge.

He brought Limbricke to a sadd condition.

The Deputie Clanricarde himself was not idle at this time (as the font from

735.

1651.

Clanricard did disbande 3 regiments in Conaght, Richard Bourke, Randle Mc Daniell and Donogh O'Conor, and why?

whence those springs worked all the meanes to weaken the service and enable the enemie); any whom he thought loyall to either kinge or nation (if in comannde) did disbande, three Conaght regiments, the most loyall in all that province, he disbanded, Colonell Richarde Bourke, Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, and Colonell Donogh O'Conor, onely because loyall to both religion and countrie. A man would thinke this to be too strange a policie and too publicke a treason to leaue the province of Linster naked to the enemie, one of two citties that stoode out for his Majestie to cutt shorte of provision, to disbande and disable its best relivers, the enemie at its doore, to nourish mutinie and division amonge both souldier and cittizen, to disable the natiue colonells and gentrie to defende theire owne birth right, wives, children, proper liues and fortunes and to intertaine fewe, weake, factious, and disloyall strangers to defende aliene, lett any man of indifferent doome judge whether this was to preuent distruction (as a chiefe governor, and one soe intrusted, should doe) or cause it?

736.

Costllaghs treachery now discouered.

Makes his conditions with Sir Charles Coote.

Authors of Dillons intelligence in restrainte in Dublin.

Costellagh now havinge brought all his intended treasons to this wished issue, enformed of Sir Charles Cootes marche at the confines of Roscomon and Sligo counties, addressinge himself thither, apeeringe, makinge his apollogie of privat conference with the enemie comannder, declared unto him all the former intelligence and intentions contained in Sir Thomas Armstronges letter (as above no. 731 mentioned), and makinge his conditions for Athlone (whether all this by the aprobation of Clanricarde I cannott truely attest, other then aposteriori, which in that sense I dare affirme); this soe treacherously acted, Sir Charles presently did dispatch this intimation unto the Gouernor of Dublin, whoe fourthwith comannded a searche to be made in all the cittie for the bodies of Sir Thomas Armstronge, Sir Robert Byron, and James Tuitte. Sir Thomas was not founde, Sir Robert was aprehended, and James, hapninge to be in the countie of Westmeath, was taken and remitted to Dublin in the nature of a prisoner, but upon his examination (as, well backed) was dismissed. Sir Robert, induringe some seeminge indurance, was enlarged; what treachery more notorious then to betraye his kindsman, and those that were his proper sticklers in Ormonds faction? to expose theire necks to the axe! onely to indeere himself unto an enemie in an unlawfull waye, against oath and couenant? what perfidie more palpable? what malice and yrefull reuenge more publicke to kinge, countrie, and religion then to hazarde the liues of his deerest friendes, nay, of his owne flesh and bloude, leaste to be capable of actinge any service in the behalfe of his solemne oath for his leige, religion, and nation, to bringe all the well affected of Linster into a nuke or laborinthe, rendringe Athlone, the anchor of theire saftie, to be the Caribdez of theire overthrowe, is not this to make the acte tragicall and the scene bloudie? and motiue sufficient to brande him with that indelible character of infamie? noe securitie with such one other then diffidence, qui sibi nequam cui bonus. If his malice be such towards his owne associats and factioniers, what will others (against whom he is euer bent) expecte at his hands? Si in viridi fronde hæc fiant, quid erit in sicco?

The perfidie of this man.

CHAPTER VIII.

1651.

EMULATION of vertue in greate men is honorable, but of greatnesse dangerous; for many times it breaketh the necke of one or both the rivalls: but it neuer faileth of hindringe theire faithfull service to theire prince and the state. 737. Plut. in Thes. Lucan l. 1°. Sil. l. 17.

O dirum exitium mortalibus, O nihil unquam
Crescere, nec magnas patiens exurgere laudes
Invidia.

Greate emulation haue been nourished between Costellagh and the Earle of Westmeathe, he unworthyly challenginge the gouernment of that countie in disrespecte of this mans predicessors, whoe claimed right therunto, which neuer any of his familie could doe; this emulation was not of vertue, but of greatnesse, not of gouernment and right styringe of the comonwealthes shippe, but of tyranizinge, wherby was marred all loyaltie to regalitie, true and faithfull service to theire nation (if to either inclined). Though this noblman (by creation) was assured of the earles refraction, and that he and the rest of the faction were at least Presbyterians, and on the verie last disposition to leppe from that pott into the fryinge pann of Independents, yett, to be still preferred before him, he will first in publicke viewe shake hands with disloyaltie, and become a knowen traytor to both God, kinge, and nation, surrendringe the impregnable forte of Athlone to Sir Charles Coote without a blowe, plentifull enough of both provision and amunition, himself residinge in the saide enemie campe, did write his comanndes unto his uncle, Sir James Dillon, and to Sir Robert Thalbott, gouernors apointed by him of both towne and castle, and prime practitioner of disloyaltie, to yeld upp both upon sight to Sir Charles Cootes use, all conditions, circumstances, exceptions, and ergiuersations to the contrarie notwithstandinge (and though those same men were apointed agents by him to Deputie Earthon, as above mentioned), for the surrender of Athlone, and he, pursuant therunto, did now marche thither with his armie, under the leadinge of Sir Theophilus Jones, they upon sight of the former comannde of Costllagh did yelde the castle, with all the ordinance and other warrlik engines, to Sir Charles his atturneye.

The emulation of Costllagh and Westmeathe.

The factionists Presbyterians.

Costllagh did comannde the surrender of Athlone.

whose perfidie is herby discouered.

By this surrender all the humaine hopes of the Irish is now at a stande, for all the enemie in Ireland maye now come together without controle into the province of Conaght. The parliament forces in Linster marched in a bodie to Athlone to joine with Sir Charles Coote. Before this treacherous yeldinge, the Shanon, from sea to sea invironinge the province of Conaght, was well guarded and deffended by the Irish, that noe enemie could pipe over it. Sir Charles and Earthons distracted parties were in mightie danger to be seuerally circumvented, but now the very best passadge free, are reliued, and by the example of this treacherous acte all other passadges of concearnment upon the Shanon, or otherwise, were yelded. Terence Coghlane did surrender Raghra, a passadge of good esteeme; Sir Luke Dillon, Rathpadin, upon Loghry; Anthony Brabson, Bellanasloe; ould Captain Lecester, Millicke, and such others, soe that the saide Shanon, the Irish bulwarke and loyall spouse of the nation, was now become a prostitute, rendringe free

738. How prejudicious the surrender of Athlone to the loyall Irish.

Terence Coghlane, Anthony Brabson, Luk Dillon, Thomas Lecester.

1651. passadge unto all comers, and denied any favor unto its former possessors; such as were its jaylours hertofore were become now its prisoners, and such as durst not salute it afarr off were now its porters; by this diluge both Linster and Vlster forces that adhered unto the Deputie Clanricarde are brought now into a sadd condition, and all this distemper by the treacherous surrender of Athlone.

739. Daniell Keuanagh. Charles Keuanagh. Lewes Moore. You shall obsearve, reader, that Colonell Lewes Moore of the Linster forces now in Conaght, whose nice was maried unto Colonell Daniell oge Keuanagh, spoke to this man of some jealousies he conceaued against Major Charles Keuanagh, brother unto the saide Daniell (on whom depended the most parte of the Linster horse), as no. 732 touched, as not adheringe unto him, apointed colonell by the gouerment, which if he had don, did enable both into the service in an honorable waye. The complained thought this Moore to be made of some aproued mettle, and havinge by aproued testimonies founde out Dungans refraction and perfidie hertofore (to whom his saide brother Charles did at present adhere), allowed his motion, movinge the same to his brother Charles, both aplyinge themselues for resulte unto Lewes Moore. The Major tellinge him he would putt him nexte mustar daye in the heade of a selecte regiment of horse, that he was not tyed to any colonell other then whom he pleased, and desired him to be of courage; this agreede upon, the daye of mustar aproachinge, Major Charles, musteringe his regiment, and havinge all in a bodie, did call for Colonell Moore, bidinge him to leade that horse as proper colonell, which he did and left, Dungan stikinge onely to one or two troupes; this continued without controle for 9 or 10 daies, Dungan all the while in his dumbs, knowinge not what best to doe. Moore, seeinge him one morninge walkinge solitarie and pensiue, addressinge himself towards him, reciprocall salutations finished, tould him he was verie sorie to be a meane of any such mylancholy passion in him, and if any such did proceede from him, as in trenchinge on his right in relation into the regiment, was at present content to quitt his claime therin (notwithstandinge the intrest and donation of Keuanagh), rather then forgoe so good a friende, and desired Dungan to intercesse in his behalf unto My Lord Deputy to haue a foote regiment in the standinge armie, and, in promisinge his asistance herin, did fourthwith disclaime in any right he might challenge in the saide regiment of horse. This couenant concluded betweene doubl-dealinge-Moore and temporizer-Dungan, wherby both discredited himself, and made Charles his abetter to be euer after hated of Dungan, whoe noe sooner herof certified, then made himself readie and returned to Linster with three score and ten choice horse, leavinge the rest to Dungan—loe the silly deportment of this Moore lost both horse and foote regiment by the bargaine.

Lewes, his inconstancie, foolerie, and treachery. Walter Dungan.

740. Robert Nugent and James Keylin. Alexander Hope betrayed it. About this time Captain Robert Nugent of Westmeathes regiment, with his company of Tories, and Captain James Kellinge, allsoe dependinge on Westmeathe, impouerishinge the relicte inhabitants of Westmeath and Longforde counties, to amende somethinge, what was irregulatly don, waited on a garrison that of late was placed in an Iland of Loghkinill, called the Iland of Deserte (which belonged to this Nugents father), and betrayed unto the enemie by Alexander Hoppe and others therin residinge; those captains played theire parte soe well that (notwithstandinge the enemie had all the cotts in his possession) they intred the saide

island, killed some of the garrison, tooke all unto mercie, and hanged one Nicholas Nugent, a greate promoter and a ranke Protestante and spie for the enemie. The place was mightie plentifull and riche; the captain in person acquaintinge the Earle of Westmeathe, his colonell therwith, as of high concearnment for the publicke, desired relife to make it good against the comon enemie, which mightie conduced to bride distraction in the enemie about them parts. Notwithstandinge all reasonable motiues, noe relife was sent; nay, the captain upon his returne did extempore capitulat with the enemie for surrender (which he durst not doe, other then by higher power preaduiced). The conclusion had beene that Captain Nugent gott in his quarter, all the bagg and baggage of that island, ransome or exchaunce for eache his prisoners, two monethes meanes upon the distressed natiues to be aplotted and raised by the enemie authority, and the same iland to be demolished, this is all the seruice that Westmeathes parties haue don unto the bleedinge countrie, but starued thousands of poore orphans and widowes to death, and thus thriued. If any thinge ambiguous of our discoueryes, you may seriously, and without affectation, peruse the ensuinge letters penned by a prime practitioner of faction, intercepted by a person worthy all credit, whose sense is as followeth.

1651. Nicholas Nugent hanged.

The iland surrendred into the enemie by Westmeathes surmish to the disseruice of the natiues.

CHAPTER IX.

May it please your Excellencie,

741. Patricke Bryans letter to Ormonde.

Your assignment and letters of favour in my behalfe delivered, notwithstandinge which, and my greate expence of time and meanes, in pursuance therof, I am hitherto putt of, though many of lesse neede satisfied with, my present urgent necessitie admittinge noe delaies, compells me to enforme your Excellencie with this oportunitie, humbly prayinge your seconde more pressinge direction in that behalfe, if your owne cominge be retarded, your Excellencies speedie arrivall here is wished beyonde all measure by all your freinds, your delaye beinge of such dangerous consequence, contained in the inclosed. Be pleased, good lord, to answeare theire expectation, and the present fauourable unlastinge oportunitie, whereon depends the prosperitie or ruyne of all your freinds, and the preservation of all your house and familie. Pardon me for this over passionat expression, forced by my zeale and affection to your saftie and welfare. It is not onely mine, but the sense and expression of all your freinds in generall, wherof your Excellencie will be soone assured, if theire letters in that behalfe comes safe unto your Excellencies hands, which I hope cominge to your hands will not onely call you home with expedition, but alsoe remove all obstacles, worke in you that honorable resolution of Henry de Burbon, in choosinge to heare one masse rather then to hazardo his kingdome, wherwith I conclude. I humbly take leave, and remaine,

Your most humble servant,

Subscribed—To Ormond. P. B.

Noble Cossen,

742.

Findinge this oportunitie, I thought fitt to craue your fauorable inter-

1651. cession to his Excellencie in my behalfe, touchinge the moneyes I lended his Excellencie, whose assignment to me in that behalfe on the Deputy and Sir George tooke hitherto noe effecte, though by me pursued with much expence of time, labour, and moneyes. I neede not relate the sadd condition I am brought too; you cannott be ignorant therof; onely this that it wilbe impossible for me to suporte my charge without speedie relife herin, wherof in despaire, without his Excellencies further directions, or his owne presence here, which is expected not onely by me but by all his freinds; whoe are, God be thanked, multiplyed to twenty now for one at his partinge; and the chiefest heade peeces of all his best wishers, doe giue him and themselues with all theire adherents for lost, if he doe not answeare the present oportunitie, while the ciuill and martiall gouernment be in the hands of his freinds, which they are assured to loose if the Duke of Loraigne be landed here before him, soe that in most mens opinion, howeuer affected, whosoeuer of them two comes first shall comannde all. And this is not all that is to be feared; but that if Loraigne come first, My Lords best freinds, that run all hazarde to searve him, wilbe destroyed, or at leaste brought to that sadd posture, that they will not be able to searve him further to any purpose; neither can they, with all the power they haue, prevent this at the present, by reason of the obstinacie of Limbricke and Galwaye to the gouernment, helde up by the worste sorte of people in both places, whoe might be soone dannted by his Excellencie in person, especially beinge backt with the power of the kingdome now in the hands of his freinds; and withall hauinge the powerfullest members within both the townes to his freinds. And yett some of My Lords freinds are afraide of some opposition or rubb without he comes a Catholicke; and are of opinion that if he comes ouer a Catholicke, and continue soe but for one yeare, he would bringe his designe to passe, and settle all his freinds in despite of the Pope, Loraigne, and all theire partakers, provided he be heare before Loraigne. Muskrie is powerfull in the counties of Corke and Kyerie, and broke the designe of the Clergie there, in theire two actiue instruments, David Roche and Mortagh O'Bryan; they are both come to Limbricke, frustrated of all theire ends. Castlhauen is noe lesse powerfull in Tomond, soe that neither they two, nor any other disaffected to the gouernment, can beare up heade there, and he is like ere longe, with the helpe of the honest Bishope of Limbricke, to beare all the swaye within Limbricke, and in time be able to crubb Dominicke Fanninge and his faction there, and pull downe the arrogancie of the present Mayor. He alreadie bore downe the swaye of Huigh Oneylle, whoe attempted the bouldnesse to send him orders by his aiudant, whom he threatned to hange for attemptinge that bouldnesse, tellinge him with an undannted spirit that he would make his master as obedient unto him as the meanest corporall in his armie, and that within two monthes Monster should not hould but one of them two, which is now like to be accomplished, Huigh Oneylle beinge alreadie comannded to the fielde to comannde the armie for the present expedition for Vlster, whence I hope he shall never returne to that neaste. His Lordship is likwise by degrees crubbinge the faction of Loraigne in his armie. He presumed the courage to tell his officers in the heade of his armie, that they should not sell theire loyaltie for a little moneye of a foraigner, and none durst answeare him to the

contrary. To preuent any rupture in the gouernment, he brought all the Tories under comannde, the Lord of Limbricke beinge noe small helpe to him therin. Clanricarde did the like in Conaght, and comanndes the armies of the other three provinces. He disbanded the three activest members for the clergie in Conaght, Colonell Donogh O'Conor, Colonell Randle Mc Daniell, and Colonell Richarde Bourke. Sir Walter Dungan, Sir Thomas Esmond, My Lord Costllagh, Sir Roberte Thalbott, and Bagnall are the powerfullest men in Linster. Barnewall comanndes My Lord of Westmeathes horse, none to be feared in Linster but Bryan Mc Phelims partie; but they are out of theire neaste of Glanmalury, comannded to Athlone, whence I hope they shall never returne, or be able to doe litle abroade. The Vlster armie are broken in themselves, and deuided without any heade. Drumore is the comanndinge prelat amonge them, a seconde Cloghar, in spite of the surmishes of Ardmagh and Kilmore. And allsoe in Linster, notwithstandinge the privat workinge of Dublin, Clonmacnose and Laghlin, Tuamensis, his brothers, with Killalla and Kilfinora styres the Churche affaires in Conaght, notwithstandinge the privat workinge of Clonferte, and Doctor Kelly Oliuerus is bounde for Rome, like to be Bishope of Elfin. I have a greate deale more to enforme his Excellencie, but that I know that all the passadges heare are certified to his Excellencie by severall hands, that can giue a straighter accounte therof, and with more authoritie then I. Yett through my zeale to his Excellencies wellfare, I presume this bouldnesse, for which I humbly begg pardon, and remaine 1651. Hitherto the letter.

Your humble servant,

Subscribed, Signed, P. Bryan.

To his Excellencies Chamberlaine, Edward Butler, Etc.

CHAPTER X.

A LARGE kingdome is a greate morsell, yett not enough to suffice the hungrie nawes of two that are ambitious: eache will win the horse or loose the sadle, haue all or loose all, for love and lordshipe brooke noe fellowshipe. It is therfore greate imprudence in him that admitts of an equall, where himself maye be sole comannder, or at leaste chiefe umpire. 743. Am. Plut. Tacit. l. 1. Ovid.

Non bene cum socijs Regna Venusque manent.

The intelligence of this prime practitioner of faction, Patricke Bryan, or more truely Byrne, is admirable, I belieue, if you be not altogether incredulous, you will giue credence unto all wee haue hithervnto spoken in the behalf of this present discouery, for in these letters you see an ample testimonie therof to the worlds viewe, confirminge in effecte what is alreadie suggested, wherin he sheweth more malice by this his information then scarce a cankred hearte can harbour or vent, nor any penn how virulent soeuer prescribe, ex abundancia cordis os loquitur. It seemes his obiecte is for a large kingdome, sure a greate morsell, advicinge his master to Auicenas ther upon.

1651. followe the example of the Fronche kinge, Henry de Burbon, whoe was like to loose his title to his kingdome, as not beinge conformable in religion to his subjects; whoe obsearvinge and weainge the danger of soe fatall a fortune, is reported to haue saide, that he would not forgoe the kingdome of France for hearinge one ould masse, if the present will haue this precident, currere quatuor pedibus, he insinuats hereby the title of Ormond to the scepter of Irelande; nothinge to the assecution therof, other then his conformitie to Catholicke religion, oppuguant, settinge fourth the feasibilitie therof by the examplare Burbon, to be a Catholicke but for one yeare, and would bringe his designe to its wished end, which designe is noe other thinge then the temporall signorie of this distracted kingdome, all which is pursuant to our intimation of Ormonds deportment, no. 480.

744. It is well knowen that Ormond was sworne to the nation at the capitulation of peace, to acte naught then pursuant to the oathe of association, all the Confederate Catholicks were obliged by the same oathe to obeye his Holinesse, his dellegats and nationall congregation; but both Pope, assembly, and clergie congregation did electe and nominat the Duke of Loraigne regall protector of this kingdome. That the author of the former letter should dispense in soe solemne and publicke oathe, with a seeminge Catholicke for one yeare, for the settle of his freinds in spite of Pope, Loraigne, and theire adherents, is verie strange (an evident demonstration of both lord and seruant's refraction) obedience to his Holinesse, obseruation of couenant to his Highnesse, fidelitie and loyaltie to Kinge and assemblye, and due respecte to all lawfull clergie congregation, are boughes and branches of the saide association, or rather the intrinsicall constitutivum therof, which to disanull is more then ordinarie power. To edge him on, he tells of the encrease of his friends, 20 for one since he parted the kingdome; obsearue the improvment of faction in soe shorte a time. All his freinds (though thus multiplied) cannot preuent proper future distruction, as longe as the Catholicks doe possess Limbricke and Galwaye for his Majestie, those onely beinge all that is loyall and obedient in the whole kingdome; a strange passadge. The Lord-leutenant Ormond, Deputie Clanricarde, and theire faction, can assure themselues of noe saftie while those townes and theire gouernors continue loyall, such as are pursuant to theire oathe of confederacie (in the opinion of this author) are the scum and froathe of all people, onely because loyall. A man might supose the contrarie of this assertion to be true, viz., that the Lord-leutenant Deputie and theire adherents should assure themselues of present fate, if Limbricke and Galwaye did treacherously yelde, as the rest of citties and townes of the whole kingdome haue don, they beinge publick ministers of state for his Majestie intrusted for the defence of his royall intreste, and havinge none to make good but those two townes. The intimation of this author is strange, that Ormonds friends can assure themselues of noe saftie while those townes hould out against the comon enemie.

The encrease of faction.

A strange passadge.

Obiection.

745. The warrlicke behaviour, manly opposition, and faithfull demeanour of Huigh Oneylle, gouernor of Limbricke, in the defence therof against a stronge enemie, is tearmed by this author obstinacie to the gouernment. Major Huigh Oneylle was apointed by Ormond himself Major-generall of the whole kingdome, and confirmed

Huigh Oneylle, Mortagh O'Bryan's loyaltie.

gouernor of Limbricke, though against his stamocke, yett, to please the man and 1651
the best sorte of people there, was contented to preferr him unto that honorable encumbencie, notwithstandinge his courage in opposinge the comon enemie, his loyaltie to serue his Majestie, his reputed Lord-leutenant, his fidelitie to his countrie, his zeale to his holy religion, and constant cariage pursuant to his principles, is tearmed obstinacie, because he will not surrender his place unto Castlhauen, pigmeyan Goliath of Clanricarde, euer yett charactered with the abominable staine of disloyaltie, patricide, and faction (as you maye obsearue, n°. 132, 175, and 192, and others). If all were wantinge, I doe conceaue the calefication of his censeritie by the author of the present intelligence, and his proper deportment in bridinge mutinie, raisinge faction, dismembringe union and association, is sufficient motiue to brand him with that neuer stainingе epythome of conterfeite Catholicke, disloyall subjecte inhumaine broode, and periured-factious companion. This man and Muskrye are powerfull and prosperous in Monster (as this author sayeth), not against any knowen or sworne enemie to either kinge, countrie, or religion, rather against theire proper Confederats, in disrespecte of both oathe, couenant, and clergie, opposinge, viribus et posse, the two faithfull and ever loyall member of Catholicke Confederacie in them parts, Mortagh O'Bryan, and Dauid Roche, whom the author, the two actiue instruments (for the clergie doe tearme), to be obstinat unto the gouernment. I am of opinion that the author doe meane the parliament gouernment—for the aforesaide peeres (as you might with indifferencie conceaue by this letter) doe acte all things sutable to the same, out of which premisses you may philosophically deducte an undeniable consequence, that neither those, the author, nor whom he writes is other then antagonists of both kinge, nation, and religion, and such as he tearmes obstinat, to be both true, loyall, and faithfull.

Castlhauens disloyaltie and actions disciphered.

Muskrye how powerfull.

Dauid Roche and Mortagh O'Bryans loyaltie.

Which may be confirmed by the author himself, in his letter, for all that was 746.
charactered with the staine of treasone and faction in either towne or countrie, since those comotions, are here by him placed in the predicament of loyaltie and best ranke of men; and such as were never yett taxed with any the leaste crime, rather most obsearuant of oathe and alleageance, are placed in that of diffidie and swaruinge from the gouernment, as Huigh Oneylle, Bryan Mc Phelim, Mortagh O'Bryan, Dauid Roche, Dominicke Fanninge, etc.; and those whose actions did euer tende to perfidie and distruction, are named reall and faithfull friends of Ormonde, as Drumore, Limbricke, Bagnall, Esmond, Thalbott, Barnewall, etc. What then will any man of indifferent doome judge of the author and his saide adherents, other then presbyterians, factionists, and disloyall, his advice for reconcilment to religion, his end for that purpose, (the settle of his friends), the small and peremptorie continuance therin, his wishes and execrations against the well affecteds returne to places of saftie, the displayinge of faction and disunion in the saide townes and respectiue prouinces in both clergie and laytie, doe cleerly discouer the contagious maladie whearwith he and his master and faction are obnoxious, and doe evidentlie confirme and aproue what hitherto we haue, without respecte of persons intimated unto the world, in this our present discouery; what other things he speaketh of Drumore and other prelats, that he is a seconde Cloghar in Vlster,

Ormond and his faction confirmed traytors by the author.

A poore Catholicks aduice.

Faction yett discouered.

1651. and those styringe the churche affaires in Conaght, you shall be ascertained off in due place. As for his jealousies against the cominge of the Duke of Loraigne, it is accordinge his principles they doe oppose this solemne acte, though imediatly grounded upon theire proper authoritie, as hearafter more at large. Now lett us returne to Clanricarde and his Linster forces in Conaght.

CHAPTER XI.

747. . . . . Aristoteles. Eth. l. 4. Cicer. pro. Mil. Publius.

The contemplatiue parte of musicke consisteth chiefly in a true disposition of proportions, and the actiue is in a symphonie and right settinge of the instruments one to another, and the voice to both. In economie men must cutt theire coate to their cloathe: and in moralitie, quid, quantum, quibus, quando, and quomodo, are necessarie attributes to every vertue; soe likwise in policie, a prudent prince standinge upon the defensive parte, is to measure and proportion his resistance accordinge to the strenght or weaknesse of the assayler, and that in due time, by frustratinge (as much as in him lyeth) the mynes made to blowe him up, by his owne countermines of prevention and diuersion.

Eurip. Ducis in consilio posita est virtus militaris—periculosa res dux inconsultus.

How farr did the Deputie Clanricarde swarue from this pollitical rule? He had notice longe agoe that Sir Charles Coote was marchinge towards Conaght, with small forces in respecte of the multitude he might have (if soe pleased) for that service, but disabled himself any waie to encounter the enemie; for all the Conaght forces (euer yett at his becke) vanished awaye, keepinge theire keraghts in places of saftie, to some Linster and Vlster onelye forces stickinge, to waite on his Excellencie in the feilde, whoe never offered to hinder Cootes proceedings when weake; and which advantage, till now growinge still stronger by the accesse of Conaght men, whoe dayly drooped unto him (and as may be truely alleadged not without the assent of Clanricarde), whoe now (adishoras) comannded his armie to marche towards Ballimote or Motanaheny upon a straight there, to oppose the enemie progresse towards the countie of Mayo (which was the leaste of his thoughts) as the Deputie might very well know, by the posure of his armie, surrender of Athlone, and other pregnant inducements (both knowen and certified unto Clanricarde) notwithstandinge his armie thither with a double marche arrivinge, without either breathe, provision, or meanes; wearie and discouraged, satte there in vaine that night with a cleane stamocke. Noe sooner the enemie obsearued his aduantage, the passadge wherunto his aime was free, noe rubb or hinderance to be feared (noted by the behaviour of his very good freinde, cossen, and benefactor, Clanricarde) then marched safe and leasurely towards the countie of Galwaye; and though our Deputie-generall did well obsearue the enemie motion, did continue where he was at present for 24 howers more, in the same condition of extenuitie as formerly, herby rendringe full raynes unto him to be out of all danger, and exposinge his proper ones for slaughter, next morninge comannded

Clanricardes stratageme tendinge to the enemie avayle.

O poore armie and silly souldiers, beguiled thus by your enemie.

his starulinge armie to marche through woodes, boggs, and mountaines in contestation of the enemie, goinge the high, plaine, and beaten waye, with the advantage of 24 howers before, all which, notwithstand the celeritie and pressinge comannde of the Irish was such (though fastinge all the while) that they arriued to Loghreagh, which was the prime objecte of theire expedition, to defende this onelye for his Excellencie, comittinge all the rest of the countrie to the mercilesse doome of a weaker enemie, whoe (though noe comoditie wanted, all the countrie at his devotion) was wearie and tyred, as not accustomed to soe longe, tedious, and dayly marches. This much was discouered by Leutenant-generall Fferall, and the rest of the well affected comannders, seeinge him marchinge towards them to Loghreagh in a weake and discountenannced arraye, in a most advantagious straight, all the Irish, both horse and foote, after theire longe and toylsome jorneyes refreshed and most willinge fight with this champion (before he did joine with Earthon), with all other circumstances conducinge to theire encouragment, cryed out unto the Deputy that his Excellencie might be pleased to permitt them giue the enemie the onsett, promisinge under Gods asistance to thriue, to the enemie prejudice; but Clanricarde would by noe meanes condescende to this motion; Colonell Daniell Oge Keuanaghe, and other sturdie gallants, seeinge theire oportunitie, not soe much expostulatinge with Clanricarde, or rather assured of his assent, opposed the enemie with gallantrie and courage, and if seconded, did putt the enemie to route, and though Clanricarde was earnestly solicited by Leutenant-generall Ferrall and others to give waye unto the bodie of the armie to advance towards the enemie, to know therby his motion, or at leaste to bringe off the said partie engaged with honor, and if all fayle (saide those comannders) the towne is our owne, wee doe not feare a siedge. All will not searue, neither will the deputie send as much as a poore researue to bringe off the alreadie engaged, till theire freinds and theire proper dexteritie did, with courage and enemie losse, retire with saftie and honor. Sure this did not proceede of any tender care of Clanricarde towards the saftie of his armie, but that to thriue did not soe well suite with his designe of destroyinge the Linster and Vlster forces. The Irish thus comannded to stande mute, the enemie did passe alonge in theire sight, in the posture aforesaide, till he came directly to Portumny, Clanricards chiefe house, and though strongly mand, was fourthwith yelded. Such a man (though never yett noted of either treason or faction) that will not be aduiced by either his master in the arte, or a councell of warr, is very dangerous, and specially in such a publicke acte, subiecte to all misconstruction, for——

1651.

The Irish not permitted by Clanricarde to fight with the enemie.

748.

Daniell Keuanaghs courage.

Clanricards intention.

Portumny yelded.

CHAPTER XII.

GREATE affaires require many heades to advice, and many hands to effecte. One braine is not capable of soe greate a charge; one arme unsufficient for soe insuportable a burthen. A prince therfore ought not to stande soe stiffe in his owne opinion, though grounded upon probable supposition, as not to yelde to his faithfull counsailours, upon more forcible and demonstratiue reasons. For, he that refuseth all counsaile is worste then a beaste: he that needeth none is more then a man.

749.

Tacit. Hist. l. 1.
Velle. l. 12.
Comic. Græc.
Plut.
Bodin. l. 3.

1651.
Virg. En. 12.

Palladem Jovi decubenti assidere,
Consulere, atque omnes metuentem expendere casus.

What Clanricarde is.

If the present peere-comannder were any thinge versant in the lecturie of these martiall and politicall authors, he would not stande soe stiffe to his proper sense, though grounded upon probable supposition (as was not, but self-conceite), rather cede and giue waye to the wise doome of faithfull counsellours, both practiced and interessed in the busines, settinge fourth in the behalf of theire resulte forcible and demonstratiue reasons, whoe refusinge is censured, by the vote of our Aphorisme, to be worste then a beaste, but heark now of him.

750.

Resident in Loghreagh aforesaide, receaued intelligence that My Lord Earthon did marche from the siedge of Limbricke towards Conaght, to reliue, joine, and conferr with Sir Charles Coote, whom he conceaued to stande in neede therof; wherupon Clanricarde did send orders unto Castlhauen, resident then in Tomond, (as no. 734 touched), to marche with all expedition with a 1000 horse and soe many foote (which was the relation of his armie) towards the foorde of Killaloe, and make the same good against Earthon: whoe straight obeyed, arriuinge unto the saide place with that sett number, and that beinge the onely passadge for Earthons armie to passe the Shanon, he began to make works there for his further saftie (though very well able brest to brest to defende with soe many soe narrowe a passadge), but noe sooner espied the enemie scouts afarr off drawinge towards the foorde, to be enformed of its security, then hoysed saile, and comannded both horse and foote to quitt the place, and savve themselues; wherupon both comannder and other with mightie disorder and speede ran awaye, he leadinge for flight that should doe it for stande, and neuer sent worde of this catostrophe unto his suposed freinds, the Irish armie, who rather thought themselues secure that waye, as seuerally attested by Clanricarde, till seeinge the treacherous comannder with such his partie as could beare out that celeritie in aroutinge maner, nemine persequente, aproachinge towards, by whose demeanour did judge the enemie to be at theire heeles, wherby afrighted, the deputie upon sight comannded the armie to marche towards Galwaye for theire securitie. The passadge, thus left free to Earthon, passed and marched to Portdumny to conferr with Coote, where continued together for some fewe nights, to dispose of the proceedings in Conaght and Limbricke affaires, which agreede upon Earthon did returne to Limbricke on Tomonds side, where formerly Castlhauen had beene incamped (no. 734), and wheare Earthon could not come thitherunto, the Shanon beinge in midest betweene his campe and this place, now leagers and blocks up Limbricke on either side, though cost him too deere, by the effusion of much Brittish bloude. Lett any man, freinde or foe, be judge, that reades this with an indifferent eye, engeniously tell whether Clanricarde, actinge those things, be a politician or a good warrior? standinge upon the defensive parte, did neuer measure his strenght or resistance to the assayler, nor ener offered to prevent or diuerte his motion till past recouery; rather disbanded such as were loyall and true seruitors to the cause (as alias mentioned), and not permittinge those fewe, that foolishly followed and obeyed him, to encounter the enemie upon the greatest advantage that could be offered, and now brings them unto a nuke, wheare ere longe will starue. Is this to styre a Catholicke kingdome?

Castlhauens treachery.

The Irish went to Galwaye.

Earthon and Coote together.

Limbricke blocked.

Lett any man iudge Clanricarde.

Is this to be a loyal subiecte to his Majestie? Is this to be a good Catholicke? Is this the faith of a Confederat? the honor of a peere, the amitie of a patriott, and the fidelitie of a Generall gouernor of a Catholicke nation? Noe—— 1651.

The Irish armie, with theire Generall, arriuinge to Galwaye, the faction rife there, the eldest folke was for it, and the yonger sorte did embrace the true and Catholick prineiples of the late Lord Nuncio, to shewe some seeminge indifferencie in this busines, and please the well affected of the militia in a pointe of soe neere concearnment unto theire saftie, it was thought by the deputie and his privye councell to cause the townes-men (notwithstandinge there was an actuall mayor) to nominat and electe a gouernor to rule the affaires of the militia in towne, and the same to be a souldier, leaste either the foresaide partye might be troublesome unto other. This soe moued, havinge theire privat instructions from the deputie, to choose none but such as hitherto was knowen member of blind-faction, pursuant therunto they gather to the Tolser. Chiefe in that passiue election was the late Generall of Linster, Thomas Preston, thither come after givinge up unto the comon enemie the citty of Waterforde, Bryan Roe Oneylle, Arthure Fox, there apointed agent from the clergie of Ardmagh Province to the Duke of Lorine, and Major Guire (since his araignment in at Athlone, after the yeldinge of Ticrohan) there master of the works; some variance apeered, but at lenght Clanricards sense knowen unto the ould craftie folke, suborned what voices was wantinge to sute theire intentions and the peeres pleasure, did thus choose Thomas Preston aforesaide, that lost both fielde and forte, wherof was comannder yett in Irelande, and as a gratuitie of his censeritie therin, Ormond at his last farewell unto Frannce, baptized him under the name and honorable title of Viscount Taragh, which is a badge of true seruice unto all that is periured and treacherous. This election was both pleasinge and gratfull unto Clanricarde and his faction, as the maine now of theire pretences. Arthure Fox was apointed colonell of the yongmen of the towne, with a flourishinge regiment of 1500 men, verie well apointed, whoe maried a widowe rich enough, and December followinge died, euer a constant man. Bryan Roe Oneylle was contented with his owne regiment in towne to liue, but Major Guire was left in albis, onely because loyall. 751.

A consultation for gouernor of Galwaye.

Preston, Bryan Roe, Arthure Fox, and Guire, but the first is elected.

And is stiled by Ormond Viscount Taragh.

Galwaye thus in saftie, at leaste soe simulated, Westmeathe by the advice of Clanricarde did man Tirolon, one of the Deputies houses neere Galwaye; but the enemie in a small bodie marchinge thither, the garrison souldiers obsearuinge him afarr off leauinge both house, munition, provision, and armes there, ran to Galwaye in a boate; which Bryan Roe Oneylle obsearuinge, expostulated with Westmeath, (as conceauinge his Lordship to be comannder of that partie) about soe base an acte and soe palpable a treason, whoe onelye answeared that it was My Lord Deputies comannde, Bryan Roe not herby satisfied, addressinge himself to Clanricarde, to be truely enformed, where did this distemper lye, either in the souldier or comannder, but founde by the Deputies acknowledgment himself to be the author, rendringe noe other reason then that it were better to call them in time then that soe many men did perish. My Lord, answered the other, if such a busines be, that wee be soe tender of our proper saftie that we will not expecte to see our enemie in the face, in vaine doe wee wage warr, or putt ourselues into any posture of 752.

The basnesse of those men.

Bryan Roes constancie.

Clanricards answeare to Bryan Roe Oneylle.

1651. defence. The leaste this partie could doe (saide he) to expecte untill the enemie came towards them, if not then able to fight, or not expectinge relife, might force as good quarter as they gott by this theire shamfull flight, and that with honor, or why did not they bringe theire armes, and as much bagage as they could carie, havinge sufficient comoditie and leasure to ferie it into the towne? or why did not they demolish both house and bagage? To this onelye did Clanricarde briefly answere, that it was a world of pitty to turne such a house into ashes, that he hoped to gett it againe, soe that Clanricard gave up his owne house freely to the enemie, within a quarter of a mile to Galwaye, which on that side was siedge enough against the towne. The enemie havinge soe prosperous comencement (too well acertained that Clanricard would give noe rubb unto theire further proceedinges) began to build turretts of earthe to the number of three, placinge ordinannce thereupon, left in them all the matter of 500 men, all which was acted under the deputies nose, at his very doore, havinge 5000 men at leaste, and might have 8000 if pleased him, and the enemie had onely 2500, and never gaue, or suffered to giue, the leaste interruption; nay, not as much as one false alarum, all the well affected cryinge out to the contrary.

His reasonable obiection.

The enemie confidence in Clanricarde.

753. The enemie havinge thus gained, without labour or losse, the whole province of Conaght, except the towne of Galwaye (which was leagered on two parts) and a nuke of the countie of Mayo, where he ranged at pleasure, takinge garrisons without controle upon sight, caused some Parliament vessells to anchor on Galwaye harbour, and to land some men on Sheepe Iland, to master the towne from them; with his ordinance very comodious, the number of foure score and ten choice mariners and other lustie men was there landed, to builde halfe moones, redouts, and other inginier-worke, to mounte theire artillerie against the towne, as aforesaide, the worke was begun, which, if finished, doubtlesse the towne could not subsiste. This obsearued by the Irish, Clanricarde was sued for remedie, non would he grannte, nor suffer any to oppose (as too tender of the souldiers saftie, as he alleadged), the townsmen and comannders would acte nothinge to the disgust of the Lord-deputie, or without his assent, the headstronge multitude, sensible of their future danger, cryed out to both comannder and souldier; the souldier offered himself for the seruice, noe comannder would undertake the leadinge of any partie unlesse comannded by Clanricard (which was the leaste of his thoughts). But Bryan Roe Oneylle publickly offered himself, which motion in the behalf of the peoples exclamation, and in prejudice of the mouer, was freely grannted by the deputie, and a partie of 300 men was picked out, and marched with this newe comannder, whoe thither arriuinge, comannded the whole partie upon paine of deathe to aduance and give an assaulte upon the newe made workes, which no sooner breathed then executed, and fightinge couragiously with the foresaide men the shipps alsoe discharginge theire ordinannce against this partie as thicke as haile. Notwithstantinge this rough intertainment and gallant opposition, this Irish partie had the killinge of all the whole crue in the saide iland then extant, except one onely man, that narrowly exscaped by swiminge; gott all theire bagage, tooells and instruments, demolished the workes, and turned home victorious, without the losse of one man, except one single souldier that was wounded, but not mortalye

Sheepe iland maned by the enemie.

Bryan Roes couragious resolution.

89 persons killed of the enemie, and one wounded of Bryans partie.

Thus did Bryan Roe Oneylle thriue in this expedition, and would often proue fatall unto the enemie, if the treacherye of Clanricarde did giue therunto assent. 1651.

Our loyall deputie, obsearuinge the facilitie wherwith this peece of seruice was acted, leaste it did any waye encourage the Irish to the under goinge of others of higher straine, or abate the intentions of his factionists to giue a rubb therto, he giues out that he will forgoe the kingdome and take his jorney for Frannce, as scrupulous of the issue of affaires here, and apointe My Lord of Costllagh lord-justice in his absence (Costllagh questionable for the surrender of Athlone to the enemie, as no. 737 touched); and to collour this enigma did nominat Leutenant-generall Ferrall to comannde the armie in Costllaghs absence, which was the leaste of his thoughts to truste him with the managment of the armie. All which was don by the surmishes of Drumore, and the rest of the refractorie-Conatian prelates, for two maine points; the one to free Costllagh from the danger and penaltie of a publicke traytor that hanged ouer his heade, by a councell of warr, for the surrender of Athlone, for Clanricard was petitioned by both clergie and laytie to giue way unto a councell of warr to trye that busines, and if Costllagh was founde guiltie by the saide councells doome to receaue the benefitt therof; or, if inocent, to restore him unto his former honor and reputation, whereby both freinde and accusers did receaue condigne satisfaction, otherwise his Excellencie did minister cause of jealousie and misconstructions in both ciuill and martiall gouerment; these with other pregnant motiues were moued unto Clanricarde, whoe in noe waye could be brought to this conformitie. Some of the well affected of the prelats, obsearuinge noe redresse in soe just a cause, and the deputie not regardinge the frequent suites of both prelats and comannders in this matters behalfe, addressed themselues to Westmeathe (as intimat with Clanricarde and antagoniste of the saide Costllagh), desiringe his Lordship to signe unto the instrument that was to be preferred unto the deputie in the behalfe of the saide suite, whoe peremptorily answeared that all such as desired or prosecuted the same were not onely traytor but dishonest and lewde people, swearinge a greate oathe that he would neuer signe unto it; which sense of this noblman is very strange, he and Costllagh heretofore sworne enemies, but, odium tertij, against theire loyall co-subjects are freinds, as Herod and Pilat were euer foes onely against our Sauiour, and in relation to his death are reconciled, et facti sunt amici Herodes et Pilatus in illa die. Sir Walter Dungan, Comissarie-generall of the horse by the deputies institution, did swere, sittinge actually in a councell of warr, though Costllagh was by the mayor vote there condemned, and that his crime were treble soe muche, in spite of them all would not suffer for it; loe these partiall judges and sons of iniquitie, what they acte againste justice to free this knowen and publicke traytor, soe charactered in the whole kingdome, to inueste him with the managment of the kingdome affaires is the cause and first motiue of Clanricards simulatinge to forsake the kingdome.

754.

Clanricarde intente to hinder the future seruice.

His chooseinge of Costllagh lord-justice and generall, notwithstandinge his impeachment of treasone.

Seuerall petitions to Clanricarde against Costllagh.

Westmeathes answeare.

Luc. 23.

Walter Dungan's resulte.

The other motiue of the deputies dissimulation was to render the well affected unconsiderable in the enemie opinion, for those suborned and refractorie prelats did infuse unto the eares of the armie that whearas theire generall and deputie was to deserte the kingdome, that they could not after his departure subsiste without rent and diuision, and, as now considerable, they should doe well to

755.

Mark what eankered action of prelats.

1651. comannde a trumpeter unto Earthon, deputie for the parliament, desiringe a treague or cessation of armes for a peremptorie time, and in the meane to worke theire conditions of settlment, herby assured that the well affected would either joine with them in that treacherous acte (and then those to haue theire intent) or sincke from them, and soe not considerable, and consequently upon the last tripp to miscarie, this was the fetch of Clanricarde and his factionall adherents for his desertinge the kingdome.

756. To preuent which rupture, Fa. Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall and missionarie from the Congregation of Cardinalls de Propaganda Fide (no. 723 mentioned), did send Father Bonauentura O'Melaghlin, guardian of Killihy, to Conaght, to imparte unto the well affected of the armie the ensuinge propositions:—

1. First, they should call to mind the betrayinge of Athlone to the enemie Coote.
2 Secondly, that they should be ware that, beinge in that condition, they be not in
3. like maner betrayed to the same enemie. Thirdly, that the onely scope of sendinge a trumpeter unto the enemie was to cause rent and diuision amonge them, and soe distracted to render them inconsiderable; the onely remedie, the comannders well affected to sweare a new confederacie for onely religion. Those propositions arriued to Leutenant-generall Ferrall, Bryan Roe Oneylle, Bryan Mc Phelim, and Daniell oge Keuanagh, whoe accordinglie behaued themselues, and were more circumspecte for the future then thitherunto had beene, the guardian did returne home to giue an accounte unto Father Prior.

The Prior of Conalls industrie.

Whoe well behaued themselues herin.

CHAPTER XIII.

756. Wee haue treated of the within Father Priors letter, sent by Fa. Thomas Mc Kyernan to My Lord Primate of Ireland (no. 723), and my Lord of Clonmacnose, his addresse to the saide Lord Primat, both desiringe and humbly crauinge to be pleased to indicte a nationall Congregation in some indifferent and safe place (as no. 722 touched); he, ad quem, those addresses pursuant therto (as most obseruant of the leaste mandat issuinge from the Courte of Rome), did send his seuerall dispatches to the respectiue metropolitans, desiringe to be pleased to nominat and apointe both time and place for a generall congregation of the clergie of Ireland, and, if they did thinke and conceaue this not soe faysible for the iniquitie of the times, at leaste desired them to indicte a prouinciall congregation in theire respectiue prouinces, where theire suffragans, dignitaries, and others whom it concearned might apeere and conclude one and the same thinge, tendinge to the propagation of holy religion.

The Primats addresses to the metropolitans.

757. Notwithstandinge those pressinge requests, conuencinge reasones, and godly motiues, the Archbishopes of Tuaime and Cashell, with theire adherents, had noe minde to comply with those desires, as contrarie to theire euer yett principles: soe that neither the publick and privat insinuations of Fa. Prior, nor the zealous and pious intimations of My Lord Primat could worke any seeminge obedience in those corrupt prelats. Onely the Archbishope of Dublin, Fr. Thomas Fleminge,

Tuamensis and Cassellensis will not be conformable.

most learned, upright, godly, and noblman, impotent for jorney either ahorse or foote, then resident in Galwaye, a couragious stickler for My Lord Nuncio and Duke of Loraignes protectorshipe, did write unto his suffragan, the Bishope of Laghlin, a true childe of the Apostolicall Sea, to his owne Vicar-generall of Dublin, Edmond Reylly, and the rest of the dignitaries of his prouince, desiringe to call a prouinciall congregation, and what there by them conceaued concearninge religion propagation, and furtherannce of the cause now in agitation, would ratifie, confirme, and aproue. Those dispatches arriuinge to Linster to the Bishope of Laghlin (the onely then in all that prouince), whoe, most zealous for the effectinge therof, did send notice unto each concearned. 1651. Thomas Fleminge, Archbishope of Dublin, his zeale.

The prelats resident amonge the enemie, whoe scarce and with mightie danger could conuene together, but makinge themselues readie the best they could, accordinge the purporte of the saide mandate, and borowinge time, as necessitie required, newes came to them of the untimely death of that braue prelate, the Archbishope, which gaue a shreude rubb unto all religion and Catholicke affaires in Ireland, and retarded not a litle the speedie meetinge of that conuocation for Laghlin, the onely bishope of his prouince now in Ireland, and by that vacancie vice-metropolitan, must looke about him to acte maturely and with consideration, some of his now diocesses beinge vacant of both bishope and vicar, as Ossory and Dublin, the former Vicar of Dublin, Edmond Reylly, did of new institute for the same incumbencie. As for Ossory, his Lordship did apointe vicar of that diocesse one Bryan Mc Terlagh Fitz-Patricke, a zealous, religious, and pious priest, but within a shorte time after God did call him unto a better choice into glorie, in remuneration of his vertues. After whose death Laghlin did nominat one Sheane Fitz-Patricke, priest, Vicar-generall of Ossory. Those thinges did hinder the dispatche pretended in the meetinge of the saide conuocation, and allsoe as beinge fewer prelats, would not anticipate theire sense, rather expecte that of Ardmagh prouince as more flourishinge then. 758. The Archbishope died in Galwaye. Edmond Dempsie onelye bishope in Linster prouince. Bryan Mc Terlagh Fitz-Patrick Vicar-generall Ossory.

CHAPTER XIV.

WEAKE appetitts are drawen to take unpleasinge meats by the sauorie relish which the cuninge hande of the cooke giueth them, soe the politician draweth on his confederats to actions unpleasinge by seasoninge them with the sweete sauce of profitt and gaine, for states are without natural affections, they contracte not amitie, as privat men, by a sympathie of witt and a similitude of maners: It is particular aduantage that knitts them together. 759. Cic. Off. 2. Salust. Cat. Reg. stat. l. 4.

> Turpe quidem dictu, sed si modò vera fatemur,
> Vulgus amicitias utilitate probat.

Ovid. Pont. 2.

In the no. 473 wee haue made mention of Thomas Deiz, Bishope of Meath, his refraction, seuerallie obnoxious of holy censures by both prouinciall congregation, nationall, and Nuncios, and euer yett continuinge contumax and disobedient therin (as in the saide number you may peruse), this unpleasinge meate, to the tender appetitt of a reale and good Catholicke, was made pleasant for the pallat of this Thomas Deiz, Bishope of Meathe, excomunicated.

1651. prelate by the sauory and relish of those artificiall and cunings cookes the factionistes, by the sweete grosorie of profitt and gaine (though did abounde with this ware himself), all which and his continuall jolitie was not capable to prolonge his dayes, but must apeere before that Supreame Judge to giue an account unto him of his disloyaltie towards his dellegats.

Died in Galway.

760. About this time, therfore, this prelate died in Galwaye in the selfe same opinion of contumacie in disobedience, wherby his nephewe, Oliuer Deaz, his Vicar-generall, in nothinge degeneratinge from his uncle, but stedfaste in the same sense, was now uacant by the death of the prelate, whose provision did of right belonge unto the metropolitan, My Lord Primat of Ireland, whoe to inuite this prodigall childe to his soules saluation, did send for him, beinge come, gaue him the limitation of two monthes to continue the saide office, to worke his reflection in the interim, that he did recant from his former errors, tellinge him withall, that in defaulte herof his Grace would prouide another for that place, untill His Holinesse his pleasure was knowen, for in that diocesse is noe Chapter to looke to such matters accordinge the Canons. The time apointed for the mendinge this man his former deportment drawinge to an end, the partie in nothinge betteringe, rather seemed by this his recent suposed institution to growe more peremptorie and stuborne, in soe much that he would not apeere by any summons either before My Lord Primat alone, or prouinciall congregation, but geniously followed the foote steppe of his late uncle, and the contumacie and disobedience of Drumore. Wherupon My Lord Primat (seeinge all admonitions would not searue), dispairinge in the reduction of that his strayed sheepe, and allsoe well knowinge his incapacitie of all ecclesiasticall dignitie, by reasone of the multiplicitie of his innodations of censures a jure et ab homine, his Grace upon those grounds did nominat and apointe Fa. Authony Geoghegan prior of Conallmore and missionarie from the Congregation of Cardinalls of Propaganda Fide, Vicar-generall of the diocesse of Meathe, till the further pleasure of his Holinesse was knowen. But Oliuer Deize would render any obedience to either metropolitan or newe elected, though severall excomunications from both (by vertue of the same authoritie, and confirmd by a bull from his Holinesse), did issue against him of whom (if time will searue) you shall heare more in due place. It shall not be extrauagant to our intended purpose, and for the confirmation of faction-proofe to insert here certaine queres, pened by a Catholicke Englishman, which are as followeth.

Oliuer Deize true nephewe unte this defuncte.

Noe Chapter in Meathe.

Oliuer, his perseuerance in malo.

Anthony Geoghegan apointed Vicar-generall of Meath by the primat.

A Papall bull confirminge the same.

CHAPTER XV.

761. 1. Why you Irish, whoe in the warrs of Germany, Spaine, Frannce, and Pollande haue euer beene famous and renowned, whoe allsoe in the beginninge of this your warr not onely admired at home, but allsoe in foraigne nations, beinge then almost naked and weaponesse, like other Machabeyes gloriously fought for religion and nation, are now become soe effeminat, sottish, and cowarde, that first you treate and consulte rather of a dishonorable flight then of any manly resolution to combate?

Why if you haue taken armes (as you publickly declared to the world), for the defence of religion and libertie of your nation, doe you use sinister and contrarie instruments for the acheivinge therof, as hereticall gouernor or Catholicke, either that is ill affected to the Sea of Rome, or contemner of ecclesiasticall immunitie? 1651. 2.

Why your deputie and councell alias Catholicks doe adhere and followe the foote steppe of Henry the eight, despisinge the precepts and mandats of the Sea Apostolicke, usurpinge Episcopall jurisdiction, and villependinge the clergie censures, not herby fearinge they and theire kingdome to be subiecte unto the same penaltie that King Henry and his people for the like offeuces, which is knowen to both citty and worlde? 3.

Why the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde, both Irish and Catholicke, did not joine with the Confederat Catholicks of Ireland, fightinge for religion and nation from the yeare of grace, 1641, when you began your warr, beinge (as I am enformed) by both clergie and noblmen Confederats of the kingdome, too often therunto solicited, and in the yeare 1648 did defende the aduerse partie, sworne enemie to Catholicke religion, the Lord Baron of Insichuyne, and such others, did fourthwith apeere? 4.

Why the saide Marquesse of Clanricarde, both Irish and Catholicke, did not abhorr to handle incivilly an Irish monke or prieste with violent hands, whearas wee Englishe Catholicks, though somtimes rashly doe persecute monkes and clergie men of another nation, yett doe disdaine and abhor to offende our owne natiue churchmen in such a nature, as may be seene in that unhapie acte, wherby the Earle of Castlhauen (guided by a deceitfull spirite and diabolicall instincte) drive out by force of armes and violent hands the Reuerend Fa. Guardian of Kilkeny, with some other fryers of the same conuent and Irish nation from theire proper house and home, and rendred them captiues and prisoners to the power of hereticks, but a fryer of the Englishe nation, dwellinge then in the same conuent, he suffered to passe untouched and set free? 5.

Why Clanricarde, both Catholicke and Marquesse, and Insichuyne hereticke, and onely Lord baron, suppinge together in Kilkenye, rather invited an hereticall minister to grace theire boorde then a Catholicke prieste? 6.

Why the counsellors or comissioners of your kingdome, meere seculars and laye people, nothinge versant in either divinitie or canon lawe, doe arrogantlie presume to teache as well the vigilantest prelats of the churche of Irelande as alsoe the diuines and canonists of both clergie (of whom too many in the chiefest universities of Europe are inriched with honorable laur[el]s and doctorall graduations), what is to be don accordinge conscience? 7.

Why, seeinge the order of nature and the institution of our Saviour Jesus Christe (wittnesse his Holinesse in Extrauaganti, Unam Sanctam, etc.), doe require that the temporall sworde doe receaue its motion from the spirituall, the laitie of Irelande doe presume to peruerte this order, forcinge the prelats to yelde obedience unto theire owne laicall mandats, refusinge to obeye the episcopal decrees? 8.

Why the assemblyes of the kingdome doe presume to themselues the power of disanullinge the decrees and constitutions of the clergie, wherin is nothinge touched or acted, other then the administration of sacraments and validitie of censures? 9.

1651. 10. Why the Archbishope of Tuaime and certaine other bishopes did administer the sacrament of Euchariste as well to the Marquesse of Clauricarde, prohibittinge the synod or nationall councell indicted by Apostolicall power to be celebrated, as alsoe to others, whoe in the assembly of Loghreagh (gloryinge, as it were, in theire malice) did acknowledge to haue concurred to the ungodly expulsion and exile of the most illustrious Lord Nuncio Apostolicke from the kingdome of Irelande?

11. Why the bishops, resident with seculars and laye people, treadinge under foote ecclesiasticall imunities, doe singe noe other songe on theire parte of the quire other then that which the asistinge councellors of Kinge Asuerus haue played, viz, that his ordination and decree of the diuorce of his owne lovinge spouse Vasthi was lawfull; not obsearuinge the sayinge of the Holy Ghoste, that the coluber will bitterly bite at him that demolisheth the fenche or hedge?

12. Why doe not you politicke bishops fight as well for the imunitie and priviledges of Gods churche as the pretor or guardian of Galwaye, and the Archbishope of Tuaime doe fight for the imunitie and priuileges of theire owne citties, grannted by terrestriall kings, if euer they hope to be domesticks and dwellers of the citty of God?

13. Why the foresaide clergie in the assemblies are mute doggs, when theire deere mother the Churche of Irelande, not otherwise then as chaste Susanna, is as an adultresse introduced into a theater by the foolish and sottish ould men, that she may be destroyed to death by the people, baited therto by the comlinesse of its territorie and tyethes, where is your filiall love? wheare is your zeale to the house of God?

14. Why, when in the generall and nationall congregation of the clergie at Clonmacnose the yeare 1649, in the kingdomes name and behalfe, two were selected and nominated to present themselves before his Holinesse, supplicatinge his benediction, etc. In the assemblye of Loghreagh the yeare 1650 this course was altered, and Father Oliuerus Bourke, in steede of one of them, is subrogated, but why those two of late or the two former are not sent?

15. Why certaine or some bishops in the assembly of Loghreagh did concurr with the laitie to disanull the acts and constitutions of the clergie congregation, without the assent of the rest of the fathers whoe were partakers of the actinge the saide constitutions?

It seemes this English gentlman was fully acquainted with all the proceedings of the Irish since those comotions, and knowes both reallist and factionists. Obsearue what character he giues euery one contained in his queres, and specially to Clanricarde and Tuamensis, with theire adherents, which is calefication enough of our proceedings—in omnem terram exiuit sonus eorum.

CHAPTER XVI.

762. Noe prince can challenge soe much glorie by victorie, but that fortune will putt in
Plin. l. 2, c. 7. to be sharer with him, because she giues successe beyonde the reache of reasone,

and all ordinarie meanes. This is the comon opinion. But the wiser is, that this hapy effecte proceeds out of former causes, as the direction of the leader, quicke execution of the souldier, the advantage of number, order, place, and infinit such like. But the truest is this, an all-seeinge-eye, much vnlicke blinde fortune, and an all able hande, much stronger then weake reasone: whoe, as he is Lord of Hoasts, soe is he the giuer of victories. 1651. Ariosto. Cant. 16. Juve. Sat. 13. Livi. l. 22. Horat.

——— valet ima summis
Mutare, et insignem attenuat Deus,
Obscura promens.

All our militia in Conaght (after Bryan Roe Oneylls victorie in Sheepe Iland, and Clanricards similatinge his desertinge the kingdome, as no. 753 and 754 touched) is in a poore condition dispersed, the foote in boggs and montaines in the conntie of Mayo, and the horse in noe better posture (though such as were well affected did acte good service against the enemie now and then). My Lord Primat of Ireland obsearuinge the dissearuice of the saide armie, occasioned by stronge faction of chiefe comannders, and allsoe the tergiuersations of the prelats to convene into a generall or provinciall congregation, occasioned by the obstruction of some Judasses confidinge in all-seeinge eye to prescribe some antidott and healthy salue against this corrasive venome, pursuant therunto, issued his summons to all concearned in his owne province; amonge the rest to the bishopes of Clonmacnose and Drumore then resident in Galwaye, to apeere at Cloghwater on the 27 of July, 1651. Clonmacnose, as still obedient to both Nuncio and metropolitan, apeered, but Drumore, as not to forgoe his principles of contumatious disobedience to all lawfull superiors, and faction against religion, kinge, and nation, would not obeye. Our militia in Conaght in a poore takinge.

The cause of this present disrespecte (amonge others) was (which is pursuant to the intelligence sent unto Ormond by Patricke Bryan, no. 742 mentioned) that about May last this prelate, comannded by the lord deputie, went vnto Vlster to worke rent and distraction amonge the gentrie there; whoe thither arrivinge, the gentrie in a provinciall councell together apeeringe, was some what jealouse of the prelate, as knowinge him to be excomunicated by My Lord Nuncio, would not intermedle in any treatie with such a partie till My Lord Primat did open the gate for them, or at leaste admonishe what was to be don therin, which result soe conceaued, was dispatched towards his Lordship, that he may be pleased to giue a stepp towards them, and that the Bishope of Drumore was theire, treatinge by authoritie unto them of matters of high concearnment. The Lord Primat answered, disswadinge them to haue anythinge to doe with Drumore, whoe was in duetie obliged to kisse his hande, and shewe him what comission he had before he proceeded, and if forgettfull soe soone of his (beinge an inferiour) duetie to his proper metropolitan, I will endeavour to teache him what he ought to doe, etc. This My Lord Primats resulte was notified unto the provinciall councell and Drumore, whoe nothinge the better proued, nor shewed any further obedience, rather by his inticinge language and greate oathes perswaded the loyall hearts of those reall minds (as confident in theire proper sense that a man of his ranke and qualitie would not deceave them, homo de semine Aaron non decipiet nos) to his owne desire, and notwithstandinge his seuerall inodations, a jure et ab homine, did 763. The provinciall Councell of Vlster to the Primat. The Primats answeare. Drumore doe not much care. Machab. 7.

1651.

celebrat masse for them, otherwise not wantinge, onely to induce the hearers unto that laborinthe of censures, wherof was thitherunto Scotts free), which obsearued by all the clergie of them partes, none would apeere duringe his continuance there, other then Fa. Nicholas Byrne, Vicar-generall of Dune and chaplaine-major of the armie of Vlster, whoe to indeere himself unto this zeudo-prelate, did continually asiste him, and searued him at masse; whoe at the end of some daies aboade there, obtained of the provinciall councell to be agent for that province (which was the fetche of all his suite), and what other thinge he conceaued requisitt and behoofefull to oblige them unto his devotion did obtaine of them, soe that in effecte had his owne desire, and as much in all points as euer the late Bishope of Cloghar had, except to be Generall of the armie, wherby the intelligence of the said author to Ormond (no. 742 notified) was true in this mans behalfe, that a seconde Cloghar was Drumore in Vlster, loaden now with many heartie good wishes and what incumbencie from the prouince of Vlster, departed towards Clanricarde, wheare he was wellcome for his improument in his saide negotiation.

Nicholas Byrne for this acte was in the congregation punished.

Drumore gott his owne desire from the councell of Vlster.

764.

Noe sooner out of sight then My Lord Primat did call for the provinciall councell, as enformed what they had don in favour of Oliuer Darcy, Bishope of Drumore, against his former advice in that behalfe, all which acknowledged, as aforesaide, did fulminat his excomunication against them jointly and seuerally, for hearinge his masse, conscious of his excomunications, and for granntinge him those honorable offices, and would soe continue, untill they did send him a countermannde, recallinge worde by worde what alreadie foolishly bestowed on him, whoe without delaie was obeyed. Thus was Drumore cashired from that greate power and comannde he once enioyed (by deceite) by the subdellegation of the provinciall councell of Vlster by the surmishes of My Lord Primat. Now receauinge sumons from his metropolitan to apeere in a provinciall congregation, foregoinge his ductie to his Grace before, and working the spiritual destruction of that province (the onely in Ireland free from that contagion of censures), beinge obnoxious of seuerall anathems, charactered in the whole kingdom to be a prime factionier, and esteemed a peremptorie, bould, and intruding companion, he should conceaue noe other better intertainment to expecte him there then what he desearuedly was worthy off for each those crimes, viz., whipps, imprisonment, severe reprehensions, suspensions, degradations, etc., because he thought himself worthy of all those penalties would not apeere in the saide congregation. But the other prelats, dignitaries, and others whom it concearned, apeeringe in Cloghwater, did sitt the 29 of the same July, and acted as followeth.

My Lord Primat did excomunicate the councell.

Whoe recalled all they granted Drumore.

This mans intentions herin.

His cause of not apeeringe in the congregation.

CHAPTER XVII.

In Dei nomine Amen.

Incipiunt acta Congregationis utriusque cleri Provinciæ Ardmachanæ die 29 mensis Julij, 1651, in loco qui dicitur Cloghwater, diocesis Kilmorensis per Illustrissimum Dominum Hugonem Ardmachanum Archiepiscopum totius Hyberniæ

Primatem eidem Congregationi Præsidentem; assistentibus Reuerendissimis Dominis Eugenio Kilmorensi, et Antonio Clonmacnoensi Præsulibus, Procuratori Dunensi, et reliquis dignitarijs et patribus, etc. 1651. 765.

Statuimus et ordinamus, ut deinceps omnes et singuli qui agunt prædas, rapinas, vel furta ex bonis Catholicorum contribuentium ad utilitatem publicam cujuscunque gradus vel conditionis illi prædones, raptores, vel fures sint, in quarterijs hæreticorum vel extra, absque authoritate publica comitiorum regni vel provinciæ in qua degunt, ipso facto sint excommunicati, utpote reipublicæ perniciosi: Tum qui exercitum Catholicum diminuunt et dispergunt, tum qui inter vicinos et amicos inimicitias excitant, idque sine ullo reipublicæ emolumento. Emptores talis prædæ, rapinæ vel furti restitutioni esse obnoxios sine ulla spe a proprietarijs recipiendi prætij valorem declaramus. 1.

Insuper decernimus ut colonelli, capitanei et locum tenentes, qui vocati a potestatem habentibus ad castra, interim domi maneant absque licentia vel Proregis vel Generalis vel Provincialis Concilij ipso facto sint excommunicati, suæ utique in stipendijs receptis restitutioni esse obnoxios. 2.

Statuimus etiam, ut quivis sacerdos sive secularis sive regularis pro populo celebraturus ante missarum solemnia diebus Dominicis et festivis cominatorie promulget ut nullus de populo victum vel hospitalitatem officialis eques vel gregarius miles de exercitu Catholico, qui absentare se a castris sine licentia legittima divinis intersit. 3.

Ita promulget ut nullus de populo victum vel hospitalitatem absentanti supeditet, sub pœna exclusionis a divinis. 4.

Sub pœna excommunicationis prohibemus ut nullus sive clericus sive laicus ab hæreticis vel alijs usurpatoribus decimas conducat sine titulariorum clericorum vel proprietariorum consensu. 5.

Volumus et declaramus ut personis ecclesiasticis immunitas per canones et concilia ecumenica concessa in hac provincia observetur. Per hoc tamen non intendimus ut præfatæ personæ sint omnino immunes a contribuendo ad præsens bellum pro ratione facultatum prout discretioni ordinarij vel metropolitani consentaneum videbitur, sicut nullus in his regni angustijs a publicis contributionibus eximendus est. 6.

Statuimus et ordinamus ut acta hujus congregationis singulis mensibus per singulos regulares in conventibus et parrochos in parrochijs hujus provinciæ inter missarum solemnia promulgentur. Idque in capellis, et debent proxima Dominica hoc facere post habitam notitiam actorum. Iniungimus ordinarijs ut ea publicari curent. 7.

Quia bonæ memoriæ Excellentissimus Dominus Eugenius Oneyll, quondam Generalis exercitus Catholici in Hybernia, in ultima sua capitulatione cum Ormondo et sequacibus obtinuerit, antequam se illis coniungeret, se obligarent ad petendam absolutionem a censuris Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij a Sua Sanctitate. Insistendo esse talis promissionis petitioni præsens Congregatio censuit et statuit ut nullus episcopus hujus provinciæ in assembleyis vel comitijs generalibus regni assideat, nisi prius impetrato beneficio dictæ promissionis. 8.

Hortatur etiam omnes et singulos provinciæ suæ nobiles (prout de honore tenen- 9.

1651. tur) ut non assideant tanquam membra in aliquibus comitijs nisi primo requisito dictæ promissionis beneficio.

10. Præsens congregatio declarat, et protestatur, eiectionem Illustrissimi Nuncij nationi imputari non debere, cum major et sanior regni pars, nobilium, cleri et populi in illam expulsionem non consensit quæ etiam sanior pars ad amussim censuras per eundem Illustrissimum Dominum Nuncium latas obseruauit. Sed dicta eiectio facta est a quibusdam schismaticis in regimine existentibus, qui declinauerunt a reliquis Confederatis. Dicto hymno Te Deum Laudamus, finit hæc congregatio, 1° Augusti, 1651.

Signed: De mandato Illustrissimi Domini Hugonis, Ardmachani, Archiepiscopi, totius Hyberniæ Primatis, et congregationis vocalium.

Ita testor: Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis, etc.

Which in English is thus:

766. The 29 of July, 1651, doe comence in Cloghwater, in the diocesse of Kilmore, the Congregation acts of both clergie of the province of Ardmach, and in the same place are finist the first of August the same yeare, the most Illustrious Huigh of Ardmagh, Archbishope and Primat of all Ireland, presidinge, asistants the most reuerend lords, Eugenius Kilmorensis and Anthonius Clonmacnosensis, bishops, the proctor of Dune and Conor, with the rest of the dignitaries and fathers whom it concearned.

1. First, wee straighly charge and comannde henceforwarde all and singular that comitts plunder, pillage, preye, theft, or rape of Catholick goods, for the publicke auayle contributinge, of what degree or condition soeuer, the saide plunderers, pillagers, preyers, rapers or theeves be, whether in enemie quarter or elsewheare inhabittinge, that comitts the foresaide crimes without publicke authoritie of the kingdome or provinciall councell wherin they liue, to be ipso facto excomunicated, because such acts are to the comon wealthe pernicious, tendinge the disunitinge and lesseninge the Catholicke armie, and allsoe doe foment enimnitie and rent betweene neighbours and freinds, and that without the leaste profitt of the comonwealthe. Wee allsoe declare the buyers and receauers of such plunder, pillage, rape, or thefte, to be obnoxious of restitution without any hope to receaue from the propriators the leaste satisfaction.

2. Wee further decree that all colonells, captains, and leutenants, that are called to the fielde by such as haue authority, and yett continue at home without speciall licence, either from the lord deputie generall or provinciall councell, to be ipso facto excomunicated, and what salarie or meanes such doe receaue or extorte from the publicke to be obnoxious of restitution.

3. Wee allsoe charge and comannde that all and euery the priestes, whether secular or regular, as they are to celebrat for the people Sundaies and holy daies before masse, doe publishe advicedly this our acte, and all such officers or officialls of horse or foote of the Catholicke armie, that absents themselues from the fielde without lawfull authority, as aforesaide, are interdicted from asistinge at diuine seruice.

4. Item, lett it be enacted and published, that any man yeldinge meate, drinke, or

ospitalitie to such as absent themselues, as aforesaide, from the fielde shalbe 1651.
xcluded from diuine seruice.

Wee prohibitt and forbid, under paine of excomunication, that none, either 5.
cclesiasticke or laitie, doe buye tiethes from hereticks, or other usurpers, without
he consent and aprobation of the titularie priests or propriators.

Wee will and declare that the imunities grannted unto churchmen by the canons 6.
nd other eumenicall councells in this province be obserued. This, notwithstand-
nge, we doe not intende that the saide persons be altogether exempt from contri-
utiuge to the present warr, accordinge theire respectiue abilities, as to the discretion
f the ordinaries or metropolitan shall seeme fittinge, soe that none in the anxieties
f those times in this kingdome should be exempt from publicke contribution.

Wee charge and comannde that those our congregation acts be published everye 7.
nonthe by each priest of this province in his parrochiall churche, and by the
egulars in theire respectiue conuents, or in theire chaples, or oratories, at masse
ime, and lett the same be don the very next Sundaye after notice herof. Wee
nioyne allsoe the ordinaries to be uigilant in the execution herof.

In as much as his Excellencie, Owen Oneyll, of hapie memorie, somtimes Generall 8.
f the Catholicke armie in Irelande, in his last capitulation with Ormond and his
dherents, obtained (before he joined with them) that they should oblige and
inde themselves to begg an absolutione from his Holinesse from the censures
nflicted on them by the most Illustrious Lord Nuncio, the now present congre-
ation insistinge in the performannce of that promise, doe charge and comannde
hat noe bishope of this province doe apeere in either assembly or grand councell
f this kingdome, untill they obtaine the benefitt of the saide couenant and
romise. And doe admonishe all and singular the nobilitie of this province (as in 9.
onor obliged) not to asiste or apeere as members in any theire generall assemblies,
ntill the compliance of the saide promise obtained.

The present congregation doe declare and protest that the eiection and expulsion 10.
f My Lord Nuncio should not be imputed into the Irish nation, for the greatest
nd soundest parte of both nobilitie, clergie, and people did not condescende
herunto, nay, did exclaime against the same, for allsoe the soundest parte did
unctually obsearue the censures fulminated by My Lord Nuncio. And doe further
leclare the saide exile and expulsion was putt in execution by certaine schismaticks,
earinge swaye then in the gouernment, and declined from the rest of the Confederats.

Te Deum singed, this congregation was dissolued and finished for the present,
° August, 1651.

De mandato Illustrissimi Domini Hugonis Ardmachani Archiepiscopi et totius Hyberniæ Primatis et Congregationis vocalium.

Witnesse, Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

CHAPTER XVIII.

These be the acts conceaued in this congregation, and by reason of the iniquitie 767.
f the times, the numerositie of the vocalls, and the scarcitie of meate and drinke
n the countrie, was dissolued for the present, and dellegats apointed, with full

1651. power to continue sittinge, whoe were My Lord Primat, Kilmore, Clonmacnose, and the Abbott of Kilbegan, and other two divines, whoe pursuant to theire apointment, as occasion was dayly offered, did acte the subsequent, confirmed by all the rest about the later end of August the same yeare, and beccused, confirmed by the members of the said Congregation (though penned by the Dellegats) wee lawfully call it by the name of Congregation Act, which is as followeth :

Per Congregationem Ecclesiasticam utriusque Cleri, coram Illustrissimo Domino Hugone, Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, totius Hyberniæ Primate, etc.

768. Pastoralis nostri officij exigit ratio ut pervigili oculo perscrutemur, qua occasione et modo populi nostri diuinum offendunt numen, eiusque iram et vindictam in se excitant, unde tot flagellis et castigationibus, gladij, famis et pestis, incessanter affligimur, ut, cognita causa, tantis malis opportuna remedia adhibere conaremur, ne tanquam mutui canes non valentes latrare tantarum animarum stragies authores arguamur, et pereuntium divina dispositione nostræ curæ comissorum sanguis a Supremo et Iusto Iudice merito e manibus nostris exquiretur. Nouit et admiratus est orbis Christianus, quanta alacritate, quanta unione, quanta fœlicitate natio nostra Hybernica prosecuta est sanctum bellum divino instinctu ad auitam restaurandam religionem et nationis libertatem vendicandam gloriose a se susceptum et superno adiuto auxilio, multis aucta victorijs contra Dei et ecclesiæ hostes, episcopatus, aliaque ecclesiastica beneficia suis veris possessoribus restitui, re-edificare ecclesias, templa monachis et religiosis repleri, monesteria curauit, et vno verbo omnia sancte perfecisset, et Ecclesiam pristino suo splendori restituisset, nisi Diaboli instinctu et opera quorundam deceptorum prelatorum et tepidorum Catholicorum in medio victoriarum primo cum hoste Dei regni et regis fœdus iniisset, et si ob id multis fuerit castigata flagellis, sed authores illius fœderis in nullo meliores effecti, sed potius pertinaciores facti, in tantam devenerunt cæcitatem, Deo tanti sceleris impietatem persequente, quod cum adhuc sceleratiori supradictorum hoste Barone de Insichuin magis nefandam et magis damnabilem inierit societatem, contra expressam voluntatem Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij Apostolici, maioris et sanioris partis utriusque cleri, qui dictam societatem ut religioni Catholicæ pernisiosam et exicialem damnavit, et dyrijs execrationibus anathematisauit et execratus est.

769. Hujus fœderis impietati vt ostenderet Deus, ita Hybernorum enerruauit vires, effeminauit animos, ut a die quo illud nefandum fœdus pepigerunt, nihil virile, nihil strenuum, nihil laude dignum effecerunt, sed panico timore correpti faciem inimici ferre non poterant : multo minus cum eo quominus congredi audebant, ut mille calamitatibus et miserijs afflicti, quibus tamen non obstantibus non contemnenda pars tam cleri, quam populi, eidem maledicto et execrato adhæsit fœderi, reliquis indebita et auita erga Sanctam sedem Apostolicam eiusque ministros observantia et obedientia firmiter permanentibus : Unde factum est quod natio miserabiliter in varias partita sit factiones nam authores et faventes iniquo fœderi, nostris partim coniventibus, partim dolo et fraude circumventis, Ormondum, hæreticum Proregem, induxerunt, et contra juramentum associationis de deffendenda fide Catholica, et iustis regis prærogativis vendicandis sancte susceptum caput totius regni constituerunt : qui primo suo in regnum ingressu, ne de eius

fide et intentione dubitari contigerit, publico et typis edito scripto, mundo declar- 1651.
auit et protestatus est, se velle viuere et mori in religione protestantica, eamque pro posse propugnaturum et propagaturum, quod et opere complere aggressus est, nam quam primum clavam suscepit regni, gloriosum nomen Confœderatorum Catholicorum (quo eo usque tanquam titulo honoris, et erga Deum fidelitatis denotabantur Hyberni) abolere, et penitus extingui curauit. Templa Catholicorum eiectis veris pastoribus, suis ministellis hæreticis tradidit; religiosos, et Deo sacratas uirgines è monesterijs et clausuris deturbauit: Arces et municipia regis et ipsum caput regni Dublinium inimicis vendidit et tradidit: Et deleto supremo consilio regni sibi acciuit quosdam suæ electionis et factionis comissarios, quibus ad nutum utebatur, solum ut continuis impositionibus, totam regni pecuniam et substantiam sibi corroderet, terramque licentiæ millitari comittens, ut inde, et salarium et sustentationem milites extorquerent, omniaque pro libitu et libidine, sursum deorsum evoluit. Donec tandem totum regnum euiscerauit et depauperauit, et non sine graui piorum suspitione, inimico comuni Parliamento subjecit.

Nec fœlicius agit ejus substitutus, Excellentissimus Dominus Marchio Clanri- 770.
cardi, qui huc usque fœderi Catholicorum nomen dari noluit, et sancto nostro bello semper ab initio contrarius extitit: Etsi Catholicus tamen in deprimenda ecclesia ejusque imunitate frangenda, ipsi Ormondo palmam præripuit: nec merito in regimine Deus ei suam denegat assistentiam, cum magistratum acciperet ab Ormondo, cum onere tantarum execrationum et anathematum ob impiam et condemnatam Cessationem cum Insichuin, ob maliciose impeditam Synodum nationalem authoritate summi Pontificis indictam: ob infamem et scandalosam eiectionem Illustrissimi Domini Nuncij a regno: ob tyranicam incarcerationem et contumeliam personarum ecclesiasticarum atque omnia, ipse præ omnibus principaliter accurrit. Hæc et aliæ enormitates in nos iram Dei et vendictam prouocauit, ut fame, peste, gladio, misere pereamur et affligimur, et tam viles et timidi simus quod nec a longe inimicum aspicere audeamus. Si enim vnus Achan anathemate enodatus adeo Josue 7.
exercitum Israel eneruauit, quod voce ipsius Dei stare non possit coram inimico nisi ab eo auferetur qui anathemate fuit polutus quid non possint in uno regno, aliquot præsules, multi magnates et nobiles, ecclesiastici ex utroque clero quam plurimi qui supra dictis anathematibus habentur infecti? Quorum in Sedem Apostolicam inobedientia eiusque ministros pertinax contemptus, iram Dei in nos et vindictam accindit. Quorum demeritis corpora nostrorum militum prostrata multis in locis inhumata iacent; templa multo nostro sanguine comparata, et è manibus hæreticorum erepta, iam ab ijsdem sacrilege polluantur. Lugenda, horrendaque sunt, quæ oculati testes aspicimus, undique vastitas ecclesiarum, squalor altarium, fuga antistitum, religiosorum, sacrarumque virginum, profanatio misteriorum execrabilis.

Iacent passim cœnobia semidiruta, dispersa sacerdotum collegia, et, vno verbo, 771.
quidquid est sacrosanctum in Ecclesia Die pessundatur, villipenditur et contemnitur. Quapropter nos infrascripti antistites, prælati et ex utroque clero theologi, diuino (ut credimus) instinctu moti, et continuis conscientiæ stimulis agitati, ut tam luctuosæ animarum stragi in hac sacra congregatione modus imponeretur, rem mature, et pro pastorali nostra obligatione inspeximus ut quantum cum Deo potuimus, exanimauimus, et unanimi consensu invenimus et iudicauimus supra

1651. dicta anathemata nostrorum malorum et infortunarum esse causam omnesque nostras miserias et calamitates, tanquam ex fonte, ex iniqua dicta societate et Ecclesiæ contemptu profluere et emanare. Proinde censemus omnes tam de clero quam de populo, qui prædictis anathematibus noscuntur irretiti, teneri in conscientia, tam pro salute animarum suarumque quam pro incolumitate regni, et ad evertendam iram Dei a natione humiliter et pœnitenter se submittere Sedi Apostolicæ, ab eaque petere absolutionem. Ad quod eos in visceribus Christi adhortamur: sintque memores humanum esse errare, et diabolicum perseuerare. Specialiter fraterni admonemus nostros confratres prælatos, omnesque ecclesiasticos ut sicut suo exemplo, persuatione, et nouitate doctrinæ, populum in dictos errores et enormitates induxerunt, ita Christiana humilitate, zelo fidei et charitatis, tanquam vere filii orthodoxæ Ecclesiæ, verique pastores ac lucernæ fidelium pro quorum animabus Iusto Iudici reddituri sunt rationem, se ipsos et eundem populum ad gremium et consortium matris Ecclesiæ (a qua horrendum schisma et inobedientia avulsit) reducere cum effectu conentur.

772. Quod si his nostris salutaribus, ac fraternis monitis (quod Deus auertat) acquiescere nolent, hoc publico scripto, coram Deo protestamur, per nos non stetisse quin ad pristinam unionem, et Romanæ Ecclesiæ gratiam redirent, nosque pro posse nostro pro hac parte nostræ satisfecisse obligationi. Insuper nos antistites et prælati in virtute Dei, et potestate ordinaria qua fungimur omnibus nostris subditis, tam ecclesiasticis quam laicis, omni quo possumus rigore mandamus, et sub pœna maioris excommunicationis prohibemus, ne comunicent, aut se coniungerint, sive in eodem exercitu militando, sive in assembleia vel consilio consultando cum eis qui se prædictis excommunicationibus sunt infecti, donec Sedi Apostolicæ submittant, eidem plene satisfacient, et absolutionem et gratiam accipiant: nam ex tali consortio lachrymanda experientia videmus, pertinacia prædictorum firmari et crescere nostros fideles decipi et corrumpi, et contemptum censurarum Ecclesiæ, ac despectum Romanæ Sedis ministrorumque ejus augeri. Enixe in Domino hortamur omnes nostros fideles et obedientes ut his nostris admonitionibus et prohibitionibus cum effectu acquiescant et obediant, nec desperant, quod hac separatione futurum autumant suum scilicet exercitum minuendum quia ex parte Dei eis promittimus pauciori numero electo ab omni censurarum contagione libero, sed in fide, et obedientia firmato, victoriam fore magis certam magisque gratam et magis gloriosam quod multis sacri eloquij testimonijs luculenter comprobari potest, et hoc unum pro mille sufficiet. Amassias rex Iudæ congressus cum Idumæis conducit ex Israel (qui a vero Deo cum impio Ieroboam rebellarunt) centum robustorum pro centum talentis argenti, sed voce ipsius Dei dictum est ei per prophetam, O rex, ne egrediatur secum exercitus Israel, non enim Dominus est cum Israel, et cunctis filiis Ephraim, et ne non obediret disperans de paucitate sui exercitus fidelis, simul intentatæ sunt ei minæ, subdidit, enim ibidem scriptura. Quid si putes in robore exercitus bella consistere superari te faciet Deus ab hostibus et rationem indicans. Dei quippe est inquit et adiuuare et in fugam conuertere, et hoc siue in multis, siue in paucis. Paruit consilio Amassias, contaminosum dimisit exercitum, et victoria cum suis paucis obtinuit, cum alias cum multitudine impia perditurus erat. Sic in nostro casu. Pugnate igitur confidenter milites Christi eadem inten-

tione qua cœpistis, pro fide, rege, et natione, et sperate, non in brachio corrupto 1651.
carnis, nec in robore aut multitudine exercitus, sed in Domino Deo, qui dedit vobis mirabiliter bella Domini incipere cum paucis et inermibus et confidite, quod eadem benignitate vobis dabit et perficere, quod faxit Deus per gratiam Vnigeniti Filij Sui et Domini Nostri Jesu Christi. Amen.

Ultimo Augusti, 1651. Signed, ut ita testor,
Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

Though it be against the breuitie intended, I cannot omitt to English this, that many ignorant of the Latine tongue may really and truely conceaue how dilligent the true pastors and prelats were in the union and association of Catholicks, and ever averse to rent and division, and specially the clergie of the Province of Ardmagh, which is as followeth.

CHAPTER XIX.

By the Ecclesiasticall Congregation of both Clergïe assembled, as aforesaid, before the Most Illustrious Lord Hugo, Archbishope of Ardmagh, and Primat of All Ireland, etc. 773.

The tender care of our pastorall charge doe desire that by a most vigilant eye wee exactly examen how, and in what maner, our people doe offende the Divine clemencie, and against themselues doe excite his wrath and vengeannce, whence soe many gaggs, punishments, and castigations, of sworde, famine, and pestilence, wherby wee are dayly afflicted: that the cause of soe many euills knowen, wee endeavour to apply timely salues and remedies therunto, least, like unto doggs not able to barke, wee be thought authors of the miscariage of soe many soules, and that the bloude of such as perish (comitted by Divine disposition unto our care) be desearuedly required by the supreame and righteous Judge from our hands. Admired and publicke it was to the viewe of the Christian world, with what alacritie, with what godly vnion, and with what greate prosperitie our Irish nation, by Divine instincte, haue comenced this holy warr, most gloriously undertakinge the restauration of our predicessors and inative religion, vendicatinge our nation libertie, and, asisted by high power, haue obtained many triumphant victories against the enemie of God and his holy Spouse, the holy Churche, restoringe bishopricks and other ecclesiasticall benefices to theire true owners, repairinge decayed and ruynous temples and churches, replenishinge monesteries and abbies with monkes and religious people, and, in a worde, would bringe all thinges soe godly to passe, and would restore the Churche to its ancient splendor and luster, if not diabolicall fraude and the false surmishes of some degenerat prelats, colde and tepide Catholicks, was interposed, whoe haue intred into a cessation, in the very height of our victories, with the enemie of God, kinge, and kingdome. And though this had the tryall of soure burzes, yett the authors of that cessation, therby nothinge thrivinge, rather greeue more peremptorie, pertinax, and willfull, became soe talpative blinde (God persecutinge the impietie of soe abominable a deede), that yett with the most wicked of the presaide, the Baron of Insichuyne, have intred unto a more ungodly and damnable

1651. ieague and societie, against the expresse vote of the Most Illustrious Lord Nuncio Apostolicke, the greatest and soundest parte of both clergie, whoe condemned the saide cessation as pernicious and distructiue to Catholicke religion, and with dyrfull execrations did abhor and anathematize it.

774. That the Almightie may shewe to posteritie the impietie of that cessation, soe weakned the Irish that theire naturall sinewes were impose of all ablment, effeminatinge theire courage, that, from the very daye they complyed with that execrable cessation, nothinge manly, nothinge hardy, nor anythinge praise worthy haue they achieued; beinge soe terrified by punicall cowardize could not abide to see the enemie afarr off, much lesse to attempte him in the leaste conflicte, ouerwhelmed with thowsand calamities and miseries. Notwithstandinge all this, a considerable parte of both clergie and laitie did adhere unto the saide execrable cessation; the rest, firme and constante, remaininge in theire due and inative obsearvance and obeysance to the Sea Apostolicke and its ministers: wherby ensued the miserable estate and condition of our nation, devided into severall factions, for the conthriuers and favorits of that impious cessation (some of ours coniuinge, some by fraude and deceite undermined and circumuented) brought in for viceroy the hereticke Ormond, apointinge him sole heade and gouernor of all the kingdome, contrarie to the godly oathe of association taken by all Catholicks of the Confederacie, in defence of Catholicke religion, vendication of his royall Majesties just prerogatiues, and the libertie of the nation Noe sooner did Ormonde treade upon Irish grounde (least any should doubt of both his religion and intentions) then by a publicke instrument in printe did protest and declare unto the world that he would live and die in the Protestant religion, and the same to his uttermost power would defende and propagat. Which he began to put in execution, for noe sooner did he handle the kingdom helme then bethought to extinguish and wholy abolishe that glorious name (Confederate Catholicks) wherby untill then the Irish nation was charactered, as a badge of honor and fidelitie towards God; he allsoe began to bestowe Catholicke churches upon his proper hereticall crue of ministells, the true owners reiected, religious and vestall virgins, to the Almightie consecrated from theire monesteries and cloisters, exiled, castles, forts, and stronge holts that belonged unto his sacred Majestie, naye, the seate royall of all the kingdome, Dublin, he sould and gave up into the enemie; the supreame Councell by him displaced, and applyed unto himself others of his owne caruinge and faction, whom he called comissioners to use them onely at a winke for the leauinge and aplottinge of continuall impositions and taxations, to scrape all the kingdome coyne, substance, and marrowe to himself, comittinge the whole lande into the licentious militarie, that the souldiers may extorte theire meanes and sustentation from thence. All he turned topsi turvy for his owne use and apetite, untill at lenght impouerished and euiscerated the whole kingdome, and not without the high censure of graue witts, that in all dis receaue his influence from the comon enemie, the parliament.

775. Neither doe his Excellencie the Lord Marquesse of Clanricarde, Ormonds substitute in the kingdome, prove lesse ominous and fatall, whoe neuer hitherto signe to our Catholicke Confederacie, and was from the begininge most auerse an antagonisticke of our holy warr, though Catholicke, in oppressinge of religion an

contraveninge of Churche immunitie gayneth the garlande of Ormonde himself. 1651.
Neither doe the almightie undesearvedly denie him his Diuine asistance in his gouernment, receauinge his magistracie from Ormond, with the insuportable burden of soe many execrations, curses, maledictions and yrfull anathems, for the impious and damned cessation with Insiehuyne, for the maliciouse interruptinge of a nationall congregation or synod, by his Holinesse authoritie indicted: for the enfamous and scandalous expulsion of the Most Illustrious My Lord Nuncio from the kingdome; for the tyranicall imprisonment and oprobrious contumelies of ecclesiasticall persons to all those, haue he principally before, and more then others, concurred.

Those and such other enormities have provoked the Diuine indignation and wrath 776.
against us, that wee doe miserably perish, and are highly punished and afflicted by famen, plague, and sworde, and are soe vile, fearfull, timide, and cowarde that wee durst not looke in the enemie face afarr off. If the excomunication (wherby onely Achan in the Israeliticall armie was intangled) did soe discourage the whole campe, that it was tould by the proper voice of God to Josue, then Generall, that they could not subsiste in the enemie sight unlesse the partie therof guiltie did suffer, what then, will not doe in a whole kingdome, some prelats, many grandees and nobles, ecclesiasticks of both clergie, and too many others, whoe are infected with the foresaide anathems and excomunications, whose disobedience and pertinax contempte against the Sea of Rome and its ministers haue blowen the coales of Divine indignation and wrath against us; by whose demeritts the corps of our militarie forces doe laye prostrate in severall places, not interred; our churches, by our proper bloude gained, and from the jawes of hereticks snatched, are by those most sacrilegiously poluted; horide and lamentable are those things which are unto our sight obiected, euery wheare desolation of churches, vglinesse of aulters, the banishment and exile of prelats, the execrable profanation of religious, sacred virgins and holy ministers, euery wheare monesteries and abbies existent half ruyned, the sacerdotall colledges dispersed, and, at a worde, what soeuer holy or deere to the Churche of God contemned, villipended, and treade under foote.

Wherefore wee, the undernamed bishops, prelats, and of both clergie diuines, by 777.
the Holy Ghoste (as wee belieue) together assembled, moued by Divine instincte, and edged forwarde by the continuall tender care of our consciences to prescribe in this sacred congregation, the maner, as an antidott preseruatiue to soe lamentable perishinge of soules, by our pastorall obligation havinge maturely and seriously beheld and obsearued the cause (as farr as wee could), asisted by God Almightie, did examen, and doe unanimously finde and judge the onely cause of our former euills and misfortunes to be the formentioned excomunication and anathems, and all our miseries and calamities to flowe as from a fontaine, and deriue theire course from the foresaide impious societie and contempte of holy Churche. Whearfore wee judge that all such, as well of the clergie as laitie, that are knowen to be obnoxious of the foresaide censures to be obliged in conscience, as well for the safetie of theire respectiue soules as allsoe for the betteringe and furtherance of the kingdome affaires, and withall to auerte Gods indignation from the nation, to submitt themselues unto the Sea of Rome, humbly and penitently to begg absolution from

1651. thence. To which wee exhorte them in the bowell of Jesus Christ. Lett them call to minde that it be the humaine parte to err, but the diabolicall to perseuere. Wee specially admonishe brotherly, our cobrother prelats, and all ecclesiasticks, as by theire example, perswation, and moderne doctrine they haue induced the people to the embracinge of the saide errors and enormities, soe likwise by Christian humilitie, zeale of religion, and charitie (as truely becometh the children of holy Churche, true pastors of soules, and lanternes of the faithfull, for whose soules they are to render an accounte to the just and righteous Judge), doe realy endeauour to reduce, not onely themselues, but allsoe the saide people to the sweete lappe and cheerfull company of our holy mother the Churche, from whom horide schisme and disobedience haue avulsed. But in case this our fraternall and healthy admonitions (which God forbid) would not take effecte, by this publicke-written instrument wee doe protest before God that it is not our faulte that they should not returne to the former vnion and reconciliation into the Romaine Churche, and doe deeme ourselves pursuant to our capacities to complye with our obligation in this behalfe.

778 Furthermore, wee, the bishops and prelats, by vertue of Gods authoritie and the ordinarie power which wee enjoye, doe, as straight as wee maye, comannde all our subiects, as well ecclesiasticke as laitie, and doe forbide, under paine of maior excomunication, that they comunicat not nor joine, whether it be in the same armie fightinge, whether in the assemblies or councells consultinge, with such as are infected with the saide censures and excomunications till they submitte themselues unto the Sea Apostolicke, and giue the same full satisfaction, and receaue grace, benediction, and absolution from thence. For by such comunication (as by lamentable experience wee see) the contumacie of the foresaide anathematists doe take roote and encrease, our faithfull are beguiled and corrupted, the contempte of ecclesiasticall censures and disrespecte of the Sea of Rome and its ministers augmented.

779. Wee doe in our Lord tenderly admonishe all our faithfull and obedient children that they filially giue eare and obedience into these our admonitions and prohibitions. Lett them not despaire, for wee promise them in the behalfe of God Almightie, by a choice fewer number, free from the contagion of all ecclesiasticall censures, in faithe and obedience firme, the victorie to be more certaine, more gratfull, and more gloriouse before God, which by many testimonies of Holy Writte may be cleerly evidenced and auerred; but to shune prolixitie, lett this one for a 1000 suffice: Amassias, kinge of Juda, goinge to the fielde against the Idumeyans, did invite mercenarie forces of Israell (whoe from the true God, with impious Jeroboam, haue declined and rebelled) a hundred thowsand warriors for one hundred talent of siluer coine. But God Almightie spoke to him by his prophet, and saide, O kinge, lett nott the armie of Israell beare you company, because our Lord God is not with the Israellitts, nor with any the broode of Ephraime. And leaste Amasias should disobey, dispairinge in the small number of his owne faithfull followers, the prophett, in pursuance of his former advice, fulminated minaces and threats, sayinge in the same place, If you thinke the victorie to consiste in the force, valor, and manhoode of your armie, God will cause you be overcome by the enemie, and rendringe reasons therof, saide it is the parte

2 Paral. 25.

ınd propertie of God either to helpe or turne to flight, and this whether it be in many or in fewe that adhere unto himself. Amasias obeyed, dismissed the contagious armie of Israell, and obtained the victorie with his owne fewe forces, whoe otherwise by the impious multitude would be lost. Wherfore, souldiers of Jesus Christe, fight confidently by the very same intention that you begun this holy warr, for religion, kinge, and nation, and hope not incorrupte and fadinge humaine power, nor in the strenght, courage, and multitude of your forces, but onely in the helpinge hande of our Lord God, whoe grannted you maruaylously to comence the warr of our Lord with a fewe weaponlesse and naked men, and be assured that by the same benignitie will grannte you the grace to goe forwarde and beare the swaye, which the God of hoastes may be pleased to grannte, by the grace and intercession of His Onely Son, Our Lord Iesus Christe. Amen. 1651.

Vlt° Augusti, 1651. Signed ut supra,

Ita testor: Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius Congregationis.

These actes of the clergie of Ardmagh province doe euidently shewe theire ervor in religion, theire vigilancie towards the saftie of theire flocke, theire zeale o the comon good of the nation, theire obedience to the Sea of Rome, and theire nnocencie in the abominable and vnchristian expulsion of the Lord Nuncio Apos-olicke. The attestation of which congregation of soe many prelats, fathers, and iuines is noe small evidence and calefication of our former assertions in the dis-ouery of faction, as any indifferent man may see, without partialitie conceaue by he perusall of both. In this same congregation the Bishope of Clonmacnose and Father Anthony Geoghegan, Prior of Conall, missionary form the Congregation of Cardinalls, and now Vicar-generall of Meath, were apointed agents to the provinciall Congregation of Linster (wheras not yett assembled), by whom the former acts were transmitted, that, accordinge the instructions of the holy Congregation of Cardinalls, may agree in one and the same thinge, tendinge to vnitie and con-ederacie of the nation, whoe thither arrivinge, the prelats and pastors were cheer-ılly sumoned by the Bishope of Laghlin, Vice-metropolitan at present, a true hild of Catholicke religion, whoe conveninge together at Ballaghanea, in Clan-ıaliry, in the Queenes Contie, did unanimously aprove, confirme, and conceaue as proper acte all the former of Ardmagh Congregation, pursuant to the Cardinalls ınstructions (as aforesaide) and conceaued others, and did choose delligats or agents om theire province to sitt in Galwaye, with other such from the respectiue rouinces (as in due place you shall obsearue). As for other provinciall Congre-ations, they held none, for Conaght prelats, Tuaime, Kilfinora, Killalla, and ymochoe, will not admitte the nomination of a Congregation, leaste any thinge ere there acted contrarie to theire former contumacie against the Lord Nuncios ensures, or theire proper treasonable faction. As for Casselensis and Limbricensis Monster, with others of the same broode, receaued theire influence from these onatian cometts, from Ormond and his successor Clanricarde. But what the well fected prelats of Monster haue don, sittinge with the laitie, you shall in due place bsearue.

780.

The zeale of the Congregation of Ardmagh.

Clonmacnose and the Prior of Conall, agents.

Edmond Dempsy, Vice-metropollitan of Linster.

The clergie of Conaghts refraction.

The clergie of Monsters behaviour.

1651.

CHAPTER XX.

781.
Tacit. hist. 1.
Veget. l. 3.
Livi. l. 6.

One especiall care of a captain, and amonge the first for successe in the action, is to looke well to the armes and armour of the souldier, for these often prevaile both against the number and valour of the enemie. Wherfore, if seconds in single fight be very circumspecte that there be noe odds in the combatants weapons whom they putt together, upon all equall and indifferent tearmes: much more is a leader to be ware that the enemie haue not this advantage upon him, because in single fight the dexteritie and skill of one of the parties in usinge his weapon, or his agilitie, or nimblnesse of bodie, or his alacritie and viuacitie of spirit may prevaile against this odds. But in a battle, where the fight is in a firme station, and a greater desire of offendinge and killinge others then of defendinge and sauinge themselues, odds of the weapons is much more advantagious.

Lucan. l. 8.

Ensis habet vires, et gens quæcunque virorum est,
Bella gerit gladijs : sed Medos prælia prima
Exarmant, vacuæque iubent remeare Pharetræ.

The behavior of Clanricarde, Generall in Conaght.

Wee left Clanricardes armie in the countie of Mayo in Conaght, leadinge a miser able life, staruinge, though the countie plentifull enough, and full of keraghts, bu durst not touche one cowe without orders; noe waye was giuen to acte any servic on the enemie, goinge at randome in loose companies in sight and upon advantage When it pleased the Deputie-generall (moued therunto by the continuall suite an earneste supplication of the distressed comannders) to grannte his orders, in th behalfe of the starvelinge armies relife, to gett some beefes from the said keraghts to this effecte issued his orders in the morninge, picked out the matter of a 100 o sometimes 200 for the execution therof; but comanndinge theire staye in camp till about eveninge, comanndinge his dispatches in the interim unto the foresai keraght (wherunto the saide partie was to marche), straighly charginge an requiringe them to stande in armes for proper defence, and rescue theire cattl from such a party, notwithstandinge his owne orders to the contrary. Wherupo invitinge theire neighbouringe keraghts, intimatinge the Lord-deputies intention whoe flockinge together in greate multitudes, pointe-blanke readie against the sai partie, whoe arriuinge to the place apointed without breathe or courage (a cominge 7 or 8 miles, for a longe time before without meate, drinke, or rest), intend inge to put theire saide comanndes in due execution, which the keraght peop obsearuinge, havinge more recent orders then the souldiers, did gather together battle araye (neuer regardinge theire orders, or that they were theire confederat or that they were in extreame necessitie of relife, or that they were eith Catholicks or natiues fightinge, or at least exposinge theire proper liues in thei behalfe), ran with such furious and mercilesse behaviour on, puttinge them out countenance by the over-swayinge number and better apointment of that multitud killinge, maiminge, disarminge, and strippinge the poore innocent souldiers, such them as could saue themselves by the benefitt of a good paire of heeles, runin with the best speede possible to the campe, as well to enforme what hapned un

His counter-manndinge orders for destruction.

The inhumanitie of Conaght men.

O poore Linster and Vlster men, when will ye be wise?

the partie, as allsoe in hope to be a guide with a stronger partie to the same place, to force satisfaction, and reliue the saide parties miserie, which notified in high measure of grivance unto Clanricarde, would neither by himself repaire the losse of both men and armes soe miscaried, nor giue way to the respectiue officers and comannders interessed to force satisfaction. This tricke did the peere-deputie use seuerall times, in soe much that one moytie of the Linster forces (in the behalfe of whose destruction this plott was hatched) did not apeere, as killed, stoned to deathe, or flede awaye from theire colours, as not able to subsiste under that mercilesse comannder, and such as were extant, and did patiently beare all these miseries, were not usefull as weake, naked, and disarmed. Noe seruice was don worthy relation, noe armye mantained, nor redresse grannted by either deputie or keraghts for soe transcendent and inhumaine abuses, wherby this Peere-Generall proues himself to be either noe souldier or an arch-traitor, for, accordinge our former aphorisme, the chiefe care of a captain should be to looke well unto the souldiers armes and maintenance, without which is impossible to preuaile against freinde or foe. All this our present Generall disrespectinge, giues large testimonie of both his ignorance in the arte he professeth, and his refraction in the other he is reputed to represent. 1651. The Generall noe souldier or a traitor.

Mortagh OBryan resident in Tomond with a partie, played his parte very well against the enemie, did send intelligence to the Linster and Vlster comannders in Conaght, to be pleased to send him some relife, whearupon the matter of a 1000 foote was selected and comannded for this expedition, under the leadinge of Colonell Art Mc Huigh Boy Oneylle and Mayor Teige OConor, of Linster and Vlster infanterie, whoe thither arrivinge, the reliued was mightie comforted and behaved themselues very actiue, to the mightie prejudice of the enemie, too often cuttinge him shorte of both provision, munition and men, whoe continued theire reall, loyall and good service, as comannded by comannders of the like graine. The foresaide Conaght armie starvinge and idle, as aforesaid, must now shiucke or swime, either disperse or miscarie. Theire comannders therefore, now too late (though better late then neuer), understandinge themselues, whether they will or noe, must alone keepe with Clanricarde or followe theire souldiers, whoe, as they were able, marched in a dispected bodie and loose companies with all expedition towards the countie of Letrim, Clanricarde and his other comannders poastinge to Jamestowne to overtake them, which was not of that abilitie. Colonell Daniell Keuanagh, followinge his owne men, overtooke them in the countye of Longforde, whoe with much adoe could perswade them 4 daies onely to staye for his owne person to accompany them for Linster, all his saide staye was expectinge the remaine of the Linster forces, gatheringe apace into the foresaide countye that they might marche together in some seeminge posture. The enemie horse poastinge in theire pursuite towards Bellaleige, a braue passadge upon the Shanon, and a place of greate consequence, was upon sight surrendred into the enemie without a blowe (as was publickly conceaued by the influence of Clanricarde); howeuer, all the inhabitants lost what they had therin, and soe did Leutenant-generall Ferrall loose his goods founde in the castle. We leaue the Linster forces gatheringe into the county of Longford, and turne to Clanricarde. 782. Art Mc Huigh Boy Oneyllo and Teige Conor goen towards Mortagh OBryan to Tomond. The Linster forces scatteringe. Bellaleige taken by the enemie.

CHAPTER XXI.

783. Livi. l. 1. Salust. Cic. Phil. l. 5. Senec. Claud. in Ruf. 2.

Of all bad ingredients into the hearte of man, there is none poysons it soe much with the venome of treasonable thoughts as that of disdaine. The prince that sees this mischievous seede planted and growne amongest his captains in time of theire imployment, and seekes not to roote it up with a quicke and sharpe hande, is in the high roade to his owne ruyne.

Quod tantis Romana manus contexuit annis,
Proditor unus iners augusto tempore uertit.

The non-admittinge a councell of warr against Costllagh was greate cause of this distemper.

The disdaine of this Peere-Generall towards both comannder and souldier of Linster and Vlster partie, beside his treasonable intentions, had his increase from the prosecution of the lawe of armes, that they did seriously desire, against Costtlagh; this may be thought sufficient grounde (though was not alone) to foment much distemper in loyall hearts, and to excite venemous poison in cankered brests; jealousies of this kinde did give a rough touch of diseruice in the armie, and likly will soone bringe the spectator judge, conivinge at, unto the high roade of his proper ruyne; noe sooner, therfore, was the comannder and souldier of Linster province (the onely suporte and mouers of the former suite) out of the way towards the countie of Longford, as aforesaide, then Clanricarde, with such as were extant of the faction comannders, did sitt in Iamestowne in a councell of warr upon the subiecte of the surrender of Athlone against My Lord of Costllagh, there extant by Clanricards apointment. Leutenant-generall Ferrall and Colonell Lewes Moore, obsearuinge noe indifferencie, aduiced the deputie, with the rest to forbeare declaringe theire intentions untill a full councell upon better leasure did sitt upon a matter of that concearnment, but this sounde advice not takinge place, the givers refuseinge to continue the issue of soe partiall proceedings tooke theire leaue, and followed the rest of theire comrades. All the well affected, thus givinge grounde, the Deputy-generall asisted with fewe comannders of his faction, and the verie delinquents did sitt in a cabinett councell, and declared theire judgment in the behalf of Costllagh, and Sir Robert Thalbott for the surrender of Athlone, as aforesaide. Westmeathe, Sir Walter Dungan, Walter Bagnall, Sir Thomas Esmonde and Clanricard, were the chiefe and most asistinge in this cabinett councell, all of the same character with the araigned. This much notified unto the Linster comannders were mightie offended with the abuse offered unto men of theire ranke, the onely suporte then of Conaght armie, and most desirous, at all hazarde, to marche to theire proper prouince, to giue a rubbe to any such expedition, writtinge his pressinge comannds that they should expecte amunition (the onely thinge they thought to haue neede of in Linster), wherunto condescendinge, 200 foote of the Linster forces was picked out and sent to the countie of Mayo for it, at the highest degree of hazarde, in which jorney the saide partie did spende upwards of a fortnight, and at lenght arriued to Boyle, from whence it was impossible to goe forwarde, which the Linster partie obsearuinge did onely expecte the cominge of the convoye.

A cabinett councell held by Clanricarde, and what they be.

The danger of this party.

In this interim (which was the fetche of all Clarincards tergiuersations) intelligence was sent unto the enemie to be in a readinesse for opposinge this Linster partie to theire natiue Province, which was exactly put in vre. This scene soe cuningly contriued, the amunition convoye ouerlabored arrivinge to theire partie. All, both horse and foote, was comaunded by the Deputy-generall to marche towards Bellaleige extempore, as to leager the same, on Linster side of the Shanon, where was nothinge apointed, either of provision or amunition, other then verball promises to see them furnished with plentie, the country there yeldinge nothinge of that stuffe, as waste and barren, without tillagh or inhabitants, onely boggs and woodes, whoe, notwithstandinge all former jealousies and ruptures, did yelde punctuall obedience, marchinge thither, obsearvinge seriously the situation of the place, the impossibilitie of thrivinge to any purpose, and theire proper eminent danger (if a weake enemie did leager them), for they could neither retire or advance, to fly onely into the aire was theire onely saftie, if any inconveniencie did apeere, yett did continue there in that miserable pasture for 3 or 4 daies. But the souldiers (havinge a sadd tryall of Clanricards inhumanitie towards them, and as God did mercifully dispose) will not obey either generall or under comannder upon that score any further, but, maugre all threats and comannds to the contrarie, will marche to Linster, which was the unanimous consente of all the infanterie at leaste, the comannders must either continue alone or marche with theire now fewe men, which they did, onely Bryan Mc Phelim stayed with the matter of 50 musketiers, for 8 daies, and then followed the rest. The enemie, accordinge the foresaide intelligence to give a rubb unto the poore Linster partie, was now readie; Coote from Conaght marched with his forces towards Athlone, and from thence to Ballimore, where he was to joine with Venable, governor for the Parliament in Vlster, whoe were assured to leager the Linster forces in that nuke, wherunto were purposly comannded by Clanricarde, from whence, accordinge all humaine induction, was impossible to escape but God, in the behalfe of those inocent and reall soules did otherwise contriue the busines, that they were nowe past the danger of those armies, wherby the enemie deluded and disapointed of his seruice, and Clanricarde of his intended treachery frustrated, Coote did turne to Athlone and Venables with 2000 foote, and the relation of 500 horse with some ordinance marched to the countie of Cavan, the onely now in Irish possession in Vlster.

1651.
784.
Intelligence sent unto the enemie.
The publicke treachery of this Generall.
All by Diuine disposition.
Bryan Mc Phelim did stay behinde.
Coote and Venable with theire armies to Ballimore.

CHAPTER XXII.

To giue the reader a further touche of the factionists malice, I must refreshe his memorie with the articles of transaction betweene his Highnesse the Duke of Loraigne and the comissioners sent and authorized by the deputie Clanricarde for that purpose, which were publickly signed and sealed, interchangably by both partie, and transmitted, as authenticke, by the saide comissioners to the Deputy-Clanricarde, and by his Excellencie publickly notified and comunicated to the whole king-

785.
The malice of the factioniers alwayes discouered.

1651. dome-viewe; notwithstandinge soe demonstratiue and convencinge evidence of the veritie of that action, the factionists are soe devoide of all shame, that they will not blushe to denye openly, with seuerall asseverations, soe publicke and knowen truthe, attested by the publicke instrument of soe noble a [*blank*] prince, and many other prime hands, which articles beare date 22 July, 1651 (as no. 727); that all men may see what beleefe those are worthy of, you may peruse the subsequent letter penned by his Highnesse to the bishops of Ireland, whereby you maye partly deeve unto theire malice, which is in hæc verba:

786. Illustrissimi ac Reuerendissimi Domini:

The Duke of Loraignes letter to the Prelats.

Quis sit vester erga me animus, quæque de meo in vestrum ordinem vniversum regnum amor et fiducia per Illustrissimum ac Reuerendum Episcopum Fernensem et per Dominum Prestonem, equitem auratum, viros vobis juxta fidos et mihi probatissimos luculenter accepi, atque hæc illorum oratio, rem mihi longe gratissimam, optatissimamque facile persuasit, et ad amplectendam rerum vestrarum curam sponte iam satis prono, non mediocrem adiecit stimulum dum animadverterem eos, qui, et sacerdotij dignitate et fidei zelo, et patriæ charitate, et rerum agendarum peritia principem locum tenent mei quoque amandi ornandique studio procellere. Quamobrem ea potissimum opinione confirmatus, quamuis tristissimi ex Hybernia rumores spargerentur, ac meipsum multiplici ac necessario bello implicitum propria magis et proxima sattagere debere iudicarent plerique omnes, quam alienis et remotis imtempestive imisceri. Tamen ut fusius vobis exponent deputati, nullis neque difficultatibus neque periculis impensarumque magnitudine deterreri potui, quin inceptam cum iisdem deputatis transactionem perficerem, ijs sane conditionibus quæ primam religionis causam stabiliunt, cætera vero ex jure regio et regni commodis sic attemperant, ut verendum non sit, ne in cuiusquam offensionem impengant nisi eorum qui hostibus animis et armis hæc omnia persequuntur, aut certe per occulta flagitia apertis hostium machinationibus adhærescunt. Vos vero cum ij sitis a quibus et purissima consilia, propter ordinis sanctitatem, et promptissima opera propter amoris affectum expectanda sunt, certissime confido vos nefarios proditorum molitiones, pari sapientia et fortitudine oppressuros, necnon in fouenda militum, populorumque constantia, in conciliandis diffidentium animis, alijsque rebus ad salutem incolumitatemque vestram serio procurandis, omnem operam industriamque possituros. Pergite ergo generosi antistites, et hanc quasi disponsatam vobis gloriam ne repudiate, ut nos non modo religionis sed etiam patriæ patres ac patronos merito apud posteros fama deprædicet. Ego vero quemadmodum ille, qui primus Imperatoriam Maiestatem publicæ religionis Christianæ professioni consecravit patribus Nicæni Consilij Co-Episcopum se in politica Ecclesiæ administratione dicere non dubitabat: Sic et uos mihi in propugnanda fide quasi socios ac comilitones esse gloriabor. Interea, dum in adornando supetiarum aparatu, ea celeritate et copia, quas utique temporis necessitas patitur totus incumbo festinando huiusce Misoparonis traiectionem putavi, moleste ferens cum Abbatis a Sanct. Catharina redditus in multam æstatem inciderit propter prolixiorem eius in Hyberniam moram necnon vastissimam Borealis Oceani navigationem me promptiore via uti non potuisse, ut vos, tum de prædictis rebus, tum de perfecto inter me ac deputatos

tractatu admonitos redderem, necnon de mea erga vos constantissima voluntate securos. 1651.

Illustrissimi ac Reuerendissimi Domini
Vester studiosissimus ac amantissimus

Datum Bruxellis, 10 Septembris, 1651. Subscribitur—Carolus Loraigne.

Illustrissimis ac Reuerendissimis Dominis Archiepiscopis et Episcopis Regni Hyberniæ.

Copia vera. Ita testatur Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

787. A confutation of the factionists former assertion.

You see, reader, how his Highnesse doe acknowledge in this his letter to the prelats of Irelande that he agreede with the agents sent and impowered for that purpose, as by the verie transactions (as aforesaide) you may obsearue, and further sayeth, though most sorowfull newes are infused into my eares from Irelande, and meself entangled in many and necessarie warrs, beinge the sense of eache man I should rather endeavour to settle my proper affaires at home then untimely to intermedle with alien and foraigne busines farr off; notwithstandinge, noe kinde of difficultie, danger or charges how greate soever, will hinder me to undergoe what I began, accordinge the transactiones concluded with the agents (as they may more at large acquainte you off). The rest, he writes verie lovinge, engaginge himself to asiste them, and aduicinge them how to behave themselues in the meane while. All this, notwithstandinge (with the attestation of Clonmacnose to be a true copie of his Highnesse addresse), the factionists doe give out those transactions to be a meere chymera, neuer extant in rerum natura, or in case they were (saide they) are prejudicious to both kinge and nation, and that the kings majestie will not admitte of this man to be protector of this his kingdome, and that his Highnesse did allsoe engage himself unto the Parliament of Englande for a greate quantitie of moneye, both which are incompatible. Any indifferent judge will deeme all this to be an indicible affront to soe eminent a man, an absolute prince, that he should be soe waveringe and unconstante in his resolutions, signinge to those publicke and Catholick acts, leavinge them in recorde to posterity, and not to comply with, rather (in the sense of those) joininge with theire knowen enemie; if this had beene soe, why did he send agents unto this nation, or receaue any from? or why did he sende twenty thowsande pounds of his moneye, with a greate store of provision, amunition and armes for the kingdome use? if he was to shrinke from the couenant alreadie indorsed, why did he sende the saide magazine? upon what score did any man conceave that such a prince did bestowe soe much on this kingdome, other then in complyance of the transactions, and to be accountable for it, as therin mentioned? It is incredible that soe pious, Catholicke, and riche prince did euer offer to comitte soe base an acte, what needes a riche man be a theefe? neither was his Majestie euer auerse unto this bargaine, rather sued his Highnesse to continue and goe forwarde in the transactions, with his subiects of Irelande, proofe wherof you may obsearve in the ensuinge letter of Doctor Tyrrell, a most zealous and true man, highly acquainted with his Highnesse, which is as followeth:

Deuellish and false surmishes of factionists.

A greate injury herby don to the honor of this prince.

1651.

788.

Doctor Edward Tyrrells letter confutinge the foresaide surmishe.

Right Reuerend Father in God,

And my very good Lord, though your Lordship had not beene pleased to comforte me with your good successe of late by yours settinge fourth the state and condition wherunto it pleased our God to haue advanced your affaires in that our desolate countrye, yett I understande of it, by seuerall wayes doe congratulate with all my hearte, those whoe are the principal authors, and will not cease to praye the Almightie for their prosperitie. My Lord, I haue understoode a huge alacritie to haue beene produced in our people, by the same succors sent by his Highnesse the Duke of Loraigne, a most pious and charitable prince. I doe kindly intreate your Lordship to spurr our friends to continue the same waye, to gather much more courage, by the assurance you may give them of sudaine greater supplies to be sent, if not else sent by his Highnesse, whoe hath resolued not onely the venture of loosinge his good in a high measure, but allsoe the loosinge of his owne person for to establishe our religion, and rescue us from the slaueric of our mercilesse enemies, a most heroycall resolution. It maye be some will saye that his Highnesse will forsake us, and others can be had whoe will cheerfully succour us, and that without delaye, but such are not to be beleeved, untill experience doe teache you that they haue advanced much more then £40000 sterling for your relife and protection, as this generous prince hath else done. France hath enough to doe, and if it be won to doe any thinge for us wee shall not be ungratfull for it, yett wee must not lett slipp the occasion which God of his infinit goodnesse hath given us of makinge us possessors of the hearte of a most Christian, pious, stoute, and riche prince, altogether devouted to our helpe, and in such a sorte, as I beleeve his second cannott be mett withall in this age. Our kinge, God be praysed, is here safly, and of his owne much inclined to helpe us, if it were Gods pleasure to enable his Majestie with power proportionable to his good will, for which wee must acknowledge our behouldingnesse to sticke to his intreste, as farr as they may not be destructive to our religion, which wee are to preferr to all humaine consideration, because it is our duetie to our God and principall Master, whoe is our kings Master allsoe, as well as ours. My Lord of Ormond is here, and accuses My Lord of Fearnes of treason, and doe intende upon his owne suggestion to keepe my saide good Lord from payinge his duetie to the kinge, which is to kisse his hande. But if Fernensis be not admitted to speake to his Majestie he will make knowen to the world how he is used. The kinge will write to those of Limbricke and Galwaye kindlye, and will allsoe endeavour to helpe you all in generall as he maye. Truely I beleeve his inclination to fauor is well and good, but if he make use of your declared enemie you must looke to yourselues, or else you will feele the smarte of it. His Maiestie hath writen to the Duke of Loraigne a civill and good letter, prayinge his continued asistance to comforte his subiects of Irelande, which is a sufficient motiue for you all to sticke to your treatie, concluded with the saide Duke, and not to beleeve such others as endeavour to diverte you from the observances of the same. This much you maye signifie to all our friends, to whom I cannott write at this present, prelats, noblmen and gentlmen. Comende me to my brother, I pray lett me heare from him; comende me to my cossen, the prior of Conallmore, of whom I wonder I cannott here, and shewe him this letter, if he be there. I will

vrite many others, but not soe ample a letter as this, and thus in hast I will 1651.
ıbide

Signed: Your Lordship most humble Servant and Kindsman,

Paris, the 29 of November, 1651. Subscribed, Edward Tyrrell,

For my good Lord, Anthony Clonmacnosensis Episcopus etc.

Copia vera: Ita testor Fr. Antonius Clonmacnosensis.

This soe large a testimonie, cominge from soe goode a hande (whom together 789.
ıeretofore wee made very true and reall use), and attested by soe prime a member
ıf Gods churche, voide of all exception, is demonstratiue evidence of both the
ɔeritie of our former assertions in the behalfe of faction, as if the inueterat malice
ıf factionists deniinge the saide couenant, or articles of transaction to be concluded
ɔetweene his Highnesse and this kingdome, or brutinge by the false surmishes of
hese whasps the dissent of his Majestie therin, for soe zealous and learned a man
vould not soe asseverantly write such weightie matters, and of soe eminent sub-
ects, without settled and sure grounde, as any man of indifferencie may judge.
Obsearue what character he gives his Highnesse, notwithstandinge the sons of Bean,
o bride rent and diuision in the nation, doe publish (to theire proper perpetuall
ɔnfamie) the contrarie. This graue father is nothinge like his brother Thomas
Tyrrell the Lawyer, of whom he makes mention in this his letter. Væ vobis qui
licitis bonum malum et malum bonum.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THANKS for benefitts receaued are turned unto hate, when they are soe greate as 790.
hey cannott be requited, or when they are bestowed upon him whoe takes them Tacit. An. l. 4.
ıs don of duetie, or necessitie, and is unwillinge to requite them: for in such a Seneca. Ep. 19.
nan the desire of havinge more is stronger to wronge his freinde, and make warr Suet. in Cal.
ıpon him, then the memory of kindnesse receaved, either to requite those former Pet. Dial. 93.
auours, or relinquish the action undertaken.

Et dum quærendis inhiat quæsita non meminit.

In the no. 783 wee left Clanricarde and his cabinett councell in Jamestowne
wherof was My Lord of Westmeath), as there touched, where he was by the Westmeath Generall of Linster by Clanricarde.
Deputie apointed Generall of the Irish forces of Linster, whence dispatched towards
he countie of Longforde, where such as adhered unto him of horse and foote did
him expecte, and the amunition left in Boyle (as in the foresaide no. mentioned)
ɔominge to him, as for the seruice of Linster, he placed in his owne house of Termon-
berra, where makinge some needlesse delaies, the Vlster gentrie and comanders had
he oportunitie to sende unto him pressinge addresses, that he may marche towards
hem to Tarbert (where at present they were recrutinge theire armie) with onely
ıorse, for foote they had enough, at leaste the matter of 5000, that jointe might Bellanacargie siedge by Venables.
elive with ease Bellanacargie Phillipe Mc Huigh OReyllyes house, leagered by

1651. The Earle of Westmeath denyed a poore relife to the Vlster men.

Venable aforementioned, which he excused for the present, that he had noe considerable partie for such an expedition, whoe the seconde time in a more pressinge waye sued him, assuringe his Lordship of very good seruice, and desired onely three score horse, and not to trouble either his proper person or any other, onely that sett number, whoe dayly promised complyance of theire requeste, but when they should there apeere, accordinge this peeres faithfull and honorable engagement, marched the precedent night to Linster, leavinge his Confederats and sworne associats to themselues, not regardinge the duety of a Catholicke Generall in that extreamitie, the tye of Confederacie, the loyaltie of a subiecte to his kinge, the zeale of religion, nor the inatiue charitie of a Christian patriott to his neighbouringe kindsmen, neither once dreaminge of the excesse of this very peoples humanitie towards him, at the free and voluntarie relife sent unto Fyena, upon his Lordship desire (as no. 699 mentioned), which cost them treble the liues of such as they now desire, which benefitt was neither of necessitie forced, nor of duetie obliginge (onely in vertue of holy union and association), but this peere neither in returne of the same, as gratfull, nor in relation to the other as sworne to brotherhoode, rather in disdaine and hate of both will complye with neither promise, oathe, couenant or obligation, but stole awaye, leavinge all passadges free for the enemie to enable his owne.

791. The Vlster comannders thus disapointed of Westmeath, contrary to theire expectation, resident in Terbert, as aforesaide, My Lord Primat of Ardmagh did send them, I meane the gentry of that province, at present there, the ensuinge addresse.

My Lord Primats letter to the gentry of Vlster.

Sirs, Pursuant to the late actes of the congregation of clergie for the Prouince of Ardmagh, wee comannde you, under the penaltie expressed in the saide actes, not to joine with any armie, as incurred My Lord Nuncios excomunication, nor sitt in any theire councells or assemblies till such time as they gett the benefitt of the application of Generall Owen Oneylle of hapie memorie in his capitulation with Ormond and his adherents. Dated the 29 of September, 1651.

Signed: Hugo Ardmachanus Archiepiscopus.

Subscribed: for the Gentrie of Vlster.

Copia vera: Ita testatur Jacobus Gauan, Secretarius.

792. By the Gentrie of Vlster in answere therto.

May it please your Grace,

The gentrys answeare therupon.

Your Grace his letter of this daies date wee haue receaued, wherin you desire us to use our endeavours with the Lord-Deputie, and others interested, in causinge the article made upon the capitulation betweene the Lord Marquesse of Ormond and the then goverment of the one parte, and Generall Owen Oneylle and his partie, of the other parte, concearninge the excomunication against many of the kingdome to be performed, otherwise Your Grace doth threaten us with censures. Wee conceave the present troubles of our nowe meetinge is soe well knowen to Your Grace, that you will not thinke the time fitt for it, but whensoeuer hear-

after Your Grace shall please to comannde us to prosecute the same, wee wilbe readie to obeye, and remaine, 1651.

Your Grace his most humble seruants,

Signed:	Terlagh Oneylle.	Phelim Oneylle.
	Phillipe OReylly.	Phillipe OReyllye.
Dated, 29 Septembris, 1651.	Huigh Mc Mahon.	Colla Mc Mahon.
		Meyldes OReyllye.

Subscribed: for his Grace Hugo Ardmachanus.

Copia vera: Ita testor Fr. Antonius Geoghegan, Vicarius Generalis Midensis.

When My Lord Primat did send this addresse, the comissioners of the prouince of Vlster were in Terbert callinge theire forces together, to reliue Bellanacargie, as aforesaide, against Venables; upon the receipte of this resulte My Lord Primat was satisfied, wherupon did comannde a Father unto them as a proper atturneye, desiringe them to goe forwarde to reliue the saide place, with his benediction, neuer doubtinge in the diuine asistance. The gentrie hereby encouraged, notwithstandinge the Earle of Westmeathes treacherie and ingratitude, as aforesaide, next morninge did intende to marche in open fielde to Bellanacargie, like another Alexander against Darius, not to steale victorie by night, which was not soe privat, but Venables had notice therof, and havinge battered one quarter of the castle by the losse of 200 of his men, in a disordered maner, marched awaye by night, the garrison understandinge the enemie flight by a poaste, certified the Irish armie therof, whoe marched timely in the morninge; theire horse followed the fugitive enemies tracte, and ouertakinge some lesse exposed for celeritie, did cutt them shorte of theire liues, and much of the bagage was taken and caried to the Irish campe. Thus was Phillipe Mc Huigh OReyllys house reliued, Venables putt to flight, the garrison victorious, and the Vlster armie encouraged; and all this the fruite of holy obedience to the pastors of holy churche. 793.

Plutar. in Alexand.

Bellanacargy reliued, and Venables endamaged.

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APPENDIX.

LETTERS, DOCUMENTS, ETC.

I. General Owen O'Neill to Plunket and Barnewall.

Sirs,

Yours of the 23th current I received and doe wish you all happines and success in the negotiation to you intrusted, beseeching the Allmighty that your indeavours may produce an effect that may redownd to the preservation and libertie of Catholique religion and this unfortunat nation. I have in my last dispatch appointed the place of meeteing at the Abby of Shruell on Thursday next, where our Comrs will indoubtedly meete; the salfe conduct I sent you is inclosed in my Secretaryes lettres to my nephew Daniell ONeill, which you may breake oppen: The salfe conduct you desired for the Bpp of Ffernes I now send inclosed in his owne lettre; and doe assure you I neuer was, nor wilbe (whiles I be a Catholique) soe tyranicall or cruell as to lay hands, any way molest, or intermeddle with his Lordship or any other person of his calling, supose they had beene in the heart of my quarters without any passe or salfe conduct, soe as in yt point I am much different from your party, whoe by horrid abuses, committall and imprisonment, etc. doe manifest theire power to poore Clergymen; however God forgiue them; I am noe iudg of theire actions, but am

1649. March 25. Owen O'Neill to Plunket and Barnewall.

Your most humble servt,

25 Mar: 1649. Owen ONeill.

For Sir Nicholas Plunkett, Sir Richard Barnewall, Knights, these.

II. Sir George Monro to Owen O'Neill.

Sr,

I haue yor lettr last daie to Daniell ONeill, wherin you mentione us (being the Kings armies) to bee yor adversaries. By my owen extraction I have soume interest in the Irish nation wch moves mee to compassionatt those of yt nation who doe not looke upon this independentt partie as naturall enimies of the Irish people, whoes

1649. March. Monro to Owen O'Neill.

i. Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, vol. xxiv, p. 144.
ii. Carte Papers, vol. xxvii, p. 132.

APPENDIX.
1649.
March.
Monro to Owen O'Neill.

lands they have alreadie sold makinge their accoumpt of haveinge their persons drauers of wood and watter, rather then persons of Emmencie in armies or commonwealths, wherof by the Kings late peace they ar suffitiently made capable. I confesse if one Irish man can bee a scourge to his owen nation, or instrumentall to distroye the Kings right, they will give him soume faire words, and supplie soume mony, butt keepe him from all trust, either in their armies or garrisons, that they may destroye him att pleasure when they have served themselves by him. I am confident you are soe weale knowne to their destructive resolutions in relation to this people, and the interest of them, as any in Irland, therfore I shall only say that men descended of such people as you are shoulde rather build upon the favors of ther soverraigne prince then to expeicte any advantage of theis vyle persounes, whoes respects tend only to make upp . . persounes, and putt doune all men of yor tyrranizinge over everie persoun In ther power, and keeping faith to none. Whate ever bee the eventt of bussines I have discharged my selfe as a frend, wch I should bee willinge to wittnes when yor resolutione shalbee agreeable to Gods word, who sayes rebellion to bee as the sonne of witchcraft to yor interest and hon^r, and of yor people, wch should indeed perswaid mee to bee effectually yor verie humble servantt.

For Generall ONeile.

Endorsed: Sr Geo. Monro to Owin ONeile, Mart. 1649.

III. RELATION FROM IRELAND.

1649.
13 April.
Relation from Ireland.

A Relation taken at Havre de Grace the 13th of Aprill, 1649, st: no: from a gentleman that came newly out of Irland.

Who sayeth that he came from Duncannon in Ireland y^e $\frac{18}{28}$ of March last, and that then there had been from our present king, since the death of our blessed Soverain, no dispatches or orders at all received by the Lord Lieut^t of Irland, but that his Lo^pp very earnestly desired and expected y^e same every day.

That M^r. Fanshaw was sent expressely from ye Lo: Lieutenant with full dispatches to his Ma^ty, and was come to Corke before this gentleman embarqued at Duncannon.

That the Marq^s of Antrim hath submitted to y^e articles of peace, and was come upon the Lo: Lieut^ts safe conduct into his Ex^leys quarters, and was to be at Limerick with y^e Lo: Lieut^t y^e $\frac{17}{27}$^th of March last.

That wheate is at Waterford at 15 shillings the bushell, and rye at 10^s, Winchester measure, and all manner of flesh and all other provisions are now also in Irland very deere; the kingdome being so extreamely harrased and impoverished, as there is hardly food for the inhabitants and souldiers there, insomuch as if the Irish frigatts of Waterford and Wexford had not happily brought in great store of prizes of corne, the people could not haue subsisted for want of bread.

That the Lo: Lieut^t appointed a rendezvous to be the $\frac{20}{30}$^th of March last for the

III. Lord Clarendon's Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford—1649: n°. 40.

APPENDIX. 1649. 13 April. Relation from Ireland.

Lord Inchequins and the rest of the Munster forces at Cassell, in the county of Tipperary, about 70 miles from Dublin, and they were to quarter neere that place to be exercised for about 12 or 15 dayes, and then to march thence towards Cartellow, there to joyne with all the Lenister forces, to be in a readinesse to march towards Dublin by the beginning of May, if by that time there shalbe forrage in those parts.

That 248. 82. 243. 76. 20. 92. 48. 23. 5. 30. 34. 40. 10. 37. 85. haue agreed 237. 243. 213. 476 according to the Articles and submitted to the Kings Authority invested in his Ma^tys Lo: Lieut^t there 267. 243. 70. 79. 53. 11. 57. 45. 163. 12. 390. 38. 58. 31. 6. 4. 82. 163. 246. owne possession and power 88. 243. 28. 55 in 22. 31. 29. 88. 84. 290. 39. 506. 163. 83. 56. he 277. 91. in 88. 123. 58. 37. 78. 91. 292. 38. as the 72. 265. 98 for 12. 86. 243. 213. 391. 59. as made. 252. 249. 232. 496. 426 92. 259 is by the Articles condescended unto 39. 49 88. 98. 82 99 148. 350. 499. 54. 92. 161. 31. 13. 50. 91. 106. 9. 33. 54. 197. 51. 83. 237. 243. 14. 76 260. of many things are 237. 98. 112. 163 506 377. there; And if 46. 85. 377. 490. 38. 49. 88. 77. 98. 56. 152. 20. 88. 10 52. 79. 98. 123. 11. 466 the 47. 8. 7. 44. 32. 54. 12. 37. 163. 498. 333. shalbe 101. 107. 27. 26. 38. 13. 50. 83. 91. 39. 10. 58. 56. 5. 13. 50. there will be very 8. 11. 60. 237. 38. 162. 56. 80. 97. 21. 92. 48. 25. 4. 31. 35. 41. 11. 39. 78. who will 216. 12. 237. 144. 88. advantages in the 48. 31. 66. 49. 13. 38. 57. 200. 19. 10. 55. 77. 7. or the 32. 53. 82. 217. 70. 509.

This gentleman further saith That by the Articles of Peace in Irland the Catholiques are to continue y^r possession of the churches and ecclesiasticall preferments they now haue untill his Ma^ty. shall declare his pleasure 231. 93. 161. 148. 350. 39. 48. 88. 107. 10. 58. 145. 490. before 243. 341. 349. 38. 49. 88. 82. 98. 29. 26. 39. 37. 13. 38. 39. 10. 52. 207. 391. 300. 91. 130. 72. 85. 16. 93. 57. 12. 53. 207. all the 319. 38. 84. 163. 333. 501 the 21. 92. 49. 24. 5. 30. 34. 42. 11. 37. will (as soone 93. 148. 350. 39. 48. 88. 45. 55. 53. 33. 43. 13. 80) 216. 10. 76. 147. accord 164. 390. 237. the Articles present 182. 460. 237. 21. 88. 82. 45. 78. 377. 506. 56. 152. and to 50. 10. 21. 4. 89. 79. whither the 70. 77. 39. 48. all 106 56. 163. 40. 11. 243. 28. 23. 37. 39. 12. 37. 38. 167. of the 31. 53. 78. 21. 49. 42. 54. 20. 48. 13. 38. 491. 91. 13. 22. 20. 6. 11. 39. 33. 93. 58. 30. 22. all 98. 18. 12. 7. 32. 20. 12. 37. &c: wch 161. 148. 350. shall 55. 10. 9. 251. 12. 208. 79. 52. 13.

APPENDIX.

1649.

13 April.

Relation from Ireland.

c l in e x con d e s c end x un to the y x
20. 5. 163. 10. 82. to 106. 52. 11. 39. 22. 118. 504. 252. 237. then 243. 70. 80.
so s t r on g f ly out : x if
(being now 231. 39. 57. 53. 209. 66.) wilbe ready to 7. 182. 206. 511. But 161.
his Maty s h all x s t a y till
148. 350. 80. 37. 48. 88. 79. 38. 58. 47. 71. 249. The Lord Lieutenant shall haue
better set t l e d x and be s b so l u t e
101. 39. 11. 56. 58. 6. 12. 50. 391. his affaires 91. 98. 46. 1. 231. 4. 41. 57. 10.
ly x m t e r of all the forces and x x wch
182. 76. 15. as 57. 13. 53. 207. 88. 243. 319. 39. 77. there (498. 258. by the
may be this x s u m me r x u x the c
blessing of God 189. 98. 244. 390. 38. 40. 14. 197. 54. 83) the 17. 82. 242. 20. at
h o l l q u e s x not x dare to s t i r r x
49. 24. 5. 32. 34. 42. 12. 37. 78. will 202. 56. 79. 116. 237. 37. 57. 33. 55. 53. 86.

The Popes Nuntio hath excommunicated all the Catholiques that haue agreed to
wch hath re nd red x that party x t here
the Peace in Irland 258. 49. 92. 48 53. 118. 54. 11. 50. 245. 217. 72. 84. 56. 152.
very un s t able x though of the x t w e n t y x c at
254. 252. 37. 58. 94. 85. and 248. 207. 243. 513. 58. 59. 10. 17. 56. 72. 84. 20. 92.
h o l i q u e x Bishops x x x
48. 26. 6. 32. 35. 43. 10. 391. 284. 37. there were but 77. 431. foure wch were
yet the o t her t w e n t y
against the Peace 267. 243. 23. 57. 157. 58. 61. 13. 18. 57. 71. came in to it in
hope the x King would let the m x l r x c h u r c h
159. 243. 511. 337. 256. 178. 243. 14. 76. hold the 30. 53. 79. 22. 40. 54. 21. 48.
e s x x the Lord Lieutenant he s t r on g x x
10. 37. 77. And if (before 510. 243. 341. 349. 98. 78. 38. 58. 54. 209. 65. 79. 82.
e no u g h x o p p o s e m x x t King
11. 202. 40. 64. 48. 391. to 23. 27. 29. 24. 37. 11. the 16. 477 (80 56. he 337
d e c l in e x so much
being there) shall 50. 13. 22. 4. 163. 12. 510. to declare 231. 192. all or most of
t w e n t y Bishops x will joy ne
the other 56. 59. 12. 19. 57. 70. 284. 39. 499. 263. it is certainly beleeved 166 13.
x with the o the r fower who were against x it d a
501. 257. 243. 25. 243. 54. 131. 262. 265. 96. 39. 58. 76 162 and so be in 50. 45.
n g e r x to d r s w x all or c
19. 65. 11. 55. 82. 237. 51. 53 46. 60. 79. 88. 208. the farr greatest part of the 22
s t h o l l q u e s x a f t e r the m :x
92. 49. 23. 4. 31. 36. 40. 11. 37. 77. 45. 8 56 13. 54. 243. 14. 391 for its evident
t h o s e bi shops x the A ss e m b ly x
that if 56. 49. 24. 37. 11. 284 39. 506 that were at 243. 93. 38. 11. 14. 2. 182. 82
had no t x i r x minds the c or p a ion
154 202. 58. 76. written the 33. 55. 78. 189. 38. to 243. 20. 208. 29. or 92. 167.
s to receive ,snd em b r s c e x t peace it had not x x
39. 237. 387. 91. 11. 15. 3. 54. 44. 21. 10. 390. 57 he 213. 162. 154. 202. 58. 83.
p r o c l a l me d r e v e r e n
been there 27. 53. 25. 21. 5. 45. 31. 197. 52. So much 55. 13. 41. 12 53. 11. 17.
c e x is payd bishops in that kingdome
22. 10. 78. 160. 214. 52 to the said 284. 49 163. 245. 340. 82.

Owen Roes party, and divers other Catholique partys in Conaught and Vlster,
do still hold together in armes by (as they say) commission from the Popes
though now s b sent h at h x s till in f l u e
Nuncio, who 248. 202. 61. 46. 1. 233. 49. 92. 48. 79. 37. 249 an 163. 7. 4 40 11.
n c e some of the h l g o t x x x p a p is ts
17. 20. 10. on 228. 207. 243 1. 31. 66. 24. 59. 57. 76. 28. 26 27. 160. 57. 37 in
Irland.

The Protestant party (wch consists most of English Presbyterians) were much

APPENDIX.
1649.
13 April.
Relation from Ireland.

scontented, seing all the power of the army in a manner in Catholique hands, the Marques of Clanrickard being then Lieut^t Generall thereof. Whereupon his Lopp understanding of it did voluntarily offer to resigne that his commission to the Lord Lieu^t of Irland, professing that it was the good of his Ma^tys service and of the Republique, wch he sought and desired, and no particular of his owne; and albeit the Lo: Lieut^t would not at first receive it, yet ye Marq^s of Clanrickard still pressing, and both he and the Lord Lieut^t conceiving that it might much advance his Ma^tys services there by satisfying some factious and discontented persons in that army, his Ex^cy accepted it, and thereuppon made the Lord Inchequine Lieutenant-gen^ll of the army.

It is manifest there is a private confederacy or friendly understanding between Coll. Jones and Owen ONeile, Jones having supplyed the other for his money with powder and ammunition, wch otherwise he could not possibly haue gotten, there being now neither port nor ship left remaining to his party; and Jones likewise permitts many thousands of ONeiles cowes and cattle to feed in his quarters, paying him a contribution, ONeile being not able otherwise to keepe them in any place safe from being taken by his Ma^tys forces now under the command of the Lord Lieut^t, and ONeiles men would not be able to subsist for want of food, if they had not such an accomodation afforded them by Jones for feeding their cattle. But neither Col. Jones nor Owen ONeile dare be knowne to their partys that they haue any intelligence or confederacy at all with each other, for then their men would soon quitt them, as some haue lately done in considerable numbers. As an evidence of this confederacy between them there is now, and hath been for a good time, one Reely (the Vicar-generall of ONeiles army) residing at Dublin, where he is well used by Jones, who comitted a lady of some quallity to prison in Dublin for half a yeare for saying only that twas pitty that such a villain as Reely were not hanged; but doubtlesse he is permitted there as an agent to keepe up the private confederacy between Jones and ONeile.

There is also now at London one Abbot Creely (who was with the Marq^s of Antrim at Paris) treating with the Rebells in England, being as it is verily beleeved sent thither by Owen ONeile, not without the privity of Jones.

Prince Rupert is now residing with the body of his fleete at Kinsale, whither he hath brought in many rich prizes to the comfort of those parts, and from thence he continually sends forth to sea squadrons to seeke more prize, and by his diligence and industry there, advances his Ma^tys services at sea upon all occasions. His Highnesse and the Lord Lieutenant haue had a meeting at Corke about his Ma^tys affaires. The Lo: Lieut^t hath laid an excise in most of the great townes
but it is x no t yet knowne x e f f,
within his power, 97. 162. 160. 80. 202. 56. 267. 169. 18. 12. 78 what 11. 9. 7.
e t x lt will haue x
10. 20. 57. 86. 162. 263. 144. 479.

There are also taxes laid for a contribution towards maintenance of the army,
x no e x part of it is at yet x l e u l e d x the x
but 77 202. 12. 390 217 162. 160. 93. 267. 490. 5. 13. 40. 31. 12. 52. 79 243 503
o u n t r y be ing very x p o or e
10. 23. 41. 19. 58. 54. 10. 98. 164. 254 504 27. 24. 208. 10.

APPENDIX.
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Relation from Ireland.

Inniskelling, a strong castle in the north of Ireland, which was held by Sr Wm Cole for the Rebells in England, is taken by one Capt. Graham, a Scotsman, who hath there declared for the King.

The Scotts in the north of Irland, who were the reliques of Sr Rob. Stewards and Munrows forces in those parts, have regained some of their former holds from Col. Monke.

x c o p p y T r a f for d
76. 21. 24. 6. 4. 80. 56. 55. 45. 9. 123. 50.
s. x r e l at ion x con c
37. 77. 53. 13. 5. 92. 167. 391. 106. 22.
e r ning the x a ff a l
10. 54. 19. 164. 243. 511 46. 9. 7. 44.
r e s x of Ireland.
30. 53. 12. 39. 82. 207. 333. 481. 78.

IV. SIR PHELIM O'NEILL TO THE MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

1649.
April.
Phelim O'Neill to Ormonde.

Haueing gotten notice of a most dangerous plott compassed by the bishopp of Clougher, on the fort of Charlemount: by corrupting the officers and soldiers in offering them large somes of monie, wch was brought to passe, had I stayed two dayes longer, by much adoe I did come saffe, the wayes were soe besett for me, and at my comeing, here was Owen ONeille all his armie at Blacke-water, within a mile of this towne, for to bring the plott to passe: and the Lord Primatt sends an excomunication on the whole regiment and garrisson, that noe priest should celebrat masse to them, nor one any part of all my lands formerly held, a purpose to waste the lands wch hithertoe since the warres did yeald some profitt; but a woorse excomunication did follow my land and poore tenants; the armie, hereing of my comeing, a mutinie did rise amongst them, on wch the Maior genll, and cheefe officers marched away to my towne of Kinard, and camped there that night, preyed all the tenants that they could light on, and in spitt of me burned what was left unburned of my house by the Parlement, and did cutt all my treese and orchards about it. I did send out a good partie in the reare of them, wch brought me two captains and seuerall under officers and many soldiers, wch I released on parolle, after giveing them privatt instructions in his Majesties behalfe and your Excellencies. The next day the whole armie did scatter, and two of the best Collonells and regiments did fall awaye from them and sent to me, and soe will they all, if they see any head, or any man putt in a posture for the good of this Province and nation. All the gentrie of Tyrone and Ardmagh were here, and in your Excellencies name I did protecte them, and all their Creatts: I hope they will be in time a good help towards the maintenance of the Armie.

My Lord your Excellencie getts noe true information concerning this Province yow give such creditt to one man of this Province, that is neere your Excellencie and in favour with you, that others are loath to intrude themselves to give a true

IV. Carte Papers, Bodleian Library, Oxford, xxiv, 266-7.

J. A. Burt, Lith

SIR PHELIM O'NEILL.

FROM AN ENGRAVING IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

APPENDIX.
1649.
April.
Sir Phelim O'Neill to Ormonde.

caracter of any mans deserts, meanes, and birth, and what they may or can doe in forwarding the Kings service. Owen ONeille is not in kindred nor fortuns himselfe, nor freinds so considerable a man as is given out of him, yett noe man goes the wayes as he goes, but may for a while gett men to follow him, and speciallye when noe man appeares against him.

Most of all the garrissons of the British of Ulster will declare for the King. I had this verie day a Scochts commander to know whether your Excellencie hath sent any directions by me to them or not, and they were all readie to asist my men, in case Owen ONeills armie would besiege this ffort. If your Excellencie give me the pouuoir to protect and offer reasonable conditions for officers and some asistance and helpe of meanes, I will quiet this province for any Irish partie that will oppose the government. My Lord, lett me tell your Excellencie in giveing Owen ONeille any such conditions as he expects, may breede more jalusie in the armie of the kingdome then is aware of, yeat I leave all to your Excellencies grave consideration to thinke of it what is best. As for my parte I will build my fortuns uppon your Excellencies favour to deale with me as you thinke best, for while I leeve I will ever goe your wayes, and will be faythfull to your Excellencie as any kinsman or servant you have in the world.

My Lord, I am your Excellencies
most humble servant,
Phe: O: Neill.

Endorsed: No Date. Rec. 17 Aprill, 1649. Concerning Generall Owen ONeile, etc.

V. Colonel Hugh Maguire to Ormonde.

1649.
April 18.
Hugh Maguire to Ormonde.

My Lord,

I should longe hiertofore manifest unto your Lordship this my intended purpose but that I was hindred therof by the longe expectation I had of Generall Neills agreement, with your lawfull prettentions in his Majesties behalfe, of whose finall determinations I am as yett ignorant. Nowe findinge a trustie missenger, to witt one Teige oge Mc Hugh, a captain of my regiment, and a prisoner to some of your Excellencies dependants, whoe beinge uppon his parole admitted to these partes; I thought fitt to declare, howe desyrous I am to adhere unto your Lordship hierafter, and shewe myselfe serious, in servinge most faithfully under your Lordships comaund. Most humblie desyringe that your Excellencie may be pleased to graunt me a pattent, to be a Collonell of the regiment over wich I was Lt. Collonell to Collonell Rury Maguier deceased, and nowe in my possision; as allsoe for my Lt. Collonell Hugh Roe Maguier, and Major Sheane oge Maguier, and that the said regimt may be allwayes in the standinge forces of the kingdome; as allsoe a pattent for beinge a Governor of this countie of Fermanagh, togither with your honourable favor and assistance, against all other my adversaries, as

v. Carte Papers, xxiv, 271.

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April 18.
Hugh Maguire to Ormonde.

the lawfullnes of my case shall require. Thus hopeinge your Lordship will be pleased to graunt this my lawfull request, shall ever remaine,

Your Excellencies devoted servant,

April 18°, 1649. Hugh Maguire.

For his Excelency The Marquess of Ormond, Generall of his Majesties forces, and Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland. These present.

Endorsed: Coll: Hugh Maguires. Date: 18 Apr. Rec: 8 May, 1649.

VI. DANIEL O'BRYEN TO ORMONDE.

1649.
April. 24.
Daniel O'Bryen to Ormonde.

My excellent Lord,

I ame right sorry that your Excellencyes iourny through this county hath been soe unexpected, as that I could not have the opportunitie to wayte on you, yet now I presume to give your Excellency intelligence that the government of civill affayres, within this county of Clare, hath been by letters pattents conferred uppon the Earle of Thomond, exempted from the presidency of Munster and Connaght, which the late Supreame Councell, takeing into their grave consideration, have been pleased to lay the charge uppon mee (in My Lords absence), with the assistance of Mr. Bartholomew Stackboll, and Thomas OMullreone Councells, whearin I have endevoured as farre as I could to keepe the county in civility, and would now farther expose my selfe as occasion should offer in regard your Excellency hath the commaund, soe as you may be pleased I should be your servant therin, and the rather because I fynd by My Lord Presidents expressions, at his Lordships being in this county, his willingnesse I should enioy the place dureing My Lords absence, soe as your Excellency may be pleased to confirme the same.

Moreover, the heavy pressures sustained by the places adiacent to Clare Castle hath moved mee, out of the compassion I had of their sufferings, to acquainte the late assembly therwith, who pondering the indifferent expressions therin made, and destruction of the neighbouring inhabitants, have been pleased to order that the castle should be delivered into my hands, provyded that I should enter into £5000 recognizance for the secureing and delivery therof at commaund, all which I have donne, and yet the garizon contynued to the insupportable inconveniences of the said inhabitants, for whose sake I shall humbly entreat your Excellency (being to noe other end then the ease of the country, and furtherance of the generall service), whearin humbly craveing your Excellencyes favour in removeing that garison, I humbly take leave, and alwayes remayne

Your Excellencyes

Most humble servant to commaund,

Daniell OBryen.

24 April, 1649. Ffor his Excellency Iames Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lieutennant-generall and Generall-governour of Ireland: These present.

VI. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 302.

VII. LUCAS TAAFFE TO DONOGH O'CONNOR.

1649. 29. April. Taaffe to O'Connor.

Sirs,

I must lett you know that I am comanded hether by My Lord Marques of Clanricard to prosecute you, and all such as oppose his Majesties authoritie, and understanding that your safe conduct is renewed by the comiss[rs] of trust untill the 7th of the next moneth, during which time I must desist from acts of hostilitie, I desire and advise, as a kindsman and wellwissher, that you make good use of your said safe conduct, by your imediat repayre to Portumna, and submission to My Lord Marques of Clanricard, before the expiration of it, else I assure you that you, and all such as adheare unto you, will be proclaimed with drum and trumpett, by the odious name of traytors to his Majestie, with which title if you be once branded, no future act or meritt of yours can recover your reputation, nor allow me the freedome of subscribing my selfe

Your very assured cossen,

[Lucas] Taa[ffe].

29 April '49. For my better satisfaction I shall desire a view of your safe conduct as soone as can be at Roscoman.

For Capt. Donogh OConnor and Capt. Roger OConnor, or either of them.

A copie of my letter to D. O C. This letter was receaved by them three dayes agone.

VIII. LETTER FROM IRISH CATHOLIC CAMP.

EPISTOLA NOBILIS HIBERNI AD AMICUM BELGAM SCRIPTA EX CASTRIS CATHOLICIS EIUSDEM REGNI, DIE 4 MAIJ, ANNO 1649.

1649. 4. May. Letter from Irish Catholic Camp.

Infandum, amice, jubes renouare dolorem. Nimirùm describi tibi petis inuisam lutantis Hiberniæ nostræ tragœdiam. Susceptum est, vt nosti, famosissimum bellum nostrum, pro defensione, et restitutione religionis. Et quidem felices, stupendosque habuit successus, donec ad supremi regni regimen dolosè subrepserunt, et veluti se introserunt nescio-qui legistæ qui dudum in Angliâ simul cum impiis institutis hæreseos hauserunt semina. Quibus accesserunt quidem Ormondistæ. Ii omnes egregia Machabæorum nostrorum facinora exhorrescebant, atque ad petita, et ad iam tùm excussa hæreticorum iuga redan helabant. Veriti ne iuore illorum exclusi pinguia Ecclesiæ patrimonia, quæ eos hactenus in diuitiis et deliciis aluerant, et tandem ad extremam dementiam, ne dicam fastum, et arrogantiam euexerant, dimittere cogerentur. Oleum huic incendio addidit innatus erga Marchionem Ormondium amor et spes maiorum adipiscendorum iniecta. Videntes vero zelotissimos catholicos nostros recens ab hæretica tyrannide liberatos,

VII. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 402.

VIII. Ascribed to Rev. Paul King, of the Order of S. Francis, Guardian of S. Isidore's, Rome: Vindic. Catholic. Hiberniæ, anthore Philopatro Irenæo, Paris: 1650, ii. 1, et seq.

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et tot clarissimis partis victoriis animatos, violenter, et continuo ad pristinam seruitutem reduci non posse, vrgentes quasdam necessitates confinxerunt, quibus quasi compulsi crebriora cum deuictis penè fidei hostibus inierunt armistitia, hocque modo rem nostram sensim eneruarunt, partem vero aduersam auxerunt, firmarunt. Interea cum suppetiis haud spernendis in Hiberniam venit Illustrissimus ac Reuerendissimus D. Io. Baptista Rinuccinus Archiepiscopus, et Princeps Firmanus cum authoritate Nuntij Apostolici à Rege item cum regia potestate missus D. Comes Glanmorganus, omnia ritè sancteque compositurì. Accessit opportunissimè insignis et diuina prorsus illa victoria quam Excellentissimus D. Eugenius O Neillius catholico exercitui præfectus, Bembordiæ ab hæreticis, prostratis eorum quinque millibus, reportauit, qua infestissimæ illæ Scotorum copiæ, quæ omnium iudicio insuperabiles habebantur, paratæque stabant, vt regnum nostrum inuaderent, religionem euerterent, et desolationis hæreticæ abominationem reducerent, adeo prorsùs attritæ fuerunt, vt huc vsque vires recolligere non potuerint, spesque plurima data fuerit omnia pro voto successura. Sed ecce tibi post tot à cælo submissa auxilia, et consilia, iniquitatis isti operarij iniquissimam, et pudendissimam pacem, quam repetitis toties armorum iustitiis machinabantur, cum hæreticis tandem ineunt. Atque Ormondium infestissimum illum Catholici fœderis hostem et persecutorem, et hæreseos hæreticorumque assertorem pessimum ingenti cum pompa Kilkenniam reducunt. Offensi tanto scelere proceres Ecclesiastici, protinus decreto facto pudendissimam illam pacem Regno, et rei Catholicæ esse pernitiosissimam pronuntiarunt. Aduocatus proinde fidei patriæque defensor Excellentissimus Dominus Eugenius ô Neillius cum lectissimo milite Kilkenniam venit, fugatoque Ormonio vniuersa restituit, in vincula detrusis, qui pessima ista consilia consuerant. Ormondius tamen qui Comitem Glanmorganum Hiberniæ nostræ, auitæque religioni addictissimum specie amicitiæ et compositionis ad se Dublinium euocatum penes se captiuum retinuerat, transfretationem earum legionum, quæ Regis et Catholicorum Anglorum subsidio destinatæ erant, impediuit: vrbem et arcem Dubliniensem cum omnibus alijs quibus præerat locis munitis, Parlamentariis truculentissimis Regis, et religionis nostræ hostibus auro vendidit, adeoque indignissimo regicidio et Hiberniæ excidio viam strauit. At vero idem Ormonius, solito fraudulentiæ tramiti insistens Parisios se contulit, vbi eum conuenerunt Vice Comes Muskrius et Zephyrinus Brouune digna sane patellæ opercula; qui eiusdem D. Eugenij ô Neillij intercessione è vinculis dimissi mirà astutia mandatum à Comitiis impetrarunt, eoque abusi contra fidem publicam negotium pro sensu suo falsis coloribus depictum Reginæ Angliæ ita proposuerunt, vt omnia pro Ormonii reductione disposuerint; quod tamen in Hiberniam reuersi cautè et catè dissimularunt. Non tamen latuerunt Herodiana hæc conuenticula D. Doctorem Tirellium, qui tum Parisiis in Hibernorum collegio præsidem agebat, et alios nonnullos integræ, sanctæque fidei viros qui datis ad Illustrissimum D. Nuncium Apostolicum, ad Archiepiscopum Dubliniensem, et ad plures alios literis fabulam totam detexerunt. Vssit hoc summopere istos Consiliarios: vt tamen porro latere possent, editis in publicum programmatibus, persuadere popello conati sunt, hanc dignissimorum, doctissimorumque virorum relationem esse meram calumniam; et se nihil minùs cogitare, quam vt Ormonius reducatur, et exceranda

sta pax de qua iam supra, admittatur. Sed ô argutos homines! nonne vniuersus am orbis videt mentitos eos esse in caput suum, et contestationes eorum esse periuria? numquid sacrilegum Ormondium in insulam sanctorum introduxerunt? numquid lupum rapacem in Christi caulam intruserunt? numquid corpori catholico caput hæreticum imposuerunt? numquid excellentissimum ô Neillium patriæ assertorem certissimum exclusserunt? numquid Nuntium Apostolicum iustitiæ zelatorem acerrimum eiecerunt? Sed ad instituti mei filum regredior. Callidi isti dissimulatores de Ormonij reductione nimisquam solliciti et qui rem perficerent alium modum non reperientes, statuunt conciliandum esse armistitium cum Barone Inchiquyno, homine admodum cruento, qui paulo ante patriam incendiis deuastauerat, multos è Clero trucidauerat, et sacra quælibet prophanauerat, Consiliariis illis rem totam vel dissimulantibus, vel, quod fortè verius, desiderantibus et procurantibus. Nam cum excellentissimus D. Eugenius ô Neillius in publicis Comitiis facultatem sibi dari peteret inuadendi ditiones istius prædonis, eiusque rabiem coërcendi, adderetque aliam laboris sui se nolle mercedem, quam quod hosti iure belli erepturus esset, et totum propemodum Concilium petitis annueret; Muskrius subintulit speciosum quidem esse quod ô Neillius peteret, latere tamen nonnihil, ideoque rem à delegatis examinari debere. Hi vero delegati, quia omnes erant factionis Ormondicæ, iustissimam ô Neillij petitionem reiecerunt, et Inchiquynum ea quæ recensui scelera impune patrare permiserunt. Illustrissimus Nuntius Apostolicus obstinatam hominum istorum malitiam videns Ecclesiasticos Proceres conuocauit, reque maturè discussa, Hiberniæ Primas, Archiepiscopi tres, Episcopi decem (nemine prorsus discrepante) vnanimi consensu pronuntiarunt armistitium istud tum esse periculi plenum, tum in perniciem regni, et vtriusque status ecclesiastici, et politici vergere. Quod pronunciatum adeo quinque ex isto Conciliariorum cœtu perculit; Episcopos scilicet duos Clogherensem, et Limericensem, Proceresque tres Henricum ô Neillium, Zephyrinum Baron, et Terentium Obuill, vt à reliquorum septem consortio protinus recesserint. Illustrissimus igitur Nuntius Apostolicus simul cum delegatis, et subdelegatis à congregatione Ecclesiasticorum eum in finem selectis; illud quod nosti excommunionis fulmen vibrauit, et sacrorum interdictum ex authoritate Pontificiâ indixit. Parucre mandato Apostolico præter Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos, Patres Capucini omnes, Dominicani præter unum, et alterum refractarium, Omnes Benedictini et Bernardini, Augustiniani, si duos excipias, vniuersi, Patres Societatis, Carmelitani, et Franciscani omnes præter nonnullos malè feriatos, qui cum sui similibus in publicum prorumpentes censuras Ecclesiasticas spernere, et à debitâ obedientia subducere suadebant, non sine ingenti malignantium applausu, et bonorum omnium scandalo, nequitiamque suam, additis ex Caluini, Lutherique prostibulo depromptis conuitiis adauxerunt. Atenim deliriis hisce immorari nolo, quæ suo tempore sufficienter patebunt in refutatione infamis istius libelli, cui titulus QUERES, qui in arce Caterlagh infeliciter primùm conceptus, infelicissime tandem in vrbe Kilkennia à præfatis ordinum suorum immorigeris Apostatis in lucem editus fuit. Nec est quod de euis vel impressione vel authoritate multùm cures; nam vt bene doctissimus P. Poncius Franciscanus animaduertit, omnes eius tum authores, tum adprobatores simul in vnam massam redacti, si mores et eruditionem spectes, ne unum quidem votum

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sufficiens conficerent. Nosti quales sint Talboti, Nasbij, etc. Medensis ille nunquam non se bello et libertati Catholicæ opposuit, et sæpius ne suspensionis sententiam audiret, periculum subijt. Ossoriensis iam delirio est proximus, vt pote qui senio grauatus repuerascat. Illi vero approbatores qui nonnihil authoritatis habere videntur, libello isti, non qualem iam typis mandatum vides, subscripserunt, vt ipsemet ab ipsismet audiui. At vero reliqui septem consiliarij tot atque istiusmodi Sinonibus stipati, maioraque conati, ad turpiora manus impias protendunt, vtramque authoritatem sibi assumentes, iuramento omnes inflictam excommunionis sententiam, aliamue similem nec recipere, nec recipere velle adstringunt, Synodum Nationalem authoritate Apostolica indictam, (quæ dubio procul ritè, et rectè omnia composuisset) impediunt; quod sibi suisque debitam, dignamque animaduersionem imminere timerent. Edicto publico patrocinium Ecclesiasticis sibi adhæsuris addicunt: omnibusque Archiepiscopis, Episcopis et reliquis Prælatis atque Superioribus ne corripere aut inceptationem vocare audeant, suos sectarios indicunt. Affixis schedulis commendant Prouincialibus Franciscanorum, Dominicanorum, etc. ne Congregationes aut capitula celebrent: hoc modo Religiosis refractariis, qui eis adhærebant, patrocinium statuentes. Sæpius è conuentibus suis eijci iusserunt Dominicanos et Capucinos. Quinquies vt minimum ministros publicos miserunt qui Franciscanos superioribus suis morem gerentes è Conuentu Kilkenniensi exturbarent, et in eorum locum Apostatas istos inducerent. At, quæ Deo debetur gratia, vix vnum e tot iniquis iussis pro voto eis successit. Arctissimis vinculis incluserunt viros Ecclesiasticos, atque inter alios Prouincialem Franciscanorum, Decanum Firmanum, Guardianum Kilkenniensem, multosque alios viros Religiosos, legistis istis, qui ne micam Canonum gustarunt, vociferantibus, non valere immunitatem Ecclesiasticam in dominio Regis Angliæ. Iuramenti formulam conceperunt, quod cum suis appendicibus, non immerito quis peius vocare possit illo Henrici octaui de primatu. Et ne immorer multis, vide quæ de istis scripsit piissimus Poncius, quem aduersarii primùm ad cælos vsque laudibus extollebant, quod sperarent eum ad partes ipsorum concessurum; dum vero spe suâ se excidisse vident, nigro carbone immortalem eius famam atque existimationem notare satagunt. Eodem modo diuersa et sibi ipsis repugnantia statuerunt de Archi-præsule Dubliniensi, viro verè religiosissimo, doctissimo, nobilissimo, de Episcopis Cluanfertensi, Rossensi, Clonmacnoisensi, Corcagiensi, et alijs. Vno verbo vt dicam improperiis, imposturis et calumniis onerant omnes eos, qui nefandæ ipsorum molitioni se opponunt; præcipue vero primarios Regni et religionis instauratores et conseruatores Illustrissimum D. Ioan. Baptist. Rinuccinum Archiepiscopum et Principem Firmanum, Nuntium Apostolicum extraordinarium, et Excellentissimum D. Eugenium ô Neillium exercitus Catholici Archistrategum: Cum istum tamen tanto plausu, tantaque adgratulatione exceperint, imo et virum eum optimum tanto muneri summe idoneum, et labanti Hiberniæ vel maxime necessarium iudicauerint; adeo vt et qui inter eos sunt primarij, ad summum Pontificem scripserint, nisi sua Sanctitas diuino instinctu mota virum hunc sibi destinasset, de fide Catholica, et Ecclesiasticis institutis actum fuisse: hunc vero Regnum bis ab interitu vindicasse palam fassi fuerint. Nec vero cures commentum nescio cuius tenebrionis qui per Gallias spargere non est veritus

bellum nostrum, non geri pro religionis causa: sed esse tantùm ciuilem concertationem inter eos qui vel à Gallis, vel ab Hispanis originem ducant. Nam et hic confingunt Nuntium Apostolicum nullum aliud habuisse consilium, quàm vt Hibernia extraneum quem Principem obtruderet, quem alij diuinant, vel potiùs somniant futurum fuisse ipsum summum Pontificem; alij Regem Catholicum, alij Archiducem Leopoldum, alij magnum Ducem Etruriæ, alij denique Lotharingum. Vt vt sit nos nolle habere Regem hæreticum, qui non admitteremus Proregem hæreticum. At vero ipsa tandem veritas conspicua fiet. Ipsemet D. Nuntius Apostolicus, et ô Neillius sæpius quà publicè, quà priuatim contestati sunt nolle se præiudicium aliquod inferre Maiestati Regiæ, sed tantùm consulere rei Catholicæ iuxta iuramentum Confœderatorum. Et quamuis facta verbis ipsorum respondeant, haud tamen fides eis adhibetur. Cùm isti interim fidem haberi velint nescio quibus somniorum deliriis, quæ Ormondium aliquando futurum Catholicum adpromittunt. Sed candidior est ipse Ormonius quàm vt talem de se opinionem concipi voluerit, vt ergo omne dubium remoueret, non priùs pedem Hiberniæ intulit, quin conceptis verbis iurauerit, et iuramentum istud typis publice mandari iusserit, se omni modo, totisque viribus Protestantium religionem promoturum, et quotquot hactenus, ei se opposuerint, pro virili persecuturum. Addidit ideo se hæc publice significare, ne cui de mente sua possit esse dubium; quin vt reipsa mentem suam explicaret, ipso aduentus sui Kilkenniam die, centum præsidiarios Caluinistas, amotis inde Catholicis, arci eius loci imposuit. Porro nobiles illi Consiliarij ne iuramento ante præstito constringerentur, cum suis sequacibus in publicis Comitiis contestati sunt, se nec esse, nec velle aut debere posthac vocari Confœderatos Catholicos, et Regni clauum Catholici nominis euersori tradiderunt. En quam turpi fine egregia principia clauserint praui isti Consiliarij. At hisce tu terreri noli: Plures à nobis quam ab illis stant. Duce ô Neillio præter præsidia, exercitum habemus virorum decies millium, quibus omnibus firmissima stat sententia aut mori aut fidem Catholicam vindicare. Auxilium et subsidium speramus præcipue à Deo, cuius hæc est causa, tum et à Principibus Catholicis, quibus candor, integritas, et sinceritas nostra, aduersariorum vero nostrorum nequitia et perfidia breui innotescet.

D. Richardus Butler, Ormondij consobrinus, qui pro D. ô Neillio Kilkenniæ agebat, ad meliorem vitam transijt.

Ampliora suo tempore et tabellario magis fido exarabo. Hæc tibi modo sufficere poterunt.

I. D. T.

Seruus

D. D. D.

Cum authoritate Superiorum.

Appendix.
1649.
8. May.

IX. Articles between General Owen O'Neill and Colonel George Monk.

Articles condescended unto, and agreed upon, by and between General Owen ONeal, Commander in Chief of the confederate Catholiques, and Colonel George Monk, Commander in Chief of the Parliament Forces, within the Province of Vlster. Dated 8 May, 1649.

Articles between Owen O'Neill and Colonel Monk.

I. It is agreed that there be a cessation of arms, and of all acts of hostility, between the forces and parties commanded by, and adhering to General Owen ONeal, as well in Vlster as in the rest of the provinces of the kingdom, and the forces or parties under Colonel George Monk his command, for three moneths after the date hereof; Provided that in the said time, there be not any agreement made with the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord of Inchiquien, or any their adherents, or with any who are enemies to the Parliament of England.

II. That upon all occasions during the said time, both parties be ready with their forces to assist one another, until a more absolute agreement be made and condescended unto by the Parliament of England.

III. It is agreed between the said parties, that the Creaghts of Vlster, residing within the quarters of Colonel Monk, pay contribution to General Owen ONeal; And that it may be likewise lawful for the said Colonel Monk to receive contribution from such Creaghts of Vlster, as well those who have not as yet paid him contribution, as those that do; and in case any of them refuse so to do, it shall be lawful for Colonel Monk to compel them thereunto, excepting those who belong to the county of Cavan.

IV. It is also agreed, that if General Owen ONeal shall happen to fight against the forces under the command of the Marquess of Ormond, the Lord Inchiqueen, or any other enemies to the Parliament of England, and thereby spend his ammunition, if he be near unto my quarters, and be distressed for want of ammunition, I shall then furnish him.

V. It is agreed between the said parties, And the said Colonel Monk doth in the behalf of himself and his party faithfully promise and undertake, that free leaue and liberty shall be given to any ship or ships, that may arrive at any harbor, or port-town, within the said Colonel Monks liberty, during the time of our agreement, with any silver, gold, provision, arms, ammunition, or any other commodities, to the use of the said General, or his forces: And that the said General ONeal, or

IX. The true state of the Transactions of Colonel George Monk with Owen-Roe-Mac-Art-O-Neal; As it was reported to the Parliament by the Councel of State, together with the votes and resolutions of the Parliament therenpon. Ordered that it be referred to the Councel of State, to give directions for printing the Report from the Councel of State, and so much of the letters and proceedings as concern this business, and the votes of the House thereupon. Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.
London, Printed for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, August 15, 1649.

such as shall be by him authorized hereunto, shall be admitted to fetch away the same with security and safety; and that no interruption or impediment be given to the said shipping, to depart without any prejudice, at their will and pleasure.

Articles between Owen O'Neill and Monk.

The propositions of General Owen ONeal, the lords, gentry and commons of the Confederate Catholiques of Vlster, to the most High and most Honorable, the Parliament of England.

Owen O'Neill's propositions to English Parliament.

I. Imprimis, that such as are already joyned, or shall within the space of three moneths, joyn with General Owen ONeal, in the service of the Parliament of England in this Kingdom, as well clergy as others, may have all laws and penalties against their religion and its professors, taken off by Act of Parliament, and that Act to extend to the said parties, their heirs and successors for ever, while they loyally serve the Parliament of England.

II. The said General ONeal desireth an act of oblivion to be passed, to extend to all and euery of his party, for all things done since the beginning of the year 1641.

III. They desire that General Owen ONeal be provided with a competent command in the army, befitting his worth and quality.

IV. They desire that they may enjoy all the lands that were, or ought to be in their or their ancestors possession.

V. That all incapacity, inability and distrust hitherto, by Act of State or otherwise, against the said party, be taken off.

VI. That on both sides all jealousies, hate and aversion, be laid aside; unity, love and amity, be renewed and practised between both parties.

VII. That General Owen ONeal may be restored and put in possession of his successors estates, or some estates equivalent to it, in the counties of Tyrone, Ardmach, or London-dery, in reward of his merit, and the good service that he shall perform in the Parliament of Englands service, in the preservation of their interest in this kingdom.

VIII. That the army belonging to General Owen ONeal and his party, be provided for, in all points as the rest of the army shall be.

IX. That the said party be provided with, and possessed of, a convenient sea-port in the province of Vlster.

I do, upon receiving a confirmation of these propositions, forthwith undertake and promise in behalf of my self, and the whole party under my command, faithfully and firmly to adhere to the service of the Parliament of England in this kingdom, and maintain their interest hereafter, with the hazard of our lives and fortunes, against all opposers whatsoever.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto put my hand and seal, this 8 day of May, Anno Dom. 1649.

Signed: Owen ONeal.

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X. MONK'S REASONS FOR CESSATION WITH O'NEILL.

The reasons inducing Colonel Monk to make a cessation with Owen Roe ONeal for three moneths, which is now expired, were as followeth:

Monk's reasons for Cessation with Owen O'Neill.

1. That about April last, the Scots under his command having relinquished their obedience to the Parliament, and denied to obey any command from him, upon refusing to joyn with them in a declaration against the Parliament and army, he desired assistance from Colonel Jones to reduce them to obedience: But Colonel Jones finding by good intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond had made a peace with all the Irish, except Owen Roe ONeal; That he had set up the Princes Interest, and upon that score was raising all the force he could make to distress Colonel Jones in his quarters, thought it not safe, as to the Parliament's Interest in Leinster, to spare any assistance to Colonel Monk.

2. That Colonel Monk being upon this necessitated to retire to his garison of Dundalk, found Owen Roe ONeal quartered with his forces, being six thousand foot, and about seven hundred horse, in the counties of Cavan and Monahan, within twenty or thirty miles march of his garrison; and also received good intelligence, that the Lord of Ormond at that time used all possible means to draw Owen Roe to his party, offering him any conditions to induce to it.

3. That Colonel Monk, finding himself thus invironed with the Scots on the one hand, with whom he understood the Lord of Ormond kept intelligence at that time, and with Owen Roe on the other; and finding how dangerous it would in all probability be, not onely to himself, but also to Colonel Jones, and so consequently to all the Parliaments Interest in Ireland, to have Owen Roe and the Scots thus upon the sudden, and before any forces could be expected to arrive out of England, either to Colonel Jones, or his own relief, united with the Lord of Ormond.

4. Finding that if he could keep the Lord of Ormond and Owen Roe at distance, until supplies arrived, he should not onely deprive the Lord of Ormond of that accession of strength, which Owen Roe's forces would have added unto him, but also render the Scots in Vlster, and the Earl of Clanrickard with his Connaght forces (all which being joyned together, would have made twelve thousand horse and foot) useless to the Lord of Ormond, as to any assistance he could expect from them to joyn with him against Colonel Jones, Owen Roe lying so with his forces, as that he might within two or three days march, have fallen either into the Scots quarters, or Clanrickards quarters, if they had not kept their forces to attend his motions.

5. Finding also that Owen Roe, in regard of his own safety, would accept the large offers made him by the Earl of Ormond, if he had not been speedily prevented; Colonel Monk well weighing all the dangers and advantages as aforesaid, that might in all probability insue thereupon; and likewise what hazard it might have been to retard a conclusion with Owen Roe (whom he found impatient of all delays), until he might receive directions either from the Council of State, or the Parliament, for his farther proceeding therein, thought it most agreeable to the discharge of his trust, and the safety of the Parliament's Interest in that kingdom, rather to cast himself upon the Parliaments favorable interpretation

x. True state of the Transactions, etc. *Ante*, p. 216.

and to conclude a cessation with Owen Roe for three moneths, then by any further delay, to lose the advantages aforesaid; the fruits whereof have in some measure answered his expectation, and prevented the Earl of Ormond all this while from a strict besieging of Dublin, and so consequently of taking it, for want of a competent number of foot to lie down before it, which he could not have done, without the addition of the Scots and Connaught forces as aforesaid; and in the mean time necessitated him to spend his time in taking of the out-garrisons, which if Dublin had been taken, he knew would have speedily fallen into his hands. The truth of all which, and of the advantages gained by his proceedings, he submits to the further testimony of those that Command in Chief for the Parliament upon the place.

Appendix. 1649. 8. May. Monk's reasons for Cessation with O'Neill.

XI. Scottish Officers in Ulster to Monk.

Honorable Sir,

We are very well satisfied in our own consciences, and are confident all, except the parties against whom we do declare, will be so, that we have discharged our duties in relation to you, and that we have with a great deal of honesty and fidelity, declared ourselves for the Parliament of England, and onely against those who have illegally usurped their power, for whose service we are confident the arms, ammunition and clothes sent to the army, were never ordained; nor can we see how you discharge your trust to the Parliament, when you detain those provisions sent by them to us, who are still willing cordially to prosecute those ends to which we were engaged, when you got your commission, and to follow the commands of that lawful power which did give it you. Thus far we are free, because we cannot lie under the accusation of that crime, whereof others are guilty, etc.

1649. 9. May. Scottish officers in Ulster to Monk.

Major Rawden will give you an accompt of our answers to your desires, which we are confident will witness our respects to you, and we do earnestly desire that you may be as careful in preserving a good correspondency and neighbor-hood, as

Your affectionate humble servants,

Belfast, the 9. of May, 1649.

Signed:

Montgomery.	John Edmonstone.
Uti Knox.	William Hamilton.
George Kieth.	James Clotworthy.
James Shaw.	Fergus Kennedy.
Ed: Ellis.	

XII. Phelim O'Neill to the Earl of Castlehaven.

My Lord,

I perused y^r Lordships lettre, and as for ye contents of it, doubtlesse this fforte is as triue for his Majesties use and service, as any place, as for deliveringe of it unto you, I will not doe it excepte it be against my will, for Generall Owen ONeill trusted this place unto me (who as I am sure is as triue and loyall a

1649. 13. May. Sir Phelim O'Neill to Castlehaven.

xi. True state of the Transactions, etc. *Ante*, p. 216. xii. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 423.

APPENDIX.
1649.
13. May.
Sir Phelim ONeill to Earl of Castlehaven.

subiecte to his Majesty as any person in Ireland), and soe untill I see his orders I will not yeeld, nor deliver the towne to any body as longe as I can; as for burninge of the houses I did rather burne them my selfe, then that they should be burnth bey your party; I am confidente that I will be releeved by those, who will not lett you put us in such cause as to aske quarter,

Your Lordships servant,

Phellem ONeill.

From the fforte of Leix, this 13. of May, 1649.
For the Right Honorable Lord Generall Castlehaven: These.

13. May. Answer to the Lord Castlehaven's summons, by Phelim ONeill, etc.

XIII. ORMONDE TO FATHER LUKE WADDING, AT ROME.

1649.
20. May.
Ormonde to Father Luke Wadding.

Sir,

Althoogh I profess not the same religion to yours, yett I conceave our affections to his Majesties service, and the bond of alegiance upon us tow is the same, which makes me putt you to trobell of reading the request I make unto, which is, that you would imploy the power you have in the Court of Rome, to support and countenance thoos friers of your order, who have labord to settell this kingdom under his Majesties obedience, and have been hetherto persecuted by thoos placed in authority over them, in a provinciall chapter, wheer all things weer ordered, as pleasd the Nuntio, who hath (so far as in him lay) doun iniury and dishonor to his master, by fomenting devisions in the nation, and endeavoring again to imbroyle this kingdome, miserably wasted by a seaven years warr, in perpetuall distraction. Heer arrived lately one Father Caroun, a man I conceave of good affections to his Majesties service; zealous of the good of his Order, and authorishd from the superior theerof to reforme some abuses in particular persons, who have endeavord to disquiet this kingdome. I shall entreat you that thoos who come with such intentions may be cowntenanced theer, and noe beleif given to any that shall calumniat this mans proceedings, which, like enough, may be traduced from henc, by persons that cannot sitt downe with loyall thooghts towards his Majestie, and above all I shall entreat you, that the time prefixt for a provincial chapter heer, may be anticipated to the end, discreet men such as have good affections for his Majestie, and are not in love with rapine and confusion may be chosen to govern in the Order, which if I may obtaine yow may be assured that while his Majesty is pleasd to continue me in the goverment of this kingdome, I shall cherishe them, and such as they shall find in the Order of the same affections with them. I have noe more to add, but to lett you know that, for the good report I have heard of your desires, to have this kingdome settled under his Majesties obedience, I shalbe reddy in what may concerne your particulare to exsperse my sel

Your aft.

20 May, 1649. A coppy of My Lords letter, to Fr. Luke Wadding.

XIII. Carte Papers, vol. xxiv. p. 461.

XIV. MONK TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

1649. 25. May. Monk to Oliver Cromwell.

Right Honorable,

Since I received advertisement of your resolution of coming into this kingdom, I have very much rejoyced, and withal do assure you, that have no servant in the world more glad of it then myself; I am infinitely obliged to you for your many favors, for which I return you hearty thanks. I do account it a principal part of my duty, to give you account of affairs here in this service: I have, since the Scots deserting me (although they are unwilling to own it) notwithstanding their actions do fully manifest it, used my utmost endeavors to reserve the interest of England in the North, and to keep some footing there. I haue taken care to provide the garrison of Lisnegarvy with two moneths provision of corn, which is kept there safe, if any rupture happen between, which is likely to be, since their ends are clear opposite: As also I haue well furnished with victual the garrison of Derry, the onely pass into the North, and Green Castle, Carlingford, Dundalk and Colerane, if my forces should advance to besiege either of them. And being in a very ill condition with these garrisons between the Scots and Irish, Owen Mac Art's army, I haue adventured, by the advice of some special friends and wellwishers to this service, to treat with Owen Mac Art, to keep him from joyning with Ormond, which if he had done, Colonel Jones and I had been in a very great hazard of losing the Parliament's footing in this kingdom; whereupon, finding Colonel Jones in such a condition, that he could not relieve me, it made me the more confident to adventure upon a cessation of arms between Owen Mac Art's party and mine, he engaging himself to oppose Ormond, which he doth really intend to do, and hath already by his endeavors manifested his willingness to ruine Ormond, for a greater feud cannot possibly be between them then there is now: wherefore upon this score I have treated with him, and according to his desire, sent you the copy of the propositions made by him, to the Parliament, which are wonderful high, but I believe will descend much lower: I have sent you likewise a copy of the agreement for the three moneths cessation between Owen Mac Art and I. I do not think it fit to signifie this to the Councel of State, but do wholly refer the business to you, either to make further use of it, or else to move it, or as you conceive most fit to be done, since there was great necessity for me to do it, I hope it will beget no ill construction, when the advantage gained to the service, by dividing Ormond and Mac Art, is fully weighed.

By this business I have very much quieted the Scots, who were upon so high terms, that nothing would satisfie them, but that I must deliver up the provisions, arms and ammunition to them which I had in my stores, as you may perceive by the copies of their letters at their meetings; but now they do not stir, either to send forces to joyn with those against Derry, or to advance towards me: wherefore being driven to this great streight, I shall desire that it may not receive any ill censure, but that it may be throughly considered.

I doubt I haue already trespassed too much upon your time, and do therefore

XIV. True state of the Transactions, etc. *Ante*, p. 216.

APPENDIX.
1649.
25. May.
Monk to Oliver Cromwell.

crave pardon for this boldness, and humbly beseech you to continue your good opinion towards me, and esteem me, as I am

Your faithful and most humble servant,

Dundalk, this 25 of May, 1649. George Monk.

Ormond within this three days hath taken a garrison of Owen Mac Arts, and put most of the men to the sword, the place called Mary-Burrow, and he hath sent Preston to lye before Athy, another of Owen Mac Arts garrisons.

XV. LETTER TO COLONEL MICHAEL JONES ON MOVEMENTS IN IRELAND.

1649.
3. July.
Movements in Ireland.

Sr,

Heere was one wth me that came from the campe on Sonday last, and tell's me for certaine that Clanrickard was expected there wthin two daies wth 3000 horse and foote; hee alsoe stood by and heard Ormond reade a lettre, that came from Inchequin from Tredath, desireing some fresh horse and one great peece, wch weare sent him, and doubted not but to give him a verie good accompt of the towne in a few daies. Hee saieth that Sr Ri. Barnewall, and Sr Lu. Dillon weare at the campe, imploy'd from Owen Roe, and that they are agreed, and that hee will Ioyne wth Ormond after the tyme of his engadgmt to Munke is expir'd, wch he said was spoken there, to be the 26th of this instant; hee saith that it was the common talke in the campe that Kedoogan went out wth 80 horse, and that most of them weare taken, and cutt of, and that hee escaped narrowly wth 5 or 6 horse to Trym. Hee saith that they layed an ambush neere Bally Sannon, and sent some men in woemens apparell towards the castle, they wthin perceaveing them sent out a partie to take them, whereupon they did run towards the ambush, they kil'd some of our men, and tooke 25. There is great plentie of all sorts of provision at their camp, but scarsitie of provisions until Satterday last, and then there came to them (hee saith 9 horsload of money wch hee sawe. There is a garrison at Lucan, and an other at Luttrells towne, purposely to secure the comeing to and fro of provisions to the campe, wch comes daily in great abundance; they have made all the strength at sea that they could possibly, and have set them out to prevent the comeing of shiping to Dublin. Hee saith they are resolv'd suddainely to drawe neerer to Dublin, making noe question of haueing Tredath, wthin 2 or 3 daies. Sr Tho. Esmond and Bagnall have taken away all the cattle that was about Arkloe, and alsoe taken all the cattle that was in the Glynns, that belong'd to Bryan Mc Felym his partie; and on Sonday last, lay'd seige to Arkloe. You may guess how inconsistent this is wth that newes of agreeing wth Owen Roe for certainly Hugh Mc Felym his partie is of Owen Roes service. Jugling there is among them, wch I cannot unriddle. The gentlemen of theise parts are all sommoned to meete at Castleknock on Thirsday next, about what I know not. I beleeue, but few of them will goe thither. Ormond was heard to say, that hee wished there had come 5000 men to you out of England. Geo. Lane tould my intelligencer, that there

xv. Clarendon Papers, 1649: No. 91, Bodleian Library.

1649. 3. July. Movements in Ireland.

as a trumpiter went from you to Ormond, wch made him very passionate, and hat he bid the trumpeter tell yow, that you was a cropeare knave, and that hee vould be wth you suddainely. It is reported wth them that you giue out that you vill burn Dublin, and blow up the castle before hee shall haue it. The Lieutenn^t^ ieere earnestly desires 4 fyer lockes. This is all at present, soe I rest

Yo^r^ servant,

Bullock, 3 July, 1649. [*Blank.*]

The boate goes to-morrow wth all the fish that can be had, and they are directed irst to goe to yor cooke, that hee may choose such as hee likes.

To the Honble Collonell Iones, these be delivered: Dublin.

Seal—on a fess dancetteé 3 fleurs de lis

XVI. Intelligence of Cromwell's Embarkation for Ireland.

1649. 14. July. Intelligence of Cromwell's Embarkation.

S^r^,

The Lif^nt^-gen^ll^ went forth of towne Wednesday last towards Winsor, and rom thence intends towards Bristall, and I am inclinable to beleeve that hee ntends to carry with him 5000 foote and 2000 horse, and hee hopes to land them n an island hard by Corke, when hee can refreshe them, draue them up in order, nd march out of the island into the maine at low water, and thereby bee even vith Ormond and Inchequine, they beinge busie aboute Dublin and those partes.

Hee hath drawen towardes the West 7 regimen^ts^ of foote, wch hee intends to carry with him from thence, vizt. his owne regimen^t^, Jextons who is gone with him, Coll. Cookes, Coll. Ferris, Coll. Stubres, Coll. Hustons, and Coll. Owens.

Hee alsoe carrieth with him 4 regimen^ts^ of horse, vizt. his owne wch consisteth of 12 troopes, Coll. Hortons and Jextons, and one more that I doe not remember.

Hee carrieth with him, and there wilbee sent suddainely after him, upwardes of ffourescore thousand pownds in ready money, wch on my word is in readines for manie for feare, and manie who weere ingaged, for love have lent large somes to set him forward. I find that hee hath some friends in Monster, and more hee hopes to make with his money, wch may worke much when it is knowne hee hath it, amongst needie men.

I finde that Leiftennant Collonell Piggott, who as I formerly wrote unto you was gone into Munster, to sooe his tares, hath now sent for his wiffe, who is gone unto him, and in bringeing her over hee thinkes to doe his busines better, it will take away all suspicion. Yt is hoped that hee may doe good service.

The thinge wch troubles them most is that 20 of the shipes, that are to goe from hence to Meniard, Milford, and Bristoll, to take in these men, and in some of them the whole ordinance and amunition, but onely what is carried by land, wch is not much, are not gone from hence.

I find alsoe when I doe consider, that under 100 vessells these horse and foote cannot bee carried over; but all these thinges may bee done in three weekes or a

xvi. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 25.

APPENDIX.
1649.
14. July.
Intelligence of Cromwell's embarkation.

moneth, and duringe this time it is hoped that Ormond and Inchoquine may bee kept busie in Leinster, and happily they may not gett notice of this untill it bee done, and then it will bee too late to prevent the designe, I assure you if this bee done, and that they can get these portes of Monster, the rest of the kingdome will soone bee recoveed, this is of a greate conscernm^{t}, and truly verie few doe know of it.

I doe find, notwithstandinge this fixt resolucion, that if by the intendinge to land in Munster, it will draw a considerable partie from Dublin, that then they will land there, or in the north of Ireland, if any confusion bee there as they hope there will, therfore all parties where they have any freinds will have notice to observe the wind, and to prepare for there reception.

Some are much troubled to thinke if this money now advanced bee spent, how hard a thinge it wilbee to gett more, and if the people in Ireland bee vigelant, as it is feared they will, this money wilbee spent before they leve the kingedome, and yf they can but hinder there landinge untill the 10th of September, it is unpossible to transporte anie greate numbers this yeare.

Sir I. M.

I would not have you feare the Vlster knight that went laitely from hence, and is by this time active, there hee is really a servant to yor supremest freind, who I hope will not neglect him, wch if hee doe hee may repent it, for the kn^{t} will know what is doeing both here and in Scotland, wch wilbee no small advantage. Be mindfull what I did write as concerninge yor selfe, and prepare for it. I have written to freinds in Vlster to mind it, and alsoe to mind yor freinds therof.

The Isle of Man wee thinke our selves sure of if all faile, and this doth lie convenient to infest both Ireland and Scotland.

I can now assure you, the Scotts and the Kinge are agreed. Our freinds here that now doe governe doe know it, and it troubleth them very much. I very much feare a suddaineer turne of thinges then you are aware of, for the greate discontents in the nobilitie and gentrie will occasion it. What I write you will find to bee true.

London, 14th July, 1649.

To the intelligence above written, an other understanding friend addes this, viz. It is said that Col. Iones hath found out a fyne way of gaining intelligence, by sending cunning beggars into Ormond's campe, who bring him notice of what he can observe there also. Some souldiers that seeme to run thether are of purpose imployed to gaine intelligence.

Endorsed: 14 July, 1649.

XVII. LORD INCHIQUIN TO SIR GEORGE LANE.

1649.
31. July.
Inchiquin to Sir G. Lane.

S^{r},

Being now in very great hast to attend the Princes, in taking view of the coast, I have not tyme to write unto his Excellency, but am forced to leave blanque wth Ric. Gething, for the writing of thus much unto you. By the

XVII. Clarendon Papers, Bodleian Library, 1649: N°. 98.

ast passage there came over a gentlewoman, of whose good affections as well is discretion wee have so much confidence as to assure ourselves that the ntelligence shee gives us is really true, and shee assures us that those forces of Cromwells are at the water-side in all manner of readiness to imbarque, wayting for and expecting howerly the shipping to take them, wch was also in very great readiness, so as shee is most confident the wynd haveing bin favourable to them heis three or fower dayes, that they are by this tyme at sea, so as I am very sorry hat I did not press more earnestly for the sending away of the regim^t under Major Pardon, about whom the Councell have now written to his Excellency, and f wth the forces upon the place, and those to be raysed in ye country, (who make nany faire promises of levying considerable nombers, though I have many reasons ot to bee too confident of their performance,) I can put the country in a posture f defence, under L^t.-generall Barry. I shall make all the hast I can to wayte on is Excellency. It is very much confirmed that the citty of Lymerick should ave bin given upp to Owen Roe, had not his march into y^t part bin prevented, s also that those long boates (the ô Maylies and Flaghortys), were by appointm^t o meet him there, who are suffered still to lye in ye river of Lymerick, and lthough it hath bin moved and urged very strongly, by some officers of myne, o haue them beaten off with a vessell of 14 gunns that lyes there, yet are hey suffred to obstruct the river, and to infest the land on both sides. I shall ive his Excellency a further accompt very suddainly. In the meantyme, I emayne

Sr,

Yo^r affectionate freind and kinsman,

Cork, ultimo Julij, 1649. Inchiquin.

To my affectionate friend and kindsman, George Lane, Esq.

Endorsed: Ld Inchiquins to G. L:

Appendix. 1649. 31. July. Lord Inchiquin to Sir George Lane.

XVIII. Irish Commissioners to Ormonde.

May it please your Exellencie,

By a reference your Lordship made unto us, on the petition of Collonell harles Hennessy, for the arreares of the summer service, 1648, growen due unto im selfe, his chaplain, surgeon and adiudant, wee are directed to put him in a peedy way for his satisfaction, and having applyed all the publique dues wee ould hitherto bring in, to the necessities of the service; wee find not a possibilitie t present to comply with that direction, but if your Lordship be pleased, taking e petitioners request into further consideration, to give order that he be accompted ith for those arreares, and the same being ascertayned, that allowance be given im in the reutt reserved to the publique for his ffarme of Walshtowne, in the unty of Corcke, as desired in his petition, wee humbly offer to be the speediest

1649. 4. Aug. Irish Commissioners to Ormonde.

xviii. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 92.

APPENDIX.
1649.
4. Aug.
Irish Commissioners to Ormonde.

way (wee conceive) can be thought for his present satisfaction, wherein submitting our selves to your Lordships further consideration, wee remayne

Your Exellencies most humble servants,

Athunry. Alex. Mc Donell.
Lucas Dillon. N. Plunkett.
Torl. ONeille. Gerald Ferrell.
Geffr. Browne.

Kilkenny, 4 Augusti, 1649.

For his Excellencie the Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland.

Endorsed: Com^rs concearning Collonel Henessy, 4th August, 1649:

XIX. MAYOR OF WEXFORD TO ORMONDE.

1649.
6. Aug.
Mayor of Wexford to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^cie,

Cap^en George Bradeshaw, now instantlie com from sea in a smal warrfaring bote, having beene on ye cost of England and Wales, and havin brought thence som prisoners that were taken at sea, about Easter last, of Gallwa men that were going over with soldiours then for Spaine, and were taken int Milford, on examinacion of them all, finding matters fitt to bee in all spee imparted to your Ex^cie, for his Maties and this kingdoms good and securitie, I hav thought fitt to send your Ex^cie as well what Cap^en Brad^eshaw declared and writ in the enclosed with his owne hand, as the substance in briefe of what the oth two men that were prisoners declare, that your Lordship seeing the malise an strong preparations of ye enemie, may take tymely course to prevent their wicke designes, wch God I hope will by your Ex^cies indeavours crush, notwithstanding late unhappie disaster.

First, Besids what Cap^en Bradshaw writes in ye inclosed, hee saies there were Milford in ye harbour twentie saile of shipps, and that hee being at sea sa twentie six saile more making for Milford, wherof hee tooke one, who confess they were going for Milford from Dublin to carrie souldiours for Ireland, b could not tell for what particular parte they were to bring them.

And Lawrence Trehy and John Brenan, the two prisoners that were taken goi from Gallway, doe declare that they being nyne weekes prisoners at Milford, a nyne or tenn weekes more at libertie since, begging upp and doune ye counti untill they found this conveniency, that there are fifteene thowsand men, wher seaven thowsand horse and eight thowsand foote in Pembrokshire, readie to co for this kingdom under comaund of the Lord Cromwell, wherof they saw thr hundred foote in Hereford on Wensday last the first of this instant, and they s all the rest were in the cuntrie, and provision a making for their coming, a proclamacion that the markets of Pembroke should bee kept at Nangle, and t market of Hereford at Dale and Pill, and that 20 shipps as before was at Milfo

XIX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 106.

and 26 more past by them at sea for Milford for soldiours, wherof they tooke one is before loden onely wth ballast going for men. All this on oath was taken by

Your Ex^cies most humble servant,

Mich. Belan, Maior of Wexford.

Wexford, 6 Aug. 1649, 4 of ye clock, afternoone.

For his Ex^cie ye Lord Lieut^t.-generall: These, hast, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: Mayor of Wexford, Dated 6, Rec. 7, Aug., 1649.

Appendix. 1649. 6. Aug. Mayor of Wexford to Ormonde.

XX. Ormonde to General Owen O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations uppon this occasion of reasumeing the treaty with you, in order to your submission to his Majesties government and authority in and over this kingdom, and to express our willingnes to afford you all fitting encouragement to bring those seasonable and wee hope reall inclinations which wee heare you have lately expressed to his Majesties service, to a due and wished perfection, wee have thought fitt heereby to take notice unto you, that besides those publicque concessions whereof you and your adhearents are to expect full benefitt by such submission, wee should readyly adventure to confirme certaine offers formerly made and transmitted unto you by your nephew, Mr. Daniell ONeile, relateing to your owne particuler concearnements, did wee not beleeve that (being disengaged by your rejecting them) wee have, for especiall reasons to his Majesties service, passed our engagement to others for some of those particulers, which in such case wee may not violate uppon any consideration whatsoever; yet in further manifestation of the cleerenes of our proceedings, and of our reall intentions not to diminish any thing that was intended for your advantage, wee heereby declare and undertake that all and every the particulers thereby offered, that (by reason of your non acceptance) hath not been disposed of as afforesaid, shall be ratifyed and made good uppon your submission to ye Kings authority as afforesaid, or assoone after as possibly may be, and that all such particulers as have been soe disposed of shall be equivalently recompenced unto you otherwise, to your full contentment and satisfaction.

1649. 12. Aug. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords letter to Generall Owen ONeill from Trym, dated 12 Aug., 1649.

XXI. Colonel Monk and Parliament at London.

Die Veneris, 10 Augusti, 1649.

Mr. Scot reports from the Councel of State, a letter and paper concerning a Cessation made by Colonel Monk with General Owen Roe Mac Art ONeal, sent to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland by Colonel Monk, and were by the Lord Lieutenant brought and delivered to the councel, and by them taken into consideration, and

1649. 10. Aug. Monk and Parliament at London.

xx. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 153.

xxi. True state of the Transactions of Colonel George Monk, 1649, p. 3.

APPENDIX.
1649.
10. Aug.
Monk and Parliament at London.

that the whole business was then disapproved by the councel; and the councel hath declared unto Colonel Monk, That they neither did nor do approve of what he hath done therein; and ordered, That both the foresaid letter and papers, and also the reasons now exhibited to the councel by Colonel Monk for his making the Cessation, should be reported to the House; which were all this day read.

The House being informed that Colonel Monk was at the door, he was called in; and being come to the Bar,

Mr Speaker by command of the House, declared to him, That the House had receiued a report from the Councel of State, touching an agreement for a Cessation between him and Owen Roe; and whereas in his letter he doth mention, That he had done it with advice with some others there, Mr. Speaker demanded of him what persons he intended thereby. To which Colonel Monk answered, That he did it upon his own score, without the advice of any other person; onely having formerly had discourse with Colonel Jones, Colonel Jones told him, That if he the said Colonel Monk, could keep off Owen Roe and Ormond from joyning, it would be a good service.

Being demanded by Mr. Speaker, Whether he had any advice or direction from the Parliament, or Councel of State, or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or any other person here to do the same; he did expresly deny, That he had any advice or direction therein from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or from the Councel of State, or from the Parliament, or any member of either; but he did it onely on his own score, conceiving it was for the preservation of the English interest there, and that they have had some fruits thereof accordingly.

Being withdrawn, and afterwards called in again, the questions demanded him by Mr. Speaker, and his answers thereunto, were read unto him; and the said Colonel Monk did acknowledge, that the same are his answers to the said questions.

Resolved, &c., That this House doth utterly disapprove of the proceedings of Colonel Monk, in the treaty and Cessation made between him and Owen Roe ONeal; and that the innocent blood which hath been shed in Ireland, is so fresh in the memory of this House, that this House doth detest and abhor the thoughts of any closing with any party of Popish rebels there who have had their hands in shedding that blood.

Nevertheless, the House being satisfied that what the said Colonel Monk did therein, was in his apprehension necessary for the preservation of the Parliament of Englands interest, That the House is content the further consideration thereof, as to him, be laid aside, and shall not any time hereafter be called in question.

Ordered, That it be referred to the Councel of State to giue direction for printing the report from the Councel of State, and so much of the letters and proceedings as concern this business, and the votes of the House thereupon.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

XXII. ORMONDE TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 22. Aug. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our, etc. Together with leters from Sr Richard Barnewell and Sr Luke Fitz-Gerald to you, imparting our authoriseing them to conclude the treaty with you and y^r party upon the conditions formerly approved of by you, we sent you our leter of the 12 of this month, a duplicate whereof wee herewith send you, doubting that your being soe farr remooved from these partes, and the danger in the way, may have occasioned the delay, if not the miscarriage of those leters. Wee know you are not ignorant of the late misfortune befallen his Maties army before Dublin, the landing of Cromwell with considerable suplys of men and other things at Dublin, and that now is the season of the yeare most proper in all respects for service, all wch are motives enduceing mee to desire that (in case you determine to adhere to what you have oferred, as I nothing doubt butt you will) you would, without delay, advaunce with your army towards these partes, to bee ioyned with the rest of his Maties forces, for the preservation of his interest, and whatever els of religion or freedome may be of value with our nation, and that you would give us intimation of the time and place whither wee may send unto you, our resolution being personally to confirme unto you the conditions formerly ofered, in case the com^rs cannot then be had; and soe wee.

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords to Generall Owen ONeill, dated 22 Aug., 1649, from Droghda.

XXIII. GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL TO SIR GEORGE MONRO.

1649. 22. Aug. Owen O'Neill to Sir George Monro.

S^r,

Yo^rs bearcing noe date I received yesterday, wherein you admire that I should tearme those that onely names them selves for his Matie an advers partie; truely theire cruell usage of mee by killing my men, stripping, wounding, and imprisoning my offic^rs (in my opinion) deserves noe better denomination from mee than the like. As for yor parte I render you many thankes for yor good advice, and am very confident had you knowne the manifold good services I have don (by Gods assistance) to this kingdome, and my unthankfull requittall severall times from the councell of Kilkeny, you would not disprove my proceedings wth them; God is a rightfull iudg, at whose hands I must expect iustice therein. I desire you will suspend any censure or hard opinion of mee concerning the premisses untill such time as you receive a true information of the matter on both sides; I am soe unalterably constant and steadfast in my resolution and wayes, as that where my promise or paroll is once really engaged, I rather die a thousand times than one ench to decline or deviat from the same. What aspersion soever my maisters are pleased undeservedly to cast uppon mee will (I doubt not) in the end redownd rather to theire owne discredit than any dishonor of myne, as the finall effect of both our proceedings will publiquily testifie to the view of the world.

XXII. Carte Papers, XXV. p. 205. XXIII. Carte Papers, XXV. p. 209.

APPENDIX.
1649.
22. Aug.
Owen O'Neill to Sir George Monro.

Notwithstanding all which be you assured, uppon all lawfull occasions, I will indeavo^r to approve my selfe, S^r,

Yo^r moste humble servant,

22 Aug., 1649. Owen ONeill.

For Maior-Generall George Monroe, these.

Endorsed: Owen ONeill to Sr George Monro, 22 Aug., 1649.

XXIV. ORMONDE TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

1649.
23. Aug.
Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations. These are only to lett you know that wee have imployed the Right Reverend Father in God, our very good Lord the Lord Bishop of Raphoe, and Collonell Audley Mervyn, to conferr with you some matters of importance in relation to his Maties service, and therefore to desire you to afford them full credenee in what shall be delivered by them unto you as from us. We bid you very heartily farewell, remaineinge at Drogheda the 23th day of Aug., 1649.

Your loveinge freind,

Ormonde.

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords letter to Generall Owen ONeill from Drogheda 23 Aug., 1649.

XXV. COUNCIL OF WAR ON DEFENCE OF DROGHEDA.

1649.
23. Aug.
Council of War on defence of Drogheda.

23 August 1649.

Earl of Castlehaven.
Earl of Westmeth.
Lord Moore.
Lord of Ardes.
Sir Arthur Aston.
Sir Ffoulk Hunkes.
Sir Thomas Armstrong.
Sir Robt Stewart.
Sir Robt Byron.
Collonell Trevor.
Collonell Warren.
Collonell Walle.
Collonell Berne.

That Drogheda was to bee maintained.

Endorsed: Result of a Councell of Warr at Drogheda the 23 of Aug., 1649, for the deffence of the place.

xxiv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 216. xxv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 214.

XXVI. Declaration by Oliver Cromwell at Dublin.

1649. 23. Aug. Declaration by Oliver Cromwell.

Whereas God Almighty, in the aboundance of his mercy and goodnesse, hath been eased from time to time to vouchsafe preservation and deliverance unto this city om the rage and cruelty of a bloudy enemy, and in a more speciall manner to manist his [*sic.*] numerous Army of Rebels encampt about this city; which continuall ercies do justly call for a thankfull acknowledgment of his gracious goodnesse by sincere and earnest endeavour, as well to maintain the honour of his most holy ame, as to oppose and take away such offences, being contrary and displeasing to s Divine will; And yet notwithstanding, by the frequent practise of prophane vearing, cursing, and drunkennesse, his holy name is dayly dishonoured and asphemed, to the scandall and grief of all good men, although the said offences e prohibited by the law of God, the known laws of this land, and the known ticles of war, whereby wee have just cause to fear, that without a through formation of such sins, he may deservedly break off the continuance of his onted loving kindnesse towards this place, and give us over to destruction.

And for as much as it is a duty required at the hand of the magistrate, who ought ot to bear the sword in vain, but to improve the power committed into his hand r the punishment, prevention of offences; We therefore sadly taking the premises nto consideration, and resolving that the said offences be strictly proceeded gainst, and punisht according to the utmost severity and rigour of law, do by this ir proclamation strictly charge and comand, that as well the Major of this city, nd other officers and Ministers of Justice in the same city, whom the same shall oncern; As also that all officers of the army do respectively cause the said laws and ticles to be put in execution against all such persons as shall offend against the ame. And we do further charge and command all officers of the army to be ding and assisting to the said Major of this city, and other the said officers and linisters of Justice therein, for the apprehending of all and every the said offenders hich shall be members of the army, and for the bringing of them before the roper officers, whereby they may be severely punisht according to the said articles f war. And we do hereby declare our full resolution to punish the neglect and ontempt of this our Proclamation with the severest punishment which by Law ay be inflicted upon the contemners thereof.

Signed: O. Cromwell.

Given at Dublin-Castle this 23 of August, 1649.

XXVII. Gentry of Wexford to Ormonde.

1649. 25. Aug. Gentry of Wexford to Ormonde.

May it please your Excellencie,

Your Ex[lcies] lettre of the nynth of this instant (for our raising towards upply of his Ma[ties] fleete, the summ of two hundred seaventie six pounds and

xxvi. The Last Great and Bloudy Fight in Ireland, on Wednesday last, being the 29 of Aug., 1649. ondon: 1649, p. 4.

xxvii. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 223.

APPENDIX.
1649.
25. Aug.
Gentry of Wexford to Ormonde.

eight pence on this countie) coming unto our hands, and wee weighing the dangers readie to fall on this kingdom, and his Ma^ts^ interest therein, if the fleet should for want of tymely supply be forced to dispers, and leave us open to ye invasion and landing of ye enemie, wee have proposed unto our selves all ye waies wee could possibly think of, for ye complyeing with that your Ex^cies^ comaunds, being most willing to shew all ye readines and alacritie to ye advaunce of his Maties service, that might bee expected of loyall and well affected subiects, even to the expence of our whole fortunes, and sacrifising our lives; yet soe sadd and distressed a condicion is this miserable countie reduced unto, aswell through the vast sums of money drawne hinse by their frequent heavie payments, and ye disfurnishing it altogether in a manner of cattle (the life and stocke of this barron soyle), by ye many great paym^ts^ of beoves therout to ye armies; and incursions of pilladgers and numerous swarms of idle persons rouing upp and doune this countie, while any substance was in it, and soe is it drawne dry and consumed by these tyms of affliction, being harouzed over and over and quite distroied, as noe way is left us to manifest our desires to comply either with raising ye sum desired in either money or beeves, or payeing the former chardge of ye countie, wee having with griefe experienced the extream povertie of ye countie by the slowe coming in of ye weekely assessm^t^ before it was dubled, and ye daily growing of ye parts that were hitherto inhabited waste, ye oppressed people flyeing the heavines therof, much more now that it is dubled, will the paym^ts^ grow slowe and backward, though theron may much depend ye keeping together of ye armie, by wch his Maties interests and the kingdoms, in generall is chiefely to bee preserved. God graunt wee may bee able any way to comply with that, tis more then to bee feared wee shall not, soe as it may not bee expected wee can undergoe other chardges, though pressing necessitie require it; wch wee most humbly pray your Ex^cie^ wilbe pleased to accept of as answer to your said letter from

Your Ex^cies^ most humble servants,

Rich. Sinnett.	Thomas Rosseeter.
Tho. Sirll.	Iohn Devereux.
Iames Hamaghane.	Nicholas Pleyler.
Christo. Hore.	Walter Lacey.

Wexford, 25 August, 1649.

For his Ex^lcie^ the Lord Lieut.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Gentry of the county of Wexford. Dated 25 Aug. Rec. 6 Sept., 1649. Concearning ye money desired for ye fleet.

XXVIII. SIR ARTHUR ASTON, GOVERNOR OF DROGHEDA, 1649.

1649.
Sir Arthur Aston, Governor of Drogheda.

Aston is noticed as follows by Anthony Wood:* "1644, May 1. Sir Arth Aston Knt. Serjeant Major-gen. of the king's horse forces, Governour of the garrison of Oxford, was created doctor of phys. with great solemnity, and admitted

* Athenæ Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, London: 1815, v. 78.

by the vice-chancellor with this clause, 'Honoratiss. domine, tu dabis fidem ad observand. statuta, libertates et consuetudines hujus universitatis.'—This person ('who was son of Sir Arthur Aston of Fulham in Middlesex, and he the 2nd son of Sir Tho. Aston of Aston in Bucklow hund. in Chesh.' who was of an ancient and knightly family in that country), was a great traveller, had spent most of his time in wars, in several countries beyond the seas; whence coming in the beginning of the grand rebellion [commenced by the presbyterians] into Engl., with as many soldiers of note as he could bring with him, joyned himself and them to his Majesty's forces, commanded the dragoons at Edghill fight, and with them did excellent service. Afterwards, his Majesty having a great opinion of his valour and conduct, made him governour of the garrison of Reading in Berkshire, where he beat the Earl of Essex, general of the parl. forces, thrice from that place, till having received a dangerous wound he was forced, as tis said, to devolve his command upon Col. Rich. Feilding, called Lord Feilding, of the family of those of his name at Newenham Padox in Warwickshire, who afterwards surrendring that garrison to the use of the Parliament upon quick and easy terms, suffered much in his reputation for so doing, yet recovered it afterwards in the battels at Newbury and Naseby. As for Aston, who was lately made governour of the garrison of Oxford, and afterwards expressed himself very cruel and imperious while he executed that office, he broke his leg by a fall from his horse on Bullington green near Oxon on the 19th of Sept. this year, and on the 25th of Dec. following, being discharg'd of his office, to the great rejoycing of the soldiers and others in Oxon, Colonell Will Legge was placed in his room, and in his Sir Tho. Glemham 8 Oct. 1645, who kept the said garrison till it was surrender'd to the Parliament. Sir A. Aston had, at that time, his broken leg cut off to save his life, and in its place had one of wood put; so that being recovered and in a posture to do his Majesty farther service, he went with the flower of the English veterans into Ireland, where he became governour of Drogheda commonly called Tredagh, about which time he laid an excellent plot to tire and break the English army."

Appendix. 1649. Sir Arthur Aston, Governor of Drogheda, 1649.

XXIX. Sir Arthur Aston to Ormonde.

My Lorde,

Yo^r Ex^lns was no sooner out of towne, but I meete with sum poople whome I beleeve know not well my constitution; yor Ex^lens will by theas smale nclosed coppies perceave whot inclination Me Lady Wilmut hath, to doe mischiefe f it lay in her powre. By her commaunde thees papers weare to have been sent o Dublin, her owne boye was the berer of them, who I feare is of to smale a sise o bee hanged. The Lord Blanyes daughters writ too of the papers, and me Lady Wilmot her selfe the therde, I have put my wi[f]es unckle Franck More in a reste, or I cannot well disieste shutch knavish foolinge. As for the ladies, I say nothing o them untill I have yor Exc^lns possitive orders how to proseede against them; as or the other too named, to wit Kerkham and Owins, I will exsamin the busines

1649. 25. Aug. Drogheda: Sir Arthur Aston to Ormonde.

xxix. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 224.

APPENDIX.
25. Aug.
Drogheda:
Sir Arthur Aston to Ormonde.

and with yor Ex^{lens} permission proseed with them accordingly. This Kerkham is Me Lord Moores shurgin. Sum halfe an howre before I sawe the boye (but hee was allredy taken), Me Lady Wilmot sent unto mee to desire leave to sende a messinger to Dublin. I answered I had no commission to doe itt, but it seems she had nottis that the boy was then bringing to mee, wch occationed this motion of herrs, I beseetch yor Ex^{lens} expres commaundes to turne her and her malignant famely out of the towne, for thoughe she bee my grand mother, I shall make pouther of her else if she play mee shutch foule playe. I humbly crave yor Ex^{lens} speedy commaundes heerin, for thay are very dangerous company, as the case standes with mee, who is for ever Me Lord,

Yo^{r} Excilence faithfull and most humble servant,

Arth. Aston.

Trogodaghe, this 25th August, in the evening.

Me Lord, if thay shoulde now keepe my wife, I have femalles inoughe to release her.

May it pleas yor Exci^{lens}, since the sealing of this letter I receved won from yor Excilence, and will God willing early in the morninge sende out for may bee gotten, and in all thinges strive to aprove my selfe yor Ex^{ln},

Most humble servant,

Arth. Aston.

For his Excilency, theas with my humble servis.

Endorsed: S^{r} Ar. Astons, dated. and rec. 25 Aug., 1649. Concerning the Lady Willmot, Franck Moore, etc.

[ENCLOSURES IN ASTON'S LETTER.]

1.

Sir,—I must beg one favour from you, which is to send me a protection for Mr Cercom [Kerkham], who I will confidently ingage myselfe, woold have beene at Dublin longe since, had not his goodnesse taken great pittie on me in this sadd condicon y^{t} I am now in, which you will see when you see me.

I must beg the same favour for my poore cozen Owens, who on my worde is as much a servant to that cause as anye one can be. And had not his greate charge hindered him he woold have beene their, for on my credit his heart is their. And I hope you will consider him. And it shall alwayes owne as a speciall favore to hir, who is most really your faithfull servant,

A. B.

My service to all, Col. Coots and Captn Edmons.

Endorsed: Mrs. Blany supposed to Lieut.-col. Foulks, etc.

2.

25. Aug. Drogheda: Sir Arthur Aston to Ormonde. [Enclosures.]

Sir,—I am now to crave your advice and Coll. Johnes, and what I shall doe, ffor I am in a verie great strate and sad condition. Their fore let me here from you speedilie. I am your faithfull freind. Poore Franke and I are in one condition.

M. W[ilmot].

La[dy] Wilmotts to Lt.-Collonell Foulks, etc.

3.

Sir,—The hearing of your comming this way is a greate joy to me, but it has driven all the Lords away. And My Ladie Moore. I have more to wryte, but I leave you to the boy to learne more newes. Sir, I here their is one Captain Kitely who intends to come to this partie, with manye more of his comrades; and my unkle is desireous you should know it. Sir, I must now give you thankes for y^t^ token I received by Mr. Backster, and desire you to be asured I am the same you left me; and will be. I am your faithfull servant,

A. B.

My service to Captain Edmores.

Endorsed by Ormonde: Mrs. Blayny to Lieut.-Col. Foulkes, etc.

XXX. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649. 27. Aug. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lens^,

This morning Sr Edmond Varney is arived, as also Collonell Fleminge. The money Collonell Warrin brought mee wch was very welcoom I 25. 54. 62. wish 27. 46. 24. 66. it 27. 48. had 24. 64. 7. 12. 8. 14. 16. been 36. 33. 37. more 44. 14. I am extreamly trubled with complaints about cattle wch I have caused to bee doven, this waye espetially me Lady Lucas taketh it haynously, but she hath a 5: 40. 44. 37. protection 48. 14. 10. 49. 17. 38. 36. 17. 45. from 39. 34. Coll. 73. Jones 61. 65. 6. and 36. 13. 35. 62. 38. none 36. 16. 18. 45. from 39. 34. 57. you 38. 50. I heare thay are drawne out with theer cannon at Dublin and reddy for a martch. Thus with my humble duty to yor Ex^lens^ remembbred I rest

Yo^r^ Ex^lens^ most humble servant,

Trogodaghe, this 27th of Auguste, 1649. Arth. Aston.

I would have taken it for a very great favour, if yor Ex^lens^ would have been pleased to have sent yor possitive answer, what I should have doon with my femall traytors, and so have taken mee of the busines, by reson my neere relation unto sum of them, but thay shall not fare the better for that; if the begun unusiall coors by Jones, for the exchange of woomen may bee observed, I would not doubt, but to get honester and better subiects for them. I have nether case shot, nor

xxx. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 231.

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1649.
27. Aug.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

rounde shot for the cannon; the wch I beseetch yor Ex^len I may have. Collonell Warrin is coom, but his Lutennant-Collonell is stayde at Trim. I beseetch yor Ex^lens not to deprive mee of so good a helpe, nor indeed I never sawe any offiser taken from his redgiment to commaunde other menes souldiers, unles yor Ex^len will permit the Collonell to make a chois of an other.

For his Exlencie: Theas humbly.

Endorsed: S^r Ar. Aston, Dated 27. Rec. 28 Aug., 1649.

Collonell Warren arrived with mony—Lady Lucas and Lady Willmott, etc.

XXXI. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
27. Aug.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lns,

Beeing by an expres, I returned yor Ex^e an answer of the resaite of yor letter yesternight. I kept yor messinger untill this morninge, and have, in obediens to yor Ex^lns orders, sent 60 hors in severall parties abraude for to drive in cattle; (as for corne) I can only threatten, but beeing eather the most of it is in stacks, or growing, it will bee very difficulte to get any coneiderable proportion heether in time. Yo^r Ex^lns sent mee orders to deliver sum cattle unto won OBrian, but yor seconde commaundes will put a prevention to any further proseedings theerin, then only to gather them togeather for the present. This morning a gentleman, a neer naighbour heer, tells mee that Jones having summoned all his forses, or of divers adiasent quarters, with whot Croomwell broughte with him, and all hee had before, the Munster amounted unto 8000 foote and 4000 horse, and that it is gennerally beleeved that thay intend theer martch eather tomorrow or at the furthest uppon Tuesday. It is reported thay intend to devide theer armey, parte to martch towardes Kilkenny, and the rest to cleare (as thay call it) theas quarters. In the meane time, I wish I weare well cleared of theas femall spies that are heere, the wch I beseetch yor Ex^lens expres order, for if the oulde lady were not so neer in relation unto mee as she is, I shoulde have been very sparing of any serrimonyous proseedings with her. Yester night theer eame heether from Dundalke 10 barrels of pouther, but very little match, and that is a thinge moste wanting heer, and for rounde shot not any at all. I beseetch yor Exl^ns bee pleased to give speedy orders for sum, as also for the sudden coming of men and moneys; belly foode I perceave will prove scaers amongst us, but my endevours shall never bee sparing to aprove my selfe,

Me Lord,

Yo^r Ex^lns most faithfull, humble servant,

Trogodagh, this 27th August, 1649. Arth. Aston.

Iust now my wife is arrived, and just now I wish she weare at Athlone.

For his Ex^lns the Lorde Lutennant: Theas humbly.

Endorsed: S^r Ar. Aston, 27 Aug., 1649. Cromwells army consists of 8000 foote and 4000 horse, etc.

XXXI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 233.

XXXII. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 27. Aug. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

Although wee have lately entrusted others to repaire unto you with credentialls, ınd that wee beleeve they will loose noe tyme in their repare unto, and negotiation vith you, yet wee think fitt to hasten yor nephew, Mr. Daniell ONeile, with this ›ur desires, that he may be alsoe credited in what he shall deliver as from us, in ·elation to yor submission to the Kings authority, and the imediate prosecution of ıis service in this kingdom. And soe, etc., from Tecroghan, 27 Aug., 1649.

Your loveinge freind,

Signed: Ormonde.

To Generall Owin ONeill.

Endorsed: My Lords to Generall Owen ONeill, dated 27 Aug., 1649, from Tecroghan.

XXXIII. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

Tecroghan, the 27th of August, 1649.

S^r,

1649. 27. Aug. Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

I send you heerewith my letter to your uncle, which had beene with you ccordinge to my promis, but that the missing of our money, and the necessity hereuppon of quarteringe the horse uppon the country, kept mee in perpetuall rouble ever since I came hither. Now you have it, and know where to finde Generall ONeill, I am sure you will loose noe time, since you very well apprehend hat the delay of his assistance is as ruinous to our busines as almost his continued nmity can be. I shall not use any arguments to him that may lessen his confidence n the rebells, in case they shoulde indeavor to perswade or purchase his submission o them, or newtrallity in this warre, for I take him to be one that very well nderstands the worlde, and can iudge how little value they will sett uppon him n respect of the power they have in theire hands, which they will take to be the nely inducement of his compliance with them; on the other side the consideration ee may be of to the Kinge is evident, and may iustly challenge not onely an xact performance of undertakeings, but rewards sutable to his future merritt. It ıay be suggested to him that necessity and our (as it may be thought) sinkeinge ondition are the motives produceinge the severall renovations of the treaty; I will ot deny a truth, if wee had continued in the prosperity wee were in, I should ave expected his addresse, but noe good successe should have made mee retract ıy offers, as on the contrary noe adversity shall force mee to doe or condescend nto what I shall thinke hurtfull or dishonorable to the Kinge. The conditions re already agreed on, unlesse our misfortunes shall inhaunce them; if they doe I esire with speede to know how farre, and wherein. I shalbe very glad, it may be

XXXII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 232. XXXIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 234.

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1649.
27. Aug.
Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

by your negotiation, the Kinge may receave soe seasonable a countenance to his affaires as your uncle may now affoorde them, for I am

Your most faithfull freind and servant,

Ormonde.

To Collonell ONeill.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letter to Daniell ONeill. Dated 27 Aug., 1649, from Tecroghan.

XXXIV. ORMONDE TO ASTON.

1649.
28. Aug.
Drogheda:
Ormonde to Aston.

Sir,

I received y^rs of ye 27 this morning. The mony was to a peny all I had, more I expect, and will send it in if it bee possible, as also a setled contribution for that garison. The bearer goes upon a good pretence, yet take heed hee keepes himself to his proper function. Warren is absolutly his, and they are both General Prestons, whoe aimed at that government. Women is given much to make litle factions; I doe not much apprehend this, but it is fit you know all I doe. If you cannot beter imploy some of y^r men, it were not amis partys were sent to interrupt the Dublin market, and destroy corne and hay, I rest

Y^r affectionate servant.

Endorsed: 28 Aug., 1649. A coppy of ye letter to S^r Ar. Aston.

XXXV. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
28. Aug.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Excc^lns,

Just now I reccaved this inclosed letter from Sr Robert Byron, with directions to send it unto you; I conceave the contents therof is the same wch hee hath writ to mee, I wish I may bee founde in a condission to entertaine so many
but I have as yet neither
evell gests, 8. 50. 48. 62. 25. 22. 5. 51. 14. 6. 47. 57. 16. 49. 61. 36. 15. 48. 23. 14.
cattell nor corne mony
44. 10. 6. 49. 48. 14. 31. 32. 36. 39. 45. 11. 37. 45. 36. 16. and the 33. 38. 35. 14.
too short at
58. 48. 39. 38. 47. 23. 37. 45. 49. I want according to the Collonels relations 6.
least foote weekes pay
48. 31. 14. 7. 46. 48. 15. 400. 96. and yet o^r 53. 14. 15. 28. 31. 58. 40. 5. 58. 17.
for horse foote comes to pounds
37. 45. 61. 64. 97. and 96. 10. 37. 38. 33. 14. 46. 49. 38. 539. 40. 37. 51. 36. 12.
traine
16. 47. with the 48. 45. 5. 25. 36. 14. besides the allowans wch yor Ex^lns promised
of 1^s weekly to eitche soildier for workinge, wch is 89^l. 15^s., and I am to pay
carpinters, masons, smithes, and other artiffers. I beseetch yor Ex^lens to remember
cannon shott match
10. 7. 35. 36. 38. 35. 46. 22. 37. 48. and 33. 5. 48. 11. 23. 15. I wonder wee

xxxiv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 243. xxxv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 234.*

App
164
27.
Orm
to
Dan
O'N

164
28.
Dro
Orm
to
Asto

164
28.
Dro
Asto
to
Orm

eare nothing of the 10. 6. 49. 48. 16. 31. 32. w^ch^ (cattell) 112 (Coll. Warren) toulde mee of. I refer l thinges unto yor Ex^leus^ favourable concideration and speedy providence, ever emayning

Yo^r^ Ex^lence^ most humble and most faithfull servant,

Trogodaghe, this 28th of August, 1649. Arth. Aston.

The weekly assignement for our futuere controbution I have not yet receved.

For his Ex^leus^ the Lord Lutte: Haest, hast, hast.

Endorsed: S^r^ Ar. Astons. Dated 28. Rec. 29 Aug., 1649. Concerning a letter om Sr Robert Byron. Neither cattell nor corne, etc.

APPENDIX. 1649. 28. Aug. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

XXXVI. SIR PHELIM O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

May yt please yor Excell.,

Accordinge your commaunds, I have sent the Bishopp of Raphoo to the mie safe. I am informed that some misinformation is given of mee to your xcell. by many of my ill-wishers, whereunto (I hope) there is noe creditt given; or I doe protest unto ye Allmightie, what I promisd unto your Excellency in ye resence of ye Lord of Muscery I will make it good dureinge my life, and will ver bee true to you and your wayes, for I am sure, and doe well knowe it, that our father and grandfathers child will bee constant in the maintaineinge of this oore nation in their rights; I can give as faire an accoumpt of my carriadge, for is Maiesties advantage, since my cominge to this province, as it ought to bee xpected at my hands; and if my advice were tymely taken, matters had nott come o such a hand as now they doe, which will undoe the hands of those that did ppose it. If your Excell. have any occation to use me, or any of my men, I am eaddy to march where your Excell. comaunds. Many of the Inglish and Scotts oe dayly turne to Coote, and Owen ONeill, his campe this day is att Leamvaddy, n OKahans countrie. The reporte is that hee will march over ye band to Bellfast, or the ministers there makes may for their partie. Collonell Mervin is gone to Derry, to what purpose I doe not well knowe, if it bee not to make a fine speech o currie favour for a tyme. My Lord, be ever confident I will ever bee

Yo^r^ Excell. most true friend and most humble servante,

Cherlemount, this 28th of Aug., 1649. Phe. ONeill.

For his Excellency the Lord Marq. of Ormonde, Lord Lieuf^t^.-Gennerall of relande: These.

Endorsed: Sr Phelim ONeills. Dated 28 Augusti. Rec. 3 Sept., 1649.

1649. 28. Aug. Sir Phelim O'Neill to Ormonde.

XXXVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 237.

XXXVII. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

1649.
28. Aug.
Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex.,

Yo^rs of the 22th of this instant, includeing a duplicat of a lettre of the 12th current, mentioned by yor Ex. to have beene sent (thought not yett by mee received), come to my hands this morneing by the convenience of Maio^r-generall Trevo^r; the contents whereof I conceive to be very reasonable. As for my parte, noe man breathing is more greived in mynd at the continuall disorders and misfortune of this unhappy nation, and would more congratulat and reioyce at its settlement than I. The undeserved abuses and intollerable wronges heeretofore offered mee for my reality to the good of this kingdom and nation, is (I beleive) partely well knowen to yor Ex., ye redresse whereof (noe wonder) ought to be insisted uppon by mee, and carefully look'd uppon by yor Ex. I am engaged in these partes for a few dayes, and will afterwards soone march wth my army upp into the country that way, at which time I should bee very gladd to see the treaty prosecuted, to which a happy successe is heartily wished for by mee. What I would not comitt to paper I comunicated to the bearer to be imparted to yor Ex. as proceeding from

Yo^r Ex^cies most humble servant,

28 Aug., 1649. Owen ONeill.

Endorsed: Owen ONeale. Dated 28 Aug. Rec. 2 Sep., 1649.

XXXVIII. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

Trym, 28 of August, 1649.

1652.
28. Aug.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^lls,

To morrow I shall be gin my iurney; I humbly thank yor Ex^lls for the reasons you furnish mee w^th, and for the occatione you give mee to vindicate myself, though I am confident noe man of iugment could beeleeve mee guilty of what I was accused of. Ordering matters with ye Lord Kevenagh kept mee this night uppon the reputatione of the severall officers. I have here 429 souldiers, 225 of my Lord Westmeathes, wherof 60 came this morning, 152 of Sr Iames Dillons, 52 of my Lord Fingals. This is the whole strengh of the place. It needs 2 or 300 more to make such a defence ass will be serviceable to yor Ex^ls; all these have not apenny means. To morrowe I give them corne for a week, wch comes to 80 barrells of bran, wch stricks soe deep in my magazin, that iff the country bring not in faster then they doe I shall not be able to suply them another weeke, therfore I humbly beg yor Ex^lls, that not onely those that are here may bee payed out of those countys they wer formerly, butt all of those regiments ass shall be sent hether. The contribution of this county iss anticipated for two monthes, iff itt be alowed, for the corne I bring hether, and the cowes yor Ex^lls commanded should bee sent to Drogheda. By this account inclosed yor Ex^lls may cleerely see

xxxvii. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 238. xxxviii. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 242.

1649.
28. Aug.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

howe litle iss to be expected from this distracted county towards the maintenance of this garrison. These inclosed letters I had iust nowe; I hope yor Ex^lls will read them att leasure, and give present order to my Lord Costela to hasten the levying of the mony for the works. Att this instant I am not able to pay some carpentors nor masons I have att work twenty shillings, unless I give itt them out of £6 I have for my iurny. Y^e pouder and mateh yor Ex^lls gave mee a warrant for iss come this evening, butt a very few bullets, wch I much want.

I am yor Ex^lls

Most humble servant,

Danielle ONeille.

Just now I receaved the inclosed from my Lord of Westmeath. I knowe not howe to provid for these men.

For his Ex^lls the Lord Marques of Ormond, L^d L^t.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Dan. ONeiles, 28 Aug., 1649. Giveing his Ex^cy thanks for giveing him the occasion of vindicating himselfe in his imploym^t, to his uncle General Owen ONeill, etc.

XXXIX. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
29. Aug.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

Me Lorde, may it pleas yor Ex^lens,

Notwithstanding that I have formerly importuned yor Ex^lns concerninge divers defects in this garnison, yet the pressing nesessety inforseth mee againe to sende this beror, Captin Garner, to solisset in our behalfes. The charge of this garnison, horse, foote, traine of artillery, and payment of artiffisers and workemen, amounts weekly to neer £700. The weekly asignement for controbution to bee asigned mee out of ye countrey I have not receved, but only for the Barrony of Duleeke, wch is but £80 weekly, and that Barroney hath before my cooming heether paide 6 weeks controbution before hand. The beeves and meale wch Collonell Warrin toulde mee was promised mee is not yet coome. The offisers have not receved any payment from mee heer this last weeke, and thoes of the foote say they are 5 weeks in ariers. Rounde shot and matche I desier yor Ex^lens to bee mindfull to give order for, as also the materialls wch me Lord of Ardes promised, I wish I had them. I beseetch yor Ex^lns bee pleased to bee mindfull of the redgiment of foote; heer is in this garnison Sr Robbert Byrons company and Captin Smiths company, who are not alotted to any redgiment as yet. Collonell Warrin doth ernestly desire to have his Lutennant-collonell sent him from Trim, or else that yor Ex^lens would bee pleased to give him leave to place an other, and indeed hee were very usefull heere.

I have heer a yonge captin of horse, named Fitzgarrot; I wish hee had been made a souldier when hee was stampt a captin, for hee knows so little of his profession, and is so troublesoom in a toune, that I have made boulde to sende him back to yor Ex^lns. His cornet hath so abused the countray that I have him heer in

xxxix. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 251.

APPENDIX.
1649.
Drogheda:
29. Aug.
Aston to Ormonde.

areste untill the busines bee triede. I beseetch yor Ex^lns to pardon mee for trubling you so often, and withall to returne this berer speedely with a suplye, or wee are all broke. The foe it is saide will martch in too armeys, won towards yor Ex^lns, and the other this way; if I were but redy with provissions and other nesessaries I woulde hope to welkoom him heether with shutch entertainment as shutch gest deserve from the handes of, Me Lord,

Yo^r Ex^lens moste humble servant while life lasts,

Tredagh, this 29th, at night, August, 1649. Arth. Aston.

For his Ex^lns the Lorde-Lutennant: Theas humbly.

Endorsed: Sr Art. Astons. [Dated] 29. Rec. 31 Aug., 1649. Concerning ye charge of the garrison, amounting to £700 a weeke, etc,

XL. ASTON'S APPLICATION FOR AID AT DROGHEDA, AND ORMONDE'S REPLIES.

1649.
Aug.
Drogheda:
Aston's application to Ormonde, for supplies.

My humble request unto yor Excilence is as followeth:

Imprimis. That yor Exec^lns will bee pleased to be mindfull to leave sum present allowance towardes the satisfying of workmen, carpinters, smithes, and other artiffesers, as also for the making upp of the out works and flankers.

To be done before My Lord goes or send it.

2. If any of the soildiers worke uppon the fortifications, that they may have weekly 1^s over and above theer paye alowed them.

A sume to this purpose to be sent.

3. That yor Ex^lens would bee pleased to alow the offisers this garnison the same proportion of paye as hath been by yor Ex^ce formerly alotted unto them.

This to be allowed.

4. That yor Ex^lens would in favour alot unto this garnison, towardes the payment therof, the controbution wch is raysed out of thees following Barronies:

In the county of Meath—Duelick, Navanne, Kelles.

In the county of Lothe . . . farrard, Ardie.

5. That shutch soldiers, both horse and foote, wch yor Ex^lens pleaes to apoynt for this garnison may immediatly bee plased heer.

All Collonell Warren, Collonell Wall, and Collonell Verney.

6. That the former alotted 330 beeves may immediatly bee delivered unto mee and that a suffissient proporsion of corne may bee instantly asigned mee, so that I may know where to have it.

200.

7. That yor Ex^lens woulde bee pleased to let mee, with all the speed that may bee, have sutch a magoseen of pouther, bullets, match, and great shot as yo

XL. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 267.

shall think fitting and requiset, and as many materialls as possibly may bee gotten.

Sent by Mark Trevor.

Endorsed: The requests of Sr Arthur Aston to his Ex^y upon his receiveing the goverm^t of Drogheda, the later end of August, 1649.

APPENDIX. 1649. Aug. Drogheda: Aston's application to Ormonde, for supplies.

XLI. ASTON'S FURTHER APPLICATION TO ORMONDE FOR AID AT DROGHEDA.

1. That the certain pay of this garnison, both horse and foote, may bee calculated, and quarters asighned out of wch thay may bee paide.

What sume?

2. That yor Ex^len will bee pleased to apoynte mee a paymaster for this garnison, who may remaine heer by mee, both to receave and to disbors shutch moneys as are from time to time is receaved heer.

Ald. Geene.

3. To have a sipher with yor Ex^lens.

Ile doe.

4. That I may have sum money asighned mee, for mesingers and intelligence.

In ye gross sume.

5. Concerning a redgiment of foote for my selfe.

A company out of each regiment as he shall think fitt.

Endorsed: Sr Arthur Astons further requests to his Ex^cy, Aug., 1649.

1649. Aug. Drogheda: Aston's further application to Ormonde.

XLII. OWEN O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Ex.

Yo^rs of the 23th of this instant I received, whereunto I can returne noe other answere as yett but what was comitted to Lt Clearke at his last beeing with mee in the campe; onely this much I assure yor Ex, that the matter must be soe varily contrived and handsomely carryed as that its consequent effect (with salfety and honor) may be answerable to expectation. In the intrim I desire yor Ex not to harbor any other opinion of mee, but that I am

Yo^r Ex^cies moste humble servant,

Ballykelly, ye 30th of August, 1649. Owen ONeill.

For his Ex ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^t.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Generall ONeile. Dated 30 Aug. Rec. 9 Sept., 1649.

1649. 30. Aug. Drogheda: Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

XLI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 267.* XLII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 253.

XLIII. ORMONDE TO ASTON.

1649. 31. Aug. Drogheda: Ormonde to Aston.

After our hearty comendacons: Wee receaved yo^{rs} of the 29th this instant, to wch wee returne you that ye contribucons appointed for mainetenance of that guarrison is made certaine, as you will finde by orders of yesterdayes date sent you, and for what hath beene formerly taken upp before hand, must bee owing untill wee are in better condicon to forbear the present cominge in of money.

The beaves and meale wee are certaine are before this tyme with you, and to the regim^{t} of foote shall bee made upp for you as soone as possibly wee can. As for round shot, wee have none heere of lesse then 12^{lbs} ball. As for the materialls of the Lord of Ards, hee hath sent a second order in all hast to have it conveyed unto you, though hee thinks they are before this tyme with you, and Collonel Warrens L^{t}.-collonell shalbe sent him very soone.

Cap^{en} Fz-Gerrald I send you back to bee taught his duety. For his Cornet, let him receave his punishm^{t} according to his fault.

If the Boyne rise it wilbe necessary to put 15 or 20 men into the castle on the bridge of Slane, wch castle stood on the middle of the bridge, and cannot bee taken but with cannon.

The inclosed order will furnish you with match, but you must send for it.

Wee expect moneyes this night, and you shall have yor share of it, wch wee doubt will not bee much.

Wee send you here inclosed the copy of the advertism^{t} wch wee nowe receaved of the enemyes motions and strength, with an ord^{r} for demolishing certaine castles twixt you and Dublin, in case you have tyme to doe it, or that busines of greater consernm^{t} divert not. And soe wee bidd you heartily farewell, from Tecroghan the last day of August, 1649,

Your affectionate friend,

Ormonde.

Sr Arthur Aston.

Endorsed: Coppie of a lettre to Sr Arthur Ashton.

XLIV. SIR GEORGE MONRO TO OWEN O'NEILL.

S^{r},

1649. August. Sir George Monro to Owen O'Neill.

I receaved yo^{rs} of the 22th, and wishes yor assistinge the independentt partie who declares against the Kinge and his posteritie, had not moved others to have used thoise acts of hostility to yor men wch continues them to bee the Kings armie of wch I wish heartily you were ane partt. I should not bee much affeared that man of yor breedinge should keepe his paroll, butt it should bee well looked unto for what end hee gave his paroll, lest by such a mistake hee brought himselfe and his people to ane irrecoverable lose. As many stepps as the independentt parties raysed, as many lynkes of slaverie or bound upon the people of this land, w^{ch}

XLIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 259. XLIV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 265.

1642.
August.
Sir George Monro to Owen O'Neill.

and daily wilbee more apparentt. As to yor sufferings by the counsell, it is ane epidemike disease of nations, comonwealthes, and armies, who were governed by comittees and counsells to ruine by their sagacities. Wittnes Greace, Cartacgh, and Roume, wch moves mee, and should move others of my profession, never to admitt of moe then one master. The Presidentt is contentt you spoyle the cuntrie people ther cornes, willinge rather it beare froggs then intertaine Irish or Scotts, therfore I should wish you provided for the hon^{r} and interest of yor selfe, people, and posteritie by yor accomodatione with the Lord-Lewtenant, and conjunctione with the rest of yor nation, though you had personally suffered by them, rather then to studie by yor conjunctione with this perfidious people to dishon^{r} yor selfe, or inslave yor posteritie, wch is the reward of each man gives them assistance in their villanus proceedings; wittnes the expulsione of my cuntrie men from England, and the distructione of their owen att home, who were the leaders of them in this miserable action, y^{t} continues to this day, whom God would not permitt to suffer butt by ther owen servantts, that ther punishmentt might bee the more grivous and his iustice appeare the more. If yor resolutions bee as I wish they may, for the acceptance of the conditions proposed unto you by the Lord-Leivten, I could bee contentt soume meanes were presently thought on wherby I might wth more ease prosecutte the assistance of the Kings frends in theis parts, and you secured from any prejudice therby, to wch I should bee verry willinge, as one who wishes nothinge butt continuance of peace amongst the Kings subjects, and distruction to his, y^{r}, and their common enimies, wch I desire bee earnestly considered and presently looked on by you, and shall oblidge mee to continue yor verrie humble servantt.

For Generall ONeile.

Endorsed: Sr Geo. Monro to Owen ONeile, Aug., 1649.

XLV. FATHER BYRNE'S PROPOSITIONS.

Father Nicholas Birnes propositions and requests:

1649.
August.
Father Byrne's propositions.

1. That the kingdome will hardly be settled, or the people generally satisfied, without the Church of Roome receave from hence satisfaction, which is thought canott be don without the Bishop of Cloghers concurrence and assistance. If this be not don, Owen ONeale and that party cannott ioyne, as conceiving and being assured without that, the clergie and people will not be quiet or at rest, and that the nation wilbe rendered infamous to all Catholique princes and nations.

2. That it is thought undoubtedly, if the said Bishop hadd leave to come to these parts of Leinster, to be neere your Excellencie to send propositions and receave answeares, he would to your Excellencys content, and generall good of the nation, propound and bring to pass a perfect union, begett a right understanding, and satisfie the Church of Roome.

3. For the speedy effecting of this, it is desired that a safe conduct be graunted to the said Bishop and to Father Nicholas Birne, to foure servants and their goods,

XLV. Carte Papers. XXV. p. 103.

APPENDIX.
1649.
August.
Father Byrne's propositions.

for a moneth or 3 weecks, as his Excellencie shall thinke fitt, to repaire and continue in any place or places within the countyes of Westmeath and Kings County, to treate and conferr with such person or persons as his Excellencie shall nominat and appoint. And that the said safe conduct be sent as soone as may be, for the life of this bussines altogether depends on expedition and secrecy, and that noe mention be made in the safe conduct of particulars, but generall tearmes used.

I obiected then that the Bishop of Clogher was by many suspected to be stirring, active, and a dangerous instrument in these times and affaires; that it may be urged his coming to Leinster was desired, not for the purpose spoaken of, but to move sedition and stirr upp persons either ill affected, or ill grounded, and soone perswaded to undertake any thing. To this Mr. Birne answeared with great protestations that that way was never intended or thought on, and for cleereing that suspition or doubt, the Bishop and he would take their oath, in verbo sacerdotis, that they would never use the same, or the like, or medle with any thing, but endeavor to compass the former union.

Endorsed: Propositions and requests of Father Nicholas Byrne. Concearning Gen. ONeile and the Bishop of Clogher, delivered by him to Mr. Terrence Coghlan, who was uppon his request imployed by his Excellency to conferr with him in order to the reduceing of Gen. ONeile to a submission to the peace before the defeate at Rathmains, etc.

XLVI. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1646.
1. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lens^,

Yesternight, late, I receved yor Ex^lens^ letter, and humbly that [*sic*] yor Exc^lns^ for yor favours to mee theerin expresed. 61. 48. 22. (The) 14. 62. 8. 25. 46. 23. (Bishop) 37. 40. 62. 37. (of) 18. 63. 13. 44. 56. (Dromore) 33. 33. 37. 45. 15. writ unto 112. (Collonell Warren,) the wch hee showed mee, that theare was coom unto this towne 48. 37. (too) 38. 63. 17. 44. 25. 12. 45. 47. (fryer) who intended no good. It may bee my fortune to light uppon them, wch if I doe, uppon my credit wee shall have a rubbers worse then I have had with my grandmother, who with mutch adoe hath yelded yesternight to leave this place and to goe to Mellefant, but sore against her will, and highly offended with mee, who am very glad to bee rid of her uppon anye tearmes, with her deer sun Francke. Yestnight I had intelligence that the rebbels have put sum greate cannon a ship borde to bring alonge with them heether. Thay bring 8 ships a longe with them, and other cannon and morter peeses thay intende to bring by lande; thay have provided sckaling lathers to bring with them. In the meane I am providing, as well as the time will give leave, for theer entertainment. I beseetch yor Ex^lens^ bee pleased to sende 65. 63. 5. 46. (a) 40. 15. (speedy) 16. 12. 25. 14. 66. 47. 50. 41. (supply) 31. 26. 16. 37. 17. 33. 38. (of) 36. 15. 58. (mony.) I meete with sum asignements, passes,

XLVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 272.

APPENDIX.

1649.
1. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

and protections signed by yor Ex^lens I beleeve not rightly made use of. Won was given unto the Scotch Sherrif heere, who under the culler of free tradinge, without eather my knowledge or the Mayors, hath carried away a great part of his goods and himselfe lefte the toune. An other thinge I thought good to informe yor Ex^lens of, heer are in the Offis for Exsise 5 Commissioners eitch at 15^s weekly paye, tooe masters of imposte eitch of them weekly at 13^s-4^d, besides a clarke at 5^s, and 4 waiters at eitch 3^s weekly, and the whole sum that the Exsises amounts unto weekly is but beetween twenty and £30, and a good part of that asigned unto severall persons for pensions. I intended to have sent yor Ex^lns Captin Ffitz-garrets troope back againe, but hee beeing a yonge man and now becoming senseible how greate a disparredgment it will bee unto him to bee sent for misdemeno^rs out of the garnison, hath faithfully promised an amendment and humbly craves yor Ex^lns favoure. I yesterday dispatched a Captin from hence with an information of our condission heere. I am very sory to bee so often trublesoom unto yor Ex^lns, and with all that the 10. 22. 5. 44. (charge) 19. 15. 48. 23. 16. 45. (thereof) 37. 18. 62. 26. (ls) 47. 46. (soe) 38. 63. 19. 45. 15. 7. 49. 16. wch is at least 53. 15. 16. (weekly) 28. 31. 58. £700.

Theer came yesternight unto mee 36 barrells of corne, 9 caske of meale, and 4 caske of biscute. I would willingly send sum 23. 38. (horse) 44. 46. 15. 49. 37. 12. 38. (to) 16. 56. 33. 26. 47. 10. (mischeefe) 24. 14. 15. 18. but for o^r 23. 5. 58. (hay) 66. (doe)

Yo^r Exlence most faithfull and most humble servant,

Drogodaghe, this ferst of September, 1649. Arth. Aston.

For his Ex^lns Me Lord-Lutennant: Theas, with my humble servis.

Endorsed: S^r Ar: Astons. Dated 1. Rec. Sept., 1649. Concerning some fryers wch the Bishop [of] Dromore writt to Collonell Warren were gone to Drogheda to doe mischeefe, etc.

XLVII. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
2. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lens,

I receved yesterday yor orders for the demollishing of divers castles in theas partes. This day, according to your commaundes, I have sent out to destroy Ballegarde, Ackarne, Dardistoune, and Bedlistoune. The rest wch wee finde considerable shale, God willing, so far as I am able, bee destroyed. But in my opinion, amongst all that are named Gorminstone is the moste considerable, and from whens wee shall receave the greatest disadvantadge; but in the ferst place, it is yor Ex^lns expres orders that Me Lady Lukas shall receave favoure, and that Gorminstone shall bee the laste that shall bee destroyed, wch shall bee a compas that I will steer by beyonde all other conciderations; and againe, if I shoulde sende to destroy it I shoulde finde sum difficulty theerin, espetially now the demollishing of stronge places are begoon, for she hath 40 armed soilders therin, and it is

XLVII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 281.

APPENDIX.

1649.
2. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

conceaved woulde strive to defend it; but for that I refer it unto yor Ex^lens concideration and further order. Plantin Castle I heare is a stronge place, but no water in it. I have this day I receved 17. 26. 51. 14. 22. 50. 35. 13. 44. 14. 13. 66. 40. 38. 52. 36. 13. the wch is very welcoom. I will doe my best to get in sum 10. 37. 35. 48. 37. 8. 5. 49. 25. 39. 36. herafter. I have been forced to give 145. 8. 14. 15. 50. 16. 47. in part of 5. 53. 15. 16. 28. 14. 47. 62. 65. 40. 6. 58. to the 17. 37. 38. 48. before this came. The river of Boyne is rissen, but if the rebbells coom, no doubte but they will bring cannon with them, and then to man the castell uppon the bridge of Slaine will but bee to haserde the los of them, but I shall if yor Exl^ns houlde it fitt observe yor commaundes in all thinges, and so therin. I am glad that yor Ex^lens returned a negative answer unto Toby Butlers demaunde concerning the asigninge of him any particuleer quarters, for that woulde have sum thing deminuse the authorrcty wch yor Ex^lens hath favoured mee with all, besides the Barrony of Dulike is the neerest unto this plase, and if need bee the horse may fetch theer controbution further of. Thus with my humble servis unto yor Ex^lns remembred, and desiring yor Ex^lns resolution on this and in my yesterdayes letter, I rest for ever

(five; hundred; pound; contribution; beoves; a; weekes; pay; Foote)

Yo^r Ex^lens most faithfull and most obleedged humble servant,

Drogodaghe, the 2^d of September, 1649. Arth. Aston.

I feare I mistooke the date of my letter yesterday.

For his Ex^lns: Theas wth my humble servis.

Endorsed: S^r Ar: Aston. Dated 2. Rec. 3 Sept., 1649. Concerning £500 wch he received and the destruction of castles, etc.

XLVIII. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
3. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lns,

According as my letters of yesterday mention I sent (wth as mutch speed as coulde bee) a party for the demolishing or burning of Ballingart, Duddingstone, Bedlestone, and Athkarne, and intended according to yor Ex^lns orders to have doon so with the reste; but before my party came theether, the ennemy had possessed sum of them, and secured by theer advansing with a greate boddy of horse the rest of them. Lutenant-collonell Fingles promised to have given mee more timly intelligens of the ennemies advanse, and to that ende leftt his Cornet with a party to waite uppon theer motion; whot the faulte was I know not, but the Cornet is not yet returned, and the Lif:-Collonell feares hee is loste. This last night the saide boddy of horse of the ennemie incamped aboute too miles from this toune. The foote are not as yet coom up to them, but I beleeve this daye

XLVIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 286.

thay will advanse neerer. I was this morninge my selfe out with the horse very early abrawde, but findinge them to stronge for mee to deale withall I returned, and have lefte Fingles in the feelde with order not to engadge but uppon an advantadge, but only with smale parties to discover theer motions. I could wish I had receved yor Ex^lns orders concerning thoes castalls a daye sooner, for thay will now, as I am toulde, bee very disadvantagious to us. Just now I have nuse sent mee that theer are aboute 500 horse of the rebbells drawing towards the forde at Ouldbridge, wch will compell our cattle into a narrow compas. As I formerly sertifyed yor Ex^lns heere is 8. 50. 48. 62. 46. 33. 5. 31. 14. 47. 48. 37. 45. 15. 66. 37. 17. 46. 6. 32. in the toune. But if our soildiers will but doe whot I am shure thay may doe I hope the ennemy will finde sum good resistance. But yesterday theer 45. 7. 35. 17. 39. 54. 44. 14. 65. 63. 5. 53. 6. 58. I have not had time since my cooming heether to Munster eather the horse or foote, wherfore if yor Ex^lns bee cussoned (as I mutch doubt it) it is not my faulte, and provided that thay will but doe theer duties, as thay aught it is the les matter. I will asshure yor Ex^lns it shall not bee longe of mee if thay doe not. But a litle quickning admonission in a letter from yor Ex^lns unto them all (espetially unto the horse) would doe well. May it pleas yor Ex^lns, this bearer, Sr Tho: Dakers, a gentleman of good quallety, desiered to recommend him unto yor favour. Hee hath been droven out of his estate by the rebels of England, as many honest men hath been. So soone as I know more of the ennemies motions I will, if messingers may pas, adverties yor Ex^lns therof; if not, then I recommend things unto Godes mersy, and yor Ex^lis favour unto

Appendix. 1649. 3. Sept. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde

Yo^r Ex^lens most faithfull humble servant,

Arth. Aston.

Drogeda, this 3rd of September, about 9 in the morning.

For his Ex^lns the Lord Lutennant-generall.

Endorsed: Sr Arthur Aston, Dated 3. Rec. 4 Sept., 1649. Concerning ye advance of the enemy and Sr Thomas Dacres, etc.

XLIX. Aston to Ormonde.

Me Lord,

Since the writing of my former letter, this day sent by Sr Tho. Dakers, the enemys armey, or the greatest part of them, apears; theer foote, beeing convoyed by an over awing power of horse, hath takin all the advantaegous plases without the walles, insomutch that I am very confident this night thay will make theer batteries, the w^ch (all plases beeing so servisable unto them) wee can hardly prevente; in sum I doe beleeve thay will suddenly use theer utmost violence and forse, and with Gods helpe wee will doe our endevours to resiste them; the rest I leave to

1649. 3. Sept. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

xlix. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 280.

APPENDIX.
1649.
3. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

God and yor Exlens. provident care. I have loste won Captin of Collonell Warrins redgiment, who was slaine with a musket shot. Maior Butler hath lost too horses, the won of them shot under him self, the other a troopers, a soilder or too wounded, and this is alle heethertoe that I can informe yor Ex^lns of, but only that, both in life and death, I am, Me Lord,

Yo^r Ex^lns most faithfull and moste humble servant,

Arth. Aston.

Drogodaghe, this 3^d of September, about 2 in the afternoone.

I pray God my horse doe not jade it. Thay seemed sumthing out of countenance; it may bee within the walles thay will renue thear curradges.

For his Ex^lns the Lord Lutennant.

Endorsed: Sr Arthur Astons, dated the 3^d of Sept., 1649.

L. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

Me Lorde, may it pleas yor Ex^lens,

1649.
5. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

Uppon Sunday laste [I] writ unto yor Ex^lens giving you notis of the ennemies apeering before this toune, and that day (beeing only horse) thay possessed them selves of divers petty castles heerabouts. Uppon Munday theer foote came up, sum with smale feeld peases. All that day and yesterday thay only plaide uppon our men, and thay at them with muskets. Yesterday at a low water thay pased over sum horse and foote at the forde, neere the toune. Our horse and sum foote sallied out to prevent them, and so pressed them, that before the flud towards evening thay retired againe over the water. As yet thay have not had any considerable forese uppon the other side of the water. But yesternight I, having intelligens that sum of theer 62. 65. 37. 17. 18. 25. 46. (officers) 14. 45. 47. were at 65. 66. 33. 15. (Melifont,) 31. 26. 17. 6. 36. 48. I intended to have 46. 50. 44. 41. (surprised) 44. 25. 46. 16. 12. 49. 23. 15. 34. (them,) but sending by 33. 14. 31. 7. 13. 57. 33. 38. (my) 39. 45. 16. 46. 33. 15. 6. 15. 35. 47. (meanes) (Lady) too theether I had sertain notis that theer weare forty foote allredy theer who 17. 44. 35. 10. 26. 34. 38. (Franck) 39. 45. 14. 62. 17. 15. 49. 11. 23. 14. 13. theether. This last night thay have 33. 5. 12. 15. 46. 48. 64. 64. 8. 7. 49. 48. 14. 44. 26. 14. 47. 45. 15. 13. 58. but I doe verrely beleeve 48. 23. 14. 15. 44. 15. 19. 44. 15. 7. 49. 15. 62. 65. 46. 14. 15. 47. 16. 46. 5. 44. 14. 35. 37. 49. 58. 16. 48. 10. 37. 38. 8. 50. 49. 7. 45. 14. 48. 37. 11. 37. 39. 33. 9. 58. 46. 15. 6. and the 53. 25. 35. 14. 27. 47. 11. 38. 36. 48. 45. 5. 44. 57. and when thay 10. 37. 38. (Moore) (made) (fetched) (batterys) (ready) (their) (greate) (peeces) (are) (not) (yet) (com) (but) (are) (to) (come) (by) (sea) (wind) (is) (contrary) (come)

L. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 295.

34. thay will put 63. 66. 22. 6. (hard) 44. 13. 48. 38. (to) 39. 51. (us.) 47. In the meane time our 64. 61. 40. 44. (provisions) 39. 52. 47. 26. (wasts) 37. 36. 53. 7. 15. 47. 48. 14. 47. and beeing that I got not 5. 35. (any) 58. 61. 66. 10. (contribution) 39. 35. 48. 44. 37. 8. 51. 48. 27. 38. 35. 37. (out) 50. 48. 39. 18. 48. 23. (of) 14. 11. 39. 51. 36. 48. 45. 15. 57. I was 17. 38. 44. 46. 15. 13. 48. 37. 41. 7. 44. 48. 14. with halfe of my 10. 6. 48. 31. 14. and a good parte 38. 17. 49. 22. 13. 32. 5. 47. 49. 34. 38. 36. 57. 26. 34. 15. 12. 27. 7. 48. 31. 58. My Collonells and other offisers are very dilligent, the souldiers very laborious; 17. 25. 36. 19. 31. 5. 46. is very 5. 10. 48. 26. 51. 14. and so are sum other few of the 97, but for the 19. 44. 15. 49. 15. 47. 40. 7. 44. 49. 39. 18. 48. 22. 16. 33. 63. 62. 49. 23. 5. 58. 7. 45. 15. 35. 38. 49. 53. 37. 45. 49. 24. 49. 23. 16. 28. 14. 15. 41. 26. 36. 20. nether 37. 17. 18. 25. 47. 15. 45. 47. 36. 37. 44. 62. 65. 48. 44. 38. 39. 40. 5. 45. 47. I am credibly informed and have 111. that the 103. 25. 35. 48. 15. 36. 12. 48. 22. 27. 46. 17. 7. 58. 62. 66. 64. 49. 38. 40. 6. 47. 79. 38. 51. 16. 44. 48. 23. 15. 44. 26. 52. 14. 44. and to 76. 9. 39. 48. 24. 47. 25. 13. 15. 47. Thus with my humble duty unto yor Ex^lns remembred, and hoping shortly to understande of yor martch with a gallent armey, I rest, Me Lorde,

(Finglas) (greater) (part) (of) (them) (horse) (active)

(they) (are) (not) (worth) (the) (keepeing) (officers) (nor) (troopers) (intelligence) (rebells)

(intend) (this) (day) (to) (pass) (forces) (over) (the) (river) (besseege) (both) (sides)

Yo^r Ex^lns most humble and for ever faithfull servant,

Arth. Aston.

Drododaghe, this 5th of September, about 7 of the clock in ye morninge, 1649.

Eather the ennemy hath mor forses, as yet not coom upp, or els, in my opinion, thay are mutch mistaken in the number wch thay report them selves to bee of.

I am tould the ennemy say thay will not summon mee, the wch I am glad of; it will spare mee so mutch time, as I must have had to answer them.

For his Excell^ns the Lord Luten^t-gen^rel of Irland: Thes, with my humble servis.

Endorsed: S^r Ar: Aston, Dated 5. Rec. 6 Sept., 1649.

APPENDIX. 1649. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

LI. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

Balle Kelly 5 of September, 1649.

May it please yor Ex^lls,

I writt to yor Ex^lls the daye after I came hether, wch was the sixt after my leaveing Trym, that I found my unkle noe neerer then this place, wch is 12 myle eastward of Derry. I writt to yor Ex^lls then that my unkle tould mee,

1649. 5. Sept. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

LI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 294.

Appendix.
1649.
5. Sept.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

that by L^{t}. Clerk first, and by the Bishop of Rathfoe after, hee writt to yor Ex^{lls} that within 15 dayes from the date of his first letter hee hoped to be wth yor Ex^{lls}. In that resolution I found him firme att my comeing, butt very unable to performe, besydes that Coot gives him all the delayes hee can, least hee should leave ye country before hee have more men; hee is falne soe lame by a defluxion in his knee that hee can neyther rid nor indure to be carryed on a horse litter, this misfortune has stayed him these four dayes from beeing ass far ass the Omy uppon his waye. This day hee has a litter made for him; iff to morrow hee has any manner of ease hee intends to march, whether itt be his sicknes, or that hee intends to obleage yor Ex^{lls} the more hee has not talked any thing as yett off his conditions; all his officers, to a very few, and those of the least consideration, are ass passionate for his submissione to his Maties service ass Sr Luke Fitz Garrald would have them. The number of foot hee hopes to bring yor Ex^{ls} will be neere 6000, and about 500 hors, truely not soe contemptible for ther number ass some perswaded mee they were, they are well horsed and armed to a very few; ass soone ass I leave him a day or 2 uppon his march, I intend to make all the hast I can to yor Ex^{lls}. I have written by ye advise of some here to Sr George Munroe and My Lord Clanrickard of this resolution of my unkles, and desired them both, since they were to feare noething from this army, that they should doe well to march to yor Ex^{lls} wth all ther strengh. I writt to Sr Geo. that if hee could not gett his men to march to you, to bring y^{m} imediatly to beseege Derry, wch nowe may wth much ease be had, for Coot has dispersed all his men into all the castles of the Scots. Iff the weather be soo extreame bad ther ass it is here yor E^{lls} will not need much assistance to keep Crumwell in Dublin. I am

Yo^{r} Ex^{lls} most humble servant,

Daniell ONeille.

For his Ex^{lls} the Lord Marques of Ormond L^{d} L^{t}.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Daniell ONeiles, Dated 5. Rec. 10 Sept., 1649. By a footeman.

LII. Ormonde to Aston.

S^{r},

1649.
7. Sept.
Ormonde to Aston.

I receivd yours of the 5 of this month last night after 11 of the clock. All dilligence shall bee used to put provision into you. Coll. Trevor goes to Atterdy with a party of 500 hors, as well to distract ye rebells as to meete with Owin O Neill whoe with his army will bee neare Dundalke on Tewsday next. Let mee have as frequent intelligence as you can, of yor particular wants, and what is like to presse you soonest. God send you good successe and us in yor succor.

Endorsed: 7 Sept., 1649. A coppy of the letter to S^{r} Ar. Aston.

LII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 297.

LIII. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649. 8. Sept. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

Me Lord,

Yesterday in the after noone, after the dispatch of my last letters unto
yor Ex^lns (wherin I gave an account of the former nights sally) I made annother
stronge sally both with horse and foote uppon that parte of the ennemies campe,
v^ch lodgeth uppon S^t. Johns hill. My hors was commaunded and led by Captin
Plunket, who behaved him selfe gallently, and fell uppon theer mayne garde (and
as I am informed this day by a Captin, who formerly served his Ma^ty and is coom
over to mee) of the ennemy theer was slaine a Lutenant-collonell, a Lutenant and
a Sargent; thay will not owne above 9 or 10 other souldiers to bee slaine, but thay
confes aboundans wounded. I have lost never a man, only Captin Plunket, his
egg broke with a musquet shot, a Reformadow Cornet, and an other man ill
wounded. The ennemy receave (since our sallies) allarums very lightly, and our
men are mutch incurredged by them, but indeed I have not been in a place wors
situated for sallyes, then this toune is. But nevertheles if I 25. 22. had 5. 12. 66. 8. but 50.
amunition they should have little
48. 92. 63. 49. 23. 6. 57. 47. 24. 37. 51. 31. 13. 22. 7. 52. 14. 62. 65. 32. 26. 48. 49.
rest, but my amunition spends
31. 15. 62. 44. 16. 46. 48. 9. 52. 33. 58. 92. 66. 46. 40. 15. 36. 13. 16. 47. 65. 57.
very fast I have spent above
15. 44. 57. 17. 5. 46. 48. 64. 26. 22. 6. 50. 14. 65. 47. 40. 15. 36. 49. 7. 9. 38. 52.
fower barrells e a i c h day
16. 62. 17. 37. 53. 45. 15. 65. 9. 7. 45. 15. 32. 14. 46. 15. 6. 25. 48. 23. 12. 7. 58.
ever since Sunday
54. 62. 14. 51. 16. 45. 46. 26. 36. 10. 16. 63. 46. 52. 36. 12. 5. 57. and now I 33.
oust against my will bee
51. 47. 48. 7. 19. 5. 25. 36. 47. 48. 66. 64. 34. 58. 54. 25. 31. 32. 8. 14. 15. 42.
quiet. send mee some
51. 27. 16. 48. 65. I beseetch yor Ex^lus to 47. 14. 35. 13. 33. 15. 16. 66. 64. 46. 52.
more amunition may come safe to
34. 33. 38. 44. 14. 92. the wch I conceave 10. 37. 38. 34. 46. 5. 14. 17. 48. 37. 33.
mee. Provisions growea short
14. 15. 63. 62. 91. 19. 44. 37. 53. 15. 47. 46. 24. 37. 45. 49. 65. 66. and after 48.
his day not a penny of mony
23. 26. 47. 13. 5. 57. I have 35. 38. 48. 6. 40. 14. 35. 57. 39. 18. 33. 38. 36. 57.
sum gallaut men have
56. 65. 64. 46. 50. 34. 19. 6. 31. 32. 7. 35. 49. 34. 16. 36. 63. 23. 6. 52. 14. 31.
ost horses on foote
38. 47. 48. theer 22. 37. 44. 46. 15. 4. and are now 37. 36. 18. 38. 39. 49. I
bee mindefull of them. If
beseetch yor Ex^lns to 34. 17. 35. 12. 17. 51. 32. 37. 18. 49. 23. 14. 34. 65. 62. 25.
you could speedily assault the
17. 57. 37. 50. 11. 30. 51. 31. 12. 46. 40. 14. 15. 13. 16. 32. 57. 63. 81. 49. 23. 14.
greater campe have
53. 20. 45. 15. 49. 16. 44. 10. 5. 34. 40. 15. 64. 66. and that I may 23. 7. 51. 14.
notice I will God willing
35. 37. 48. 25. 46. 62. 65. 17. 53. 26. 31. 32. 19. 37. 12. 54. 31. 25. 36. 20.) 8. 15.
heate up these uppon Saint Iohns
5. 48. 14. 50. 40. 63. 6. 6. 49. 24. 16. 5. 46. 52. 40. 41. 37. 35. 46. 7. 27. 36. 26.
hill
39. 36. 47. 62. 63. 22. 25. 31. 32.

LIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 302.

APPENDIX.
1649.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

Me Lorde, I am afearde I have been to tedious, in trubling yor Ex^lens with so longe a sipher, but I hope yor Ex^lns will pardon all the errours of, Me Lord,

Yo^r Ex^lens most humble servant,

Drogodagh, this 8th, about 4 in the afternoone. Arth. Aston.

For his Ex^lns the Lord Lutennant-generall of Irelande: Thes with my most humble servis.

Endorsed: S^r Ar: Aston, Dated 8. Rec. 9 Sept., 1649.

LIV. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649.
8. Sept.
Ormonde
to
Owen O'Neill

After etc. Wee shall not need to informe you of the present distresses of Drogheda, or how mainly consequentiall and advantageous the releife thereof may prove to his Maties service, in the preservation of this kingdome from the absolute power of the rebells, which yet is not soe formidable, but if frustrated of their designes upon that important guarison, they may by Gods assistance reduced in a short tyme to a very meane and distressed condition, and consequently his Maties interests to a more hopefull posture, and therefore it is that we have thought fitt to employ Maior-Generall Trevor with a considerable partie of horse, into those partes principally to conferr and consult with you upon the most effectuall and feazible meanes of performing soe seasonable and considerable a service to his Matie, presumeing very confidently that in testimony of your reall intentions to serve your King and country in soe greate an exigence you will upon noe consideration whatsoever, omitt any opportunity that may conduce to the preservation of that place wee shall add noe more, but that we heartily wish you may have good fortune, and honor in the performance of this eminent service, which must needs be very acceptable to his Matie, unto whom wee shall represent the same with all possible truth and advantage, and soe wee bid you very heartily farewell from Portlester this 8th of Septemb., 1649.

Your very affectionate freind,

Generall ONeill. Ormond.

Endorsed: 8th September, 1649. Coppie of a lettre to Generall Owen ONeill.

LV. COMMISSION FROM CHARLES II. TO MR. TALBOT FOR NEGOCIATIONS IN IRELAND

1649.
9. Sept.
Instructions
from
Charles II.
for
Mr. Talbot.

Instructions for Mr. Talbot, imployed into Ireland.

Charles R.

1. You shall repaire into that kingdom with what speed you may, and shall there deliver our severall letters to the persons to whom they are directed.

LIV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 302a. LV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 309.

2. You shall assure Generall ONeale of the good opinion wee have of him, as leeving that he intends by his seasonable returning to our obedience to provide r the peace and settlement of that miserable kingdom of Ireland, and for the stablishing of our iust power and authority there. You shall likewise assure him hat wee intend to conferr upon him such honor and other rewards as he shall easonably desire of us, and to give him such trusts in our service as may encourage im to return to his duty with honor and safety.

3. You shall represent unto him, and to the principall persons of his partie, and ther our Roman Catholique subiects joyning with him, how necessary it is that hey all agree and unite themselves in our obedience at this time, especially when ich distraction, danger, and ruine is evidently threatned to their religion and ation; for as they cannot but know what resolutions have been formerly taken by he rebels in England to roote out their nation and religion, soe they may be ssured of the sadd effects of that resolution if Cromwell should by the advantage f their distractions, disunion, and disobedience to us, destroy our forces in that ingdome. Wee being at this time advertized and assured that their intentions are s much to roote out the nation and the Roman Catholique Religion, yea and Oneale himselfe, as to deprive us of our just rights, power, and authority in that ingdom, whatsoever ovvertures of seeming advantage they may for the present hake to them, their intentions therein being the rather evident in that they have isavowed Monke in his late proceedings and treaty with Generall ONeale; and f they shall now underhand make any new offers to treate with him, it is with esigne to make use of him and his partie to oppose our forces, wch being once estroyed they will afterwards with ease destroy him and those that ioyne vith him.

4. You shall assure Generall ONeale and other of our Roman Catholique ubiects ioyning with him, that wee are resolved and ready to confirme as our owne ct all offers that have been formerly made, or shall hereafter be made, to him and hem by the Marquis of Ormond, our Lieutenant-generall of that kingdome.

5. You shall likewise assure our said Roman Catholique subiects and the clergy hat they may and ought to expect all fitting favours from us, and much greater hen they can reasonably expect or hope for from the rebels of England, with etter assurances of performance on our part then any thing can be given them y those false and faithlesse traytors.

6. You shall assure the principall persons of our Province of Leinster, that wee re in a high measure sensible of their effectuall endeav^rs^ for the settling of the ate peace, and establishing our iust authority in that kingdom, and their appearing n armes since for the reducing of the whole kingdom to our obedience; wherein as vee have a particular engagement to those principall persons, soe wee shall onsider their great merite in a particular manner, as likewise the zeale and good ffecon expressed to our service by that whole Province, as soone as wee shalbe n a condicon to distribute our favors and rewards for the many services they have done us.

APPENDIX.
1649.
9. Sept.
Instructions from Charles II. for Mr. Talbot.

7. You shall shew these instructions to the Marques of Ormond, our Lieuten^t-generall, and shall proceede in the execution and performance of them in such manner as he shall direct, and not otherwise, and forbeare to make use of them, or any of them, or to deliver any of our letters, if he shall direct you soe to doe, it being our expresse pleasure that you absolutly and entirely obey his orders and directions in all things concerning this service, and say and doe all other things that he shall thinck necessary for our service in that kingdome.

8. You shall give us an account of yor proceedings from time to time, advertizing us, or our Secretary, of all things that you shall iudge necessary for our knowledge.

Given at S^t. Germains the 9th day of September, 1649, in the first yeare of our reigne.

Instructions for M^r. Talbot.

LVI. CHARLES II. TO COLONEL BRYAN O'BYRNE.

1649.
Charles II. to Bryan O'Byrne.

Colonell Bryan OByrne, wee look upon you and your family as persons that have it in your power to contribute very much to the peace and settlement of the now miserably distracted kingdome of Ireland, and to the security of yor religion and nation, now againe invaded by the common enemies of both; and as we are ready to doe all we may for the obteyning of those good ends, so we expect and desire your concurrence therein, by returning to the obedience you owe us, and uniting your selfe to those forces that now are under our command in Ireland, which we shall acknowledge and reward as a most acceptable and most seasonable service, as this bearer, Mr. Talbot, will particularly informe you.

Given at S^t. Germain the 9th day of Septemb^r, 1649.

For Colonell Bryan OByrne.

LVII. CHARLES II. TO COLONEL O'REILLY.

1649.
9. Sept.
Charles II. to Colonel O'Reilly.

Colonell Philipp Mack Hugh ORily, wee beleeve it is in your power to contribute much to the peace and settlement of the kingdom of Ireland by your seasonable returning to that obedience you owe us, and by uniting yor selfe to those armies that now maintaine our authority against the common enemies of your religion and nation, which we earnestly entreate you to doe, assuring you that we shall looke upon it as the most acceptable service that can be performed to us, and shall

LVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 305. LVII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 305.

accordingly acknowledge it by any grace or favo^r^ you can expect from us, as we have commanded this bearer, M^r^. Talbot, to assure you more particularly.

Given at S^t^. Germain the 9th day of Septemb^r^, 1649.

For Colonell Philipp Mack Hugh ORily.

APPENDIX.
1649.
9. Sept.
Charles II. to Colonel O'Reilly.

LVIII. CHARLES II. TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

Generall ONeale, Wee have ben informed that you are willing to submit your selfe to us, as your lawfull King and Soveraigne, for the maintenance of our iust authority, and for the peace and quiet of that miserable and distracted kingdome, which, as we professe to consider above all earthly things, so we shall not faile to contribute all we may thereunto; as likewise to conferre such graces, favours, and trusts upon your selfe as you shall reasonably desire and deserve, by your seasonable returning to your due obedience to us; as we have given charge to this bearer, M^r^. Talbot, to expresse more particularly unto you, to whom we pray you to give credit.

Given at S^t^. Germain the 9th day of September, 1649.

For Generall Owen ONeale.

1649.
9. Sept.
The King to Owen O'Neill.

LIX. CHARLES II. TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FARALL.

Lieutenant-generall Farall. Having, out of our earnest desire to provide for the peace of our subiects in the kingdome of Ireland, addressed our letters to Generall ONeale, to assure him of our favour, and reall intention to gratify him in all his reasonable desires, if he will now returne to the obedience he owes us, by the lawes both of God and man, We have likewise thought fitt to assure you that we shall be very sensible of your good endeavours in a matter so highly importing us, and the peace and happinesse of that kingdome, and shall not fayle to place such marques of our favo^r^ upon you as yor service shall deserve, if you be any wayes instrumentall to so good a worke; as we have commanded this bearer, M^r^. Talbott, to assure you more particularly.

Given at S^t^. Germain the 9th day of Septemb^r^, 1649.

For Lieutenant-general Farall.

Endorsed: Copys of leters to Owin ONeill and others, 9° Sept., 1649.

1649.
9. Sept.
The King to Lieutenant-General Farall.

LVIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 305.

LIX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 305.

APPENDIX.

LX. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649. 9. Sept. Drogheda: Aston to Ormonde.

Me Lorde,

Yester night, aboute 10 of the clock, yor Ex^lns supply of foote came saef to mee. The horse returned back before I coulde get to the gate to speake with them, I beeing at theer aryvall uppon the other side of the river. I perceave by the Lutennant-collonell that yor Ex^lns writ unto mee the daye before, but I did nether receave that nor any other since won of ye 4th of this munthe. I sent an expres yesterday unto yor Ex^lns, who I hope by this time is arived in saefty, as also won the day before, wherin I gave yor Ex^lns notis of too sallies wch I made uppon the ennemy, wch proved both sucsesfull and advantagious; as also I informed yor Ex^lns that 33. (my) 57. (amunition) 92. was far 46. 40. (spent,) 14. 36. 49. 62. 63. 15. 26. 48. (each) 10. 22. 12. (day) 5. 58. 62. 23. 5. 50. (haveing) 27. 36. 19. 64. 11. 37. (cost) 46. 48. 34. (mee) 14. 16. 66. 47. 25. (since) 35. 10. 65. 64. 46. 51. 35. 12. 6. 57. (sonday) 31. (last) 7. 46. 48. 63. 17. 37. 53. 44. 8. (foure) 6. 45. 14. 31. 47. (barrells,) by keeping ye ennemy 18. 45. 38. 34. 53. 38. (from) 44. 28. 26. 35. 19. and wth 46. 5. 31. 32. 26. 15. 46. 65. 64. My 91. 20. 95. 39. (provisions) 53. 15. 47. 62. 65. 46. 23. 38. (growe) 45. 49. and 35. 37. 49. 7. 40. 15. 36. 57. 38. 18. 115. (not) (a) (penny) (of) (mony.) (short,) (if) More over I informed yor Ex^lns that 25. 17. 46. 41. 14. 15. 13. 16. 31. 58. 62. 57. 37. 50. 63. 10. 38. 51. 31. 13. 81. 65. 66. 48. 23. 14. 9. 26. 19. 16. 44. 64. 11. 7. 34. 41. 61. 27. 24. 5. 52. 26. 36. 20. 64. 35. 39. 48. 26. 46. 53. 37. 52. 32. 12. 63. 19. 38. 13. 54. 26. 31. 32. 25. 35. 20. 8. 14. 6. 49. 16. 64. 52. 40. 65. 48. 22. 16. 65. 31. 14. 46. 16. 45. withe the 5. 25. 12. 14. 37. 17. 6. 18. 16. 53. 34. 38. 44. 14. 63. 64. 22. 39. 45. 47. Good me Lorde, 46. 51. 33. 34. 38. 45. 14. 92. 5. 35. 12. 115. 38. 44. 91. as also bee pleased to informe mee wheather theas men that came laste bee intended for the making up 37. 18. 33. 57. 44. 15. 12. 19. 25. 34. 15. 35. 48. 37. 44. 35. 37. 49. to the ende that I may know how to 12. 25. 46. 41. 37. 46. 14. 38. 18. 66. 64. 48. 23. 16. 10. 37. 33. 34. 6. 51. 35. 13. 14. 37. 52. 15. 45. 62. 49. 24. 16. 33.

(speedaly) (you) (could) (assault) (the) (bigger) (camp,) (I) (haveing) (notice) (would,) (God) (willing,) (beate) (up) (the) (lesser) (aide) (of) (a) (few) (more) (horse) (some) (more) (amunition) (and) (money) (or) (provisions,) (comand) (over) (dispose) (of) (them.) (regiment) (or) (not,) (the)

Me Lord, I beseetch yor Ex^lns to continue yor favours and good opinnion towards of, me Lorde,

Yo^r Ex^lns most humble and most faithfull servant for ever,

Drogodaghe, this 9th in the fore noone, 1649. Arth. Aston.

Since the writinge of this letter I have thought good, for the more asshurance (seeing messingers doe miscarry), to send this berer, Captin Gaynor, to informe yor

LX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 311.

APPENDIX.
1649.
9. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

Ex^{lny} more particularly of all thinges. This day the foe dischardged 3 greate peeses towards the towne, wheruppon I conceved a summons woulde follow, but as yet none is coom. I am, notwithstanding, creddably informed that Crumwell intends to set his reste uppon it, and if my men will but fight it out, I hope hee will get his reste. 'Tis only the remembrance of what I sawe before Dublin that makes mee misdoubte theer performance, and to prevent that yor Ex^{lns} speedy aprotch will bee a certaine cure. In my former letters I writ yor Ex^{lns} worde of the desire of Collonell Warrin, wch is that yor Ex^{lns} would bee pleased to conferme what I have doon in placing Ignatius Burnell, Captin, in the place of his Captin-lutennant, and his former Captin-lutennant in the place of the deseased Captin, the wch beeing both good men, I desire yor Ex^{lns} to bee pleased withall.

Yo^{r} Ex^{l} most humble

A. A.

For his Exle^{nes} the Lord Lutenn^{t}.-generall of Irelande: Theas, with my humble servis.

Endorsed: S^{r} Ar. Aston. Dat. 9. Rec. 10 Sept., 1649.

LXI. ASTON TO ORMONDE.

1649.
10. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston
to
Ormonde.

Me Lorde,

This morning, about 8 of the clock, I receaved the inclosed summons. My answer is by it, as also a letter from the apostite Hardinge. Since this summons I heard no answer but by the mouth of cannon, the wch hath ever since without intermission plaide uppon our walles and works. Theay have aight peases of battery, the leaste therof shute 12^{lb}, won of 30^{lb} bullet. Thay have made a 50. 14. ery greste hreach neere the 4. 57. 19. 45. 15. 5. 48. 46. 9. 44. 15. 7. 48. 10. 22. 35. 15. 16. 44. 66. 49. 23. church, 6. 66. 65. 11. 22. 52. 45. 48. 10. 24. and I am confident theer resolutions are to The souldiers raine it immediatly by an assaulte. 48. 22. 14. 46. 37. 25. 31. 12. 26. 6. 44. 47. 62. say well, prsy God dos well 3. 46. 6. 57. 54. 15. 32. 26. 40. 44. 7. 58. 20. 38. 13. 62. 63. 12. 38. 39. 53. 16. 31. shall be no want will asshure yor Ex^{lns} that theare 46. 23. 5. 31. 32. 8. 14. 15. 35. 38. 53. 6. 35. In mee, speedy help 8. 62. 25. 35. 33. 14. 15. 62. 63. but yor Ex^{lns} 46. 40. 26. 13. 58. 62. 24. 15. 31. is much desired. 1. 25. 46. 33. 51. 48. 10. 22. 65. 66. 12. 14. 46. 27. 44. 16. 13. I refer all thinges unto yor Ex^{lis} provident care. Living I am, and dying I will end, Me Lord,

Yo^{r} Ex^{lns} most faithfull and most obleedged humble servant,

Arth. Aston.

Drogodaghe, this 10th of September, about 7 of the clock at nighte.

LXI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 314.

APPENDIX.
1649.
10. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston to Ormonde.

Iust now cooms a messinger who brought mee letter of the 7th of this monthe, but I heare nothing, nor have not dun, of 89. 33. 57. 92. 66. 12. 14. 28. 6. 58. 15. 47. 62. 5. 40. 6. 46. 14. and I can 36. 38. 49. 22. 15. 31. 41. 26. 48. 62. 65.

Coll. Trevor. My amunition decayes apace, not help it.

For his Exilns the Lorde Lutennant: Theas, with my humble servis.

Endorsed: Sr Ar: Aston. Dated 10. Rec. 11 Sept., 1649.

LXII. CROMWELL'S SUMMONS TO DROGHEDA.

1649.
10. Sept.
Cromwell's summons to Drogheda.

Sr,

Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place to reduce it to obedience, to the end effusion of blood may be prevented, I thought fitt to sommon you to deliver the same into my hands to their use. If this be refused you will have no cause to blame me. I expect yor answer, and rest

Yor servant,

Septembr 10th, 1649. O. Cromwell.

Endorsed: Cromwells summons to Sr Arthur Aston for the surrender of Drogheda, dated the 10th of Sept., 1649.

LXIII. DR. IOHN HARDING TO ASTON.

1649.
10. Sept.
Dr. Iohn Harding to Aston.

Sir,

Att My Lord Viscount Killmorryes I gott of his sonn from Chester (that by that token you may know my name). If it please you to sende me yor pass I shall waite upon, to doe you the uttmost service of,

Sir,

Yor servant,

Septembr ye 10th, 1649. Io. Harding.

Ffor the Honorable Sir Arthur Aston.

Endorsed: Dr. John Harding to Sr Arthur Aston. Dated the 10 Sept., 1649.

LXIV. ASTON TO DR. IOHN HARDING.

1649.
10. Sept.
Drogheda:
Aston to Dr. Iohn Harding.

Sr,

I remember verie well yor civelitie unto the sonn of Me Lord Killmorrye, but att present the opertunitie will not well permit anye discourse. If you please to intrust me with your desire, you may send it in wryting unto yor servant.

Droghadah, ye 10th of Septembr, 1649.

Ffor the reverend and his good freind Docter Hardinge.

Endorsed: Sr Arthur Astons answer to Dr. Jo. Harding, the 10 Sept., 1649.

LXII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 317. LXIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 316.
LXIV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 315.

LXV. ORMONDE TO ASTON.

1649. 10. Sept. Ormonde to Aston.

S^r^,

I have received your letter of the 8th giveing an accoumpt of Fryday nights sally, but doe miss that advertiseing that on Thursday night. I think fitt to dispatch yor messenger with an assurance of my undelayed endeavours to see all your wants seasonably supplyed. Coll. Trevor is gone with a strong party of horse, who has direccon to furnish you with powder, match, and bullett, and such other provisions for yor garrissons as those partes afford. He has a coppy of your cypher, soe as you may write yor minde safely to him to Laggan Castle Water, where you shall be sure to heare of him. Soe I rest

Your very affectionate frend,

10 Sept., 6 in ye morning. Ormonde.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords to S^r^ Ar. Aston.

LXVI. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

Portlester, 11 September, 1649.

1649. 11. Sept. Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

S^r^,

I have not received the letter mentioned in yo^rs^ of the 5th to have been sent the day after your comeing to Ballykelly, nor that of the 5th till yesterday, but the fellow may be alowed as many dayes as you made of it, for I beleeve you lost noe tyme.

I am confident yor uncle takes his indisposition to travell for a greate misfortune, befalling him at a tyme when his assistance would probably put Drogheda out of danger; as it is I hope it will be warmly disputed by 2000 effective men of the best foote wee have, and neare 300 horse. Cavenagh with the men you left at Trym is gottene in. Yesterday Crumwell shot above 200 shot at the wall next our Ladyes Church, and had made a greate breach. This day I beleeve he has or will assault it; Sr Arthur Aston looked for it. I am glad you writt those letters you speake of to My Lord of Clanricard and Sr George Monro; besides the help I may have by them it is an argum^t^ of your confidence that yor countrymen will peece with us. If Drogheda hould out till they come upp, it is possible Crumwell may receave an unexpected checque to his fortune where he promised himselfe cleere successe, and what that may work in England noe body can tell. Marke Trevor is with a strong party of horse about Athendee; if you have any thing to say to him there he watches for it, and will be directed by yor uncle in what he pleases. I am

Yo^r^ faithfull freind and servant,

Ormonde.

Endorsed: 11 Sept., 1649. A coppy of My Lords to Daniel ONeile.

LXV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 319. LXVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 327.

APPENDIX.

LXVII. ORMONDE TO GENERAL OWEN O'NEILL.

1649.
12. Sept.
Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After etc. Being necessitated to make a iurny for a few days to Kilkeny, for the beter suply of the army and the oposition of the rebells, in case that after the takeing of Drogheda they should advaunce that way, wee have thought fit to give you notice thereof, as also to desire you that for the conclusion of the treaty you would proceede with the former Com^rs upon their ould comission, whoes transaction thereupon shall bee confirmed by us. The Ld President of Munster, Live^tnt-gen^ell of his Maties army, will in the meane time correspond with you in what may advaunce the service, if it fall out that you bee come within distance before our returne to the army, w^ch, God willing, shall bee sometime the next weeke; and soe wee remaine at Portlester, this 12th of Sept., 1649,

Yo^r very affectionate freind,

Ormonde.

Endorsed: 12° Sept., 1649. A coppy of my letter to Gen. ONeile.

LXVIII. SIEGE OF DROGHEDA: LETTER OF REV. HUGH PETERS.

1649.
15. Sept.
Siege of Drogheda. Letter of Hugh Peters.

Sir,

The truth is, Drogheda is taken, 3552 of the enemy slain, and sixty four of ours.

Colonel Castles and Colonel Symonds of note.

Ashton the governor killed, none spared, we have also to Trym and Dundalk, and are marching to Kilkenny.

I came now from giving thanks in the great church. We have all our army well landed. I am yours,

Dublin, Sept. 15th. Hugh Peters.

LXIX. OLIVER CROMWELL TO JOHN BRADSHAW, ON SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.

1649.
16. Sept.
Cromwell's Account of Drogheda Siege.

Sir,

It hath pleased God to bless our endeavours at Drogheda, after battery we storm'd it. The enemy were about 3000 strong in the town. They made a stout resistance, and near 1000 of our men being entred, the enemy forced them out again. But God giving a new courage to our men, they attempted again, and entred, beating the enemy from their defences. The enemy had made three retrenchments, both to the right and left, where we entred; all which they were forced to quit, being thus entred, we refused them quarter, having the day before summoned the town. I believe we put to the sword the whole number of the defendants. I do not think thirty of the whole number escaped with their lives,

LXVII. Carte Papers, XXV. p. 329^a.
LXVIII. Memorials of the English Affairs . . . by Mr. Whitelock, London: 1732, p. 428.
LXIX. Whitelock, ibid.

hose that did are in safe custody for Barbadoes, since that time the enemy quitted o us Trym and Dundalk, in Trym they were in such haste that they left their guns behind them. This hath been a marvellous great mercy. The enemy being not willing to put an issue upon a field battle, had put into this garrison almost ll their prime soldiers, being about 3000 horse and foot, under the command of heir best officers, Sir Arthur Ashton being made Governor. There were some even or eight regiments, Ormond's being one, under the command of Sir Edmund Verney. I do not believe, neither do I hear that any officer escaped with his life, ave only one lieutenant, who, I hear, going to the enemy, said that he was the nly man that escaped of all the garrison. The enemy were filled upon this with nuch terror, and truly I believe this bitterness will save much effusion of blood, hrough the goodness of God.

APPENDIX. 1649. 16. Sept. Cromwell's Account of Drogheda Siege.

I wish that all honest hearts may give the glory of this to God alone, to whom ndeed the praise of this mercy belongs, for instruments they were very inconiderable, the work throughout.

Then he gives an account of his purpose for Wexford, and concludes.

Captain Brandly did with forty or fifty of his men very gallantly storm tenalis, or which he deserves the thanks of the State.

Sept. 16th, 1649. O. Cromwell.

LXX. CROMWELL TO SPEAKER LENTHAL ON SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.

Sir,

Your army being safely arrived at Dublin, and the enemy endeavoring to raw all his forces together about Trym and Tecroghan (as my intelligence gave ne); from whence endeavors were used by the Marquis of Ormond, to draw Owen Roe ONeal with his forces to his assistance, but with what success I cannot yet earn. I resolved after some refreshment taken for our weather-beaten men and orses, and accommodations for a march, to take the field; and accordingly upon Friday the thirtieth of August last, rendezvouzed with eight regiments of foot, and ix of horse, and some troops of dragoons, three miles on the northside of Dublin; he design was, to endeavor the regaining of Drogheda, or tempting the enemy, pon his hazard of the loss of that place, to fight. Your army came before the own upon Munday following, where having pitched, as speedy course as could be as taken to frame our batteries, which took up the more time, because divers of he battering guns were on ship board: Upon Munday the ninth of this instant, he batteries began to play; whereupon I sent Sir Arthur Ashton the then Governor a summons, to deliver the town to the use of the Parliament of England; o the which I received no satisfactory answer, but proceeded that day to beat own the steeple of the church on the southside of the town, and to beat down

1649. 17. Sept. Cromwell's Account of Drogheda Siege.

LXX. Letters from Ireland, relating the several great successes it hath pleased God to give unto the arliaments forces there, in the taking of Drogheda, Trym, Dundalk, Carlingford, and the Nury. ogether with a list of the chief commanders, and the number of the officers and soldiers slain in Drogheda. ie Martis, 2 Octobr. 1649. Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that the several letters om the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, together with so much of Colonel Venables letter as concerns the iccesses in Ireland, be forthwith printed and published. Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti. London, rinted by John Field for Edward Husband, printer to the Parliament of England. 1649.

APPENDIX.
1649.
17. Sept.
Cromwell's Account of Drogheda Siege.

a tower not far from the same place, which you will discern by the card enclosed. Our guns not being able to do much that day, it was resolved to endeavor to do our utmost the next day to make breaches assaultable, and by the help of God to storm them. The places pitched upon, were that part of the town wall next a church, called St. Maries; which was the rather chosen, because we did hope that if we did enter and possess that church, we should be the better able to keep it against their horse and foot, until we could make way for the entrance of our horse, which we did not conceive that any part of the town would afford the like advantage for that purpose with this. The batteries planted were two, one was for that part of the wall against the east end of the said church, the other against the wall on the southside; being somewhat long in battering, the enemy made six retrenchments, three of them from the said church to Duleek Gate, and three from the east end of the church to the town wall, and so backward. The guns after some two or three hundred shot, beat down the corner tower, and opened two reasonable good breaches in the east and south wall. Upon Tuesday the tenth of this instant, about five of the clock in the evening, we begun the storm, and after some hot dispute, we entred about seven or eight hundred men, the enemy disputing it very stifly with us; and indeed through the advantages of the place, and the courage God was pleased to give the defenders, our men were forced to retreat quite out of the breach, not without some considerable loss; Colonel Cassell being there shot in the head, whereof he presently dyed, and divers soldiers and officers doing their duty, killed and wounded: There was a tenalia to flanker the south-wall of the town, between Duleek Gate, and the corner tower before mentioned, which our men entred, wherein they found some forty or fifty of the enemy, which they put to the sword, and this they held; but it being without the wall, and the sally part through the wall into that tenalia being choaked up, with some of the enemy which were killed in it, it proved of no use for our entrance into the town that way. Although our men that stormed the breaches were forced to recoil, as before is expressed, yet being encouraged to recover their loss, they made a second attempt, wherein God was pleased to animate them, that they got ground of the enemy, and by the goodness of God, forced him to quit his entrenchments; and after a very hot dispute, the enemy having both horse and foot, and we onely foot within the wall, the enemy gave ground, and our men became masters; but of their retrenchments and the church, which indeed although they made our entrance the more difficult, yet they proved of excellent use to us, so that the enemy could not annoy us with their horse, but thereby we had advantage to make good the ground, that so we might let in our own horse, which accordingly was done, though with much difficulty; the enemy retreated divers of them into the Mill-Mount, a place very strong and of difficult access, being exceeding high, having a good graft and strongly pallisadoed; the Governor Sir Arthur Ashton, and divers considerable officers being there, our men getting up to them, were ordered by me to put them all to the sword; and indeed being in the heat of action, I forbade them to spare any that were in arms in the town, and I think that night they put to the sword about two thousand men, divers of the officers and soldiers being fled over the bridge into the other part of the town, where about one hundred of them

possessed St. Peters Church steeple, some the west gate, and others, a round strong tower next the gate, called St. Sundays: These being summoned to yield to mercy, refused; whereupon I ordered the steeple of St. Peters Church to be fired, where one of them was heard to say in the midst of the flames, God damn me, God confound me, I burn, I burn; the next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set onely good guards to secure them from running away, until their stomacks were come down from one of the said towers, notwithstanding their condition, they killed and wounded some of our men; when they submitted, their officers were knockt on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes; the soldiers in the other town were all spared, as to their lives onely, and shipped likewise for the Barbadoes. I am perswaded that this is a righteous judgement of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the effusion of blood for the future, which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which otherwise cannot but work remorse and regret. The officers and soldiers of this garison, were the flower of all their army; and their great expectation was, that our attempting this place, would put fair to ruine us; they being confident of the resolution of their men, and the advantage of the place; if we had divided our force into two quarters, to have besieged the North Town and the South Town, we could not have had such a correspondency between the two parts of our army, but that they might have chosen to have brought their army, and have fought with which part they pleased, and at the same time have made a salley with two thousand men upon us, and have left their walls manned, they having in the town the numbers specified in this inclosed, but some say near four thousand. Since this great mercy vouchsafed to us, I sent a party of horse and dragoons to Dundalk, which the enemy quitted, and we are possessed of; as also another castle they deserted between Trym and Drogheda, upon the Boynes. I sent a party of horse and dragoons to a house within five miles of Trym, there being then in Trym some Scots companies which the Lord of Ardes brought to assist the Lord of Ormond; but upon the news of Drogheda they ran away, leaving their great guns behinde them, which we also have possessed. And now give me leave to say how it comes to pass that this work is wrought; it was set upon some of our hearts, that a great thing should be done, not by power, or might, but by the Spirit of God; and is it not so clear? That which caused your men to storm so couragiously, it was the Spirit of God, who gave your men courage, and took it away again, and gave the enemy courage, and took it away again, and gave your men courage again, and therewith this happy success; and therefore it is good that God alone have all the glory. It is remarkable, that these people at the first set up the Mass in some places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent, that the last Lords day before the storm, the Protestants were thrust out of the great church, called St. Peters, and they had publique Mass there; and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, flying thither for safety: I believe all their fryers were knockt on the head promiscuously, but two, the one

Appendix.
1649.
17. Sept.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

of which was Father Peter Taaff (brother to the Lord Taaff) whom the soldiers took the next day, and made an end of; the other was taken in the Round Tower, under the repute of lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a fryer, but that did not save him. A great deal of loss in this business fell upon Col. Hewson, Col. Cassell, and Colonel Ewers regiments; Colonel Ewers having two field-officers in his regiment shot, Colonel Cassel and a captain of his regiment slain, Colonel Hewsons captain-lieutenant slain; I do not think we lost one hundred men upon the place, though many be wounded. I most humbly pray, the Parliament will be pleased this army may be maintained, and that a consideration may be had of them, and of the carrying on of the affairs here, as may give a speedy issue to this work, to which there seems to be a marvellous fair opportunity offered by God. And although it may seem very chargeable to the State of England to maintain so great a force, yet surely to stretch a little for the present, in following Gods providence, in hope the charge will not be long, I trust it will not be thought by any (that have not irreconcileable or malicious principles) unfit for me to move for a constant supply, which in humane probability, as to outward means, is most likely to hasten and perfect this work; and indeed, if God please to finish it here, as he hath done in England, the war is like to pay it self. We keep the field much, our tents sheltring us from the wet and cold, but yet the country sickness overtakes many, and therefore we desire recruits, and some fresh regiments of foot may be sent us; for it is easily conceived by what the garisons already drink up, what our field army will come to, if God shall give more garisons into our hands. Craving pardon for this great trouble, I rest,

Your most humble servant,

Dublin, Sept. 17, 1649. O. Cromwel.

Since the writing of my letter, a major who brought off forty three horse from the enemy, told me, that it is reported in their camp, that Owen Roe and they are agreed.

A list of the defendants in Drohgeda.

The Lord of Ormonds Regiment, Sir Edmund Verney, Lieut:-Colonel,	400.
Col. Bourn,	400.
Col. Warren,	900.
Col. Wall,	800.
The Lord of Westmeath,	200.
Sir Iames Dillon,	200.
Horse,	200.

For the Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England

LXXI. CROMWELL'S SUMMONS TO DUNDALK.

1649.
Sept. 12.
Cromwell's summons to Dundalk.

Treedagh,
12 September, 1649.

Sir,

I offered mercy to the garrison of Treedagh, in sending the Governor a summons before I attempted the taking of it. Which being refused brought their evil upon them.

If you, being warned thereby, shall surrender your garrison to the use of the Parliament of England, which by this I summon you to do, you may thereby prevent effusion of blood. If, upon refusing this offer, that which you like not befalls you, you will know whom to blame. I rest,

Your servant,
Oliver Cromwell.

For the Chief Officer commanding in Dundalk: These.

LXXII. VENABLES TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

1649.
Neury:
22. Sept.
Venables to Oliver Cromwell.

For His Excellency,
The Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

My Lord,

In observance of your Excellencies orders, I advanced to Carlingford upon Tuesday last, and at the same instant, Captain Ferns came into the harbors mouth with his frigot; and upon the signal agreed upon betwixt us, came in with much gallantry and resolution, indured many shots, whereof one split his main mast, and in the haven took a small Wexford vessel; and in the three castles and the sea-fort, we found seven piece of ordinance, near forty barrels of powder, and as many of small shot, above a thousand muskets, and four hundred and eighty pikes (the greatest store in Ulster), but little provision; the next day I marched with some horse and dragoons to the Nury and summoned the place, which also yielded immediately before the foot could come. Many difficulties encounter us, yet by Gods assistance, I resolve to break through all, to follow the leading providence of that Divine hand, which now seems to guide us forward; for except we march on, the Scots resolve to put Irish into Carrickfergus, Belfast, and Lisnegarvy, because their own nation refuses them both assistance and provisions; and if we prevent not the Irish, it will kindle a new war in those parts, more bloody then what we have yet tasted of; which to prevent, shall be my utmost and chief endeavor. Monro hath already put some Irish into Colrain: I have sent several messengers to Sir Charls Coot, to know his pleasure, to acquaint him with

LXXI. Autograph, in possession of the Earl of Shannon, at Castle-Martyr, in the County of Cork.—*Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*, by Thomas Carlyle. London, 1846, II. p. 56.

LXXII. Letters from Ireland, etc. *Ante*, p. 263.

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1649.
22. Sept.
Venables to Oliver Cromwell.

my resolutions for this work; we are all full of (not improbable) hopes of Divine assistance in this work; which if your Excellency please but to cherish us in, may through Gods assistance, prove a most happy undertaking, which is the prayer of, My Lord,

Your Excellencies most humble servant,

Nury, Sept. 22, 1649. R. Venables.

We had in the castle of this place, sixty muskets, and five barrels of powder.

LXXIII. CROMWELL TO LENTHAL.

For the Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Mr. Speaker,

1649.
27. Sept.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

I had not received any accompt from Col. Venables (whom I sent from Drogheda, to endeavor the reducing of Carlingford, and so to march northward towards a conjunction with Sir Charls Coot) until the last night. After he came to Carlingford, having summoned the place, both the three castles and the fort commanding the harbor were rendred to him; wherein were about forty barrels of powder, seven piece of canon, about one thousand muskets, and five hundred pikes wanting twenty. In the entrance into the harbor, Captain Fern aboard your man of war had some danger, being much shot at from the sea fort, a bullet shooting through his main mast: The Captains entrance into that harbor was a considerable adventure, and a good service; as also was Captain Brandleys, who with forty seamen stormed a very strong Tenalia at Drogheda, and helped to take it, for which he deserves an owning by you. Venables marched from Carlingford with a party of horse and dragoons to the Nury, leaving the foot to come up after him: He summoned the place, and it was yielded before his foot came up to him. Some other informations I have received from him, which promise well towards your northern interest; which if well prosecuted, will (I trust through God) render you a good accompt of those parts. I have sent those things to be presented to the Councel of State for their consideration. I pray God as these mercies flow in upon you, he will give you an heart to improve them to his glory alone, because he alone is the author of them, and of all the goodness, patience and long-suffering extended towards you. Your army is marched, and I believe this night lieth at Arctlo, in the County of Wicklo, by the sea side, between thirty and forty miles from this place: I am this day by Gods blessing going towards it. I crave your pardon for this trouble, and rest,

Your most humble servant,

Dublin, Sep. 27, 1649. O. Cromwel.

I desire the supplies moved for, may be hastned: I am verily perswaded though the burthen be great, yet it is for your service. If the garisons we take

LXXIII. Letters from Ireland, etc. *Ante*, p. 263.

swallow up your men, how shall we be able to keep the field? who knows but the Lord may pity Englands sufferings, and make a short work of this; it is in his hand to do it, and therein onely your servants rejoyce.

APPENDIX. 1649. 27. Sept. Cromwell to Lenthal.

I humbly present the condition of Captain George Jenkins his widow: He dyed presently after Tredagh storm; his widow is in great want.

A list of the officers and soldiers slain at the storming of Drogheda.

Sir Arthur Ashton, Governor.
Sir Edmond Verney, Lieutenant-col. to Ormonds regiment.
Col. Fleming, of horse.
Lieutenant-col. Finglass, of horse.
Major Fitzgerald, of horse.
Eight { Captains, Lieutenants, Cornets } of horse.
Col. { Warren, Walls, Byrne, } of foot, with their Lieutenants, Majors, &c.
The Lord Taaffs brother, an Augustine Fryer.
Forty four Captains, and all their Lieutenants, Ensigns, &c.
Two hundred and twenty Reformado's and Troopers.
Two thousand five hundred foot soldiers, besides staff-officers, chyrurgeons, &c., and many inhabitants.

LXXIV. OLIVER CROMWELL AT DROGHEDA.

[See Book IV., Chapter XII., p. 48.]

1. Extract from letter of the Marquis of Ormonde to Charles II.

"In my letter of Aug. 8, I gave your Majesty the account I was then able to give of the beating up of the army from before Dublin. I have since seen in the Diurnal the relation sent by Jones to his masters in England, wherein he varies little from the truth, as to the manner of the defeat; but for the numbers whereof he said your Majesty's army consisted, and of those slain, he makes both very many more than in truth they were, to magnify himself in the estimation of the rebels. [The foot, according to the largest lists given in by the officers, amounting to no more than 7000, and the horse to about 1700; and of those I am sure more than 2000 were sick, and over-reckoned by the officers for gain and fear of reforming; besides the two regiments sent to Drogheda and Trym]. The army, I am sure, was not 8000 effective men, and of them it is certain there were not above

1649. Sept. Ormonde's Account of Cromwell at Drogheda.

1. Collection of original letters and papers by T. Carte. Dublin: 1759, ii 396.

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1649.
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Ormonde's Account of Cromwell at Drogheda.

600 killed; and the most of them that were killed were butchered after they ha laid down their arms upon promise of quarter, and had been for almost an hou prisoners, and divers of them murdered after they were brought within the work of Dublin: but much greater was the cruelty exercised by Cromwell's ow command, against the desire even of his common soldiers, upon all he found aliv in Drogheda, when after two repulses he had gained it by assaulting a large breach

The town, after Jones rose from before it upon my return with some forces int those parts, was governed by Sir Arthur Aston, and had in it above 2000 effecti foot, and near 300 good horse, which was something more than the comple number desired by the Governor. It was sufficiently provided of victual a ammunition for a much longer time than it held out; and I was ready to ha supplied it with more, and in all probability had done it, if it had withstood t assaults of that day; the place being seated upon a reasonable big river, which runni through the town, made it unsafe for them to lye on both sides any longer th the ebb gave them passage over at a ford. But that to which the loss of that pla may most reasonably be ascribed (next to God's good pleasure) was, that after t defeat before Dublin, almost all those of the army that had homes of their own their friends to go to, were retired to them, and could by no industry be gott together, and the surest men we had put into the town: so that the force I h with me, in the whole about 3000 horse and foot, consisted principally [of my ow regiment of horse, whereof many were such as had come off from the rebels in t time of our better fortune, the Lord Moore's and Sir T. Armstrong's regiments horse, and] of such as had declared for his Majesty in the time of our better fortun and when it was held incredible that the rebels would or could be at leisure make the conquest of this kingdom so much their business, as to spare hither great a force, with such vast sums of money, and the confiding persons of Cromw and Ireton, and others of that stamp. And of these our numbers daily diminishe by the revolt of some officers and many private soldiers, the rest shewing mu dejection of courage, and upon all occasions of want, which are very frequent wi us, venting their discontent in such dangerous words, that it was held unsafe bring them within that distance of the enemy, as was necessary to have kept hi united, and consequently one side of the town open to receive continual suppli Thus was that place lost, and upon the matter with it all those gallant officers a soldiers, very few, and those of least consideration, being come off. What loss t rebels have sustained we cannot yet certainly learn; but it is said, that 45 of th officers were killed, and above 1000 common soldiers, some many more.

By this your Majesty may guess, and but guess, at our condition. For it is n to be imagined how great the terror is that those successes and the power of t rebels have struck into this people, who though they know themselves designed best to the loss of all they have, and to irrecoverable slavery, and have yet numb enough, and other competent means to oppose, and by the help of God to preve so miserable a fortune, are yet so stupified, that it is with great difficulty I c persuade them to act any thing like men towards their own preservation."

2. Extract from letter of Ormonde to Lord Byron, 29th Sept., 1649. Appendix.

1649. Sept. Ormonde's Account of Cromwell at Drogheda.

"When I had endeavoured severall times and in severall places to bring them on, nd was still thus served, I gave it over, and bethought mee how to secure Drogheda nd Trym; and immediately from a hill sent orders to Colonel Warren and olonel Wall (who weare of those that weare left on the other side of the river) to arch, Warren to Trym, and Wall to Drogheda, resolveng to goe myselfe to ilkenny to rally all I could, and to make provision for the defence of what wee ad gained. And the day sevennight after the defeate I set forth againe thence wards Trym. When I came there, I understood Jones was gotten before rogheda; but uppon knowledge of my comeing he drew back to Dublin, though I ad with mee but about 300 horse. I then went to Drogheda, where I had been ut a few dayes, when I was assured of Cromwell's being landed with his formidable rmy. Whereuppon it was taken into consideration, whether that towne should e kept or deserted, and it was resolved it should be kept; and to that end held ecessary to place in it a much greater force of men, and an experienced overnour. Sir Arthur Aston was pitched on to command, and above 2000 f our best foote and 250 horse weare put in, 55 barrells of powder, with ictuall for a much longer tyme than it held out. This done, I retired to Trym, ence to Tecroghan, and then againe came forward to Portlester, to rally our rces, and to be within distance to releeve the place. At length Cromwell came efore it with all his power, sending his cannon and victuall by sea; and after a eek's lyeing still, fell to batter on a Sunday (as I take it), Sept. 9. He continued is battery all Munday and Tuesday, till about four of the clock in the afternoone. Haveing made a breach which he judged assaultable, he assaulted it, and being vice beaten off, the third tyme he carryed it; all his officers and the souldiers romiseing quarter to such as would lay downe their armes, and performeing it, as ng as any place held out, which encouraged others to yeeld. But when they had ce all in their power, and feared noe hurt that could be done them, then the word e quarter went round, and the souldiers weare many of them forced against their ills to kill their prisoners. Sir Edm. Verney, Colonel Warren, Colonel Wall, d Colonel Byrne weare all killed in could blood, as was alsoe the Governour, d indeed all the officers, except some few of least consideration, that escaped by iracle. The cruelty exercised there for five dayes after the towne was taken, ould make as many severall pictures of inhumanity, as are to be found in the oke of Martyrs, or in the relation of Amboyna.

Immediately uppon this I ordered the burning and quitting of Trym and undalk: but feare soe possessed those in both places, that neither was soe done, t that the rebells have possessed them with garrisons, and are now marching ith all their power towards Wexford; and I am to morrow marching that way endeavour to save it from without, rather then from within.

Thus, my Lord, you have a confused relation such as my memory and tyme will

2. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 389.

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give me leave to make, of the successes God for our sins hath permitted the bloody rebells to gaine over us: which I intend only for your Lordship's private satisfaction, unlesse you find it needfull for the justification of your friend to imparte it to any other. I have not wittingly varyed from the truth; and I am willing to give the true reason to an objection that may be made, why I endeavoured not to releeve Drogheda by falling on the rebells with the party I had on one of the sides of the river, they being devided: but if neede be, that shall not be long concealed. I forgot to tell your Lordship that our strength was not by 10,000 such as Jones gave it out, and that there was about 600 only killed. Prisoners they have many; and of those that weare killed, the better half weare butchered an houer after quarter given them, and some after they weare brought within the walls of the towne. I shall now give your Lordship no farther trouble, but rest,

Yo^r Lopps most affectionate Servant,

Kilkenny, 29 Sept., 1649. Ormonde."

3. LUDLOW'S ACCOUNT OF THE TAKING OF DROGHEDA.

1649.
Sept.
Ludlow's Account of Drogheda Siege.

"In the month of September, 1649, the army embarked and set sail for Ireland; Commissary-general Ireton with one part of them designing for Munster, and Lieutenant-general Cromwell being appointed Lieutenant of Ireland, with the rest, for Dublin: but the wind blowing a strong gale from the south, they were both put into the bay of Dublin, where they were received with great joy: for tho' the enemy's army had been beaten from the siege of that place, and Colonel Jones, with the small forces he had with him, had made the best improvement he could of that advantage, by reducing some garisons that lay nearest to him; yet the enemy was still in possession of nine parts in ten of that nation, and had fortified the most considerable places therein. After our army had refreshed themselves, and were joined by the forces of Colonel Jones, they mustered in all between sixteen and seventeen thousand horse and foot. Upon their arrival the enemy withdrew, and put most of their army into their garisons, having placed three or four thousand of the best of their men, being most English, in the town of Tredah, and made Sir Arthur Ashton governour thereof. A resolution being taken to besiege that place, our army sat down before it, and the Lieutenant-general caused a battery to be erected against an angle of the wall, near to a fort which was within, called the Windmill-fort, by which he made a breach in the wall; but the enemy having a half-moon on the out-side, which was designed to flank the angle of the wall, he thought fit to endeavour to possess himself of it, which he did by storm, putting most of those that were in it to the sword. The enemy defended the breach against ours from behind an earth-work, which they had cast up within, and where they had drawn up two or three troops of horse which they had within the town, for the encouragement and support of their foot: the fort also was not unserviceable to them in the defence of the breach. The Lieutenant-

3. Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant of horse, Commander-in-chief of the forces in Ireland. London: 1751. pp. 116-17.

general well knowing the importance of this action, resolved to put all upon it; and having commanded some guns to be loaded with bullets of half a pound, and fired upon the enemy's horse, who were drawn up somewhat in view, himself with a reserve of foot marched up to the breach, which giving fresh courage to our men, they made a second attack with more vigour than before: whereupon the enemy's foot being abandoned by their horse, whom our shot had forced to retire, began to break and shift for themselves; which ours perceiving, followed them so close, that they overtook them at the bridge that lay cross the river, and separated that part where the action was from the principal part of the town; and preventing them from drawing up the bridge, entered pell-mell with them into the place, where they put all they met with to the sword, having positive orders from the Lieutenant-general to give no quarter to any soldier. Their works and fort were also stormed and taken, and those that defended them put to the sword also, and amongst them Sir Arthur Ashton, governour of the place.* A great dispute there was amongst the soldiers for his artificial leg, which was reported to be of gold, but it proved to be but of wood, his girdle being found to be the better booty, wherein two hundred pieces of gold were found quilted. The slaughter was continued all that day and the next; which extraordinary severity I presume was used to discourage others from making opposition."

Appendix. 1649. Sept. Cromwell at Drogheda.

4. Bates' Account of Drogheda Siege.

"The Kings souldiers taking the advice that was given them in their flight, betake themselves to Drogheda. The Lord-lieutenant hastens to Kilkenny, that he might muster his broken forces, having, upon his march, summoned the strong Castle of Bellison, upon pretext that Dublin was taken, which surrendred. There having represented to the Convention of Estates that were still sitting what loss he had sustained, and having moved them for supplies and money, he sets forward to Drogheda with three hundred horse: And that in a very opportune time; for Jones had hastened thither with some horse, that by the sole presence of the Conquerour he might reduce the city, now in disorder, by the news of the late overthrow and confusion of the souldiers. But the coming of the Lord-lieutenant scaring away Jones, the fear and danger were both quickly over.

Next he fortifies Trim, Neury, Dundalk, and other neighbouring places, putting strong garrisons where it was needful; he views all places, gives orders, and prepares for a vigorous defence, being resolved to meet Cromwell, if he came

1649. Sept. Cromwell at Drogheda. Part of the King's souldiers fly to Drogheda. The Lord-lieutenant to Kilkenny, and then to Drogheda, and delivers it from the fear of Jones, and also fortifies other places.

* "But at length the said garrison being overpower'd, and soon after taken by Ol. Cromwell and his forces, about the 10th of September, 1649, all the deffendants were put to the sword, and Aston the governour (a zealous R. Catholic) was hewen in pieces, and his brains beat out of his head with his wooden leg. He then left behind him a daughter named Elizabeth Thompson, alias Aston."—*Athenæ Oxonienses.* London: 1815, ed. Bliss. V. p. 78.

4. A short Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England. Written in Latin by Dr. George Bates, Principal Physician to King Charles I. and King Charles II. Made English, London: 1685. Part II., pp. 25—28.

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1649.

Sept.

Cromwell at Drogheda.

that way, whilst his horse relieving the places that were in danger, he might in the beginning of the spring raise a new army.

But in that also his hopes were in vain. For Cromwell having received the glad tydings of the victory, set sail from Milford-Haven, and that he might pursue the point upon the discomfited enemy, and carry the wound home to the heart, he steers his course straight to Dublin with a fleet of about an hundred ships, men of war and tenders, and, wholly slighting Munster, arrived there in the month of August, one thousand six hundred and forty nine, where having put ashore the souldiers, with the artillery, ammunition, and baggage, he makes a general muster of about fifteen thousand men, most of them old souldiers; for he thought it better to excel in valour than in number, and to take along with him stout hands, and not many heads. He declares Jones Lieutenant-general, Ireton Major-general, and Reynolds general of the horse, assigning to every one their several offices. He orders Venables to march to Derry, to the elder Coot, with a regiment of horse and two regiments of foot. He himself with ten thousand men marches streight to Drogheda, having committed the care of the fleet to Aiskew the Admiral.

In the meantime Cromwell slighting Munster, arrives at Dublin with fifteen thousand old souldiers,

of whom he marches with ten thousand to Drogheda,

which was defended by Sir Arthur Aston and the flower of the Kings army.

In this town the Lord-lieutenant had put the flower of his veterane souldiers, most English, under the command of Sir Arthur Aston, a gentleman renowned in the wars, both at home and abroad, but for the most part unfortunate. And here Cromwell resolved to make his first essay of the war. Aston, on the contrary, laid his design to tire out and break the enemy, insolent through victory, by the badness of the weather, watching, and hunger; then expose them to be harrassed and alarmed by the Lord-lieutenants horse, and the foot that were shortly to be recruited, until the Royalists being reassured, and encreased in force, might have the courage to provoke the Cromwellians, and fight them in a pitched battel.

Cromwell forthwith batters the walls.

He himself commanding the attack, makes his way into the town, and kills all he meets.

But he flatters himself in vain, for Cromwell attacks not the place by opening of trenches, slow approaches, and the other acts of a siege: but having forthwith caused a battery to be raised on the north side of the town, and planted with guns, he so plied the place with continual shooting, that he quickly made two breaches in the wall, and immediately commands an assault to be made, that with courage and resolution they might force their entry into the place. But this having been twice unsuccessfully attempted, he himself, with Ireton, commanding the attack, with indignation and courage, redoubled by the former repulses, they make the way which they found not into the town, and put to the sword all they meet, without favour or compassion The Governour, with some of the souldiers, fled instantly to the castle, a place strong by art and nature, but the Cromwellians entering pell-mell with them (some of whom clambered up the walls, not without the help of the souldiers of the garrison), they were all put to the sword. Some flying into the church are killed as sacrifices at the Divine altars; not a few poor wretches having got up to the church roof, were forced to tumble down by the smoke of kindled hay and gunpowder. There was but one single person that saved his life by despair, who for fear of the flames throwing himself headlong down from the top of the church, fell amongst the enemies, without any other hurt but that he broke his leg; whom, for the extraordinariness of the thing, they spared

and kept alive. The rest fleeing to the ramparts begg'd quarter, but in vain. All are knocked down wheresoever they are found, neither the gown nor the dwelling house affored any protection, nor was there any great respect had to either sex. The souldiers continued three days in cruelly slaying the towns-people that had carried arms, whom they dragged out of their lurking holes, and in pillaging and plundering the town: nay, and those also who after the fifth day came creeping out of their hiding-places, were most inhumanly put to death.

Appendix. 1649. Sept. Cromwell at Drogheda.

The sad spectacle of the town taken.

About four thousand men died in that butchery, rather than fight. So within the short space of one week was that city undone, which for whole three years together had resisted all the rage and attempts of the Irish Rebels.

The number of the slain.

This town being thus taken and plundered, the royal cause was quite extinguished in Ireland: for all the other garrisons were terrified into so great a consternation, that they trembled at the very name of Cromwell."

The garrisons about, either deserted, or easily surrendred.

5. Captain Thomas Wood's Account of Drogheda Siege.

"Thom. Wood, eldest brother to A[nthony] W[ood], died of the flux at Drogheda, commonly called Tredagh, in the month of Decemb. He was borne at Tetsworth, neare to Thame in Oxfordshire, where his father then had a farme, educated mostly in the free school at Thame under his kinsman Mr. W. Burt, was made student of Ch. Church in 1638, as I have before told you, and afterwards was the first, or one of the first yong scholars in Oxon. that threw off his gowne, and ran to Edghill battle. See more under the yeare 1642. At his returne thence he was actually created bach. of arts among soldiers that had done service at the said battle: and then his father, seeing that he could not persuade him from being a soldier, he bought a horse, armes, cloaths, &c. set him up for a troper, and got him a place to ride in the troop of captaine Tho. Gardiner of Cudesdon neare Oxon. Afterwards he became a stout and desperat soldier, was in several battles, and besieged in divers garrisons, particularly, if I am not mistaken, at Basing in Hampshire, and was made a lievtenant of horse. When the warr was terminated, and the King's cause utterlie vanquished, he return'd to his college, was actually created Mr. of arts, an. 1647, but in the next yeare being deeply engaged in the cavaliering plot, as I have told you under that yeare (1648), he, to avoid being taken and hanged for it, fled into Ireland, where finding out his quondam school-fellow at Thame, called col. Hen. Ingoldesbie, he became a lievtenant in his regiment, afterwards a captaine, and, as I have heard, had a commission, a little before his death, to be a major. About a yeare before that time, viz. in 1650, he returned for a time to Oxon., to take up his arrears at Ch. Church, and to settle his other affaires; at which time being often with his mother and brethren, he would tell them of the most terrible assaulting and storming of Tredagh, wherein he himself had been engaged. He told them, that three thousand at least, besides some women and children,

1649. Sept. Wood's Account of Cromwell at Drogheda.

5. *Athenæ Oxonienses.* London: 1815, ed. Bliss, Vol. I. pp. xix, xx.

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1649. Sept. Wood's Account of Cromwell at Drogheda.

were, after the assailiants had taken part, and afterwards all the towne, put to the sword on the 11 and 12 of Sept. 1649, at which time Sr Arth. Aston, the governour, had his braines beat out, and his body [1]hack'd to pieces. He told them, that when they were to make the[2] way up to the lofts and galleries in the church, and up to the tower[3] where the enemy had fled, each of the assaliants would take up a child and use as a buckler of defence, when they ascended the steps, to keep themselves from being shot or brain'd.

After they had kil'd all in the[4] church, they went into the vaults underneath, where all the flower and choicest of the women and ladies had hid themselves. One of these, a most hansome virgin, arrai'd in costly and gorgeous apparel, kneel'd downe to Tho. Wood with teares and prayers to save her life: And being strucken with a profound pitie,[5] took her under his arme, went with her out of the church, with intentions to put her over the works to shift for herself; but a soldier perceiving his intentions, he ran his sword up her belly or fundament. Whereupon Mr. Wood, seeing her gasping, took away her money, jewells, etc. and flung her downe over the works, &c.

In the latter end of 1680, when the Parliament sate at Oxon. A. Wood was walking with Sr Hen. St. Georg, Clarentius, king of armes, in the school-quadrangle. Sr Hen. then meeting with col. Hen. Ingoldesbie before mention'd and telling him who A. W. was, A. W. thereupon did discourse with him concerning his brother Thomas: and, among several things[6] that the colonel told him, was, that Thomas was a good soldier, stout and ventrous, and having an art of merriment, called buffooning, his company was desired and loved by the officers of his regiment. He told him then, he buried [him] in a church at Tredagh, answerable to his qualitie, but could not tell him when he died. This Tho. Wood was a tall, proper and robust man, like his father, but black and swarthy, unlike in that to any of his brethren, or father."

LXXV. OWEN O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649. 19. Sept. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Exll,

Yors of the 13th of August came to my hands yesterday, and doe returne yor Exll very many thankes as well for yor Excies kind expression therein, as alsoe for the other manifold cares and favors wherewth yor Ex. hath hitherto sufficiently obliged mee and my army. I would have begun my march out of these partes long ere now, but for an unexpected fitt of sicknes I tooke in my knee, whereof I am not fully cleere as yett; and wth all that, untill now wee made not an end of our accoumpts wth Sr Charles Coote. However, to-morrow morneing (God willing)

[1] Hack'd and chop'd to pieces.—*Diar. Hearne.* [2] Their way.—*Ibid.* [3] In churches, and up to the towers.—*Ibid.* [4] Churches.—*Ibid.* [5] A deep remorse.—*Ibid.* [6] Things, he told me, that he was a good.—*Ibid.*

LXXV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 353.

I will begin my march uppwards, and when wee aneere them partes yor Ex. will heare further from

Yo^{r} Ex^{lls} most humble servant,

Owen ONeill.

Appendix. 1649. 19. Sept. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

19 September, 1649. For his Ex. ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^{t}.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Generall ONeile. Dated 19 Sep. Rec. 1 Octo., 1649.

LXXVI. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex.

Yo^{r} dispatch of the 8th of this instant, came not to my hands untill this day about sunsett at the Omigh. I am heartily sorry that the presumption and prid of my ill wishers soe farr prevailed hitherto, as to hinder my cooperation wth y^{r} Ex. in giveing a reall testimony of my fidelity to my king, country, and nation by makeing timely use of my slinder indeavo^{rs} (though inconsiderable soever they bee) for the prevention of the present sadd accidents, whereat (I call God to wittnes) I greive and condole as much as any man breathing.

1649. 24. Sept. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

However, (I hope), matters may yett doe well. I am now in my march wth the army upwards, and will loose as litle time as I can, untill I come to the county of Cavan, and from thence yor Ex. will more at large heare from

Yo^{r} Ex. his humble servant,

24 September, 1649. Owen ONeill.

For his Ex. ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^{t}.-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Generall ONeile. Dated 24 Sept. Rec. 1 Octo., 1649.

LXXVII. Daniel O'Neill to President of Munster.

Omy, the 25th of September, 1649.

My deare Lord,

Just now I received your Lordships of the 17th, with that to my uncle, whose unfortunate sicknes hindered him with his army to be neere you theise ten dayes; his owne letter tells you of his beeinge uppon his march, which I feare his indisposition will not give way to be soe speedy as your occasion and his owne desire would have it, for hee is carried in a litter, which hee indures but ill; hee has much of your Lordships apprehension, for Tecroghan yet would not have Crumwell fought with, but uppon greate advantages, for hee beleeves our men are much out of heart, and that passes and the season must beate Crumwell more then any forces wee can bringe against him. It is very true that I thinke I am more

1649. 25. Sept. Daniel O'Neill to President of Munster.

LXXVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 359. LXXVII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 363.

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25. Sept.
Daniel O'Neill to President of Munster.

happy in my last negotiation then in any of my former, yet I take God to witnes I have beene noe lesse zealous in all the rest. I am confident if it answere my expectation I have not a freind that will improove it more to my advantadge then your selfe, soe that I am not at all to doubt of your satisfaction in my beeing an instrument in soe good a worke, which I hope God will bringe to passe for the good of his Matie and the quiett of this poore country. The army is this night at Omy; six dayes hence the generall hopes to be in Westmeath, hee hopes to march 6000 foote, besides what he leves to assist the riseinge of the Scotts againe against Derry, whether is lately come 900 foote, one Hunkes, I beleeve Sr Fulkes brother: 300 of them are of your men, the party of horse will not be very considerable. I hope his Ex^{ly} will finde mee more fortunate in my negotiation then I have beene in my dispatches to him, my first and my third beeinge brought back from the county of Cavan to my unkle, which made mee resolve not to write untill the country understand of a better correspondence betweene his Ex^{cy} and this party. My hast to returne your Lordship this returne I hope will excuse my not writeinge now to his Ex^{cy}. I beseech God of his infinitt mercy assist his Ex^{cy} and your Lordship. I am,

My deare Lord,

Your most humble and affectionate servant,

D. ON.

Endorsed: 25 Sept., 1649. Coppy of Daniell ONeiles letter to the Lord President of Mounster.

LXXVIII. DANIEL O'NEILL TO SIR NICHOLAS PLUNKETT.

S^{r},

1649.
27. Sept.
Daniel O'Neill to Sir Nicholas Plunkett.

I find by a letter of the Generalls to you that hee has apoynted a tuisday next for the meeting of his Comissioners wth you, and the rest apoynted by his Ex^{lls} to treat att Fina. I am confident you come soe authorised ass that ther will not be much tyme spent. The propositions I brought to you to Limmerick I find will be insisted uppon; ther are noething in them that ought now to be insisted uppon, for the most materiall were the number of ther army, wch ass the case stands I could wysh were twyce ass much: I shall wayt uppon them; in the meane tyme, I am, S^{r},

Yo^{r} most humble servant,

Daniell ONeille.

From ye camp neere Clogher, this 27 of September, 1649.

For Sr Niccollas Plunkett, K^{t}, my much honored frind: These, att Fina or Kiltooner.

Endorsed: 27° Sept., 1649. Dan. ONeiles to Sr Nich. Plunckett.

LXXVIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 366.

LXXIX. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 28. Sept. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

S^r,

His Matie haveing by his letters which Father Talbott carries unto you invited you to concurre by your submission unto his authority, in preserveinge his interests in this kingdome against the power of those rebells, that have designed the extirpation of this nation, I have thought fitt to accompany them with this assurcance from mee, that as his Matie is gratiously pleased to esteeme your seasonable compliance therein an act worthy to be remembred by him to your advantadge, soe I shall not be wantinge to increase his good opinion of you, by representing your services in the best manner, and procureinge a full accomplishment of his Maties intentions, which I know to be favorable unto you. I remaine,

Your affectionate freind,

Kilkenny Castle, the 28th day of September, 1649. Ormonde.

To our welbeloved Generall Owen ONeill: Theise.

Endorsed: 28 Sept., 1649.

LXXX. DANIEL O'NEILL TO CLANRICARDE.

1649. 28. Sept. Daniel O'Neill to Clanricarde.

My Lord,

Imediatly after my comeing to my unkle, and knoweing from him that he was not of the party of the Parleament, and that nothinge letted his being of ours butt his not haveing his conditions from his Ex^cie, I write to yor Lordship how farr I proceeded wth him, wch was noe more then to dispose him to march directly to Leinster towards his Ex^cie to receave his comaunds; three weekes since hee had beene uppon his march, if an unfortunate sickenes had not hindred him; as soone as he gott some ease he began his iourney, though in a very homely litter. This night heele bee in the county of Cavan; iff his indisposition doe not increase, he hopes amunday to bee att Mullingarr, where I beleeve he will stay untill his Com^rs have don with Sr Nicholas Plunkett and Sr Richard Barnewall, who are a Tuesday next to be att Fina, where I am confident the dispute will not be long, iff the same divell that hindred the agreem^t at Limericke doe not governe still. Garrett Moore came yesterday from the Generall; he hase well sounded the disposition of the most considerable of that party. I beleeve he finds them all inclyned to serve his Matie uppon assureance of good usage; the Bishop of Clogher much deceaves him and me iff he passionatly desires not theire agreem^t wth his Ex^cies. If hee be reall there will noe rubbe, ass well from yor province as the rest; hither dayly come friars and priests from the most sedicious of the clergie and layty of those countryes, wch occations my stay wth the army and my much trouble in it: shortly I shall send yor Lordship the names of those friers of yor country, and from whome they are imployed. I had from Derry intelligence that the Graimes have a designe to sell this place to Sr Charles Coote. I came hither to

LXXIX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 372. LXXX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 373.

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Daniel O'Neill to Clanricarde.

aquainte the Governour wth it, and to offer him what men he pleases from Owen ONeale to secure the place. I finde him shye of takeing any men out of that army before theire agreem^t^ wth his Ex^ll^, wch made me importune Mayor Moore, to promisse to send hether presently a 100 muskettiers, wth out wch this place of very greate consequence can not be well secured. The Governor tells me that he hase sent to yor Lordship for 200 men. I beseech yor Lordship hasten them to him, for the place is of almost as much concearnem^t^ to yor province as to this, therefore lett it not be neglected. Coote hase come from Dublin, one Coll. Huntes wth a regiment of foote of 800 wth wch and those he had before, and his God Crumwell, he is in hope to be Lord of Connaght and Ulster, as absolute as ever any of yor ancestors have beene, butt if Crumwells army be soe shattered wth the bussinesse of Drogheda, and wth the sickness that rages among, as it is reported, Coote and his Crumwell may have better hope of land in England then Ireland. I have acquainted Garrett Moore wth a designe that is uppon his forte by some of his neighbours; I am sure now he is warned heile prevent the mischeefe, whether the designers intend Owen ONeales or Cootes service by it, I am not knoweing; I humbly beg of yor Lordship to be mindefull of yor servant, and not to beleeve none more at yor comaund, then, My Lord,

Yo^r^ Lordships most humble servant,

Inniskellin, 28 September, 1649. Daniell ONeille.

My Lord, I find all Owen ONeales officers, and indeede the principall of his province, depend much uppon yor care of them, and would all be much ioyed yo' Lordship would appere in this treaty, as Mayor Moore will more at lardge informe yor Lordship.

Endorsed: 28 Sept., 1649. The coppy of Danyell ONeills letter.

LXXXI. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

1649.
28. Sept.
Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

S^r^,

Father Talbott carries his Maties letters to Generall Owen ONeill, whic doubtles hee will value as they merritt, and by his submission and assistanc (which now are very seasonable) make way for the promised advantadges, whic I shall not be backward to solicitt for him. And because Father Talbott hath, i pursuance of the credence to be given him, more to say uppon this subiect, I hav comaunded him to be wholly directed by you, in order to the inclosed instruction and remaine,

Your very affectionate frend,

Kilkenny Castle, 28 Sept., 1649. Ormonde.

To our welbeloved Collonell Daniell ONeill: Theise.

Endorsed: 1649, 28 Sept.

LXXXI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 374.

LXXXII. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

1649. 28. Sept. Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

Sr,

Since your goeing from Trym, I received but one letter from you, and by that I was perswaded that long before now yor uncle and his army would have beene much neerer us then yet wee heare they are. What his impediments are, whither in his helth or in his will, is the subject of much discourse. I, for my parte, cannot beleeve he wants a foresight of his owne ruine with his whole nations in the prevaileing of the rebells, however he may be otherwise promished in their name by some corrupted emissaryes; and I cannot harbour soe meane a thought of him, that he can be bought by any private advantage to be a looker on in the destruction of his country, whilest his apearing may preserve it. I beseech you lett us be put out of our paine concearning him, and lett us know what may be hoped for. There are two Fathers imployed to him from the King. One of them, Fr. Newgent, was sent with some authority from him, the Bipp of Clogher and Farrell, to the King and Queene. They have both directions to imparte their negotiation with you, and to be governed by you in them. Newgent pretends to much power with yor uncle, and beleeves that till he come if he had stayed a yeare noething would be done: our King is at Jersey, and his fleete ready to set to sea. If wee weare assured of your uncle, I should be more possitive in my advice, for his comeing over then I dare till then be, I am,

Yor faithfull frend and servant,

Kilkenny, 28 Sept., 1649. Ormonde.

Endorsed: 28 Sept., 1649. A coppy of my Lords letter to Coll. Daniell ONeile. By F. Newgent.

LXXXIII. INSTRUCTIONS TO FATHER THOMAS TALBOT FOR NEGOCIATIONS WITH OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 28. Sept. Instructions for Father Talbot.

Ormonde,

1. You are to repaire to Generall Owen ONeill and deliver him his Maties letters, and those of ours directed unto him, and to assure him that wee shalbe very ready and willinge to confirme the Kinge in his good opinion of him, and to observe his Maties comaund in any matter that may be of advantadge unto him.

2. You are to deliver our letters to Collonell Daniell ONeill, and to shew him your instructions from his Mattie together with theise our instructions, and in all the passages betweene you and Generall Owen ONeill to proceede by the said Daniell his advise and direction, and not otherwise.

Given at Kilkenny Castle, the 28th day of September, 1649.

Endorsed:—9 [*sic*] Sept., 1649. Instructions for Father Thomas Talbott.

LXXXII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 379. LXXXIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 382.

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LXXXIV. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 29. Sept. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

S^r^,

The next day after I had made my dispach unto you by Father Thomas Talbott, I did reseave his Maties letters by Father Frauncis Nugent, wheerby I did observe that in regard the said Father Frauncis was authorishd in yor behalf to make proposals unto his Matie, the King was pleased further to encoradg me to see you satisfyed, and althooghe his Ma^ty^ did not discend to particulars, yet finding the graunt of so much as Father Nugent proposed in yor behalf, and wheerw^th^ he was assured you would rest satisfyed, did not in my iudgment exceed his Maties gratious intentions now and heer to fore exspresd in favor of you. I have by an instrument entrusted with Father Nugent, obliged his Maties upon yor submission to his authority, to the concessions theerin exspresd, and I doe farther assure you that at the same time you shall unfainedly have a reall intrest in

[*Blank.*]

Endorsed: 29 Sept., 1649. A coppy of the letter [to] Gen. ONeile, by Fr. Newgent.

LXXXV. COLONEL DAVID SINNOTT TO ORMONDE.

1649. 30. Sept. Wexford: Colonel David Sinnott to Ormonde.

Most excellent S^r^,

Being intrusted by the generall of the horse wth the comaund and goverm^t^ of this towne of Wexford, I came hither, Friday last, to putt the same into the best posture of defence for his Ma^ts^ service wch I may; but, may it please yor Excellencie, I find noe resolution in the townesmen to defend the towne, but to speake truth nakedly, I find and perceave them rather inclined to capitulat and take conditions of the enemy; in soe much as I cannott as yet find admittance for those fewe assigned hither for the defence of the place, nor a muster of the townesmen to knowe what streinth they have for the defence therof, in wch respecte, seing I am not able to doe his Ma^ty^ any service, I am resolved to leave the towne, w^th^out I find their undelayed conformity. All wch out of my duety I humbly offer unto yor Excellencie, and assure yor Lordship that the place wilbe lost to his Ma^ts^ w^th^out yor Excellencie interpose his Ma^ts^ forces for the defence therof, wch if sent by the towne will incouradge them, and nothing else, as I conceave such impression they have of Drogheda. All wch I humbly submitt unto yor Excellencies more grave consideration, resting,

My most excellent Lord,

Yo^r^ Excellencies humblest servant,

Wexford, Ultimo Septembris, 1649. Da. Sinnott.

To his Ex^cie^ the Lord Leivten^t^-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Lievt^t^-coll. David Sinotts. Dated the last of Sept., 1649. Concerning the irresolution of the townsmen of Wexford in ye defence of the towne, and their inclination to deliver it to Cromwell, being aprehensive of the same useage that the towne of Drogheda had, etc.

LXXXIV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 384. LXXXV. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 393.

LXXXVI. Order for Thanksgiving in England.

Die Martis, 2 Octobr., 1649.

Ordered by the Commons assembled in Parliament, that Thursday the first of November next be appointed for a day of public thanksgiving, to be observed in all the churches and chappels within England and Wales, to render thanks to Almighty God, for his great mercy in giving such wonderful successes to the Parliaments forces in Ireland.

1649. 2. Oct. Order for thanks-giving.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

LXXXVII. CROMWELL AT WEXFORD.

1. A perfect and particular relation of the several marches and proceedings of the armies in Ireland, from the taking of Drogheda to this present.

1649. October. Cromwell at Wexford.

Sir,

Yours I received at Dublin a little before we took our march, after our taking of Drogheda, unto this place. And now having some more news, even the mercies of God towards us, to impart unto you I re-salute you, and give you this accompt of transactions here.

On Thursday the 27th of September wee marcht out of Dublin some part of the army, for expedition sake, being march'd before. In our passage hither, severall castles held by the enemy fell in unto us. The first was Killencarick, which was quitted by the enemy, having heard of our intentions to march that way. On Friday the 28th we came to Athlee [Arklow], scituate upon the sea, and they had fired that and quitted it. So likewise, on Saterday the 29th, wee passed through Limmerick, which they had fired, and left that night. A party was sent to Fernes, which was surrendred upon termes, that they should march away, only leaving all their armes, ammunition, and provisions behind them. On Sunday the 30th wee came to Enescorthy, a very fine strong castle belonging to Mr. Wallop of Huntshire, but garrisond by the enemy; this was surrendred to us on the same termes as the former. Having cleared all before us, we came on Thursday the second of this instant October, and encamped before Wexford. Two or three days before we came hither the enemy from Kilkenny had sent some regiments of foot into the town for its strength and security. On Wednesday, My Lord sent in this summons:

Sir,

Having brought the army belonging to the Parliament of England before this place to reduce it to its due obedience, to the end effusion of blood may be

LXXXVI. Letters from Ireland, etc. *Ante*, p. 263.

1. A perfect and particular relation of the several marches and proceedings of the armie in Ireland, from the taking of Drogheda to this present. The taking of Killencarrick, Athlee [Arklow], Lymerick, Fernes, Enescorthy. The particulars fully of the taking of Wexford, with several other passages, and the armyes advance to Rosse. Imprimatur: Io: Rushworth: [London] 27 Oct., 1649.

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prevented, and this towne and country about it preserved from ruine, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same into my hands, to the use of the State of England; by this offer, I hope it will cleerly appeare where the guilt will lye, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the nocent. I expect your speedy answer, and rest, Sir,

Your servant,

October the 3d, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Commander-in-Chiefe within the town of Wexford, these.

Whereunto this answer was returned:

Sir,

I have received your letter of summons, for the delivery up of this town into your hands, which standeth not with my honour to doe of my selfe: neither will I take it upon me without the advice of the rest of the officers, and Mayor of this Corporation, this town being of so great consequence to all Ireland, whom I will call together, and conferre with, and return my resolution unto you to morrow by 12 of the clock: in the mean time, if you be so pleased, I am content to forbear all acts of hostility, so you permit no approach to be made. Expecting your answer in that particular, I remain,

My Lord,

Your Lordships servant,

For the Lord General Cromwell, these. Da. Sinnot.

My Lord returned this answer:

Sir,

I have received your resolutions, to return your answer by 12 of the clock to morrow morning, which I agree unto, but for your other part of your letter, to forbear all acts of hostility, I consider that your houses are better then our tents, and so shall not consent unto that. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

O. Cromwell.

For the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford, these.

The Mayor and Aldermen were so courteous, that in the intervall before they return'd their positive answer, they sent My Lord a present of sacke, strong waters and strong beer.

On Thursday the 4 of this instant, about 12 of the clock, this paper was sent out of the towne:

Sir,

I have advised with the Mayor and officers as I promised, and thereupon am content, that four whom I shall employ may have a conference and treaty with

our of yours, to see if any agreement and understanding may be begot between us. To this purpose, I desire you to send mine a safe conduct, as I do hereby promise to send unto yours, when you send me their names; And I pray that the meeting may be had to morrow, at eight of the clock in the forenoone, that they may have sufficient time to conferre and debate together, and determine and compose the matter, and that the meeting and place may be agreed upon, and the safe conducts mutually sent for the said meeting this afternoone, Expecting your answer hereto, I rest,

My Lord,

Your servant,

Wexford, 4 October, 1649. Da. Sinnot.

Send me the names of your Agents, their qualities and degrees. Those I fix upon are Maior James Byrne, Maior Theobald Dillon, Alderman Nicholas Cheevers, Mr. William Stafford.

For the Lord-general Cromwell, these.

Hereunto, My Lord replyed thus:

Sir,

Having summoned you to deliver the town of Wexford into my hands, I might well expect the delivery thereof, and not the desire of a formall treaty, which is seldome granted, but where the things stand upon a more equal foot. If, therefore, your selfe or the town have any desires to offer, upon which you will surrender the place to me, I shall be able to judge of the reasonablenesse of them when they are made knowne to me: To which end if you shall think fit to send the persons named in your last, intrusted by your selfe and the towne, by whom I may understand your desires, I shall give you a speedy and fitting answer. And I do hereby ingage my selfe, that they shall return in safety to you. I expect your answer hereunto within an hour, and rest,

Your servant,

Oct. 4th. 1649. O. Cromwell.

To the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford, these.

This begat this further reply:

Sir,

I have returned you a civil answer to the best of my judgment, and thereby I finde you undervalue me and the place so much, as you think to have it surrendred without capitulation, or honourable termes, as appears by your hours limitation in your last. Sir, had I never a man in this towne, but the townsmen and artillery here planted, I should conceiue my selfe in a very befitting condition to make honourable conditions, and having a considerable party with them in the place, I am resolved to dye honourably, or make such conditions as may secure my honour and life in the eyes of my owne party, to which reasonable termes, if you

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hearken not, or give me time to send my agents, till eight of the clock in the forenoone to morrow with my propositions, with a further safe conduct, I leave you to your better judgement, and my selfe to the assistance of the Almighty: and so conclude,

Your servant,

Wexford, October tho 4th, 1649. Da. Sinnot.

For the Lord-general Cromwell, these.

My Lord return'd no answer to this letter, but the Governor of Wexford the day following sent this ensuing overture:

Sir,

My propositions being now prepared, I am ready to send my agents with them unto you, and for their safe return, I pray you to send conduct by this bearer unto me, in hope an honourable agreement may thereupon arise between your Lordship and,

My Lord,

Your Lordships servant,

Wexford, October the 5, 1649. Da. Sinnot.

For the Lord-gen. Cromwell, these.

According to the contents of this last letter, My Lord sent a permit unto him for his agents to come, and return safely; but the Governours minde was altered before the morrow, and it was occasioned by the comming in unto him of two fresh regiments sent by the Lord of Castlehaven; for on Saturday the 6 of this instant, there came relief into the town * on the other side the water, which we had no

* The following letter written to the Marquis of Ormonde by Sinnot, on this day, is preserved among the Carte Papers (xxv. p. 420):

May it please your Excell.,

The releife your Lordship sent came very seasonable, but our necessityes and wants of all sortes of provision, and weakeness of our walls debarrde us from sendinge of partyes for fetchinge in releife. The enemy hath now landed ther artillery and victualls for ther soldiors; they have alredy raysed a battery to comand the ferry one the south syde; it be night men may be brought over, or any other provissions; they are hard att worke and makeing ther prepairations for the rest of ther batterryes. Soe as, My Lord, delayes wilbe very preiuditiall, it would be extreame well ordered, to face them to morowe with horse, that peradventure will gaine us some tyme, and preserve this place, and much distress them, for want of forradge, which is very scarse in these partes. If there weare 500 men more, soe as provission weare sent a longe with them, it would give us a verye greate succour, but if your Lordship drawe tymely upon them, wee shall, with what men wee have, make shift for a tyme to defend ourselfes. This, My Lord, beinge the present relation of this place I most humbly take leave, and rest, My Lord,

Your Excel. faithfull servant,

Wexford, 6th October, 1649. Da. Sinnott.

For his Excell. the Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: Lieutenant-collonell David Sinnot to My Lord, dated 6 October, 1649. Concerning the releefe sent to Wexford, which came very seasonably, etc.

notice of, neither if we had could we have prevented it, and thereupon the Governour sent out this excusall for the non sending of his agents according to his promise and permit:

My Lord,

Even as I was ready to send out my agents unto you, the Lord-general of the Horse came hither with releif; unto whom I communicated the proceedings between your Lordship and me, and delivered him the propositions I intended to dispatch unto your Lordship, who hath desired a small time to consider of them, and to speed them unto me, which, My Lord, I could not deny, he having a commanding power over me. Pray, My Lord, believe that I do not doe this to trifle out time, but for his present content; and if I find any long delay in his Lordships returning them back unto me, I will proceed of my self according to my first intention: to which I beseech your Lordship giue credit, at the request,

My Lord, of

your Lordships ready servant,

Wexford, October 6, 1649. Da. Sinnot.

For the Lord-gen. Cromwell, these.

Hereunto My Lord gave this reply:

Sir,

You might have spared your trouble in the account you give me of your transaction with the Lord-general of your Horse, and of your resolutions in case he answer not your expectations in point of time. These are your own concernments, and it behooves you to improve them, and the relief ye mention to your best advantage; all that I haue to say, is to desire you to take notice, that I do hereby revoke my safe conduct from the persons mentioned therein. When ye shall see cause to treat, you may send for another. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

October the 6th, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Commander-in-Chief in Wexford, these.

Hereupon the messages between My Lord and the Governour ceased, and we prepared for batteries. After consultation had, it was resolved, that all our batteries should be raised against the castle on the south end of the town, that being the strongest part; it would easily command all the town if once taken, and the rest would fall with it. The wall of the town is very strong, being rampier'd with earth, very thick. We had now possession of the fort that lies upon the entrance into the bay, and commands the passage, For when we sent a party towards it, the enemy had quitted it before. This was of great advantage to us, for our ships thereby came into the bay, and landed provisions more conveniently unto us.

APPENDIX.
1649.
October.
Cromwell at Wexford.

On Munday the 9th of this instant news came to us that Ormond with his whole army was come over the river on this side Rosse, for the reliefe of this town, whereupon we sent a party of 15 troops of horse and three troops of dragoones under Lieutenant-general Iones to meet them, and fight with them. Ormond, hearing of the march of our men, kept not on his way, but wheeling about, he drew off towards Kilkenny. On Thursday the 11th of this instant, all things being ready, our canon played against the castle, and we prepared to storme. The Ordnance played their parts very handsomly, and by noone the battlements of the castle were beaten down, and three great breaches were made in 2 of the towers. Great feare and amazement fell upon the hearts of the inhabitants of the towns, the Governour sent a drum and beat a parley, the Major and some of the Aldermen came with propositions for a surrender.

The Governour of the castle came out, and submitted to My Lords mercy, and gave him the possession of the castle.

My Lord, being willing to save the inhabitants of the town, and to preserve it from plunder, condiscended to let the soldiery repair every one to their own homes, they engaging not to bear arms any more against the state of England; and the officers were to have their lives, but to render themselves prisoners. Just as My Lord was ready to sign this * and send it into the town, such a fear fell upon them, that the soldiers left the wall, and all, both men, women, officers, and souldiers, endeavoured to betake themselves to fly over the water in boats, for the safety of their lives. Our men saw this and presently scaled the walls to stop them in their intended flight. They did not find very much opposition, but in lesse then the space of an hour the whole town was cleer'd and gain'd. There was a wonderfull providence seen in it, that when they were even on the brink to have conditions, it should be so marvellously denyed them. The hand of God was mightily in it; this town, which was a seare of pyracy, and the ruine of many familyes in England, was thus justly met with. We may read much of God, in the whole carriage of this besiness; yea, even his righteous anger against this place. Two things were

* LETTER OF CROMWELL TO SINNOT.

Sir

I have had the patience to peruse your propositions, to which I might have returned an answeare with some disdaine. But (To bee short) I shall giue the souldiers and noncommissioned officers quarter for life and leave to go to their severall habitations, with their wearing cloathes They ingaginge themselues to live quietly there and to take upp armes no more against the Parliament of England. And the commissioned officers quarter for their lives, but to render themselves prisoners And as for the inhabitants, I shall ingage my selfe that noe violence shall bee offred to their goods, and that I shall protect the towne from plunder.

I expect your possetive answeare instantly and if you will upon these tearmes surrender and quitt in one houre shall sende forth to mee foure officers of the quality of feild officers and two Aldermen for the performance therof I shall thereupon forbear all acts of hostility

Your servant
O Cromwell.

Oct. 11th, 1649.

For the Comannder in Cheife in the towne of Wexford:

The foregoing, much obscured by several interlineations, is now in the Library of the Royal Irish Academy, Dublin. Thomas Carlyle, in his work on Cromwell (1846, vol. 2, p. 79), refers to it as having been, till then, regarded as "hopelessly lost." He does not appear to have been aware of the existence of a contemporary copy in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Carte Papers, xxv. 446.

very remarkable. The one was, that when the English in the beginning of this rebellion fled hither out of the countrys for protection, they sent many of them to shipboard, and there they were drowned; even in the same waters many of these now, through hast, sank and perished: the other was, that some priests and friers were now killed in that church, where they had caused many of the English to be famished to death. Thus the Lord has found out their wickednesse, and repayed it. Many escaped over the water, and carried some goods along with them. Our soldiers had the plunder of the town for the space of two hours, and then My Lord caused a proclamation to be published, that all further violence and plunder should cease upon perill. The rest of the goods that were saved, together with the ships, are to be valued for the state. Wee lost not one man in the storm, and not above 3 or 4 were wounded; our souldiers killed many, both in the town and as they fled out of the town. On the west side, a great slaughter was made. Many were drowned as they thought to escape by boat over the water. Some are taken prisoners; one Col., one Lieut.-col., five Captaines, six Lieutenants, four Ensignes, three Serjeants, one hundred, fourescore, and fifteen soldiers, fourescore and fifteen whereof are taken to be pioneers in our army. Thus has the Lord been pleased to giue this strong place into our hands. Blessed be his name for ever.

Wee are now gone to Rosse. The Lord has done great things for us beyond our thoughts, great mercies in the north, very high successes there, and now he has enlarged our borders towards the south. The Lord keep us humble, and his presence be with us still.

A present supply of more foot would be highly advantagious, for many garrisons do swallow up our infantry. Let us haue your prayers, and blesse God for what he has already done.

October 22, 1649.

2. PROPOSITIONS TO CROMWELL FROM GOVERNOR OF WEXFORD.

The propositions of Col. David Sinnot, Governor of the town and castle of Wexford, for and on the behalf of the officers and soldiers, and inhabitants in the said town and castle, unto General Cromwel.

Imprimis, that all and every the inhabitants of the said town, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shall have free and uninterrupted liberty, publiquely to use, exercise and profess the Roman Catholick religion, without restriction, mulct or penalty, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

II. That the regular and secular Roman Catholick clergy, now possessed of the churches, church-livings, monasteries, religious houses and chappels in the said town, and in the suburbs and franchises thereof, and their successors, shall have, hold and enjoy to them and their successors for ever, the said churches, church-

2. A letter from the Lord-lieutenant of Ireland, to the Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., speaker of the Parliament of England: giving an account of the proceedings of the army, then under his Lordship's command; and several transactions between his Lordship and the Governor of Wexford . . . London: Printed by order of the Parliament, 1649.

APPENDIX. 1649. October. Cromwell at Wexford.

livings, monasteries, religious houses and chappels, and shall teach and preach in them publiquely, without any molestation, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

III. That Nicholas [French] now Lord Bishop of Ferns, and his successors, shall use and exercise such jurisdiction over the Catholicks of his diocess, as since his consecration hitherto he used.

IV. That all the officers and soldiers, of what quality or degree soever in the said town and castle, and such of the inhabitants as are so pleased, shall march with flying colours, and be conveyed safe with their lives, artillery, ordnance, ammunition, arms, goods of all sorts, horses, moneys, and what else belongs to them, to the town of Ross, and there be left safe, with their own party, allowing each muskettier towards their march a pound of powder, four yards of match, and twelve brace of bullets, and a strong convoy to be sent with the said soldiers, within four and twenty hours after the yielding up of the said town.

V. That such of the inhabitants of the said town, as will desire to leave the same at any time hereafter, shall have free liberty to carry away out of the said town, all their frigots, artillery, arms, powder, bullets, match, corn, mault, and other provision, which they have for their defence and sustenance, and all their goods and chattels, of what quality or condition soever, without any maner of disturbance whatsoever, and have passes, and safe conducts, and convoys, for their lives and said goods to Ross, or where else they shall think fit.

VI. That the major, bayliffs, freeburgesses and commons of the said town, may have, hold and enjoy the said town and suburbs, their commons, their franchises, and their liberties and immunities which hitherto they enjoyed; and that the major, bayliffs and freeburgesses, may have the government of the said town, as hitherto they enjoyed the same from the realm of England, and that they may have no other government, they adhering to the state of England, and observing their orders, and the orders of their governors in this realm for the time being.

VII. That all and every the burgesses and inhabitants, either native or stranger of the said town, who shall continue their abode therein, or come to live there within three moneths, and their heirs, shall have, hold and enjoy, all and singular their several castles, messuages, houses, lands, tenements and hereditaments within the land of Ireland, and all their goods and chattels, of what nature, quality or condition soever, to them and their heirs, to their own several uses for ever, without molestation.

VIII. That such burgess or burgesses, or other inhabitant of the said town, as shall at any time hereafter be desirous to leave the said town, shall have free leave to dispose of their real and personal estates respectively, to their best advantage; and further, have full liberty and a safe conduct respectively to go into England, or elsewhere, according to their several pleasures, who shall desire to depart the same.

IX. That all and singular the inhabitants of the said town, either native or stranger, from time to time, and at all times hereafter, shal have, reap and enjoy the full liberty of free-born English subjects, without the least incapacity or restriction therein; and that all the free-men of the said town, from time to time,

shall be as free in all the sea-ports, cities and towns in England, as the free-men of all and every the said cities and towns; and all and every the free-men of the said cities and towns, to be as free in the said town of Wexford, as the free-men there of, for their greater incouragement to trade and commerce together of all hands.

X. That no memory remain of any hostility or distance which was hitherto between the said town and castle of the one part, and the Parliament or State of England of the other part, but that all act and acts, transgressions, offences, depradations, and other crimes of what nature or quality soever, be they ever so transcendent, attempted, or done, or supposed to be attempted or done, by the inhabitants of the said town, or any other heretofore or at present adhering to the said town, either native or stranger, and every of them, shall pass in oblivion, without chastisement, challenge, recompence, demand, or questioning, for them or any of them, now or at any time hereafter.

3. CROMWELL TO SPEAKER LENTHAL.

For the Honorable William Lenthal, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Sir,

The army marched from Dublin about the 23 of September, into the county of Wicklo, where the enemy had a garison about 14 miles from Dublin called Killingkerick, which they quitting, a company of the army was put therein. From thence the army marched through almost a desolated countrey, until it came to a passage over the river Doro, about a mile above the castle of Arcklo, which was the first seat and honor of the Marques of Ormonds family, which he had strongly fortified, but was upon the approach of the army quitted, wherein we left another company of foot. From thence the army marched towards Wexford, where in the way was a strong and large castle, at a town called Limrick, the ancient seat of the Esmonds, where the enemy had a strong garison, which they burnt and quitted the day before our coming thither. From thence we marched towards Ferns, an episcopal seat, where was a castle, to which I sent Colonel Reynolds with a party to summon it, which accordingly he did, and it was surrendred to him; where we having put a company, advanced the army to a passage over the river Slane, which runs down to Wexford, and that night marched into the fields of a village called Eniscorfy, belonging to master Robert Wallop, where was a strong castle very well manned and provided for by the enemy, and close under it, in a very fair house belonging to the same worthy person, a monastery of Franciscan Fryers, the considerables[t] in all Ireland; they run away the night before we came. We summoned the castle, and they refused to yield at the first, but uppon better consideration, they were willing to deliver the place to us, which accordingly they did, leaving their great guns, arms, ammunition, and provisions behinde them. Upon Munday, the first of October, we came before Wexford, into which the enemy had put a garison consisting of their army, this town having until then been so confident of

3. A Letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1649. *Ante*, p. 289.

APPENDIX. 1649. October. Cromwell at Wexford.

their own strength, as that they would not at any time suffer a garison to be imposed upon them. The commander that brought in those forces was Colonel David Synnot, who took upon him the command of the place, to whom I sent a summons, a copy whereof is this inclosed, between whom and me there passed answers and replies; copies whereof these also are. Whilst these papers were passing between us, I sent the Lieut.-general with a party of dragoons, horse and foot, to indeavor to reduce their fort, which lay at the mouth of their harbor, about ten miles distant from us, to which he sent a troop of dragoons, but the enemy quit their fort, leaving behinde them about seven great guns, betook themselves by the help of their boat to a frigot of 12 guns, lying in the harbor, within canon-shot of the fort. The dragoons possessed the fort, and some seamen belonging to your fleet, coming happily in at the same time, they bent their guns at the frigot, and she immediately yielded to mercy, both her self, the soldiers that had been in the fort, and the seamen that manned her: and whilst our men were in her, the town, not knowing what had hapned, sent another small vessel to her, which our men also took. The Governor of the town having obtained from me a safe conduct for the four persons mentioned in one of the papers, to come and treat with me about the surrender of the town, I expected they should have done so; but in stead thereof, the Earl of Castlehaven brought to their relief on the northside of the river about five hundred foot, which occasioned their refusal to send out any to treat, and caused me to revoke my safe conduct, not thinking it fit to leave it for them to make use of it when they pleased; our canon being landed, and we having removed all our quarters to the south-east end of the town, next the castle, it was generally agreed that we should bend the whole strength of our artillery upon the castle, being perswaded that if we got the castle, the town would easily follow. Upon Thursday the 11 instant (our batteries being finished the night before) we began to play betimes in the morning, and having spent neer a hundred shot, the Governors stomack came down, and he sent to me to give leave for four persons, intrusted by him, to come unto me and offer terms of surrender, which I condescending to, two field officers, with an alderman of the town, and the captain of the castle, brought out the propositions inclosed, which for their abominableness, manifesting also the impudency of the men, I thought fit to present to your view, together with my answer, which indeed had no effect; for whilst I was preparing of it, studying to preserve the town from plunder, that it might be of the more use to you and your army, the captain, who was one of the commissioners being fairly treated, yielded up the castle to us: upon the top of which our men no sooner appeared, but the enemy quitted the walls of the town, which our men perceiving, ran violently upon the town with their ladders and stormed it. And when they were come into the market place, the enemy making a stiff resistance, our forces brake them, and then put all to the sword that came in their way. Two boatfuls of the enemy attempting to escape, being overprest with numbers, sunk, whereby were drowned near three hundred of them: I believe in all there was lost of the enemy not many less then two thousand, and I believe not twenty of yours killed, from first to last of the siege. And indeed, it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intending better to this place, then so great a ruine,

hoping the town might be of more use to you and your army; yet God would not have it so, but by an unexpected providence, in his righteous justice, brought a just judgement upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier, who in their pyracies had made preys of so many families, and made with their bloods to answer the cruelties which they had exercised upon the lives of divers poor Protestants; two of which I have been lately acquainted with: About seven or eight-score poor Protestants were by them put into an old vessel, which being as some say bulged by them, the vessel sunk, and they were all presently drowned in the harbor: The other was thus, they put divers poor Protestants into a chappel, which since they have used for a mass house, and in which one or more of their priests were now killed, where they were famished to death.

The soldier got a very good booty in this place, and had they not had opportunity to carry their goods over the river, whilest we besieged it, it would have been much more. I could have wished for their own good, and the good of the garison, they had been more moderate. Some things which were not easily portable, we hope we shall make use of to your behoof: There are great quantities of iron, hides, tallow, salt, pipe, and barrel staves, which are under commissioners hands to be secured. We believe there are near a hundred canon in the fort, and elsewhere in and about the town: Here is likewise some very good shipping; here are three vessels, one of them of thirty four guns, which a weeks time would fit to sea; there is another of about 20 guns, very near ready likewise; and one other frigot of 20 guns, upon the stocks, made for sailing, which is built up to the uppermost deck, for her handsomness sake I have appointed the workmen to finish her, here being materials to do it, if you or the Councel of State shall approve thereof. The friggot also taken by the fort, is a most excellent vessel for sailing, besides divers other ships and vessels in the harbor. This town is now so in your power, that the former inhabitants I believe scarce one in twenty can challenge any propriety in their houses, most of them are run away, and many of them killed in this service; and it were to be wished, that an honest people would come and plant here, where are very good houses, and other accommodations fitted to their hands, and may by your favor be made of encouragement to them; as also a seat of good trade, both inward and outward, and of marvellous great advantage in the point of the herring and other fishing. The town is pleasantly seated, and strong, having a rampert of earth within the wall, near fifteen foot thick. Thus it hath pleased God to give into your hands this other mercy, for which, as for all, we pray God may have all the glory: Indeed your instruments are poor, and weak, and can do nothing but through believing, and that is the gift of God also. I humbly take leave, and rest,

Wexford, Octob. [1]4, 1649.

Your most humble servant,
O. Cromwel.

A day or two before our battery was planted, Ormond, the Earl of Castlehaven, the Lord of Ardes and Clanneboys were on the other side of the water, with about one thousand eight hundred horse, one thousand five hundred foot, and offered to put in four or five hundred foot more into the town, which the town refusing, he marched away in all haste: I sent the Lieutenant-general after him, with about one thousand four hundred horse, but the enemy made from him.

Appendix.

LXXXVIII. Daniell O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please your Ex^{lls},

1649. 6. Oct. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

Itt was my misfortune, not my negligence, that two more of my letters came not to yor Ex^{lls}, for I writt three; the officiusnes of some in the county of Cavan returned two off my letters to my unkle, in wch hee found some things that did not please him; this made mee resolve not to writt to yor Ex^{lls} untle I came thus farr. Late the 4th of this instant ye Bishop of Clogher and Torlagh O Boyle came hether to meet Sr Niccolas Plunkett and Sr Richard Barnewall; yesterday morning they mett; the bishop had instructions to insist uppon 6000 and 800 horse and haveing Inniskillin and Carrickfarguss putt into ther hands, ass yor Ex^{lls} promissed by the Bishop of Rathfoe, your Commissioners gave them 5000 foot and 600 horse: ass for the other propositione, itt was a new thing to them, and they said, that they had noe commissione to meddle wth itt: the rest of the propositions were agreed uppon wthout much debate. Yesterday bothe the bishop and I sent to my unkle to have his resolutione uppon what is in dispute: this night or to morrowe by tymes wee expect our messenger. I am confident hee will not insist uppon any thing that will hinder an agreement, since the bishop and Sr Niccolas Plunkett have agreed uppon an expedient about the excommunicatione wch has soe troubled that superstious ould unkle of myne in his sicknes that I could render him to noe reasone. This expedient has noe relatione to yor Ex^{lls} or his Maties more then yor connivance att the clergyes meeting for the satisfactione of tender consciences ass they say. I am the more confident that matters will soone be agreed uppon, that my unkle uppon my parting from him, wch was two dayes after, the bishop gave mee instructions not to insist eyther uppon his haveing Carrickfargus or Inniskellin, nor of the generallship of Vlster, for hee found they were not things fitt for yor Ex^{lls} to grant att this tyme. The bishop iss of that sence allsoe, and has writt soe much to the Generall, by this yor Ex^{lls} sees that the delayes complained off by yor Ex^{lls} iss occasioned by the sicknes of my unkle and not in his will, wch I beleeve reall to serve his Ma^{ts} and yor Ex^{lls}. Hee iss still very ill notwithstanding hee marches in a litter, butt slowly. To morrow night I expect him about the borders of Meath, neere Dalyesbrige. His sicknes has lost him many men, yett he sayes heel bring yor Ex^{lls} 5000 foot and five hundred horse. Hee has writt to Brian Mc Phelim* to give all oppositiono to Crumwell, and not to disturb yor Ex^{lls} quarters. Hee is much afraid Brian Mc Phelim will beleeve him ioyned with ye Parliament. The Bishop of Clogher has allsoe writt to the indisposed of Conaught and Munster, to offer att noething that may disquiet the countryes. The Bishop of Rathfoes undertakings to that party were such ass I am confident yo Ex^{lls} gave noe commission, for my not seconding of them gott mee for a few dayes much ill will in the army, and had lyk to have returned mee wth litle satisfactione that bishop iss nowe labouring to bee come one of Coots subiects, and will make ass mad offers to buy his peace ther ass hee mad to Owen ONeile to preserve his house. The Bishop off Clogher iss much unsatisfyed with Father Nugent for his

LXXXVIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 421.

* See p. 296. xc.

negotiatione with ye Queene and his Ma^te in ther behalfs, and protests against that commissione hee pretends hee had. Hee wonders noe less att the bissines of Tom Talbot, the man his party hates most. Tom Talbot is not yett come this far. Nugent came yesterday; hee has communicated noething of his bissines to mee, though yor Ex^ll sayes hee should, in yor letter of the 28 of September from Kilkenny; yett I have from ye bishop all hee can saye, wch will apeare very rediculous to my unkle. This morning the bishop dispatched him to the Generall, not soe much in hope his imployment will satisfye, ass that his importunity will hasten the march of the army, wch the bishop passionatly desires, and has these 2 dayes pressed by severall letters. I should say something to yor Ex^ll of the conditione of the Scots, wch is sad, butt that I have allreddy made this letter so long, for wch I humbly crave yor Ex^lls pardone.

Appendix. 1649. 6. Oct. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

I am

Your Ex^lls most humble servant,

Fina, 6th of October, 1649. Daniell ONeille.

Humphry Galbreth made his escape out of Derry, and one of Sr Will. Stewards sons. Hee was taken and shot to death. This inclosed from Marck Trevor, I thought fitt to send to yor Ex^lls.

For his Ex^lls the Lord Marquess off Ormond, L^d L^t-generall off Irelande: These.

Endorsed: Collonell Daniell ONeill. Dated 6. Rec. 14 Octobris, 1649. Concerning the negotiation with Owen ONeil.

LXXXIX. Owen O'Neill to Lord Taaffe.

R^t Honourable,

Yo^rs of the 6th of this instant I received, and doe render yor Lordship very many thankes for yor care of mee and my party in comeing (soe farr as you expresse) to conferr wth mee; I should be sorry yor Lordship would trouble yor selfe by comeing downe any further, for I am marching wth the greaterest expedition that the extremity of my sicknes and the foulenes of the weather can give mee way; the mayne flood occasioned by this continuall rayne is the cheefest barr of my slow marching; however, I will take hoult of all convenient opportunityes to goe forward as speedily as I can; and that ye rather none breathing can be more sorry for the misfortune of the kingdome, and willinger to affoord it redresse than I, as farr as my slinder indeavo^rs can prevaile. My Lord, the inclosed to Bryan Mc Phelim is as full and effectuall as yor Lordship desireth. I remaine

1649. 9. Oct. Owen O'Neill to Lord Taaffe.

(My Lord)

Yo^r Lordships humble servant,

9. October, 1649. Owen ONeill.

For ye Right Hono^ble the Lord Viscount Taaffe: These.

Endorsed: Gen. ONeill to Ld Taaffe, 1649.

LXXXIX. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 437.

APPENDIX.

XC. OWEN O'NEILL TO BRYAN MC PHELIM.

1649.
9. Oct.
Owen O'Neill to Bryan Mc Phelim.

Cousin,

Our treaty with the Lord-L^t is in good fowardnes, and like to receive a wished effect. Therefore I pray and desire you be pleased not to preiudice or annoy any of his Excellencys parties, and withall to receive his comaunds as soone as you shalbe certainely advertised of our conclusion by the Lord Bishop of Clogher who will be carefull to acquainte you with the premisses at full, and in the meane tyme to distresse and annoy Cromwell and his partie the best way you may Doubting not of your complyance hereunto, and assureing yourselfe that yow shal heare soone from me, I pray send me word what your owne demaunds wilbe, wha number of men you have, and what officers, and whither yow will have yor selfe and them established in the standing army of Vlster or Leinster. I rest

Yo^r assured loveing cousin,

9 October, 1649. Signed: Owen ONeill.

For my affectionate good coosin, Colonell Bryan Mc Phelim Bruin: These.

Endorsed: 13 Oct., 1649. Coppie of his Excellencys to Bryen Mc Phelim, inclosing another from Generall Owen ONeill.

XCI. ORMONDE TO BRYAN MC PHELIM.

1649.
13. Oct.
Ormonde to Bryan Mc Phelim.

After our hearty comendations, the inclosed letter being sent unto us by the Bishop of Clogher, who treates as a Comissioner in the behalfe of Generall Owen ONeille and his adhearents, with such as wee have appointed in that behalfe, wee have thought fitt by this expresse to transmitt the same unto you, and alsoe to let yow know that wee expect your punctuall observance of the contents thereof, and an accompt as frequently as may be of yor proceedings accordingly. Soe desireing your present answeare by this messenger, we bid you farewell from Leghlin Bridge the 13th of October, 1649.

Yo^r loveing freind,

Signed: Ormonde.

For Colonell Bryen Mc Phelim: These, hast.

These letters were sent inclosed to the lord of Ardes, desireing his L^op to send them to Collonell Bryen Mc Phelim, by Gerald Birne of Knocloe, and to desire his L^op to draw his partie to Old Leghlin, Leghlim Bridge, and Wells. Dated the 13th of October, 1649.

XC. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 434. XCI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 439^b.

XCII. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 13. Oct. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations, by letters this day received, wee are advertised by our com^rs^ who treated with yours that ye peace is finished in an agreement, and that you are in your march this way, and though wee shall not neglect to endeavour the weakening of Cromwells decaying army, yet shall wee omitt the engagement of ours wholy till yor advaunce towards Ross, which wee desire may be with all possible expedition, least the rebells gaineing too farr uppon the interests of the kingdom should deprive us of the meanes of continueing togither for their opposition if case of any offered and seasonable advantage, which doubtless may easyly be had in the country where now he is, especially if he shall attempt the takeing of any other place this season, as wee beleeve this successe may induce him unto, haveing gained Wexford uppon soe meane and easy tearmes as lately he hath done thorough the cowardice of the souldiery and treachery of the townsmen and inhabitants, and not for want of any manner of thing necessary for the defence thereof for a much longer tyme. Thus not doubting of yor dilligence heere in, wee bid you heartyly farewell, from Laghlin, this 13th of Octo., 1649.

Endorsed: 13 Oct., 1649. Coppie of a letter to Generall Owen ONeill, concerning an agreement made with ONeil.

XCIII. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649. 16. Oct. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^lls^,

This night Owen ONeiles army iss about Mulingarr, wher they had beene 3 nights agoe, and in a better conditione, iff My Lord of Westmeath and those that undertooke to provid beaves for them in this county had not most (I think) maliciously fayled. This daye the Maior Generall Hugh ONeile seueres 2000 foot from the rest, to morrow hee marches wth y^m^ to yor Ex^lls^. I have writt to the Queene and Kings countyes, to provid fo^r^ y^m^; iff they be ass negligent ass they were in this, I doubt mee I shall come slenderly accompanyed to yor Ex^lls^. I have writt to Sr Niccolas Plunkett, that provisione be made for them att Kilkenny, wch I now imagin to be the neerest way to yor Ex^lls^, the rest of the army stayes about Mulingar wth Collonell Farrell wayting yor Ex^lls^ commands, wch hee is to obey, iff it were possible. Those that come first had a litle mony; yor Ex^lls^ would make them forgett much of the miseryes they have indured in this long march, and would incourage the rest to follow cheerfully; the men generally are ill armed, butt very usefull men iff butt fed. Ther Generall I left att Cavan very ill, and much perplexed that hee can not be more usefull to you then to send yor Ex^lls^ his men. To morrow I beeleeve wee shalbe att Gesell, iff the want of boats hinder uss not; the next night weel be in the Queens County, the next att Ballenekill iff wee can. Yesterday I heard of the loss of Wexford; I hope our ill fortune has spitt hir

XCII. Carte Papers, XXV. p. 472. XCIII. Carte Papers, XXV. p. 462.

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venome, and that yor Ex^{lls} will yett check the violent course of that bloody rebell. I am certaine, iff they can contribut to itt, yor Ex^{lls} will have the hart and hand of yor Ex^{lls}

Most humble and faithfull servant,

Tecroghan, 16 of October, 1649. Danielle ONeille.

For his Ex^{lls} the Lord Marques off Ormond, L^{d} L^{t}-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Dan. ONeils. Dated 16. Rec. 20 Octo., 1649.

XCIV. ORMONDE TO EMER MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

1649.
18. Oct.
Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

My Lord,

I shall not deny but that I have heretofore neither had nor professed much friendship to you, in regard I conceived you were a principall obstructer of any agreement betweext his Matie and the party whereof you have bin, wch hath much hindered his service; but now being on the contrary informed that you have bin very instrumentall to the composure of those differencies, I have held it needefull by leter to give you thankes and assureance that soe seasonable a service hath not only changed that coldnes in mee towards you, but hath engaged mee upon all occations to manifest my being

Y^{r} L^{ps} affectionate servant,

Waterford, 18 Oct., 1649. Bpp. of Clogher. [*Blank.*]

Endorsed: 18 Octo., 1649. A coppy of My Lords letter to the B^{pp} of Clogher.

XCV. ORMONDE TO OWEN O'NEILL.

1649.
18. Oct.
Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

Sir,

I assure you that besides the satisfaction I receive in your coniunction with mee in one and the same cause with a considerable adition of strength, in a time of most use of force, it is a great adition of contentment to mee that I shall have meanes of being beter knowen to you, and of leting you see how great a value I set upon your person and advices, in the weighty and perilous busines I have in hand; let mee also assure you that it is my desire to contract a very reall friendship with you, shuch as may engage mee to make your interest and satisfaction my care as much as you can expect, or is in the power of

Yo^{r} affectionate servant,

Waterford, 18 Octo., 1649. [*Blank.*]

Generall ONeill.

Endorsed: 18 Octo., 1649. A coppy of My Lords letter to Generall Owen ONeill.

xciv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 485. xcv. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 486.

XCVI. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649. 18. Oct. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

May itt please your Excellence,

Iff the Commissioners off Westmeath and the Kings county had done (after haveing sufficient warning) otherwys then this inclosed sayes, this party of 2000 [foote] and 200 horse which the Maior-generall commands, had beene twenty myle neerer your Ex^lls this night then they are; a Sunday night I hope to have them beyond Kilkenny iff I meet with provitions ass I expect from Kilkenny; the rest of the army with Collonell Farrell will be this night neer Tullimore, which I thought a convenienter place in case your Ex^lls orders came for them. I am tould thyle be 3000 foot and a few horse. This afternoone wee mett one that said hee came from Ross, from the inhabitants, to learne howe neere these men were; hee said that iff he returned to the towne with assurance that wee were neerer nor stronger the toune would take quarter. I beleeved the fellowe is returned, for whyle I stept asyd to cale to some officer to aprehend him, the fellow vanished. His sudaine departure make uss aprehend that toune iss noe honester then wee understand Wexford wass.

I am your Ex^lls

Most humble servant,

Danielle ONeille.

Castle Gessell, 18 of October, 1649, 9 a clock att night.

Your Ex^lls of the 16 I had iust now, the inclosed to the Maior-generall hee has not receaved, butt when hee has hee can say noe more ass to our march then what is contained in this.

For his Ex^lls the Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall off Irelande: These.

Endorsed: Daniell ONeill. Dated 18. Rec. 19 Octobris, 1649.

XCVII. BRYAN BIRNE TO ORMONDE.

1649. 18. Oct. Bryan Birne to Ormonde.

My Lord,

Your last, bearinge date the 16th of this instant, I receaved; and therunto can returne noe other aunswer then what I have donn to the former from your Exellency, which is to have accesse to conferr with the Lord Bushope of Clogher, for my more certain satisfaction, and in the interim to gett maintenance for my forces. This is againe the request (My Lord) of

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

The 18th Octobris, 1649. Briane Birne.

For his Excell^cie the Lord Lievtenant-generall of Ireland: These, hast.

Endorsed: Bryan Mc Phelim. Dated the 18th of October, 1649.

XCVI. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 487. XCVII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 489.

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XCVIII. ARTICLES BETWEEN ORMONDE AND OWEN O'NEILL.

1649. 20. Oct. Articles between Ormonde and Owen O'Neill.

Articles of agreement concluded and agreed upon betwen Sir Nicholas Plunket, Knight, and Sir Richard Barneual, Baronet, authorised by the Lord-leaftenant of Irland to treate and conclude with General Owen ONeill and his party, of the one part, and the Right Reverent faither in God, the Lord Bishop of Clogher, and Torlaugh O Boill, of Cilldoris, in the county of Dunegall, Esqr., authorised by the said Generall ONeill and his parties, of the other part, bearinge date the twenteth day of October in the yeare of ouer Lord God one thousand six hundred forty-nine:

Imprimis. It is accorded, concluded and agreed vppon betwen the sd parties, and the sd Sir Nicholas Plunket and Sir Richard Barneuall doe promise and agree that the Bishops and all others of the Roman Catholique clergy, and all other the Roman Catholiques whoe adhered to the sd Generall ONeill and his party, shall haue the benefit of the late articles of peace concluded betwen his Maties sd Lord-leutenant and the late Generall Assembly and the Confederate Roman Catholiques of this kingdome, concerning the free exercise of Catholique relligion and concerning the church livinges and jurisdiction, in as ample maner as any other of the Roman Catholiques of this kingdome, either clergy or lejtj, respectively have or ought to have and enjoye by the s^{d} late articles, and as fully as in the late s^{d} articles are contained; and it is further concluded and accorded, and the sd Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richard Barnevall doe promisse [and] agree that the Roman Catholique clergy of Vlster shall have and enjoye the churches and church livinges whereof they are nowe possesed, and that they and every of them respectively shall be continued in the quiett and peaceable possesion thereof, and of every part thereof, in as large and ample maner as if the sd articles of peace concluded as afores^{d} were at this time agreed uppon, the s^{d} Generall Owen ONeill and his party submitting to his Maties authority in this kingdome, and that all his Maties Roman Catholique subjects of this kingdome shall have good and resonable contentment in the disposalle of the churches and church livinges which are now, or at any time shall be, at hands of the enemye or malignant party, when and as often as the same or any part thereof shall be receaued from the enemye or malignant party in any part of this kingdome.

[2] Item, it is accorded and agreed by and between the s^{d} party, and the sd Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richard Barneuall doe promise, conclude and agree that the sd Generall Owen ONeill shall haue six thousand fotte under the command of eight collonells and the other inferior officers of soe many regiments, and eight hundred horsse under the command of two collonells and other the inferior officers of the said two regiments, the sd horse and foote to be established as for the province of Vlster, under the command of the sd Generall Owen ONeill, and the same to continue untill this kingdome be free of the common enemy; and the same Generall Owen ONeill and the forces afores^{d} to be subject only and imediatly to

XCVIII. Carte Papers, lxv. 368.

the command of his Maties Lord Leutenent or other Cheefe Governor or Governors of this kingdome, for the time beinge; and that the s^{d} Generall ONeill shall nominate the s^{d} collonells of foote and horse and theire inferior officers; and the officers soe to be by him named be of the officers of regiments formerly under his command before his distants from the late government and now adheiringe to him, and the number of the comon soldiers, troopers as are now actually under the comand of those officers; and the sd forces to be maintained uppon the publicke stocke of the kingdome; wherein the fower seuerall provences are to be concluded according the respective abilities.

3. Item, it is further concluded and agreed between the s^{d} partys, and the sd Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richard Barneuall doe promise and agree that the s^{d} Generall Owen ONeill shall haue and be satisfied such personal pay as was established for the Generall of Monster or Lenster by the late government.

4. Item, it is further agreed between the sd partys, and the sd Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Sir Richard Barneuall doe promise and agree that in case of the sd Generall ONeills death or removeall by advancement or otherwise before settlem^{t} in Parliam^{t} the nobility and gentry of the province of Vlster shall have power to name one to his Maties Lord Leutenent or other cheefe Governor or Governors of this kingdome for the time beinge, to comand in place of the sd General ONeill as afores^{d}, and the s^{d} comand to be confered on the party soe to be named accordingley.

5. Item, it is accorded and agreed that the perticular causes of such as the provence of Vlster as can make it appeare to haue sufferd by the like agrevance as the Lord of Iveagh and others instanced in the late articles of peace shall be considered of and redressed as well as those instanced in the s^{d} articles of peace.

6. Item, it is also agreed and concluded that the s^{d} Generall ONeill and the party adheringe unto him shall haue full benefit of the s^{d} articles of peace in what concerned the relivinge of the inhabitants of the s^{d} provence in their demands tuching the plantations of the s^{d} province of Vlster, that his Ex^{c}y will mediate with his Maties for a further inlargment of his concessions to the late Generall Assembly concerning the afores^{d} demands; and that in the meane time such of the province of Vlster as are in possesion of any delenquence or enemyes estate or land pretended to be taken away from them or their ancestors since primo Iacobi by uer[tue] of any atainders officer or other acts; and that shall by their services to his Ma^{ty} render themselves deserving or merriting his Maj^{tes} favor, sh[all] be by his executors prefered before any other to the fearminge of such estate or land, and that those that are not in possesion of such enemys of delenquence estates or land as they pretend right unto, and shall appeare deseruing his Ma^{tys} fauor, as those estates or land are gained from the enemy his Exce^{lly} will preferr those of the sd provence to the fearming of those estates or lands.

7. Item, it is accorded and agreed that all conditions and grants made of the lands of any of the party of the sd Generall ONeill or their advance, or any matter or cause happened sence the twenth. second of October, 1641, be and is hereby

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declared void to all intents and purposes, if any such be, and that the avoidance of all coustoms be observed in the provence of Ulster, as in any other provence of the kingdome, and the profits of the enemies estates be disposed for the publiques service by fearming such lands.

8. Item, it is accorded and agreed that the sd Generall Owen ONeill and those of his party shall have to all intents and purposes all advantages, privilleges, munitys, and indemnities as the rest of the kingdome haue or may haue by vertue of the sd articles of peace.

9. Item, it is accorded and agreed that the said Generall ONeill and those of his party in the provence of Ulster shall haue the nomination of two of the three that shall be of the resident Com^{rs} of Trust for the province of Ulster, provided they be men of fortune and considerable estates in that provence; and that the third Com^{r} for the s^{d} provence shall be one of those of the s^{d} provence that submited to the late peace, and the three none-resident to be chosen in like manner.

10. Item, it is further accorded and agreed that all prisoners taken of both sides shall be relaised and discharged.

11. Item, it is accorded and agreed that what engagements the sd Generall Owen ONeill and his party, or any of them, shall make appeare to be justly due of the late government, that they shall have the full benefit of the articles of the late peace for securinge the payment therof; and the s^{d} Generall ONeill and his party, and every or any of them, are likewise left at liberty to take advantage of their bonds and other seeurity of them who are engaged to pay the same.

12. Item, it is accorded and agreed that the s^{d} Generall ONeill, and the forces to be established under his command, shall haue and posses the artillery they now haue, and likewise the two pieces which they formerly had and now are [at] Tyghcrahan.

13. Item, it is further agreed that the creats of Ulster now remaining in any other provence of this kingdom shall be at liberty to depart and go to the s^{d} provence of Ulster to their several and respective habitation.

14. Item, it is further accorded and agreed and between the same partys that an act of oblivion shall be past in the next Parliam^{t} extending to Generall Owen ONeill and his party and their adherence, for all acts comitted sence the one and tventhieth of October, 1641, until this present; and until that act of parliam^{t} be passed the sd Generall ONeill or any of his party shall be questioned for any act done during that intervalle of time other then such as shall be convicted off horred murder excepted in the late articles of peace.

15. Item, it is accorded and agreed that his Exc^{cy} the Lord Leutent shall ratific, confirme, and approve these articles, and in convenient tyme to cause the same to be printed and passed under the great seale of the kingdome.

16. Item, it is further accorded and agreed that such as took the goods of his Maj^{ties} subiects of either side sence the seventhienth of January last, and were not inlisted under comand with either party, shal be loyable to restore the goods soe by them taken, or the vallue thereof, within three months after the date of these

articles, to theire respective honno^{rs} proprietors, or hereof if they faile they are to loose the benefit of the act of oublivion in what may concerne the cryme and offence soe comited, and to be prosequted as the law requierd.

Articles between Ormonde and Owen O'Neill

17. Item, where as it is expressed in these articles that all the party who have ioyned with Generall Owen ONeill in this kingdome shall haue the full benefit thereof, wherein those of the county of Longford, Leitrim, and Wicklo, are espetially ment and intended.

18. Item, it is further accorded and agreed that the forces now under the comand of Bryan Mc Phelim Brunse shalbe established as of the forces of the kingdome, and in cause the province of Lenster axept not of his forces as for so many of the forces of the provence of Lenster, then those forces to be included as part of the number of the six thousand foot and eight hundred horse which the Generall of Ulster and his party are to haue by these articles, provided these forces now under the comand of the sd Bryan Mc Phelim extend not aboue the number of one regiment of foote and one troope of horse.

In witness whereof the sd Sir Nickles Plunkett and Sir Richard Barnauall have to their part of these articles putt their hands and seales the day and yeare first aboue written.

Endorsed: Articles of Agreem^{t} between Plunket and Barnevall and Owen Roe ONeill.

XCIX. HUGH O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649.
20. Oct.
Hugh O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^{cle},

I receaved yor Excellencies letter of the 16th of October, from Watterford, late at night the 18th, at Clonegawny; I could then give yor Excellencie noe account why I am not neerer yor comaunds than this. The countrys thorough wch wee marched since wee came over at Ffina, hath beene soe backewards to provid for us, that my men dispersed to gett provisions, and occasioned my not haveing together two thirds of my partie, that I severed from the rest of the army this night. I will be as neere Kilkenny as I can. Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} letter to Lievten^{t}-generall Ffarrell I dispatched as soone as I receaved it, I beleeve he was the last at Tullymore. I am,

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble serv^{t},

Ballarony, 20 of October, 1649. Hugo ONeill.

For his Excellencie the Lo: Marquesse of Ormond, Lord L^{t}-generall of Ireland: These are.

Endorsed: Major-generall Hugh ONeile. Dat. and Rec. 20 October, 1649.

XCIX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 1.

Appendix.

C. General Richard Farrel to Ormonde.

Most Ho^ble^,

1649. 21. Oct. General Richard Farrel to Ormonde.

Of yor Ex^ncies^ two orders of the 19th of this current, I only rec^d^ the last duplicate at 7 of the clock this night, and in obedience thereunto I will to morrow march and muster in the way and transmitt into yor Ex^ncie^ a list of therof, wherby it may be better knowne what and how much shalbe thought necessary to have in a readinesse for their march in them parts. I have sent tymely notice to the Com^rs^ of the King and Queenes countyes for provision, but I find them slow. Our men are not yet fully come, but dropping in dayly. I humbly take leave, and doe conclude,

Yo^r^ Ex^ncies^ most humble serv^t^,

October 21, 1649. Richard Ferrall.

For his Ex^ncie^ the Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^t^-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Lieut^t^-generall Farrell. Rec. 23° Octo., 1649.

CI. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Sir,

1649. 25. Oct. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Since my last from Wexford, we marched to Ross; a walled town, situated upon the Barrow; a port-town, up to which a ship of seven or eight hundred tons may come.

We came before it upon Wednesday the 17th instant, with three pieces of cannon. That evening I sent a summons; Major-general Taaff, being Governor, refused to admit my trumpet into the town; but took the summons in, returning me no answer. I did hear that near 1,000 foot had been put into this place some few days before my coming to it. The next day was spent in making preparations for our battery; and in our view there were boated over from the other side of the river, of English, Scots, and Irish, 1,500 more, Ormond, Castlehaven, and the Lord of Ardes, being on the other side of the water to cause it to be done.

That night we planted our battery; which began to play very early the next morning. The Governor immediately sent forth an answer to my summons; copies of all which I make bold herewith to trouble you 'with;' the rather because you may see how God pulls down proud stomachs. The Governor desired commissioners might treat, and that in the meantime there might be a ceasing of acts of hostility on both sides. Which I refused; sending in word, that if he would march away with arms, bag and baggage, and give me hostages for performance, he should. Indeed he might have done it without my leave, by the advantage of the river. He insisted upon having the canon with him; which I would not yield unto, but required the leaving the artillery and ammunition; which he was content to do, and marched away, leaving the great artillery, and the ammunition in the stores

c. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 254.

ci. Letters and speeches of O. Cromwell, by Thomas Carlyle, London, 1846, vol. II. p. 88.

to me.—When they marched away, at least 500 English, many of them of the Munster forces, came to us.

Appendix. 1649. 25. Oct. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Ormond is at Kilkenny, Inchiquin in Munster, Henry ONeil, Owen Roe's son, is come up to Kilkenny, with near 2000 horse and foot, with whom and Ormond there is now a perfect conjunction. So that now, I trust, some angry friends will think it high time to take off their jealousy from those to whom they ought to exercise more charity.

The rendition of this garrison was a seasonable mercy, as giving us an opportunity towards Munster; and is for the present a very good refreshment for our men. We are able to say nothing as to all this, but that the Lord is still pleased to own a company of poor worthless creatures; for which we desire his name to be magnified, and 'that' the hearts of all concerned may be provoked to walk worthy of such continued favours. This is the earnest desire of

Your most humble servant,

Ross, 25th October, 1649. Oliver Cromwell.

P.S. Colonel Horton is lately dead of the country-disease, leaving a son behind him. He was a person of great integrity and courage. His former services, especially that of the last summer, I hope will be had in remembrance.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

CII. Oliver Cromwell and the town of Ross.

Official Account of proceedings of English army in Ireland, after the taking of Wexford.

Honoured Sir,

1649. October. Cromwell and the town of Ross.

From Wexford I gave you an account of these Irish affairs till that time; and now that further mercies are heaped upon us, I must needs give you a further view of them.

The garison of Wexford being put under the command of Colonell Cooke, our army stayed not there, but hasted away, and encamped before Rosse, which is a walled town scituate upon the river Barrow; a very pleasant, and commodious river, bearing vessells of a very considerable burthen. Vpon the 17th of this instant October, wee came before this towne: and the same day My Lord sent in this following summons.

Sir,

Since my comming into Ireland, I have this witnesse for my self that I have indeavoured to avoid effusion of blood, haveing been before no place, to which such tearms have not been first sent as might have turned to the good, and

CII. A perfect and more particular relation of the proceedings of the army in Ireland; with the particulers of the rendition of Ross and other garrisons, since the takeing of Wexford. . . . Imprimatur: Io: Rushworth; London, 17 Nov., 1649.

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preservation of those to whome they were offered; this being my principle, that the people and places where I come may not suffer except through their owne wilfullnesse. To the end I may observe the like course with this place, and the people therein, I doe hereby summon you to deliver the town of Rosse into my hands, to the use of the Parliament of England; expecting your speedy answer, I rest,

Your servant,

October 17th, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Commander-in-Chiefe in Rosse: These.

The trumpeter that carried this summons was denied entrance into town. They received his paper at the gates, and told him that an answer should be returned thereunto by a drummer of their own. Hereupon was prepared our batteries, and made ready for a storme. Ormond himselfe, Ardes, and Castlehaven were on the other side the river, and sent in supplyes of 1500 foot, the day before it was surrendred unto us, a thousand foot being already in it, before we came unto it: Castlehaven was in it, that morning they delivered it. And Inchequin too had been there, not above two or three dayes before our advance thither. They boated over their men into the town in our view, and yet that did not discourage us in making ready all provisions fitting for a storme. On Friday the 19 of this instant our great pieces began to play; and early in the morning the Governour sent out this answer to My Lords summons.

Sir,

I received a summons from you the first day you appeared before this place, which should have been answered ere now, had not other occasions interrupted me; and although I am now in farre better condition to defend this place then I was at that time, yet am I, upon the considerations offered in your summons, content to entertaine a treaty, and to receive from you those conditions that may be safe, and honourable for me to accept of: which if you listen to, I desire that pledges of both sides may be sent, for performance of such articles as shall be agreed upon; and that all acts of hostility may cease on both sides, and each party keep within their distance. To this your immediate resolution is expected by,

Sir,

Your servant,

Rosse, October 19, 1649. Lucas Taaff.

For Generall Cromwell, or in his absence to the Commander-in-Chiefe of the army now encamped before Rosse.

Hereunto My Lord immediatly returned this answer.

Sir,

If you like to march away with those under your command, with their armes, bagge, and baggage; and with drums and colours, and shall deliver up the

town to me, I shall give caution to performe these conditions, expecting the like from you. As to the inhabitants, they shall be permitted to live peaceably, free from the injury and violence of the soldier. If you like hereof, you can tell how to let me know your minde, notwithstanding my refusall of a cessation. By this you will see the reality of my intentions to save blood, and to preserve the place from ruine. I rest,

Your servant,

October 19, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Governor in Rosse: These.

Our batteries still continued, and made a great breach in the wall; and our men were drawne out in a readinesse to storme; Leiutenant-colonell Ingolesby being by lott chosen to lead them. But the Governour being willing to imbrace conditions, sent out this his reply.

Sir, there wants but little of what I would propose, which is, that such townesmen as have a desire to part, may have liberty whitin [*sic*] them a convenient time to cary away themselves and goods; and liberty of conscience to such as shall stay: and that I may carry away such artillery and ammunition as I have in my command. If you be inclined to this, I will send upon your honour, or safe conduct, an officer to conclude with you: To which your immediat answer is expected by,

Sir,

Your servant,

Rosse, October 19, 1649. Lucas Taaffe.

For Generall Cromwell: These.

Hereunto My Lord gave this returne.

Sir,

What I formerly offered, I shall make good. As for your carrying away any artillery or ammunition that you brought not in with you, or hath not come to you since you had the command of that place, I must deny you that, expecting you leave it as you found it. For that which you mention concerning liberty of conscience, I meddle not with any mans conscience. But if by liberty of conscience you meane a liberty to exercise the masse, I judge it best to use plaine dealing, and to let you know where the Parliament of England hath power that will not be alowed of.

As for such of the townsmen who desire to depart, and carry away themselves and goods (as you expresse), I ingage my selfe they shall have 3 moneths time so to doe: and in the mean time shal be preserved from violence in their persons and goods as others under the obedience of the Parliament. If you accept of this offer, I ingage my honor for a punctuall performance herof. I rest

Your servant,

October 19, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Governour in Rosse: These.

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The Governour returned this answer.

Sir,

I am content to yeeld up this place upon the terms offered in your last and first letter, and if you please to send your safe conduct to such as I shall imploy to perfect those conditions, I shall on receipt thereof send them to you, in the intervall to cease all acts of hostility, and that all parts keep their own ground, until matters receive a full end. And so remaines, Sir,

Your servant,

Rosse, October 19, 1649. Lucas Taaff.

For Generall Cromwell: These.

Hereunto My Lord replyed thus.

Sir,

You have my hand and honor engaged to perform what I offered in my first and last letters, which I shall inviolably observe. I expect you send me immediatly four persons of such quality as may be hostages for your performance (for whom you have this safe conduct inclosed, into which you may insert their names), without which I shall not cease acts of hostility. If any thing happen by your delay, to your prejudice, it will not be my fault, those you send may see the conditions perfected. Whilst I forbear all acts of hostility, I expect you forbear all actings within. I rest,

Your servant,

October 19, 1649. O. Cromwell.

For the Governour in Rosse: These.

This was the last message betweene them: and herupon the Governor sending out his four hostages to compose and perfect the agreement, our batteries ceased our intentions to storm the towne were disappointed. The articles of rendition follow

Articles concluded and agreed upon by, and between, the Right Honorable the Lord leiutenant of Irelland of the one part and the Governor of Rosse of the other part, October 19, 1649.

1. It is concluded and agreed, That the Governour of Rosse, with all under his command, may march unto Kilkeny, or Laghlyn Bridge, with their armes, bag and baggage, drums beating, colours flying, bullet in mouth, bandaleeres full of powder, and match lighted at both ends. Provided, they march thither in three dayes, and that no act of hostility be comitted during the said time.

2. It is concluded and agreed, That such townesmen as desire to depart, and to carry away themselves and goods, shall have 3 moneths time so to doe: and in the mean time shall be preserved from violence in their persons and goods, as other under the obedience of the Parliament, and that a convoy may be sent with them to secure them in their iourneys.

3. It is concluded and agreed, that the inhabitants shall be permitted to live peaceably and enjoy their goods and estates free from the violence and iniury of the soldiers.*

Cromwell and the town of Ross.

4. In consideration wherof, the Governour of Rosse is to surrender into my hands the towne of Rosse, artilery, arms, amunition, and other vtencills of war that are therein, by three of the clock this present day, except such as were brought in by the said Governour, or such as came in since he had the command thereof. And by two of the clock to permit the Lord Leiutenant to put three hundred men iato the blockhouse, gatehouse neare the breach, and the white tower neare the same.

5. For the performance of the articles, on the said Governours part, hee is to deliver such hostages as I shall approve off.

Iames Cranford
Maurice 'Lynell
Thomas Gaynan
Mathew Dormer
} Commissioners and hostages for the Governour.

I doe approve of, and confirme, these articles.

Lucas Taaff.

Thus within the space of three dayes, and without effusion of blood, it hath pleased the Lord to give us the possession of this towne, a place of good strength, and a very good quarter to refresh our souldiers. The enemy marcht over the river to the other side, and did not come out of that side of the town where we had encamped; about five or six hundred of the English, most of them the Munster forces, fell off unto us, and take up arms, we have assurance that there are great fractions in Munster; Jnchiquin on a sudden posted thither, for Cork and Youghall have declared for the Parliament. Ormond is at Kilkenny; Owen Roe Oneals sonne is with him there with 2000 horse and foot, and we are credibly assured that a conjunction between Ormond and Oneal is now made and concluded on. This hath bin long expected: but though they associate themselves together, shall they not be broken in peices? This town might have cost us much blood, it being of a considerable strength; the Lord gave it us freely, and though they had sent in fresh supplyes, yet would they not venture the brunt of it, for fear of loosing the foot, which was the greatest part of the infantry of their army. We are now upon the edge of Munster, 'tis probable our next motion may be thither, some think that Waterford will surrender upon conditions, upon the aduance of the army before it. They refuse to receive a garrison of the enemies, though Castlehaven is there, and does solicite it. Leiut.-gen. Jones is with a party of horse and foot before Duncanon

* The following extension of the above articles was subsequently granted: "By the Lord Lieut. of Ireland: I doe hereby graunt and desire that the promises protection and all other benefitts to the inhabitants of the town of Ross, in the third article, concluded upon the surrender of the said towne, shall be extended and continued to the said inhabitants; as well after the three months mentioned in the second of the said articles, as during that space, they behaving themselves peaceably aud faithfully as becometh persons under protection, and submitting to the authority of the Parliament of England. Given att Ross, the thirteenth day of November, 1649. Oliver Cromwell."—MS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

APPENDIX.
1649.
October.
Cromwell and the town of Ross.

fort, a place of vast strength. We have taken Ballyhack, a little castle lying upon that river; which commands it so, that no relief can come from Waterford to that fort, nor any put to sea for trade. Hitherto the Lord has bin our salvation, and our exceeding great reward: the work is the Lords, let him accomplish it according to his own good pleasure.

The Lord has bin pleas'd to mix some sorrow upon the death of the truly godly and valiant Col. Horton, who falling into the country disease, was quickly snatcht from us. I intreate you to mention me to all my friends. I am, Sir,

Your assured faithfull friend,

Rosse, October 26, 1649. R. S.

CIII. OWEN O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649.
26. Oct.
Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex:

Yo^rs of the 18th of this instant I received, and doe rend^r yor Ex. very many thankes for yor honourable and kind expressions therein; proceeding more from yor Ex^cies good nature than any meritts or deserveings of myne. Our newes from the north is that Sr Charles Coote with his army entered Clanaboyes, and gained by treachery, Coolerahen; Sr Theophelus Iones with 200 horse and 300 foote haveing marched downe to him, soe as Sr George Monroe (whoe was heere with me yesterday), being not able to withstand them, was driven to departe the country with his men. (My Lord) the gaineing of the Castle of Carrickfergus (yor Ex. haveing noe other fforte or place of strength besid it in Ulster) would highly conduce to the advantage of the enemy, and redownd to the irrecoverable losse of the province, and consequently to the preiudice of the whole kingdome. Therefore I represent to yor Ex^cies iuditious consideration, that a place of such consequence ought to be releeved, if it possibly may be don. Thus referring all to yor Ex^cies better iudgm^t, I take leave.

Yo^r Ex^cies most humble servant,

Cloghoghter, 26 October, 1649. Owen ONeill.

For his Ex. ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lo. Lt-Generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Generall ONeill. Dated 26 Octo. Rec. 9 No., 1649.

CIV. PROPOSALS FOR ATTACK ON WEXFOBD.

Ffor ye attaqueing of ye enemys leaguer.

1649.
October.
Proposals for attack on Wexford.

1. First, that ye Comand^r-in-Chiefe att Wexford be sent too, with all speed, to assure him of reliefe, and incourage ye towne; and that he may be ye more confident, some of ye circomstances to be declared to him. That at ye present he

CIII. Carte Papers, xxv. p. 404. CIV. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 42.

Proposals for attack on Wexford.

procure and send by his espialls what he can collect of ye enemys condition, of ye order they ly in, what gaurds they keepe, and where. In what parte Cromwell, Ireton, and their trayne ly; how they dispose of their horse in ye night; by what way they may be best attaqued; and that these spys be such as be well acquainted with ye country there abouts, and may serve us for guides. That he be ready att ye houre appointed to fall on his quarter, with our signe, and words, and doe his uttermost to presse towards that quarter of their leaguer where their traine and amunition lyes, of which he is to convey what he can into ye towne, and ye rest destroy; burneing ye carriages, and nayleing ye canon.

2. That some that know ye country, and may serues us for guides, be sent from hence into ye enemys campe to spy ye above advantages, and that their inteligences may be compared.

3. That their be 1000 horse and 2000 foot chosen for ye designe, all of commanded men; and that ye foot consist of two parts piques, and one part firelocks.

4. That ye fforlorne consist of 100 horse, flanked on each side by an hundred foot, drawne up eight deepe, with ye firelocks in ye second and last rankes but one, that in case they be attaqued both in ye ffront and reere, they may make a good defence.

5. That there be six bodyes more drawne out, consisting all of ye like number and order to second them, and doe ye execution, in wch noe man is to alight from his horse or breake his ranke. Nor none of those bodyes to pursue any routed party above 50 paces, still keepeing their firme order wch they may not breake for any seemeing advantage.

6. That ye reserve consist of two equall bodys of 100 horse, and 250 foot apeice in ye like order: that they may with more ease succour either wing or both att once if occasion be. I propose this order that they may the better overcome all difficultyes wch they may incounter with, and preserve ye flankes and reare of our horse from being attaqued by ye enemy. These horse to carry every one a pitched ffagot.

7. That three of ye ffirst and cheifest bodys have euery one a guide (as all the rest) to conduct them readily to Cromwell, Ireton, Jones ye traine amunition and victualls. And that ye body that seiseth ye traine, gaurd it whilst ye garrison souldiers convey itt into the towne, and what is not to destroy; the rest of ye bodys still moveing to keepe ye enemy from rallying.

8. That an hundred horse and an hundred ffire locks be sent from ye body, when itt approcheth neere the enemy, to give the false alarme, on ye side towards our campe, who must keepe constantly shooteing, and may hange up many light matches in ye enemys sight to fright them, and to be ye signe to ours wch way to make their retreite if occasion be. But this false alarme is not to be given till ye other be falne on.

9. That there goe along with this party 50 pioneirs to make a by way when we

APPENDIX.
1649.
October.
Proposals for attack on Wexford.

approach neere the enemy, the better to avoyde his scouts and guards, and prevent ye allarme.

10. That ye party make their attaque by ye way of Dublin about two hours before day, and that the body of our army, towards wch they are to retreite, march a long by ye river side, soe as to be within 3 or 4 miles of ye enemy at ye tyme of the falling on, where, if our party returne with ye least considerable successe, we may be bold to incampe ourselves, and doubtlesse in a short tyme force them to abandon ye seige.

Endorsed: Proposall for the attaqueing the enemyes leager befor Wexford in Octo., 1649.

CV. DESIGN FOR RECOVERY OF TOWN OF ROSS.

1649.
October.
Design for recovery of town of Ross.

I propose for the designe upon Rosse 600 men to be commanded out of that party that lost itt, 200 of each nation, with select officers, of whose courage and fidellity there hath beene experience.

This party I would have to march towards Waterford, as intended for a garrison; in the evening to be putt into boates at ye mouth of the river, as if it were to releeve Dunchanan, taking the first flowing of ye water that night. To every 50 men I would give two crowes of iron, and a darke lanthorne, and contract ye whole into as few boates as might be (the fferry boates reserved), in wch I would carry as many horse at they can containe.

All the souldiers must ly downe in the boates, base their armes, guard their matches, and forbeare taking of tobacco or making any noise; the ferry boates with the horses must come in the reare of all.

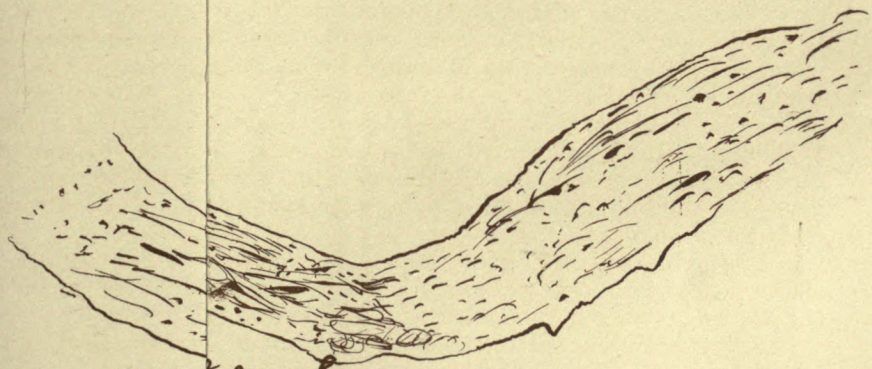
The first that should make ye impression should be 100 men commanded by a field officer, who must appoint a Captaine with the first 40 men that put foot ashoare to seize the blockehouse, himself with the rest passing on directly to the ffryery by the way I shall direct him, and must put all to the sword there, and make good the place.

Soe soone as this first boat shalbe discovered by ye enemy and hayled, the officer shall answer, oh! wee are all undone; wee are sicke and wounded men from the leaguer, rowing to the shoare with all speed.

The next body that shall land shalbe also 100 men, commanded by another field officer, wch shall all goe by the same passage with the former (six only excepted), wch shall drive a ramme to open the posterne gate, thereby to make passage for the horse; the 100 are to passe along ye wall with as much speed, and in as good order as they can, with a small party before them, till they come to ye gate where the breach was intended, wch if they cannot surprize, he shall second them with another strong party to force ye place, keeping ye rest of his men and most pikes firme in a body.

The next body shall consist of 200 men, commanded by two field officers, who are to passe as the former, and by y^e posterne gate for the more speed, they are to

cv. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 43.



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passe along the wall with a party before them, wch must not fall upon any except they be attacqued, but leave the execution to be done by ye body, and passing on before, cry out, from whence comes ye alarme; thereby to surprize the tower at the end of the new worke, wch if they cannot, they must be seconded with a party of 20 or 30 more to force the place. One of these field officers with the residue of his 100 attaquing the porte at ye other end of the new worke, and the other with his 100 to put to the sword and disperse such of the enemy as shall be rallyed in the church yard, and to seize the church.

Appendix. 1649. October. Design for recovery of town of Ross.

My selfe with the other 200 and the horse will secure S^t^. Michaells Church and the magazine, sieze the maine guard, and key, and guard att the north end by the river side, scower the streets, sieze the officers, and attayne such howses out of which ye enemy shall fire, keeping a strong body of my party still firme at ye mayne guard.

In case Cromwell or Ireton were in the towne I would draw out a select party comanded by a stout officer, who should land with the first, and with a perfect guide make what speed were possible to surprize him or force his quarter.

If this be put into execution before our army passe the Grage, it is possible wee shall find him there, and if yor Excellency shall find it fitt to fall into the quarters of his army the same night, with such a party as I proposed for ye releife of Wexford, the rest of ye army following in the reare, it is to be hoped such execution may be done upon him as to prevent the uniting of his forces or drawing of from Dunchanan, where his canon being ingaged he cannot suddenly move.

Endorsed: A designe uppon Rosse, October, 1649.

CVI. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our very hearty comendations: Haveing advertisement from our very good Lord the Lord Viscount Taaffe of the assured agreement lately made betwixt our Com^rs^ and those authorised by you, and of the advaunce before you of Major-generall Hugh ONeile with a party of two or three thousand of your army, and that you are uppon your march alsoe with the remainder, yet to prevent the inevitable preiudice which must needs accrue to the whole kingdom unless the rebells receive a checque in their present barbarous proceedings, Wee have thought fitt by these our letters very earnestly to pray and desire y^r^ imediate and speedy advaunce.

1649. [October.] Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

Endorsed: 1649. The coppy of a letter unto Maior-generall ôNeill.

CVII. Order for Thanksgiving in England.

Die Martis, xxx. Octobr. 1649.

Ordered by the Parliament, that it be referred to the Lord Major of the city of London, to take care to disperse the said letters and transactions to all the ministers

1649. 30. Oct. Order for Thanksgiving.

cvi. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 47.
cvii. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc. *Ante*, p. 289.

APPENDIX.
1649.
30. Oct.
Order for thanksgiving.

within London and the Liberties, who are required respectively to read the same in their respective congregations on Thursday next, and to take notice of this great and wonderful mercy, in giving in the fort and town of Wexford, together with the haven there, and the shipping in it, as an addition unto the former mercies, for which that day was set apart, and to return all humble thanks to Almighty God for the same.

Hen: Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti.

CVIII. OWEN O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649.
1. Nov.
Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex:

Yo^{rs} of the 27th of this instant, importeing yor Ex^{cies} desire of my imediat repaire thither, this night I received; and doe confidently assure yor Ex. I would (as I am a Christian) wth a willing heart and a cheerfull mind comply wth yor Ex: therein, were not for the unhappy infirmity by which I am now reduced to that condicon as that (for the whole world) I canot stirr or sitt in my bedd, but when I am holpen or supported by others, yett these two dayes past I begin to mend a litle better than I was, soe as (I hope) by the help of God soone to recover soe farr as that I shalbe able to enioy the happines of kissing yor Ex^{cies} hand, which I long for more than any earthly comfort. The precipitation of fighting with Cromwell (his army beeing hitherto victorious), whereunto yor Ex: is perswaded by many, is of a moste dangerous consequence, for the losse of the few men you have (whoe in prosperity and adversity will faithfully sticke to yor Ex:) would produce noe other effect than the losse of yor Ex: and consequently of the whole kingdome; for if any disaster (God forbid) should now attend yor army, yor Ex: would questionles be soone after betrayed into the hands of Cromwell; which ought to be considered off, and seriously taken to consideration; if the country be negligent in getting in provision for the army, there may be a course taken with them; tis better to see sould^{rs} fast a while than to loose them desperatly, and while they live they will make some shift for theere subsistance. If God gives mee the grace once to recover, I repose my hope and confidence in the Allmighty that I will make upp as good an army for yor Ex: as you have had any time this twelve-moneth. Therefore I pray and desire yor Ex: to have a litle patience for two monethes onely, and in the interim to be circumspective and carefull of the few men yor Ex: hath allready together, whereon depends (under God) ye preservation of the intrest his Matie and the nation have in this kingdome. Thus referring ye premisses to yo Ex^{cies} better indgm^{t}, I take leave.

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble servant,

Cloghoghter, 1° November, 1649. Owen ONeill.

For his Ex: ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^{t}.-generall of Ireland: These

Endorsed: 1. Nov. 1649.

CVIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 50.

CIX. OWEN O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649. 1. Nov. Owen O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex:

Beeing now in my death-bedd (without any great hope of my recovery), I call my Savio^r to wittnes, that (as I hope for salvacion) my resolucion, wayes, and intencions (from first to last in these unhappy warrs) tended to noe particular ambicion or privat interest of myne owne. Notwithstanding what was or may be thought off to the contrary, but truely and sencerely to the preservacion of my religion, the advancem^t of his Ma^ts service, and iust liberties of this nacion: whereof, and of my particular reality and willingnes to serve yor Ex: (above any other in this kingdome), I hope y^t God will permitt mee to give ample and sufficient testimony in ye view of the world ere it be long.

However, if in the intrim God pleaseth to call mee away, I doe moste seriously recomend to yor Ex^cies care my son and heire, Collonell Henry ONeill: praying and desireing that yor Ex: may be favourably pleased, not onely to prescribe a present course that hee may participat of the late peace, but alsoe of the benefitt of such condicions, concessions, creacion, as his Matie intended for mee, and was assured for mee by yor Ex: in his Ma^ts name, by an instrum^t beareing date, at Kilkeny, the 29th of September last: And that (in case of my death) yor Ex: will not onely assure him thereof, under hand and seale, but likewise be ayding and assisting him in the timely procurem^t thereof. And in soe doeing yor Ex: will highly oblige mee, my said son, and the posterity of

Yo^r Ex^cies most humble servant,

1 Nov. 1649. Lord Lieutenant. Owen ONeill.

For his Ex: ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Generall ONeiles. Dated 1. Nov. Rec. 9. Dec. 1649. Upon his lying bed.

CX. INCHIQUIN TO GEORGE LANE.

1649. 3. Nov. Inchiquin to George Lane.

Sir,

I shall desire you to intreate his Excellency to send speedy orders for the hanginge of Calfield, least aney letter maye be sente unto me in his behaulfe from the enemy, that if he should miscarry, they will hange some of my officers, prisoners, and by that meanes he may escape; soe that I would have him despatched out of the way, without givinge me aney notice therof; which I hope will not be neglected; so I remaine,

Your verey affectionate frind,

Lowgrange, 3. November, 1649. Inchiquine.

Ffor my affectionate frind George Lane, Esqr.: these.

Endorsed: Lord Inchiquins concerning Capt. Caulfeild. 3 No., 1649.

cix. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 49. cx. Clarendon Papers, 1649. No. 155.

APPENDIX.

CXI. THE MAYOR OF CLONMEL TO ORMONDE.

1649.
10. Nov.
The Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

May it please yor Excellency,

I am commanded by the Counsell and Commons of this towne to represent unto yor Excellency ther apprehension of the present daunger threatned by the rebells, and that yor Excell. wilbe pleased to looke upon them, his faythful subiects resolved to spend ther blood in defence of ther religion, kinge, and country and beinge of themselves unable to withstand the fury of so mercilesse an enemy yor Excellency wilbe pleased to direct a present reliefe of men to be sent into them Understandinge that a considerable party of the army are as yet in this province and in ther march to the eampe, I made bould (beinge therunto encouradged by John Walshe, who ioyned with me in a letter) to write unto the Maior-generall to direct them hither, undertakinge to procure yor Excellencies orders for him to that purpose, wch we hope the necessity at hand will in yor Excellencyes favorable construction excuse our bouldnesse, and be a motive to grant yor present order accordinge our engadgement.

The poverty of this towne is well knowen, and therfore unable to mayteyne any considerable number. It is therfore ther humble request yor Excell. wilbe pleased to direct Martin Laffan, the receiver, to pay them from tyme to tyme, and upon his fayler, the Collonell to be employed hither, to have power to raise his meane from the adiacent baronyes, or where he may in the country, to be abated unto them in ther publique dues; and that yor Excell. wilbe further pleased to grant yo orders for reimbursinge unto the inhabitants of this towne whatever they shall happen to be out of purse for the mayntenance of that partie. All wch I represent to yor Excelleney, and humbly take leave, beinge

Yo^r Excell. most faithfull serv^t,

John Whyte,

Clonmell, 10 November, 1649. Maior of Clonmell.

They humbly desire that the Collonell or Commander of the party may with 300 men march ymediatly into the towne, and that the rest may be in some neere guarrizons, to be brought in if necessity shall require it.

Iohn Whyte B.,
Maior of Clonmell.

To his Excelleney the Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lieuten^t-generall of Ireland These present.

Endorsed: Maior of Clonmells. Dated 10. Rec. 12 Nov. 1649.

CXI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 111.

Vol. 11. Page 317.

Ulster, 11th November, 1649.

CXII. MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER, TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Ex:

By the inclosed, wch I received as soone as I lighted from my horse here, you may rest assured of the death of Generall Owen ôNeill, wch for many reasons I thought requisitt to advertise yor Ex: with much speed. I have not yett made use of the letter directed to the army, but now I send it by the bearer, Father Nicholas Bern, and I am of opinion that it is fitt to deliver the same out of hand; but to deliver it, or not, yor Ex: knowes best, to whose iudgm^{t} I submitt my reasons for delivering the said letter tymlye, I have intrusted with the bearer, who will acquaint yor Ex: therwith. The Lord Generalls death here is knowne but to a few, who will keepe it secrett as long as may be, wch I hould to be the best way for a tyme; and soe I kiss yor Excellencyes hand, and remaine,

1649. 11. Nov. Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, to Ormonde.

Yo^{r} Ex., his affectionat and most humble servant,

Kilkeny, 11 November, 1649. Emerus Clogherensis.

Ffor his Ex: the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord L^{t} of Ireland, etc.: These.

Endorsed: B[ishop of] Clogher. Dated 11. No. 1649.

CXIII. ROMAN CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH AND OTHERS TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Ex:

Collonell Henry ôNeill would have long ere now waited on yor Ex: were not that hee attended his fathers sicknes; hee is now in his way thither, and will give intimation unto yor Ex: of some particulars of his said fathers last will and testament, wherein the said Collonell is seriously recomended to yor Ex^{cies} favo^{rs}, whereof (wee doubt not) yor Ex: will (in time) find the gent deserveing. This much, in discharge of what (in that particular) was enioyned us by Generall Neill, who was confident yor Ex: would have a fatherly care of his child, is humbly presented to yor Ex: by

1649. 11. Oct. Roman Catholic Archbishop of Armagh and others to Ormonde.

11 No. 1649. Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble servants,

H. Ardmachanus.
Eug: Killmorensis.
Fr. Arth. Dunensis et Connorens.
Willm Kenna.
Phillipp Rely.
Phi: Reily.
Torlagh Boyle.

For his Ex: ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^{t}-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Phillip OReyly and others. Dated 11. No. Rec. 9. Dec. 1649.

CXII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 115*. CXIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 115.

APPENDIX.

CXIV. CROMWELL TO RICHARD MAYOR.

Ross, 13th Nov. 1649.

Dear Brother,

1649. 13. Nov. Cromwell to R. Mayor.

. . . It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford an Ross) a good interest in Munster, by the access of Cork and Youghal, which ai both submitted; their commanders are now with me. Divers other lesser garrisoı are come in also. The Lord is wonderful in these things; its His hand alone do them: O that all the praise might be ascribed to Him . . .

Sir, I am

Your affectionate brother and servant,

Oliver Cromwell.

For my beloved brother, Richard Mayor, Esquire, of Hursley: These.

CXV. CROMWELL TO SCOTT.

Sir,

1649. 14. Nov. Cromwell to Scott.

I hope you will excuse this trouble. I understand the House did vot Lieutenant-general Jones five hundred pounds per annum of lands of inheritanc from Irish lands, upon the news of the defeat given to the enemy before Dublir immediately before my coming over. I think it will be a very acceptable worl and very well taken at your hands, to move the House for an immediate settlemen thereof: it will be very convenient at this time.

Another thing is this. The Lord Broghil is now in Munster, where he, I hop will do very good offices: all his suit is for two hundred pounds to bring his wif over: such a sum would not be cast away. He hath a great interest in the me that come from Inchiquin. I have made him and Sir William Fenton, Colonc Blake and Colonel Deane, who I believe, 'at least' one of them, will be frequentl in Cork Harbour, making that a victualling place for the Irish fleet, instead c Milford Haven.—'I have made them' and Colonel Phayr Commissioners for temporary management of affairs there.

This business of Munster will empty your Treasury, therefore you have need t hasten our money allotted us, lest you put us to stand with our fingers in ou mouths. I rest,

Sir, your servant,

Ross, 14th Nov. 1649. Oliver Cromwell.

For the Honorable Thomas Scott, of the Council of State: These.

cxiv. cxv. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. 1846, II. 91, 92.

CXVI. CROMWELL TO LENTHAL.

1649. 14. Nov. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Sir,

About a fortnight since, I had some good assurance that Cork was returned to its obedience; and had refused Inchiquin, who did strongly endeavour to redintegrate himself there, but without success. I did hear also that Colonel Townsend was coming to me with their submission and desires, but was interrupted by a fort at the mouth of Cork Harbour. But having sufficient grounds upon the former information, and other confirmation out of the enemy's camp that it was true, I desired General Blake, who was here with me, that he would repair thither in Captain Mildmay's frigate, called the Nonsuch. Who, when they came thither, received such entertainment as these enclosed will let you see.

In the meantime the Garland, one of your third-rate ships, coming happily into Waterford Bay, I ordered her, and a great prize lately taken in that bay, to transport Colonel Phayr to Cork; whitherward he went, having along with him near five hundred foot, which I spared him out of this poor army, and £1,500 in money;—giving him such instructions as were proper for the promoting of your interest there. As they went with an intention for Cork, it pleased God the wind coming cross, they were forced to ride off from Dungarvan. Where they met Captain Mildmay returning with the Nonsuch frigate, with Colonel Townsend aboard, coming to me; who advertised them that Youghal had also declared for the Parliament of England. Whereupon they steered their course thither; and sent for Colonel Gifford, Colonel Warden, Major Purden (who with Colonel Townsend have been very active instruments for the return both of Cork and Youghal to their obedience, having some of them ventured their lives twice or thrice to effect it), and the Mayor of Youghal aboard them; who, accordingly, immediately came and made tender of some propositions to be offered to me. But My Lord Broghil being on board the ship, assuring them it would be more for their honour and advantage to desire no conditions, they said they would submit. Whereupon My Lord Broghil, Sir William Fenton, and Colonel Phayr, went to the town; and were received,—I shall give you My Lord Broghil's own words,—"with all the real demonstrations of gladness an overjoyed people were capable of."

Not long after, Colonel Phayr landed his foot. And by the endeavours of the noble person afore mentioned, and the rest of the gentlemen, the garrison is put in good order; and the Munster officers and soldiers in that garrison in a way of settlement. Colonel Phayr intends, as I hear, to leave two hundred men there, and to march with the rest overland to Cork. I hear by Colonel Townsend, and the rest of the gentlemen that were employed to me, that Baltimore, Castlehaven, Cappoquin, and some other places of hard names, are come in,—I wish foot come over seasonably to man them;—as also that there are hopes of other places.

From Sir Charles Coot, Lord President of Connaught, I had a letter, about three or four days since, that he is come over the Bann, and hath taken Coleraine by storm; and that he is in conjunction with Colonel Venables,—who I hear hath

CXVI. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. 1846, II. p. 94.

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besieged Carrickfergus; which if through the mercy of God it be taken, I know nothing considerable in the North of Ireland, but Charlemont, that is not in your hands.

We lie with the army at Ross; where we have been making a bridge over the Barrow, and 'have' hardly yet accomplished 'it' as we could wish. The enemy lies upon the Nore, on the land between the Barrow and it; having gathered together all the force they can get. Owen Roe's men, as they report them, are six thousand foot, and about four thousand horse, beside their own army 'in this quarter;' and they give out they will have a day for it:—which we hope the Lord in His mercy will enable us to give them, in His own good time. In whom we desire our only trust and confidence may be.

Whilst we have lain here, we have not been without some sweet taste of the goodness of God. Your ships have taken some good prizes. The last was thus. There came in a Dunkirk man-of-war with 32 guns; who brought in a Turkish man-of-war whom she had taken, and another ship of 10 guns laden with poor-joh and oil. These two your ships took. But the man-of-war whose prizes these two were, put herself under the Fort of Duncannon, so that your ships could not come near her. It pleased God we had two demi-cannon with the foot, on the shore which being planted, raked her through, killing and wounding her men; so that after ten shot she weighed anchor, and ran into your Fleet, with a flag of submission surrendering herself. She was well manned, the prisoners taken being two hundred and thirty.—I doubt the taking prisoners of this sort will cause the wicked trade of piracy to be endless. They were landed here before I was aware: and a hundred of them, as I hear, are gotten into Duncannon, and have taken up arms there; and I doubt the rest, that are gone to Waterford, will do us no good. The seamen, being so full of prizes and unprovided of victual, knew not how otherwise to dispose of them.

Another 'mercy' was this. We, having left divers sick men, both horse and foot, at Dublin,—hearing many of them were recovered, sent them orders to march up to us; which accordingly they did. Coming to Arcklow, on Monday the first of this instant, being about 350 horse and about 800 foot,—the enemy, hearing of them (through the great advantage they have in point of intelligence), drew together a body of horse and foot near 3,000, which Inchiquin commanded. There went also, with this party, Sir Thomas Armstrong, Colonel Trevor, and most of their great ranters. We sent fifteen or sixteen troops to their rescue, near eight hours too late. It pleased God we sent them word by a nearer way, to march close and be circumspect, and to make what haste they could to Wexford, by the sea-side. They had marched near eighteen miles, and were come within seven miles of Wexford (the foot being miserably wearied), when the enemy gave the scouts of the rearguard an alarm. Whereupon they immediately drew up in the best order they could upon the sands, the sea on the one hand, and the rocks on the other; where the enemy made a very furious charge; 'and' overbearing our horse with their numbers, which, as some of their prisoners confess, were fifteen hundred of their best horse, forced them in some disorder back to the foot. Our foot stood forbearing their firing till the enemy was come almost within pistol-shot, and then let fly very full in the faces of them; whereby some of them began to tumble; the rest running off in a very great disorder;—and 'they' faced not about until the

got above musket-shot off. Upon this our horse took encouragement; drawing up again; bringing up some foot to flank them. And a gentleman of ours, that had charged through before, being amongst them undiscerned, having put his signal into his hat as they did,—took his opportunity and came off; letting our men know, That the enemy was in great confusion and disorder, and that if they could attempt another charge, he was confident good might be done on them. It pleased God to give our men courage: they advanced; and, falling upon the enemy, totally routed them; took two colours and divers prisoners, and killed divers upon the place and in the pursuit. I do not hear that we have two men killed; and but one mortally wounded, and not five that are taken prisoners.

The quick march of our party made Inchiquin that he could reach them with nothing but his horse, hoping to put them to a stand until his foot came up; which if he had done, there had probably been no saving of a man of this party. Without doubt Inchiquin, Trevor, and the rest of those people, who are very good at this work, had swallowed up this party! And indeed it was, in human probability, lost; but God, that defeated Trevor in his attempt upon Venables (which Trevor, as I hear this night from the enemy's camp, was shot through the belly, in this service, and is carried to Kilkenny,—and Sir Thomas Armstrong is also wounded), hath disappointed them, and poured shame upon them in this defeat; giving us the lives of a company of our dear friends, which I hope will be improved to His glory and their country's good.

Sir, having given you this account, I shall not trouble you much with particular desires. Those I shall humbly present to the Council of State. Only, in the general, give me leave humbly to offer what in my judgment I conceive to be for your service, with a full submission to you. We desire recruits may be speeded to us. It is not fit to tell you how your garrisons will be unsupplied, and no field marching army considerable, if but three garrisons more were in our hands. It is not well not to follow providences. Your recruits and the forces desired will not raise your charge, if your assignments already for the forces here do come to our hands in time. I should not doubt 'but' by the addition of assessments here, to have your charge in some reasonable measure borne; and the soldier upheld, without too much neglect or discouragement,—which sickness, in this country so ill agreeing with their bodies, puts upon them; and 'which' this winter's action, I believe not heretofore known by English in this country, subjects them to. To the praise of God I speak it, I scarce know one officer of forty amongst us that hath not been sick. And how many considerable ones we have lost, is no little thought of heart to us.

Wherefore I humbly beg, that the monies desired may be seasonably sent over; and those other necessaries, clothes, shoes, and stockings, formerly desired; that so poor creatures may be encouraged: and, through the same blessed Presence that has gone along with us, I hope, before it be long, to see Ireland no burden to England, but a profitable part of its Commonwealth. And certainly the extending your help in this way, at this time, is the most profitable means speedily to effect it. And if I did not think it your best thrift, I would not trouble you at all with it.

I have sent Sir Arthur Loftus with these letters. He hath gone along with us, testifying a great deal of love to your service. I know his sufferings are very

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great; for he hath lost near all: his regiment was reduced to save your charge not out of any exceptions to his person. I humbly therefore present him to your consideration.

Craving pardon for this trouble, I rest,

Your most humble and faithful servant,

Ross, 14th November, 1649. Oliver Cromwell.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England These.

CXVII. PROPOSITIONS FROM TOWN OF BANDON.

1649.
15. Nov.
Propositions from town of Bandon.

Propositions sent from Coll. Ffrancis Courtney, Governor of Bandon, to ye Righ Honb^le^ ye Lord of Broghill, for ye delivering of ye said towne this 15th day o November, 1649.

Imprimis. That Coll. Ffrancis Courtney shall without any molestacion march witl his entire regiment, armes, bagg, and baggage, drumes beating, collors flying matches lighted, bullets in their mouthes, to ye Lord of Inchiquin his army, o elsewhere where they please; and that [they] may have one barrell of powde with bullets and match proporcionable.

2. That all officers, sould^rs^, and townsmen, or any other person or persons tha will, may live quietly without any molestacion, hinderance, or prejudice, either i bodyes, goods, estate, or any other thing else that to them, or either of them belongeth in any of ye English garrisons or country, provided they act nothin ag^st^ ye Lord of Broghill or his partye now under ye comannd of ye Parliam^t^ o England.

3. That Coll. Courtney shall with his entire regim^t^, and all others that will go with him, have two dayes respitt before they march, and in the meane tyme, no to receive any prejudice, either in bodye, goods or armes, by any of ye L^d^ o Broghill, his party, or his Lordship.

4. That Capt. Conden shall with his horses, armes, bagg, and baggage, have th benefitt of ye above articles.

5. That if any horses, cowes, garrons, or any other manner of goods, haue bee seised on by ye Lord of Broghill his party within one mile round this town belonging to ye above officers, townsmen, or any of them sithence his Lordship comeing before ye said towne of Bandon, shall be restored back to ye owners.

6. That ye monyes due unto Coll. Ffrancis Courtney his offic^rs^ and sould^rs^ befor these propositions by assignments from Sr Robt. Coppinger, by vertue of ye Lord c Inchiquin his warrant to Sr Robt. may bee sufferred to be leavyed by distress c

CXVII. MS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, p. 115.

otherwise, according to ye tenno^r and meaneing of ye s^d assignm^t. Provided it be not charged upon any place und^r ye protection of ye Parliam^t of England. APPENDIX. 1649.

Broghill. 15. Nov.

Propositions from town of Bandon.

Upon ye surrender of ye within mencioned towne of Bandon to me for ye use of ye Parliam^t of England, I doe hereby promise and engage myselfe to make good and performe ye within articles in every particuler. Dated as aforesaid.

Broghill.

CXVIII. THE MAYOR OF CLONMEL TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Excellencye,

1649. 20. Nov. The Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

Being assured by the testimonie of divers wittnesses of the sudden takinge of Caricke for want of vigilancie, by a partye of Cromwells horse, havinge acted some bloddye execution uppon some of the townsmen and garison there, wherof some came into this towne, having further intimated (wherof some scouts employd from this towne brought me intelligence) that a partye of Cromwells foote have likewise advanced as farr as Caricke the afternoone of the date herof, the horse having come thither in the morning; of all wch I thought fitt to give your Excellency notice, being not as stronge as I could wish, yett I hope in God that the townmen and garrison, having this day ioyned by a solemne protestation and oath in an union for God, king, and contrye, and defense of this towne to the uttermost of their power, will be able to oppose and meete the enemys designes if the bodye of y^r Excellencye armie be uppon their backe, wch is expected with all expedicion (no lesse being y^r Excellencys care) by

Y^r Excellencys most hu^ble serv^t,

John Whyte B.

Clonmell, the 20th of November, 1649. Maior of Clonmell.

For his Excellencye the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lutenant-generall of Ireland: These. Hast, hast, hast.

Endorsed: Mayor of Clonmell, 20 Nov., 1649.

CXIX. THE MAYOR OF CLONMEL TO ORMONDE.

May it please y^r Excellencye,

1649. 21. Nov. The Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

After signinge the inclosed I have understood that Collonell Stephenson writt unto y^r Excellencye for commaunding the keys of this corporacion into his owne hands; and giving the wathword and engaginge the towsmen at his dissposall uppon service. I thought fitt to intimat unto y^r Excellencye that if y^r Excellencye had sent the Collonell orders to be factotum in these partes, that it may begett a

CXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 156. CXIX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 159.

APPENDIX.
1649.
21. Nov.
The Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

rupture betweene the townsmen and the garison. I shall therfore humbly deseire that y^r Excellencye may be pleased that I may enioye my keys, ioyne in the wathword, and that the captains of the towne, together with the Collonell and his chiefe officers, maye by their ioynt adveise dispose the townsmen and garrison uppon service, wch is humble suite and sense of y^r Excellencys

Most humble Servt,

John Whyte B.

Clonmell the 21st of No., 1649. Maior of Clonmell.

For his Excellencye the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These. Hast, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: 21 Nov., 1649, Mayor of Clonmell.

CXX. CROMWELL TO LENTHAL.

For the Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Mr. Speaker,

1649.
[25. Nov.]
Cromwell to Lenthal.

The enemy being quartered between the two rivers of Noer and the Barrow, and masters of all the passages thereupon, and giving out their resolution to fight us thereby, as we conceived laboring to get reputation in the countreys, and accession of more strength, it was thought fit our army should march towards them, which accordingly upon Tuesday the fifteenth instant was done. The Major-general and Lieutenant-general (leaving me very sick at Ross behinde them) with two battering guns, advanced towards Enistery [Inistiogue], a little walled town about five miles from Ross, upon the Noer, on the south side thereof, which was possessed by the enemy; but a party of our men, under the command of Colonel Abbot, the night before approaching the gates, and attempting to fire the same, the enemy ran away through the river, leaving good store of provisions behinde them: Our commanders hoped by gaining of this town, to have gained a pass, but indeed there fell so much sudden wet, as made the river unpassable by that time the army was come up: Whereupon, hearing the enemy lay about two miles off upon near Thomas town, a pretty large walled town upon the Noer, on the north side thereof having a bridge over the river; our army marched thither, but the enemy had broke the bridge, and garisoned the town, and in the view of our army marched away to Kilkenny, seeming to decline an engagement, although I believe they were double our numbers, which they had power to have necessitated us unto but was no ways in our power (if they would stand upon the advantage of the passage) to engage them unto, nor indeed to continue out two days longer, having almost spent all the bread they carried with them: Whereupon (seeking God) for

cxx. A letter from the Right Honorable the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Honorable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, concerning the taking in and surrendring of Enistery [Enisteigue—Inistiogue], Carrick Town and Castle, Passage-Fort, Bandon Bridge, Kingsale, and the Fort there. London: Printed by John Field for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1649.—For observations on this letter, see Notes to present volume.

direction, they resolved to send a good party of horse and dragoons under Colonel Reynolds to Carrick, and to march the residue of their army back towards Ross, to gain more bread for the prosecution of that design, if by the blessing of God it should take. Colonel Reynolds marching with twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, came betimes in the morning to Carrick, where dividing himself into two parties, whilest they were amused with the one, he entred one of the gates with the other; which the soldiers perceiving, divers of them and their officers escaped over the river in boats; about a hundred officers and soldiers taken prisoners, without the loss of one man of our part: In this place is a very good castle, and one of the ancientst seats belonging to the Lord of Ormond in Ireland; the same was rendred without any loss also; where was good store of provisions for the refreshing of our men. The Colonel giving a speedy intelligence of Gods mercy in this, we agreed to march with all convenient speed the residue of the army up thither, which accordingly was done upon Wednesday and Thursday, the 21 and 22 of this instant; and through Gods mercy I was enabled to bear them company. Being come thither, we did look at it as an especial good hand of Providence to give us this place, inasmuch as it gives us a passage over the river Sewer, to the city of Waterford, and indeed into Munster, to our shipping and provisions, which before were beaten from us out of our Waterford bay, by the enemies guns. It hath given us also opportunity to besiege or block up Waterford: And we hope our gracious God will therein direct us also. It hath given us also the opportunity of our guns, ammunition, and victuals; and indeed quarter for our horse, which could not have subsisted much longer; so sweet a mercy was the giving of this little place unto us, having rested there a night, and by noon the next day gotten our army over the river, leaving Col. Reynolds with about one hundred and fifty foot, his own six troops of horse, and one troop of dragoons, with a very little ammunition, according to the smalness of our marching store: We marched away towards Waterford upon Friday 23, and on Saturday about noon came before the city; the enemy not being a little troubled at this unsuspected business (which indeed was the meer guidance of God), marches down with great fury towards Carrick, with their whole army, resolving to swallow it up; and upon Saturday the four and twentieth, assaults the place round, thinking to take it by storm; but God had otherwise determined, for the troopers and the rest of the soldiers with stones did so pelt them, they continuing very near four hours under the walls, having burnt the gates which our men barocado'd up with stones; and likewise digged under the walls, and sprung a small mine, which flew in their own faces; but they lost above forty or fifty men dead under the walls, and have drawn off, as some say, near four hundred more, which they buried up and down the fields, besides what are wounded, and as Inchiquin himself confessed, in the hearing of some of their soldiers lately come to us, hath lost him above one thousand men: The enemy was drawing off his dead a good part of the night; they were in such haste upon the assault, that they killed their own trumpet, as he was returning with an answer to a summons sent by them; both in the taking and defending of this place, Col. Reynolds his carriage was such, as deserves much honor. Upon our coming before Waterford, I sent the Lieutenant-

Appendix.
1649.
[25. Nov.]
Cromwell to Lenthal.

general with a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons, to endeavor the reducing of Passage-Fort, a very large fort, with a castle in the midst of it, having five guns planted in it, and commanding the river better then Duncannon, it not being much above musquet shot over where this fort stands, and we can bring up hither ships of three hundred tuns, without any danger from Duncannon; upon the attempt, though our materials were not very apt for the business, yet the enemy called for quarter, and had it, and we the place: We also possessed the guns, which the enemy had planted to beat our ships out of the bay, two miles below. By the taking of this fort, we shall much streighten Duncannon from provisions by water, as we hope they are not in a condition to get much by land; besides the advantage it is of to us, to have provisions to come up the river. It hath pleased the Lord whilest these things hath been thus transacting here, to adde to your interest in Munster, Bandon-Bridge, the town as we hear upon the matter, thrusting out yong Jepson, who was their governor, or else he deserting it upon that jealousie; as also Kingsale, and the fort there, out of which fort four hundred men marched upon articles when it was surrendred, so that now by the good hand of the Lord, your interest in Munster is near as good already, as ever it was since this war begun. I sent a party about two days ago to my Lord of Broughil, from whom I expect to have an accompt of all. Sir, what can be said to these things? is it an arm of flesh that doth these things? is it the wisdom and councel, or strength of men? it is the Lord onely; God will curse that man and his house, that dares to think otherwise. Sir, you see the work is done by divine leading: God gets into the hearts of men, and perswades them to come under you. I tell you, a considerable party of your army is fitter for an hospital then the field: If the enemy did not know it, I should have held it impolitique to have writ it: They know it, yet they know not what to do. I humbly beg leave to offer a word or two; I beg of those that are faithful, that they give glory to God; I wish it may have influence upon the hearts and spirits of all those that are now in place of government, in the greatest trust, that they may all in heart draw neer unto God, giving him glory by holiness of life and conversation, that these unspeakable mercies may teach dissenting brethren on all sides to agree, at least in praising God. And if the father of the family be so kinde, why should there be such jarrings and heart-burnings amongst the children? And if it will not yet be received, that these are seals of Gods approbation of your great change of government, which indeed was no more yours then these victories and successes are ours: with us say even the most unsatisfied heart, That both are the righteous judgments and mighty works of God; that he hath pulled down the mighty from his seat; that calls to accompt innocent blood; that he thus breaks the enemies of his church in peeces; and let them not be sullen, but praise the Lord; and think of us as they please, and we shall be satisfied, and pray for them, and wait upon our God; and we hope we shall seek the welfare and peace of our native countrey; and the Lord give them hearts to do so too. Indeed I was constrained in my bowels to write thus much: I ask your pardon, and rest,

Your most humble servant,
O. Cromwell.

CXXI. Cromwell and the City of Cork.

Propositions sent by the English inhabitants of the cittie, suburbs and liberties of Corke to his Excellc^{y} Gen^{ll} Cromwell.

1649. Nov. Cromwell and the city of Cork.

1. The said inhabitants out of a sence of the former good service and tender care of the Lord of Inchiquyne to and for them, they desire that an act of oblivion pass for any act comitted wch might redound to the prejudice of his Lords^{p} or his heires, and that hee may quietly enjoy his own estate, and that satisfaction bee made for what arrears is due unto him untill the perfection of the last peace.

2. The said inhabitants for themselves desire that an act of indemnity be passed for any former actions wch they or any of them have done, or might be supposed to have committed, whereby they and every of them may and shall as quietly possess and freely injoy their libertie and estates wch now they are possessed of (or shall) in the same freedom as any the people of England now do, or shall do, and that all prize goods that have been bought by the said inhabitants; they may and shall enjoy them from any that might claime them as (*blank.*)

3. The said inhabitants desire that whereas ye charter of the cittie of Corke hath been forfited by reason of non 'nadge, that there bee a charter granted to the now inhabitants in as large and ample manner as the former.

4. They can make appear by tiquett they have any way lent, dispursed, or deliv^{d} for the use of the army before the late peace, and likewise for what they or any of them have or shall dispurse either in money or goods since the time of their present declaration, and that one of the cittie be chosen to audify the said acc^{t} on which debentures to issue for payment.

5. The said inhabitants desire that what they shall make appeare is due unto them by spetialty (or otherwise) from any person or persons whatsoever, before or since the wars, satisfaction bee made as to justice apperteyneth.

6. That all English garrisons and persons that will come in and submit to these propositions shall have the benefitt of the same.

7. That all lands, messuages and tenements within the said cittie and county thereof that was held in burgadge, to be totally confirmed on the now inhabitants of the said cittie, and that the inhabitants of the said cittie and suburbs bee regulated into a regim^{t} under the comand of M^{r}. Iohn Hodder as Coll., to bee in pay when they pass on duty not else.

cxxi. MS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin, pp. 128-31.

By the Lord Lieut.-Gennerall.

Answer to the severall desires of the inhabitants of Corke sent by their Com^r. Rec^d November, 1649.

1649. Nov. Cromwell' and the city of Cork.

1. I shall forbeare to answere.

2. The inhabitants of the cittie of Corke that have joyned in the late declaring of the Parliam^t shall be fully indemnified for any thing that past as is desired, so as to restore them to the same conditions of fredom, privileges and safety that they were in before the Lord of Inchiquines defection: and as if the same or anything that hath ensued thereupon had never been, and particularly shall enjoy the benefitt of any prize goods they have bought without being trobled or dampnified for the same.

3. That the charter of the cittie of Corke shall be renewed as is desired, and no advantage taken of the forfeiture mentioned.

4. For what they have lent, disbursed, or delivered for the publique service since their declaration, or hereafter shall lend or advance, it shall be satisfied with all speed out of the revenew or income of these parts, out of wch it may be best and safest done, wch I leave to themselves to thinke and dispose of, and for anything soe due to them from the publique, before the Lord Inchiquines defection they shall haue the same right, and bee in the same capacity of satisfaction, as before the said defection they were; and I shall endevour it for them equally as to any others to whom such debts from ye publique is due by all waies and meanes in my power, but for any thing lent, disbursed, or delivered, as to the publique use since ye said defection and before the s^d declaration, itt cannott bee otherwise considered but as damage suffered by persons well afected, living under the power of an enemy; and in that nature, so farr as anything shall appeare to have byne forceably taken from such persons, it shall be considered, examined and represented to the Parliament, to bee satisfied according to the damage of any other well affected person in Ireland.

5. For debts due from private persons they shall be left to their full legal rights.

6. As all that is graunted to the sould^rs and inhabitants of Corke, Youghall and other neighbouring places that have already corresponded and joyned with them in their late declarations is most freely and heartily graunted, because not bargayned for before their declaring, and because to mens appearing by the carriage of the buysiness to haue done what they haue done therein, really from a recomended sence of an affection to the English Parliamentary and Protestant intrests in this nation, so to any other places or persons that having been formerly of the Parliamentery party shall so come in, as it appears to be from the said sence and affection, and not from pollicy or necessity I shall bere the same mind, and haue the same readiness to doe them good and not hurt.

Not fully understanding the nature or extens of the thing desired, I can giue no present full resolution, but shall be ready to doe them full right in all things, and also to performe any such good office of respect within my power unto the said

cittie of Corke as may bee a reward and memoriall of their faithfull and publique office which in these late occurences I really think they haue deserved.

APPENDIX. 1649. Nov. Cromwell and the city of Cork.

Lastly, as to their desiring other papers concerning the militia of the citie of Corke, I am very willing that the inhabitants be formed into a regiment under the comand of Mr. Iohn Hodder as Coll., Mr. Maurice Cuffe as Lt.-coll., Major Boreman, Major under. The regimt or any parte thereof when called on duty to haue the states pay, for other officers of the regimt I leave it to the said field officers or any two of them to nominate, and to the Lord of Broghill, Sr Wm Fenton, and Coll. Phair, for approbation, to whom I referr it.

Signed: O. Cromwell.

CXXII. ORMONDE'S STATEMENT TO CHARLES II.

For his Majesties cleerer satisfaction in the state of his affaires.

1649. 30. Nov. Ormonde's statement to Charles II.

1. Though I conceive the number of his Maties armys as they are upon lyst, and in charge upon the country are not lesse then in the other paper is mentioned, yet the occation of the dispersing of the greater parte is meerely for want of meanes to keepe them together, and I am not able to say that at the rendevous tomorow I can reasonably expect above 5000 and 1300 hors, nor yet how long I shall bee able to hould them in body, our wants haveing occationed disorder, and that disorder the spoyle of the country, and that spoyle the flight of the country from us as from an enemy; soe that I feare I shall bee constrained to dispers the army into garisons, and lesse bodys where there may bee more probabillity of their subsistence, and meanes of doeing service.

2. It is true that Sr George Monro is reported to bee as strong as is set forth; that if I could send him a strong party, the Lord Montgomery and hee would bee masters of the field and might recover the garisons they have lost, but it is true also, that my sendeing of any shuch party is incertaine; that Carickfergus haveing bin brought into distresse by sieage, is to render within six weekes if not relieved in the meane; that neare foure of those weekes were past before I heard of it, and that unlesse they understood the Lord Montgomerys goeing downe with a small party of Scots foote and hors to bee releef there remaines noe possibillity for mee to doe it.

3. The province of Conaght is indeed intirely under his Majesties obedience, but of five countys only one is able to afforde any considerable help, and that not till it shall please God to abate the violence of the plague.

4. The misfortune before Dublin and those subsequent to it, hath not only had those effects of defection and revolt mentioned in the other paper, but hath occationed shuch a ielousy in the Irish of the English, and shuch a distrust of their owne safty in the English, who are much the fewer, that it is with dificulty they

CXXII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 191.

A PENDIX.
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30. Nov.
Ormonde's statement to Charles II.

can bee kept ioyn'd even in that respect though I had wherewithall plentifully to suport them.

5. All that is sayd of the decay and weakenes of Cromwells army and garisons, is most true, but wee are in shuch a miserable condition of want that wee can not make use of it, nor keepe a weeke together to engage him upon any reasonable termes to fight.

6. It is very true that the army gained by the treaty with Owin ONeill is very considerable both for number and goodnes of the foote, but his death, and the severall factions that will bee made about the comand of it, is much to be feared; may distrust if not breake that army; and, however, I can not assure his Majestie any perfect obedience from it longer then it sute with their interest to act under his authority.

7. I am confident his Majestie may have 20,000 foote and at least 5000 hors in this kingdome if hee can but send hether soe much mony as to encourage them at the first raiseing, but then they must bee maintained from abroade, or the greatest parte of them imployed out of the kingdome, els upon want they will dispers, and it is to bee understood that if things continue as they now are, or as in my apprehension they are like to bee, this may bee done. That shiping with victuall for them and the men for a voage, and that they must bee transported before the spring I conceive is needelesse for mee to mention.

8. It is true that if there bee courage in those of Waterford, and the garison put in answerable to the strength of the place and their meanes of defence, and if Cromwell resolve to try the utermost to take it, and that the wether proove but as is useuall at this time of the yeare, it is propable hee may bee affronted and much weakned in the atempt, which perhaps hee undertooke, when hee heard that city disputed the receiveing of a garison, as indeed it did till hee was at their gates; but I confesse I much apprehend the feare of the citisens and their care of their substance may bee the losse of the place.

9. The condition of the kingdom and of the army thus stated, and the uncertaine disposition (at this instant) of the people considered, I doe not conceive that his Majesties presence can be of that advantage to his affaires heere, as that without a considerable proportion of mony for his owne support and the maintenance of his army, for some tyme I dare advise his comeing hither; though I am confident if he weare soe furnished he might have together what army of horse and foote he pleased, and as he pleases dispose of them.

10. The comeing of his Highines the Duke of Yorke into this kingdom, depending as I conceive uppon his Majesties, my opinion in that behalfe was not otherwise required then in case his Majestie came. Dated at Clonmell, this 30th of Novemb. 1649.

Ormonde.

Endorsed: 30 Novem. 1649. For his Majesties cleerer satisfaction. By Mr. Seymour

CXXIII. Ormonde's Instructions to General Farrell.

Instructions for Livetenent-Generall Farell for the defence of the city of Waterford in case the siege bee continued.

1649. 2. Dec. Ormonde to Farrell.

As to those particulars wherin courage, conduct, and vigillence is requisite, wee noe way doubt you can bee faileing, and therefore wee mention nothing as touching those dutys of a governour; but in regard you have now in this city the mastering power, consisting of shuch as you can absolutly comand, wch formerly it might bee doubted you had not, wee pray and require you—

1. That you cause diligent and impartiall search to bee made into all magazins of corne and other provision of victuall, and computing the same with the number of shuch as are to bee fed thereon, to bee sure to have one months provision for the fighting men and the civill magistrates, and if that may not bee without removeing unneeessary people, wee require you forthwith to send out shuch a number as that those remaineing may subsist for the time afforesayd.

2. That you make like search for amunition of all sortes, and the same to put into some safe magazine, giveing the propriators tikets for the proportion taken from them, that in due time satisfaction may be made them, and that you bee as spareing as possible you can of the expence of pouder.

3. Now that the absolute power of the place is in your hands, wee require you by death or otherwyse, according to the degree of the offence, to punish any person whatsoever that shall bee found mutinous, or any way discourageing the souldiers and inhabitants, or that shall move for a treaty with the rebells touching the surrender of this city, it being properly your parte, and belonging to noe other but you (whoe are to give accoumpt of the city) to iudge when the same is fit.

Given at the Citty of Waterford this second of December, 1649.

2 Dec., 1649. A coppy of my lords instructions to Lievt-generall Farrell.

CXXIV. Inchiquin to Ormonde.

1649. 8. Dec. Inchiquin to Ormonde.

May it pleas your Excie,

Upon the way yesterday, one of Coll. Crosbies officers came to mee from Kerry, and informes mee that on Saturusday last one Hussie invyted Coll. Crosbye to his castle, and there seized upon him, whereupon som of his men that were without fledd with his horses and gaue notice to his officers, who imediatly drew most of the regm^t^ to beseedge the place, and sent som to secure Ardfert and Ballingarry, who in theyr way seized upon som countrie gent^n^ and a castle called Ballyvickigheim. And the next day Hussie promised those officers to release Coll. Crosbie upon promis that he shoulde be payed som mony, which I had formerly

cxxiii. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 200. cxxiv. Clarendon Papers, 1649, No. 191.

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8. Dec.
Inchiquin to Ormonde.

assigned the said Hussie, whereof he said Crosbie had frustrated him; butt Crosbie being left in his hands that night untill the mony should com, the next morening they dispersed theyr men to a few wch Captn. Mc Elligott and Captn Mc Gullighodie kept with themselves at Tralee, where they were fallen upon that night by Edm., and Garrett Fitz Morris, with som forces they had gotten upp in the countrie, who fyred the house, kill'd som, wounded others, and tooke the rest prisoners. And at the same time Dermott OSullivane seized on Castlemayne, for as that countrie is all in an uproare, and actions of hostilitie excersized by the factions against one the other, whereunto I have by letters to all sides indeavoured to giue a stopp, directing Crosbie to be continued a prisoner and Castlemayne to remayne in Coll. Sullivanes hande, untill I come into the countrie and heare the whole matter. This morneing I doe goe to Killmallock, and there I will spend 2 or 3 days in setling this countrie and myselfe in a better opinion with them then my Lord of Antrim has laboured to introduce, of

Your Excies most humble and faithfull servant,

Hospitall, 8 Dec., 1649. Inchiquin.

For his Excie the Lord Lieuten^t^-generall of Ireland.

Endorsed: Ld President of Mounster. Dated 8, Rec. 12, Dec. 1649. A short acc^t^ of some hostilities between the 2 factions.

CXXV. INCHIQUIN TO ORMONDE.

Kilmallock, 9° Dec., 1649.

May it pleas your Excellency,

1649.
9. Dec.
Inchiquin to Ormonde.

Here I founde my sister Boyle; by whome I understand many things from Corke, where there are many that offer to come off unto mee, who have sent one Captain Purdon of purpose to be informed what I woulde have them doe; whereunto I can yett give noe answer, but that I would have them continue there a whyle, untill I shall consider wherein they may best Imploy themselves in his Majesty's service. Instead of bringing them hither, I doubte I must send away those I have, according to the advice I toulde you was given me, for I am confid^t^ the people here will not be drawen to any other beleefe then that they are kept here to betray them, wherein I am confirmed by the accompt I have from an active stoute gent^n^ whom I imployed hither to see if he coulde gett som horss which the countrie promised of themselves to send to my assistance, whereof I desired he might have the comande, which I thought woulde have bein acceptable to them because the man is one (Magrah) that has alwayes lived and serv'd, as well as bein borne among them. But he swears unto mee that his freinds and neighbours looke strangely at him, and som seeme to beleeve that he is turn'd Protestant for noe other reason but because he desires to serve under mee, whom I

cxxv. Clarendon Papers, 1649, No. 192.

finde to be so generally hated by them, that really, if they were not very greate considerations that induce mee to it, I should not longer continue in any action amongst them. But I canot now decline it, if it were onely to avoyde giving such a confirmation of what has bein suggested of mee, which I am affraide will receive creditt, if that should be knowen, which my sister tells mee of; being, that Deane Worth is com to Corke, and that Alexander Piggett, my Lord of Broghill, and he, have designed to be very earnest with Crumwell to offer mee conditions. I do now perceive the friend that Alexander writt (was able to do me service) was Worth; and that the reason why he advised mee to stay, was for this purpose; butt I vow before God, I did never send to any of them, nor knew ('till now) that Worth was there, or that any of them had any such intention. My Lord of Broghill sent mee some messages; first, that he assures mee he does not act for them, nor by theyr comission; that he will never disserve the king, though he act in this nationale quarrell; and that, though perhapps I may not beleeve it, yet he woulde be gladd to do me personal service. My sister sayes, that all those who were active in the treacherie against mee, are look't upon as rogues, and that shee beleeves Crumwell will trust none of them; and Broghill, if he has any power, will imploy it to keepe in those men that I would have in. I doe now send privatly to Alexander Piggett to forbeare any discourse in my behalfe to any of them, and to putt som one else in a way of discoverie what they would doe for the Einglish officers, in case they shoulde disert mee. Butt I do verely beleeve, that though I shoulde tell them I sent them away myselfe upon a designe, yet divers of them will not goe without passes to vindicatt them from the dishonour of it, and som dare not goe upon any tearms, unless they may be sure of conditions beforehand from Crumwell; soe as I canot tell in the earth what to doe with them.

My Lord, I confess I am not yett free from the trouble given mee by your Excellency's sylence soe long in the business so lately discovered unto you, although it be observable in you, that you seldom open thoughts that trouble you, to any one, untill there be a necessitie, or that it be drawen from you; whereby, though your judgment does supplye the want of advice that may be given you, yet you do not often dissatisfie such friends as think theyr integritie and affection to your person might well induce your Excellency to communicatt such things with them. For my owne parte, I am the least jealous of any bodie; and I protest to God, I am so farr from giveing cause of jealouzie in the king's business, that though that were layed aside, I would never have any kinde of correspondencie with that partie without your consent, if the quarrell were only betweene your Excellency and them. But I must confess, the policie of talkeing soe much to the trumpeter as rendered him able to give them light for the fastening of such a scandall upon mee, was a convinceing argument of my weakeness; whereof I am very sensible, though my end were good; and soe had my designs bein too, if Phayer had not com just as he did; for I am assured they were all att Corke resolved to keepe out Broghill and Phayer, untill Crumwell should make his way to them with his army. And at that instant that the newes came of theyr being possessed of Youghill, Warden and the other two traitours were readie to goe to Halebowlin, to shipp away upon the apprehension of theyr returne to us. And also there were

APPENDIX.
1649.
9. Dec.
Inchiquin to Ormonde.

seventy men in the forte, who were to secure it that night for us if that newes had not com, which deterred them from it. There is a strong garrison of horss and foote com to Moyallon, and the enemie setle (and bring the hay and oates of the countrie) as if they woulde continue in winter quarters, but Crumwell sayes he will out suddenly and finish his worke. It is said at Corke that the Scotch are marcheing in, and Yorke declared for them.

I have now tyred your Excellency, and I will therefore omitt the mention of som other business untill to-morrow; concludeing at this time with an humble request, that nothing may induce you to believe otherwise then that I am (upon your own score unalterably),

Your Excellency's most humble servant,

Inchiquine.

Endorsed: Lord Inchiquins. Dated 9. Rec. 16 Dec., 1649.

CXXVI. BELLINGS AND TORLOGH O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649.
1. Dec.
Bellings and Torlogh O'Neill to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^{cie},

Many complaintes being brought unto us from all partes, of the sufferings of the country by the army, the horsse especially, who are dispersed into ever corner, Wee repayred to the Earle of Castlehaven, and the Lord Viscount Taaffe, who being principall officers in the army, wee did presume might have instructions from yor Ex^{cie} to dispose of them after an orderly manner into their quarters, but wee find by them that such instructions as to that end were expected from Cnocktoffer are not yett come, soe as heere is nothing but a generall confusion, and the effect of it, an universall exclamation of ye people. Wee doe therefore beseech yor Lordship to signifie yor pleasure to such as you thinck fitt to be intrusted heere, how yor Lordship intends that part of his Maties army designed to be quartered in this Province to be disposed of, to th'end their exactions and mens complaints may be prevented for ye future; and if yor Ex^{cies} incessant cares of the affayres in them partes will not permitt you to descend to particulars, yor Lordship wilbe pleased while you are forc'd to absent yor selfe from this Province to impose that charge upon some one of ye Comaunders heere, who may make it his particular care to render an accompt thereof. And soe humbly taking leave, Wee remayne

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble serv^{ts},

R. Bellings.

Kilkenny, 11 Dec. 1649. Torl[ogh] ONeill.

For his Ex^{cie} the Lord Lievten^{t}-gennerall of Ireland, these.

Endorsed: Mr Belling and Tirlagh ONeiles, Dated 11, Rec. 12, Dec. 1649.

CXXVI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 230.

CXXVII. Basil to Bradshaw.

To the Right Honorable John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Councel of State.

Right Honorable,

Since my last unto your Lordship, viz., on Thursday last, being the sixth of December instant, our forces in the north engaged with the forces of the enemy there, which consisted of that party which the Lords of Ardes and Clanduboys brought with them out of Munster, and also of those under the command of George Monro, part whereof were formerly his own, and part were of Owen ONeals Ultoghs, in the whole consisting of about two thousand foot and eight hundred horse; their design was to relieve Carrickfergus, but were met withal by ours near unto Lisnegarvy: After some dispute between our forlorn and their rere-guard, at a boggy pass on the plains of Lisnegarvy, their whole army were so frighted and disordered, that they were soon totally routed, and the chief work of our main body was onely pursuit and execution, which was done effectually by the space of about eight or ten miles. Letters from the place speaks of a thousand of the enemy to be killed; but the messenger who brought the news hither, who was present at the work, affirms fourteen hundred; four hundred whereof were killed by a party commanded by Major King, son to Sir Robert King, who possest himself of a pass, to which the enemy was likely to come; this was the place where George Monro swam over, who with the Lord of Ardes fled to Charlemount in great haste at the beginning of the business. All the enemies ammunition and baggage were taken, together with five hundred of their horses, with most of their foot officers; Colonel Henderson, a Scotchman, who betrayed Sligo to the Irish, was killed; Colonel John Hamilton, one other Scotchman, who killed OConelly, and burnt Lisnegarvy, is taken prisoner: also it is affirmed, that the Lord Clanduboys, and Philip Mac Mull Moor ORelly, one of the most active men amongst the rebels, are slain. Our party was in pursuit of the enemy when the messenger came away; we lost but one corporal of horse, and three private soldiers. Your Lordship may please further to understand, that Drumcree, a strong garison of the enemies, being twelve miles from Trym, and a receptacle for their thieving Toryes, was upon Friday last was sevennight taken by Major Stanley, governor of Trym. To-morrow is the day whereon Carrickfergus is by articles to be surrendred: Here are about one thousand three hundred landed from England since Saturday last. It is an exceeding great comfort to us all here, to see the good hand of God so evidently with us against our bloody

1649. 12. Dec. Basil to Bradshaw.

cxxvii. Two letters from William Basil, Esq., Attorney General of Ireland; The one to the Right Honorable John Bradshaw, Lord President of the Councel of State: the other to the Right Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, of a great victory obtained by the Parliaments forces in the north of Ireland, on the plains of Lisnegarvy, against the enemy there: wherein were 1400 slain, Colonel John Hamilton taken prisoner, and seventeen more of quality. With a relation of the taking of D[r]umcree, and of the surrender of Carrickfergus upon articles. Ordered by the parliament, that these letters be forthwith printed and published. Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti. London: Printed by John Field for Edward Husband, Printer to the Parliament of England, 1649.

APPENDIX.
1649.
12 Dec.
Basil to Bradshaw.

enemies: He alone, I hope and pray, will settle peace and happiness in England and Ireland: in the continuance of these his mercies,

My Lord, I am your Lordships most humble servant,

Dublin, 12 Decemb., 1649. William Basil.

This night Colonel Chidley Coot is come to town with letters from his brother the Lord President, the substance of his brothers letters and his own relation, is briefly thus:

The Scotch Lords and George Monro fell into the Clanboys with 4000 men, and the fifth of this instant the enemy drew out their army, and would have fought, but our party wanting some horse, forbare to ingage; the next day the enemy drew off, and our army following them, sent out a forlorn hope of 200 men, the horse commanded by Captain Dunbar, of Sir Theophilus Jones his regiment, and the foot by Major Gore, of the Lord Presidents regiment; the 200 men fell into the rear of the enemy, and before the army could come up, with the loss of one corporal, and two private soldiers, routed the whole army, of whom were slain in the place a thousand men, the President writes. And a party of horse commanded the nearest way to the Blackwater, to stay that pass, slew four hundred more there, where George Monro saved himself by swimming; the Lord Clanboys is supposed to be slain, and Philip Mac Mulmore ORelly, and most of their foot officers; Colonel John Hamilton is prisoner, and seventeen more of quality, they gave no quarter to any Irish: Thus you may see what wonders our God doth for us, the Lord give us thankful hearts suitable to such mercies. All their foot arms taken, and five hundred horse, eight barrels of powder, and all the baggage they had.

CXXVIII. BASIL TO LENTHAL.

To the Right Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Right Honorable,

1649.
12. Dec.
Basil to Lenthal.

In my last I gave your honor an accompt of the taking of Killileagh and Down-Drum by our forces in the north; since which time (viz.) on Thursday last, being the sixth of December instant, they ingaged with the forces of the enemy there, which consisted of that party which the lords of Ards and Clanduboys brought with them out of Munster, and also of those under the command of George Monro, part whereof were formerly his own, and part were of Owen ONeals Ultoghs, in the whole consisting of about two thousand foot, and eight hundred horse; their design was to relieve Carrickfergus, but were met withal by ours near unto Lisnegarvy: After some dispute between our forlorn and their rereguard, at a boggy pass on the plains of Lisnegarvy, their whole

CXXVIII. Two Letters from W. Basil, etc., 1649. *Ante*, p. 335.

army were so frighted and disordered, that the chief work of our main body was onely pursuit and execution, which was done by the space of about eight or ten miles; letters from the place speaks of a thousand of the enemy to be kill'd. The messenger who brought the news hither (who was present at the work) affirms fourteen hundred; all their ammunition and baggage were taken, together with most of their foot officers; Col. Henderson, a Scotchman, who betrayed Sligo to the Irish, was kill'd, and Col. John Hamilton, who kill'd OConnelly, and burnt Lisnegarvy, taken prisoner: Our party was in pursuit of the victory when the messenger came away; no accompt is given of the Lords of Ards and Clanduboys, but it is affirmed that Monro adventured to swim over a river to save himself: We lost but one corporal of horse, and three private soldiers, to God onely be the praise. Drumcree, a strong garrison of the enemies, being twelve miles from Trim, a receptacle for their thieving Toryes, was upon Fryday last was sevennight taken by Major Stanley, the Governor of Trim. To-morrow is the day whereon Carrickfergus is by articles to be surrendred, whereof I made mention to your honor heretofore. Col. Moor is safely arrived here with his recruits for his regiment, and about six hundred others, and desires to have his service presented unto your honor; and withal, to signifie unto you, that these men, thus arrived, brought neither arms, victual, money, nor clothes with them.

1649. 12. Dec. Basil to Lenthal.

Whilest I am writing, some other particulars worth your notice are come unto my hand (viz.), That the enemies army was at least four thousand; and that upon the routing of them, Major King, son to Sir Robert King, with a party, possest himself of a pass to which the enemy was likely to come, and there kild four hundred of them; this was the place where George Monro swam over, who with the Lord of Ardes made haste away with the first for Charlemount; and Clanduboys and Philip Mac Mul Moor ORelly are reported to be kild, the latter being one of the most active men the rebels had. To God onely again be the praise; and that he would be pleased to continue our God in the manifestation of his mercies toward us, and justice against our bloody enemies, is the daily prayer of,

Your Honors most humble servant,

Dublin, 12 Decem., 1649. William Basil.

CXXIX. Ormonde to Major Hugh O'Neill.

To Major-generall Hugh ONeile.

After, etc. Yo^r letter of the tenth came into our hands yester night, and thought t was one intended y^t Coll. Butlers regiment onely should quarter in Ffethard, ett if you thinke it may contayne more men, and not be overcharged in relation o other places in ye county, Wee doe of yor placing therein over and above ye said egiment, such numbers of men as usually that corporation did beare under y^e

1649. 13. Dec. Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

cxxix. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 234.

APPENDIX.
1649.
13. Dec.
Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

comaund of such officers as may prevent danger, or any violence or preiudice to ye inhabitants, twixt whom and some of ye Lord of Iniskillins regiment we understand there are some animosities. It is our full and cleere intention, by the words of our comission, that on all occasion yow should dispose of all ye souldiers in those partes as you thinke fitt for his Maties service, and as for ye possession of the keys of the towne of Clonmell wee desire you apprehend noe danger, and (to avoyd any inconveniency y^t may in present happen thereabouts) to leave in the Mayor, it being in yor power to assume it when you shall iudge it necessary for ye preservation of ye place. It is our pleasure you secure Caulfeild by a guard upon his lodgeing or otherwise as you shall thinke fitt; we daily expect a quantity of amunition from Portumna, whereof a good proportion shall be sent unto you. And soe, etc.

Yo^r loveing friend,

13th Dec., 1649. Ormond.

Major-generall Hugh ONeill.

Endorsed: 13 Dec., 1649. A coppy of ye letter to Major-generall Hugh ONeile.

CXXX. MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER, TO ORMONDE.

1649.
15. Dec.
Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^llie,

The incloased papers contains in substance compendiouslie what has been don in the late meetinge of clergie, besiedge som thinges else wch I hould not fitt to trust to paper at present.

I am in my iornie to Ulster to prosecute yor Ex^lles pleasure touchinge the procuringe of provision for the forces designed that way. I remaine, My Lord,

Yo^r Ex^llie most humble ser^t,

Clunlonan, 15 Decembris, 1649. Emerus Clogherensis.

For his Ex^llie the Lord Leaf^t of Ireland: Theis.

Endorsed: Bishop of Clogher, 15 Dec., 1649.

CXXXI. INCHIQUIN TO ORMONDE.

Tralee, 19 Dec., 1649.

1649.
19. Dec.
Inchiquin to Ormonde.

May it pleas your Exc^lly,

It seems cleare unto mee that Collonell Crosbie shoulde haue bein ceized upon here, allthough he had never bein at Kinsale, and that your warrant was gayned butt to coullour theyr proceedings, for he was ceized on before it came into the countrie, and there have bein severall councells held at Dromsurkane and Dunloe, where I think it will be founde it was resolv'd on, how Crosbie, and all

cxxx. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 241. cxxxi. Clarendon Papers, 1649, No. 197.

he partie adhereing unto him here, shoulde be secured and the places in theyr ands ceized upon, as well as himselfe. Butt the designe I doubte coms from som of the Comissioners, and others at Cloenm^cNoese, who gave these people a confident xpectacon that I should be imprisoned at the same time at Clonmell, and that a artie of Vlstermen shoulde be put hither to assist them, wch they dayly looke for; I am in expectacon to be clearely inform'd of this business within few dayes. In he meane time I thought fitt to acquaint your Excie with these circumstances. First, Crosbie himselfe was not onely layed hould on, butt alsoe all other English nen, and many of his officers, who were all detayned prisoners, untill I sent Garrett Fitz Morris word that I was coming into the countrie with 1000 horse and foote. Secondly, those who were taken were plundered of theyr arms, horses, and money. 3^ly, All English mens goods that coulde be catched were made prize. 4^ly, OSullivan, Daniell Mc Carthy, and Collonell Phillip OSullivan, tooke upon them to aise the countrie, lead men, and cett them under the names of theyr regim^ts. 5^ly, Orders were given out to bring in the publique dues to pay these men, and romises made that noe further assessm^ts in mony shoulde be layed on those that voulde take parte with them. 6^ly, Warrants were ishued by Garrett Fitz Morris or the bringing in of provision to victuall Castlemayne, though he pretends to be gnorant of the surprizeall thereof. 7^ly, Castlemayne, Comander, and ward, refuse bedience unto mee, and doe plunder marketts, and prey the countrey where they leas. And lastly, though I woulde pass by all these things, yett I coulde not revaile with Colonel Dermott ô Sullivan to deliver Castlemayne into Sir Edward Fitz Harris his hands, though I sent Major-generall Purcell to convince him by eason of the conveniencie of his soe doing; for besides that it was his dutie, it voulde alsoe be convenient for the countrie; as well because that place might be n a hand, whereof the countrie was confident (and not at the disposeall of idle and rresponsible people), as that otherwise all those in the countrie who were consenting o putt him in, and victuall him there, were in much danger of being ruined by the orces with mee. But although the Major-generall coulde not perswade him to his, yett he coulde finde that he relyed not barely upon himselfe. Perhaps he will ell your Excie more then he will tell me; though he lett mee knowe that if the Bishops of Clonmacnoise give any hint for it he findes that a greate party are eadie to use your Excie and mee, with all that are supposed to adhere unto us, as hey pleas, without distinction of Papists or Protestants; onely, that they will onclude all the later to be eyther at your Lordship's disposeall or myne. He has dvised mee to be upon my guarde, for that neyther myselfe or any of my partie are ere esteemed freinds. The trûthe is, I am alrêddie condemned amongst them; nd I beleeve your Excie has butt a short repreeve, for Patrick sayes they canot rust you except you goe to Mass.

My Lord, I was aboute to proclaime Colonel Sullivan and all his releevers and betters traytors, butt upon better consideration I forbore it, least it might dreive heyr partie in the kingdom to som desperatt attempt (for prevention of discoverie), herein possibly your Excie might be in som danger; at least, it must have bein om publique prejudice, and advantageous to the English rebells, though it might ost these deare. And perhaps they may be diverted from the designe they are

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Inchiquin to Ormonde.

upon by those at Clonmacnoise; if not, I am sure it will be endeavoured to surprize mee and all my oulde partie, and I expect the lyke attempt upon your Excie.

For my part, I will provide noe otherwise against this then your Excie shall direct; butt though I intend to take no notice of theyr intentions, yett I will not be in any of theyr powers 'till then. I take God to witness I woulde declyne noe hazard to doe this people good in theyr loyall wayes (though they hate mee thus vehemently), Yett I shall beseech your Excie (if you dare) to cause som examples to be made, to deterr others from these rebellious actions that are perpetrated by them of Castlemayne. And for that purpose I desire your order may com to Colonel Dermott ô Sullivan and Lieutenant ô Sullivan immediately to com before your Excie, and to deliver that castle to whome I shall appoynte; that i I be worthy to serve his Majestie noe marke of distrust may be placed upon mee I will place noe English in it, nor any one that shall be lyable to suspicon by thi partie.

There be divers of my oulde horse-men com unto mee these 3 or 4 last daye whom I haue carefully examined, least they should com to doe mischiefe, butt I am confid^t that they doe not, and that many more will com within this forthnigh who shall be wellcom, for without your Excies express comandes I shall not follow that advice that was given mee, to putt away my partie to the end my nacion might haue confidence in mee, although I was aboute to take that course; but now I see if I send them that way I must goe myselfe another, and that I am willing to doe whensoever your Excie thinks it for the advantage of his Majesties service, a indeede it may be, espetially if the Irish may probably doe the worke alone for hin against the English nacion.

Upon stricte muster I finde I have upward of 600 horse, and your Excie being pleased to grant mee the 100 horse in Thomond, and to devide the horse in Tipperar betweene your brother Robin Purcell and I; I beleeve I shall (by casting regim^t and som capt^ns out of the rest to bring in others in theyr roomes) bring 90 horse in 4 regim^ts into the feild, within six weeks if occasion be.

This countie thought not off payeing any publique dues these last 10 weeks, but I beleeve within 14 dayes they will finde they had better have payed theyr mon seazonably, though I intend not to exercise any rigour among them, but onely t cess the horsemen at 12^d per diem (and meate) for delinquincie. I shall stay i this countie vntill your Lo^ps comandes com to

Your Ex^cies most humble and faithfull servant,

Inchiquin.

Though Coll. Dermott OSullivane sayes he will deliver Castlemayne to whom your Excie pleases, yet I beleeve it will not be don except ye Comissioners write.

Endorsed: Lord Inchiquins. [Dated] 19. Rec. 24 December, 1649.—By h Lordships footman, Rickard.

CXXXII. CROMWELL TO LENTHAL.

1649. 19. Dec. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Mr. Speaker,

Not long after my last to you from before Waterford,—by reason of the tempestuousness of the weather, we thought fit, and it was agreed, to march away to winter-quarters, to refresh our men until God shall please to give further opportunity for action.

We marched off, the 2d of this instant; it being so terrible a day as ever I marched in all my life. Just as we marched off in the morning,—unexpected to us, the enemy had brought an addition of near two-thousand horse and foot to the increase of their garrison: which we plainly saw at the other side of the water. We marched that night some ten or twelve miles through a craggy country, to Kilmac Thomas; a castle some eight miles from Dungarvan. As we were marching off in the morning from thence, the Lord Broghil,—I having sent before to him to march up to me,—sent a party of horse, to let me know. He was, with about twelve or thirteen hundred of the Munster horse and foot, about ten miles off, near Dungarvan, which was newly rendered to him.

In the midst of these good successes, wherein the kindness and mercy of God hath appeared, the Lord, in wisdom, and for gracious ends best known to Himself, hath interlaced some things which may give us cause of serious consideration what His mind therein may be. And we hope we wait upon Him, desiring to know, and to submit to His good pleasure. The noble Lieutenant-general,—whose finger, to our knowledge, never ached in all these expeditions,—fell sick; we doubt, upon a cold taken upon our late wet march, and ill accommodation: and went to Dungarvan, where, struggling some four or five days with a fever, he died; having run his course with so much honour, courage, and fidelity, as his actions better speak than my pen. What England lost hereby, is above me to speak. I am sure, I lost a noble friend, and companion in labours. You see how God mingles out the cup unto us. Indeed we are at this time a crazy company:—yet we live in His sight; and shall work the time that is appointed us, and shall rest after that in peace.

But yet there hath been some sweet at the bottom of the cup;—of which I shall now give you an account. Being informed that the enemy intended to take in the Fort of Passage, and that Lieutenant-general Ferral with his Ulsters was to march out of Waterford, with a considerable party of horse and foot, for that service,—I ordered Colonel Zanchy, who lay on the north side of the Blackwater, to march with his regiment of horse, and two pieces of two troops of dragoons to the relief of our friends. Which he accordingly did; his party consisting in all of about three-hundred and twenty. When he came some few miles from the place, he took some of the enemy's stragglers in the villages as he went; all which he put to the sword: seven troopers of his killed thirty of them in one house. When he came near the place, he found the enemy had close begirt it, with about five-hundred Ulster foot under Major ONeil; Colonel Wogan also, the governor of

CXXXII. Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. London: 1846. ii. 107-10.

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Duncannon, with a party of his, with two great battering guns and a mortar-piece, and Captain Browne, the governor of Ballihac, were there. Our men furiously charged them; and beat them from the place. The enemy got into a place where they might draw up; and the Ulsters, who bragged much of their pikes, made indeed for the time a good resistance: but the horse, pressing sorely upon them, broke them; killed near an hundred upon the place; took three-hundred and fifty prisoners,—amongst whom, Major ONeil, and the officers of five-hundred Ulster foot, all but those which were killed. The renegado Wogan with twenty-four of Ormond's kurisees, and the governor of Ballihac, etc. Concerning some of these, I hope I shall not trouble your justice.

This mercy was obtained without the loss of one on our part, only one shot in the shoulder. Lieutenant-general Ferral was come up very near, with a great party to their relief; but our handful of men marching toward him, he shamefully hasted away, and recovered Waterford. It is not unworthy taking notice, that having appointed a day of public Thanksgiving throughout our territories in Ireland, as well as a week's warning would permit, for the recovery of Munster,—which proves a sweet refreshment to us, even prepared by God for us, after our weary and hard labour,—that that very day, and that very time, while men were praising God, was this deliverance wrought.

Though the present state of affairs bespeaks a continuance of charge, yet the same good hand of Providence, which hath blessed your affairs hitherto, is worthy to be followed to the uttermost. And who knows, or rather who hath not cause to hope, that He may in His goodness, put a short period to your whole charge? Than which no worldly thing is more desired and endeavoured by

Your most humble servant,

Cork, 19th December, 1649. Oliver Cromwell.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

CXXXIII. ORMONDE TO MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

Kilkenny, 19 Dec., 1649.

My Lord,

1649.
19. Dec.
Ormonde to Bishop Mc Mahon.

I haue received the papers you sent mee, comprehending as much as you thought fitt to trust to paper of the transactions of the Congregations. What that was which you conceived not safe soe to comunicate to mee I very much long to know, as I presume I shall when those of the Com[rs] that weare at the meeteing shall be heere. The party of horse and foote designed for the north are uppon their march, and I hope provision will be made for them. Amunition I have written for to My Lord of Clanricarde, and I doubt not but it will be seasonably with

CXXXIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 247.

the party. It is of absolute necessity that the charge of the army be retrenched by abateing the multiplicity of officers, which I begun heere with the Leynster and Mounster forces, reduceing each company to 80 souldiers. The like course I doubt not the gentry of Ulster will hould fitt to be taken with that army, though it had not been agreed in the articles with them. I remaine

Your Lordships affectionate servant,

Ormonde.

Appendix. 1649. 19. Dec. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

Endorsed: 19 Dec., 1649. A coppy of My Lords letter to the B^p of Clogher.

CXXXIV. Ormonde to the Mayor of Waterford.

To the Mayor of Waterford.

After our harty commendations: The assurance wee receaved from you, that the Fort of Duncannan should immediatly be provided for upon the remove of that part of his Majesties forces, wch in person wee drew towards Waterford, wth resolution to attempt som what (if we had been permitted) both in order to the safty of that citty, and so important a fortress, did induce us to lay aside any other thooght of endeavoring to relive it, being confident that you who were so neerly concerned in the safe keeping of it, would not have omitted to performe the promise you had so solemly made unto us in that behalfe, and theerfor it was strange to us to hide from them that so litle hath been sinc donn in dischardg of that undertaking for preserving the Fort from faling into the power of the enemy; wheerfor wee thooght fitt to lett you know that if through this yor neglect it be lost, we must esteem you accomptable for the same, who have omitted to excute what you had undertaken towards the defence of it; and for prevention theerof, and the mischeifs wch are to follow the taking of that place, wee pray and require you immediatly to see it furnished with convenient provisions such as may sustaine the garison untill wee shall otherwise provide for it; and to enable you so to doe, wee have directed Lieutenant-generall Ferrall to be ayding and assisting unto you.

1649. 22. Dec. Ormonde to the Mayor of Waterford.

CXXXV. Ormonde to Generall Farrell.

Lieutenant-generall Ferrall.

After our harty comendations: Having by our letters of this dayes date required the Maior of the citty of Waterford to furnishe the Fort of Duncannon, reddy to be deserted for want of victuall by the garison, with provisions according his undertaking unto us; for the better enabling him so to doe wee have thought fitt to lett you know it is our pleasure you should afforde him such, and so many of

1649. 22. Dec. Ormonde to Farrell.

cxxxiv. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 257. cxxxv. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 257. 2.

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22. Dec.
Ormonde to Farrell.

the souldiers in that garison under yor commaunde as shalbe thooght nessessary boothe to secure the boats that shalbe sent with such provision, and, if need be, to mann any frigatt or vessell to be sent downe the river to remove any impedem^t in the way, and to be ayding and assistinge to the said Maior in any thinge wch may further that service.

CXXXVI. ORMONDE TO CAPTAIN FURLONG.

To Captaine Edm^d Furlong.

1649.
22. Dec.
Ormonde to Furlong.

After our harty comendations: Wee did not expect that, after you had assured us you weer satisfyed of the wayes the Maior and citisens of Waterforde had proposd unto themselves for the relief of the Fort of Duncannon, we should now understand from Waterford that nothing since our recess from thence hath been doun in order therunto; and therfor wee require you imediatly to press the performance of the Maiors undertaking in that behalf according the sene of our letter unto him.

Endorsed: Coppies of letters sent to the Mayor of Waterford, L^t-generall Farrell, and Cap^tn Furlonge, concerneinge the Forte of Duncannon. Dated 22 Dec., 1649.

CXXXVII. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

Ballenelack, 3 of January, 1649[-50.]

May it pleas yor Ex^les,

1649-50.
3. Jan.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

Collonell Trevor and I mett My Lord Montgomry yesternight att Sr Thomas Nugents. He parted with uss a very unresolved man; yett I beeleeve hee more inclynes to receave conditions, iff they may be with any safty, then any more to meddle in our bissines. His declyning the matter, and Sr George Munroes absence, keepes mee for the present, not well knoweing howe to dispose of ye party yor Ex^lls sent with mee; to venter into the Scots quarters with out eyther of them, or a garrison to frind, or a stronger party of horse, then these countrys can make, would inevitably be our ruine, and to quarter our men uppon those countryes wee command, will goe neere to distroy both, iff the ennemy be active; the last I beeleeve must be our choyce for all the preiudice and danger in it; for untle yor Ex^lls returnes Sr George Munroe, I can not see howe I can attempt any thing with safty or advantage to his Majesties service. I shall therfore humbly intreat yor Ex^lls to send him away ass soone ass you can, and with him ass much amunitione as can be spared. The gentlemen of Ulster that latly mett, I heare had noething in consultation butt howe to provid for ther army. To ther next meeting they have referred ther nameing one to succeed Owen ONeile in his command, and the nameing off ther Collonells. Within 2 dayes I shall meet my

CXXXVI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 257. 3. CXXXVII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 320.

Lord of Clogher. Him I shall importune to hasten that meeting that the regiments may be moddeld according yor Ex^lls establishment; ass they are they can not be serviceable neyther in garrison or feeld. My Lord Montgomry, whether to give more reason for what he intends, or that it is soe I know not; butt hee confidently reports, that Scotland is further from agreeing with his Majestie then ever, and that ther is noe thought of any difference betweene the Parliament and that country. Iff this be soe, our succes must be ass miracolous ass our misfortunes, or our churches will be stables, and all of uss sent to the Barbadoes to be slaves, a conditione more agreeing with this peaple then that wch ther holy fathers aymend att: for neyther sence off honor, interest, or religione, nor the late decrees of Cluen Mc Nose, will keep eyther clergyman or other in these countryes very soone from giveing themselves altogether without conditione, eyther for estates or religione, to the rebbells. This is the language of the very best: Shortly, I feare, there actions will showe itt. From this unworthy generatione God preserve yor Ex^lls.

APPENDIX. 1649-50. 3. Jan. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

I am yor Ex^lls most humble servant,

Danielle ONeille.

Ther is one Captaine Shaen OHagan that was taken att Passage, iff yor Ex^lls could gett him released hee would be serviceable to his Majestie's affaires here.

For his Ex^lls the Lord Marques off Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall off Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Dan ONeills. [Dated] 3. Rec. 14, Jan. 1649[-50.]

CXXXVIII. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

Ballenecarge, 9 of January, 1649[-50.]

May it pleas yor Ex^lls,

After I came to the county of Cavan, and mett the Bishop of Clogher, Collo[nell] Phillip ORealy and others of the province, I understood ther was noe provisione to bring the party into the ennemyes country, nor horse to ioyne with nee, and butt litle assistance to be expected from the Scots att present; these discouragements, the unwillingnes of the officers and souldiers to goe uppon service, untle they were refreched, and the aparant deiectione, I see in the most resolved made mee (with the advise of those I mett) to quarter, or rather disperse, the men into the severall countyes inhabited by the Irish: out of wch ther iss some unlyklyhood, iff not impossibility, they can be drawen these two monthes, iff ever, for the countrys are soe poore and soe desirous of quiet, and that att any rate, that ther is more lyklyhood (to comply with Sr Charles Coot) thyle rather disarme the souldiers and chase them, then feed them. Now, those that for ther religion and estates have destroyed the kingdome, have noe consideratione of eyther; by this,

1649-50. 9. Jan. Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

CXXXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 322.

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1649-50.
9. Jan.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

and by much more that yor Ex^{lls} will have from the Bishop of Clogher of the state of this province, yor Ex^{lls} will iuge that this province iss in a miserable condition, and that ther is litle hope of atempting any thing untle March, att soonest, and not then without a considerable army, and a harty coniunctione of the Scots. Howe to dispose of my self has beene a questione with mee; among the Irish ther is noe conveniency, neyther for horse or man, butt such ass I can not well brooke, and to goe to Inniskellin without haveinge command of the place, or that Sr George Munroe were ther, or that I were better furnished with crowns (by what iss deliverd to mee of the place) were neyther safe nor honorable.

The Bishop would have mee to accompany him to Kilkenny to knowe yor Ex^{lls} further pleasure, after you had understood the conditione of the province, and alsoe to bee att the meeting apoynted att Kilkenny, ass hee sayes the 12th of this month. I must confess, I would presume soe much uppon Ex^{lls} favor, ass to take his advise, had not my spleene and gout, or the ould —— soe indisposed mee to travell before I take some phissicke; wch I intend to doe att Tecroghan ass the convenientest place for mee to receave yor Ex^{lls} commands, wch I humbly beg to bee, to discharge mee from the affayres of the North, for I find cleerely neyther my humo^{r} nor my health can agree wth that imployment. For besyds that I have ass many diseases ass ever Balzack complayned of, I can not satisfy the expectatione of the clergy of this province, whoe looke more to ther reputatione att Rome then ther preservation att home; nor can I in any measure content a number of senles factious gentry, and much less indure the insolence, dissolutnes, and disorder off the souldiers, wch truely are such that non that has any sence of his hono^{r} and knows them, will certainly, iff he can choose, venter to command them, especially into an ennemyes country.

My cossen, Hugh ONeile, has sent an express to all the gentry, that has voyce to choose a commander-in-cheef for ther party, to desire them to think of him ass the persone of most ryght to that command. I am off oppinion, that itt were not amiss in the first place to send him to this party, iff the bishop advyse itt, for besyds that hee is a man that knew best the ways Owen ONeile tooke to manage these peaple, hee is one that will not be unacceptable to the Scots, and certainly will doe noe thing contrary to yor Ex^{lls} commands. And the next to obleege him wth Ex^{lls} recomendations to those gentry, the pryme of wch is Collo: Phillip ORealy, one that I would not yor Ex^{lls} should disobleege in favo^{r} to Myls Realy, whoe is gone thither to complaine off him, and iustly, iff I understand the matter, iff this were a tyme to redress him. I shall humbly beg of yor Ex^{lls} to bee myndfull of yor ingagment, of a monthes means, to the officers of the party, those Connellaghs and many others of other regiments will be kept in a dispositione to looke to ther commands, and not to ingage wth the ennemy (unto wch many are inclyned, especially those of Tyreconnell) iff yor Ex^{lls} will signify to mee that ther is some thought of giveing itt them. The night I lay att Fina I understood soe much from my Lord of Westmeath, that rather then hee shall not command that county independant of my Lord Dillon, hee will deliver himself and all his interest to Crumwell: I much feare the bargaine iss half made, and uppon his returne from Kilkenny iff not satisfyed, will be fully concluded.

That God may preserve yor Ex^lls from the villany of these tymes shalbe prayed for with more zeale then for the health or happines of yor Ex^lls

Most humble servant,

Danielle ONeille.

Endorsed: Dan. ONeills [Dated] 9, Rec. 16 Jan., 1649[-50.]

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9. Jan.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

CXXXIX. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

Kilkeny, 14th of January, 1649[-50.]

S^r,

On the 12th of this moneth I was newly returned from my short progresse to Thurles, Nenagh and Portumna, I found heere yours of the 3^d, that had stayd for me some dayes. At Portumna my L^d of Clanricard, Sr George Monro, and I consulted of the sending a strong partie out of Connaught into Ulster, which will be ready about the later end of this moneth to march from their rendezvous at Roscoman; how you will in the meane tyme dispose of your selfe and yor party, you must consider and determine there, where you cannot bee in greater disord^r then wee are heere, and how and where your coniunction with the Conaught party willbee by correspondence with my L^d of Clanricard, who is perswaded to undertake the expedicon in person, and will rely much upon yours and Sr George Monros assistance, knowledge and interest in that province. Wee have now heere a meeting of all the Com^rs, many of the clergie, and some gentlemen, by whom it is hoped things will bee settled in the best way our condition is capable of; if they want will or power to effect this to my satisfaccon, I shall consider what I have then to doe in discharge of my duty. I am sorry the Bp. of Clogher is not heere. I confesse there are but few at the meeting I could not better spare as to my owne content. My Ld Taafe shewed me a parte of your letter to him, which I will not answeare otherwise then by assuring you that I am,

1649-50.
14. Jan.
Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

Yo^r most faithfull freind and servant,

Ormonde.

Sr Geo. Monro, or rather my L^d of Clanricard, will bring store of amunition and other necessaryes.

To Colo. Daniell ONeill.

Endorsed: 14 of Jan., 1649[-50.] To Colonell Daniell ONeill. Concerning Sr George Monros expedition into Ulster, etc.

CXXXIX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 333.

Appendix.

CXL. Ormonde to Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher.

Kilkeny, 14 January, 1649[-50.]

My Lord,

1649-50. 14. Jan. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

I find that some letters directed to me out of the north have beene intercepted, and that thereby I am kept ignorant of some transactions there that it might advantage me to know. In ye generall I am informed of your Lordships greate industry in advanceing the service there, wch I hope will advantage the designe of a party that will be ready to march out of Conaught by the end of this moneth, comaunded by my Lord Marques of Clanricard, with whom goes Sr George Monro. I could wish your Lordship were now heere, but if you be not upon your way before this letter meetes, the determination heere will be at an end, and then your presence there will bee more necessary.

I remaine yor Lordships affectionate servant,

For the Byp. of Clogher. Signed: Ormonde.

Endorsed: 14. Jan., 1649[-50.] To the Byp. of Clogher, concerning the intercepting of letters out of Ulster, etc.

CXLI. The Mayors of Clonmel, Cashel, etc., to Ormonde.

May it please yor Excellency,

1649-50. 17. Jan. Tipperary Mayors to Ormonde.

Wee the three poore Corporacions in the countie of Tipperary, groaneing under the heavy burthen of the whole proporcion of the army sent unto the same countie, are forced to complaine that the same army are guarrizoned onely uppon us (notwithstanding wee lost the assistance of the Corporacion of Carricke to beare a share of that burthen), and that the Com^rs of applottment nowe resident for that countie, viz. Richard Bourcke of Borres, and Theobald Butler, Barron of Ardmaile, haveing noe respect of our oppressions by the said guarrizons, nor of the ease wch the said countie hath for keepeing the armye from them in the said Corporacions, doth overlay us with ympositions, and doth refuse to take in accompt or paym^t of those imposicions such debts as be due unto us by vertue of severall orders as well from yor Excellencie as from the Lord President of Mounster and the Generall Assembly, and wch were ordered to be soe accepted for paym^t of those impositions; and seeing that the said Com^rs doe refuse to affoord us any indifferencie or justice, but (as it may be conceaved) to make us disserviceable and unable to receaue any future guarrizons, wee humbly beseech yor Excellencie (haveing consideracion of the necessitie of cherising Corporacions for the use of the publicke) to peruse our greevances in this our peticion, and to apply such remedie thereunto as yor Hono^r shall thinke fitt, for the support of Corporacons, without whose helpe a Comonwealth may not subsist, and if tymely

cxl. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 334. cxli. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 343.

remedy be not affoorded therein our unsupportable oppressions will force us to travell personally to desire yor Ex^cyes releeffe for keepeing from dispearseing the inhabitants of our severall Corporacions. Even soe wee remaine,

Appendix. 1649-50. 17. Jan. Tipperary Mayors to Ormonde.

Yo^r Ex^cies most humble and duetifull serv^ts to be commaunded,

Iohn Whyte B., Maior of Clonmell.
Thomas Keareney, Maior of Cashill.
Clonmell, 17th of Jan., 1649. Patricke Wysse, Soffraine of Ffitherd.

Ffor his Excellencye the Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^t-generall and Governor-generall of Ireland: These humbly present.

Endorsed: Mayor Clonmell, etc., 17 Jan., 1649[-50.]

CXLII. Mac Mahon, Bishop of Clogher, to George Lane.

Sir,

The inclosed papers in a letter of y^rs I receaved: the more I considered of the said papers contents the lesse I found meselfe able to ansure or venter my iugment thereupon, the proposalls made by mi Lord of Clanricard and the contents of both the aforesaid papers being in most points a proper woorke and a high obiect to be deuly considered by the main body of the gentrie and officers of the Ulster armie; soe that if I would deliver my opinion as it is desired, I should loose my credit with the people and province of Ulster, render meselfe subiect to great obloquies, and doe no good at all either unto the service intended or mi Lord Marques of Clanricards satisfaction, nay, perapps his honor releing one my opinion might find hemselfe in many points deceived. I have no more to say, ounly that I am

1649-50. 23. Jan. Bishop Mac Mahon to George Lane.

Yo^r assured freind to serve you,

Killkenie, the 23th of Janu., 1649[-50.] Emerus Clogherensis.

For mi verie loving frind George Laine, Secretarie to his Ex^cie mi Lord-lieutenant: These, etc.

CXLIII. Commission for the Ulster Expedition.

1. To commaunde in cheefe for this expedition all the forces that shalbe imployed on that expedition, as well the forces of Conaght as all other forces, garrisons, fortes, and places in the said province of Ulster, and all such as shall submitt unto or bee reduced to his Majesties authority within the said provinces or either of them.

Ulster Expedition.

2. To treate with, conclude, graunte protections, quarter, and in his Ma^ts name promisse pardon, and such other conditions as hee shall think fitt, to all and every person or persons, fortes, garrisons, armyes, or partes, or partyes of armyes,

cxlii. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 350. cxliii. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 351.

APPENDIX. Ulster Expedition.

commaunders, officers, troopers, and souldiers, now opposeinge, or that shall oppose, his Majesties authority, on theire submissions thereunto respectively.

3. To prosecute, kill, slay, and execute, and by force of armes or otherwise to reduce unto his Majesties obedience, all such armyes, forces, fortes, castles, garrisons, places, and persons, that will not submitt to his Majesties authority, and theire and every of theire releevers, abettors, and maintainers.

4. To provide and cause to be provided within the said provinces armes, amunitions, artiliarie, provision, victualls, and all other necessaryes for the suporte of the said army, and furtherance of his Majesties service.

5. To appointe commaunders and inferior officers for the better conduct of the said army as hee shall thinke necessary, and allsoe in the places of such commaunders as shall dye or bee killed in the service, or misbehave or absent themselves from the service, to place such person or persons as hee shall conceive to bee of meritt and trust.

6. To doe and execute all and every act and acts, thing and things, as to a Gennerall or Commaunder-in-Cheefe of an army doth or ought to belonge or apertayne, and as hee shall thinke necessary for the carrieinge on of that service, this commission to continue dureinge.

Endorsed: Commission.

CXLIV. THE MAYOR OF CLONMEL TO ORMONDE.

1649-50. 23. Jan. Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

May it please yor Excell^{cie},

That this poore Corporacion altogether exhausted with the supernumerous garrison of two regim^{ts}, consisting of 1300 shouldiers, 26 cap^{tns}, with theire respective underoffic^{rs}, and neere soe many woemen and garzons, as alsoe 5 troopes of horsse, are growen soe burdensome, that many of ye poore inhabitants have deserted ye said towne; and that yor Ex^{cie} orders grannted att Thurles for the removeing of 300 of the said number is noe way observed, but rather more numbers brought in to reinforce their companyes; and for want of haveing carefull men whoe may be sensible of ye sufferings of the said towne appoynted to see them mustered, many false billets are forced from our quartermasters upon the relacion of the mustermaster, wch breeds more confusion then if the very shouldiers were effective amonge us, wch may be prevented if yor Ex^{cie} were pleased to graunt yor Comission unto able men of the sayed towne for mustering the sd. offic^{rs} troopers and souldiers, and to give them power to muster them as oft as neede requireth, and to prevent theire usuall practice of false mustering, that you commande the severall garrizons to be mustered in one day together, and to send yor orders for removeall of as many of ye said numbers as yor Ex^{cie} will thinck fitt, with theire unserviseable woemen and garzons, whoe

CXLIV. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 353.

being not provided from the countrey begins to force away what they can light upon to the great discouradgements of the said inhabitants. Likewise I must intymate unto yor Ex^{cie} howe destitute of amunicion and corne is the comon magazin of this towne, wch may prove fatall if not tymelie furnished or provided for. I have given in chardge unto my agent to peticion unto yor Ex^{cie} for some healpes for the rayseinge of our fortificacions, soe much conduceing to the saftie both of towne and countrey, and though I knowe yor Ex^{cie} to be very sensible of the particulars, yett a tymelie redresse of ye former abuses and a speeddy graunte of all these requests as humbly desired by

APPENDIX. 1649-50. 23. Jan. Mayor of Clonmel to Ormonde.

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble serv^{t},

Clonemell, 23 Januar., 1649[-50.] John Whyte B., Maio^{r} of Clonmell.

Ffor his Excell^{cie} the Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These, att Kyllkeny.

Endorsed: Mayor of Clonmell. Dated 23 Jan., 1649[-50.] For muster.

CXLV. PHILIP O'REILLY TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Exellencie,

I will accordinge yor comaunds laid on me by yor Exllcies lett^{rs} of the 16th and 17th of this month dispaich away copies of one of them to the prime gentle of the severall Counties wthin this provence, wch shall come to them wth that conveniencie, as the deliverie of yor Exellencies said lett^{rs} to me doth permitt, having receaved them this afternoone; I shall not omitt to contribute my best endeavo^{rs} in furthering the designe left to the Lord Marquess of Clanrickards chairge, but in regard my regim^{t} is in Clunemell, I shall not for my particulare be able to give any asistance of foott. I crave yor Exellencies leave and favo^{r} to exp^{r}ss what I find running thorow the veynes of soom of the army of Ulster as came this way; They are not well pleased (in matter of commaund) that out of yor Exellencies shight in this provence any but soom of the former Maiore officers of the Ulster party should commaund them, untill the gentry of the provence in convenient tym had fixed on a gennerall, They likewise conceave, and under favo^{r}; I ame of the same opinion, that if the thrie regim^{ts} of the Ulster party garizoned att Clunmell, Waterfoord, and Cashell, wth the Maiore officers and such of the Ulster hors as are as yet in Lynster, had been commaunded hether, That they, wth what the Lord Viscounte of the Ards and Sr George Monroe, wth the forces they have att Iniskellen, can doe, and what uppon the appearance of such a party they can work wth those now under the Parliam^{t} lashe, to take armes, will master the Parliam^{t} forces in Ulster, and such as can not agree well wth the clymatt of Ulster, to be sent to the said garizones of Clunmell, Waterfoord, and Cashell; what I write proceeds from a true inclining heart to his Majesties service, and humbly pray it may not be otherwise understood. It may be argued that this will retard

1649-50. 24. Jan. Philip O'Reilly to Ormonde.

CXLV. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 356.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
24. Jan.
Philip O'Reilly to Ormonde.

the service in Ulster; I ame of opinion that the waters w^th^in this provence will hinder the service untill about the fiufteenth of March next, soe that if the party come together before that tym, I feare the provision willbe spent, and noe considerable service can be compassed, by reason of the great floods.

All wch I humblie offer, but doe therin and in all other matters subscribe to higher opiniones, and humbly crave yor Exellencies pardon for my presumption.

The garizones of Dundalke, Newry, and Carlingford spare not to say, that they feare Sr Charles Coott (having the commaund of the cheef townes in Ulster) will declyn the Parliam^t^ way, wch I thowght fitt to signific unto yor Exellencie, suposing soom use may be made thereof: humbly taking leave, I ame

Yo^r^ Exellencies moste humble servant,

Bellanecairrit, 24° Jan., 1649[-50.] Phillipp Rely.

For his Excellencie the Lord Marquess of Ormonde, Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: Theis.

Endorsed: Phill. ORelys, [Dated] 24. Rec. 30 Ja. 1649[-50.]

CXLVI. MAYORS OF CLONMEL, CASHEL, ETC., TO ORMONDE.

1649-50.
24. Jan.
Tipperary Mayors to Ormonde.

May it please yor Excellencie,

To commiserate the sade condition of our Corporacions, beareing the whole bulke of that partie of the armie within the conty of Tipperarie, to the great ease of the conty, and no way pittied or considered, but against all justice, the Commissioners of the sayd contie applotting a proportion of the winter wickely assessment upon us, without any allowance for the overchardge of the garrizons wee beare beyond our proportion, whereas heretofore wee were allowed out of all publicque dues that fell due of us, for any such chardge wee boore beyond our due proportion; and expecting no lesse indifferencie att yor Excellencies hands, haveing prœferred a petition unto yor Excellencie to this purpose for releefe, wee are informed by our agent that its referred unto the Com^rs^ intrusted in pursuance of the articles, att hose hands wee expect no great indifferencie, a leading part of them being out of the conty of Tipperarie, wherfore wee humbly pray yor Excellencie to releeve us, and ridd us from so uniust an oppression, otherwise wee are undone, for the Com^rs^, intending to destroy us quite, have alreddy assigned us to our respective garrizons, forceing the sd proportion of winter wickely assessments from us, without any allowance for our sayd overchardge, alleadging that its fitt wee should be allowed or satisfyed by the whole province, and not by the sayd conty, meaneing that the sold^ers^ now in garrizon are the chardge of the whole province, and not a particular chardge of the said conty; but whether wee ought to beare that chardge without allowance, wee humbly offerre it unto yor Excell^cies^ consideration; and likewise pray yor Excell^cie^ to require the said Com^rs^ of the contie

CXLVI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 355.

of Tipperarie to suspend with our distressed Corporacons for their sd. proportion of the winter wickely assessments, before yor Excellencies further pleasure herein be declared, and wee will remaine

APPENDIX. 1649-50. 24. Jan. Mayors to Ormonde.

Yo^r Excellencies humble oblidged servants,

John Whyte B., Maior of Clonmell.
Thomas Kearney, Maior of Cashel.
Clonmell, the 24th of Jan., 1649[-50.] Patricke Vyne, Soffraine of Ffitherd.

For his Excellencie the Lord L^nt-generall and Generall Governour of Ireland: These [at] Kilkenny.

Endorsed: Mayors of Clonmell and Cashell, and Fitherd. Dated 24. Rec. 27. Jan. 1649[-50.] For allowance out of their winter wickly assessment in respect of the forces in guarrison with them.

CXLVII. ORMONDE TO GENTRY OF ULSTER.

After our hearty comendations: Wee [have taken] into our serious consideracion the present [condition] of the province of Ulster, and doe . . . . that a considerable parte of his Majesties [forces], imployed thither under the [command of the] Lord Marquis of Clanricard, whoes com[mission] wee have deferred to signe till imparted unto you by the Bishop of Clogher, to the end you may cleerely see our only . . . is the preservation of his Majesties interests, and you his subjects in that province; in order whereunto wee have pitched on this as the only expedient visible unto us, and least the same should administer any occasion of jealousie wee think fitt heereby to declare unto you that noething therein conteyned shall extend to the preiudice or violation of the late articles of greement concluded by our authority with Genrall Owin ONeile and his adhearents. You will alsoe receive certaine of the said Lord Marquis his desires in order to the effectuall prosecution of this designe, whereunto wee wish you may transmitt tymely returne and therewith imploy some persons to meete his Lordship at Roscoman to discourse further uppon that subject. And soe, etc.

1649-50. 24. Jan. Ormonde to Gentry of Ulster.

24 Jan., 1649[-50.] [*Blank.*]

Endorsed: 24 Jan., 1649[-50.] Coppie of a letter to the Gentry of Ulster.

CXLVIII. LIST OF THOSE WHO HAVE DOUBLE COMMANDS, ETC.

The Lord President of Conaght, besides his commaunde in Leinster, hath a troope of horse, a foote company, and 40 warders for Athlone, in the county of Roscomon; and his brother a foote company in the county of Mayo.

1649 50. 30. Jan. List of Commanders.

The Lord of Mayo a regiment of foote, a troope and foote company for himselfe,

CXLVII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 357. CXLVIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 384.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
30. Jan.
List of Commanders.

and another company for his sonne, and two of his uncles companyes, and one of them Lt-Collonell of the regiment.

The Lord Bermingham a troope of horse, the pay of a Muster-master Generall, and twenty shillings per diem as Commissioner of Trust; and his brother a company of foote of the county of Gallwey regiment.

Sr Lucas Dillon a troope of horse in the behalfe of his grand chield in the county of Roscomon, a troope of horse for him selfe in the county of Mayo, and twenty shillings per diem as Commissioner of Trust; one of his sonnes a foot company, and another of them Cap^tn^-lievtenant to my Lord Presidents company both in the county of Roscomon, besides others in commaunde in Leinster.

Collonell Riccarde Burke a regiment of foote and a troope of horse, but noe foot company; his brother a troope of horse, and L^t^-collonell of the Connaght regimen of horse.

The Lord Marquess of Clanricarde hath no regiment, troope of horse, no company of foote.

Major-generall Taaffe, Collonell of the Connaght regiment of horse, hath no troope.

Major Garrett Moore, Major of the Conaght regiment of horse, hath no troope.

Sr Roger Shaghnussyes troope, and Collonell Iohn Moores, are fallen, and yet t be disposed of.

Endorsed: A list of those that have duble Capacityes of Command and pay in th province of Connaght, and others without Command. The 30th of Ian., 1649[-50.

CXLIX. DANIEL O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

Portunma, 30 of Ianuary, 1649[-50.]

May yt pleas yor Ex^lls^,

1649-50.
30. Jan.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

Hether I came to give My Lord Clanrickard an accoumpt howe quarterd the party that went northward, and howe soone I thought itt myght b made serviceable; the tyme his Lo^ps^ finds not to answere his designe by a montl About midd March I think iss the soonest they can be brought together with an resonable proportione off provitiones fo^r^ to march to and from the randevouse. T morrow his Lo^ps^ goes to Roscomman to meet Sr George Munroe and the office off his one party, because hee beleeves ther will be non there out of Ulster. H commands mee back thether, to give Sr George Munroe my reasons for the deferin the generall randevous. Though I was resolved to looke noe more northward uut I had wayted uppon yor Ex^lls^ att Kilkenny, yet I intend to wayt uppon his Lo least the gentlemen that meet should precipitat any thing, not knoweing the sta of the partye in Ulster. His Lo^ps^ tould mee, ther iss an authority of yor Ex^lls^ go to the gentry of Ulster to meet and consult of the means off advanceing the servi of that province. Itt iss well that is gone, butt when they have mett, yor Ex^lls^ m

CXLIX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 377.

1649-50.
30. Jan.
Daniel O'Neill to Ormonde.

have a better account from the Corporatione of Gothom, unless the Bishop of Clogher bee ther. Ther are such animosityes of countyes and off familyes against one another, that noething will be determined att any of ther meetings unless the Bishop be ther to moderat ther follyes. Iff yor Ex^lls will not send him presently thether you may expect litle good out of that province. I humbly begg off yor Ex^lls not to beleeve itt the effects off malancoly or dispayre that made mee give yor Ex^lls the last account I gave you of the north, or to bee of oppinion that Hugh iss fitter for that service then my self. Itt was really my want of health, and the indispositione I found universally in the clergy to have mee command those Ulster forces, wch still obleeges mee to give yor Ex^lls my oppinion that you can not imploy any that will be more serviceable to yor Ex^lls, or more acceptable the Irish and Scots, then Hugh ONeile. I am,

Yo^r Ex^lls most humble servant,

Danielle ONeille.

For his Ex^lls the Ld Marques off Ormond, L^d L^t-generall off Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Dan. ONeiles. Dated 30 Jan. Rec. 2 Feb., 1649[-50.]

CL. CROMWELL AND COLONEL R. BUTLER, ETC.

1649-50.
10. Feb.
Cromwell and Richard Butler.

All the prisoners in Clonmell to be delivered to Carrick guarrison, and I engage my selfe to enlarge Major-generall Butler and Lieu^t Wall taken att Callan.

Because I had a promise that Kilcash should not be guarrisoned, I forbeare to guarrison itt when it was in my power to have donn itt: I expect therefore that it be imediately quitted.

Feb. 10th, 1649[-50.] O. Cromwell.

Endorsed: 10 Feb: 1649. Generall Crumwells note concerneinge Collonell Richard Butler.

CLI. ULSTER OFFICERS TO ORMONDE.

1649-50.
12. Feb.
Ulster Officers to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^cie,

Yo^r honors lettre of the 24th of January, with the Lord Marques of Clanricards proposalls, some of us have received the first of Ffebruary, wch be reason the gentry of the province were to meete to answeare the same could not be answered untill this day, wch wee have answered, whereof there is a copie sente to yor Ex^cie here inclosed, and another to the Lord Marques of Clanricard, wherein if wee have deviated from the comon rule wee crave pardon.

Wee humbly desire yor Ex^cie to authorise one of our Generall Major officers to

CL. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 425. CLI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 437.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
12. Feb.
Ulster officers to Ormonde.

comaunde our Ulster partie dureinge the presente designe, to the ende the officers and sould[rs] may goe with the more allacrity to the service.

Upon perusuall of the Lord Marques of Clanricards comission wee conceave the same doth extende farr in removeinge or displaceing the officers of our partie, and disposeinge of garisons now in our possessions, w[ch] may be don by that comission, w[ch] wee pray yo[r] Lordship to prevente by private instrucions, whereby all causes of feare may be removed. Soe not doubtinge of yo[r] Ex[cies] favors herein, wee remaine,

Yo[r] Exc[ies] most humble servants,

	Iniskillin.
Will. Mc Kenna.	Phi. Reily.
Hiugh Mc Mahon.	Coll. Mc Mahon.
Milles Swine.	Phillipp Rely.
12 Febr., 1649[-50.] Brein Mc Mahone.	Torlagh Boyle.

For his Ex[cie] the Lord-liveten[t] of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: The Lords and Gentry of Ulsters letters. Dated 12. Received 23 Feb., 1649[-50.]

CLII. CLANRICARDE'S AGREEMENT WITH THE O'FLAHERTIES.

The Lord Marquess of Clanricard, his result on the propositions of Morough ne Mart OFlahertie, Edmond Flahertye, Esq[rs]., and the rest of theire bretheren.

1649-50.
15. Feb.
Clanricarde and O'Flaherties.

1. That in expectacion of good service to be performed by the proposers, and of their obedience to his Ma[ties] authoritye for the future, all arreares due on them of publicke dues untill the first of October last shall be suspended; and the sayd Lord Marquess will procure aremittall thereof as theire service and obedience aforesayd shall meritt the same.

2. That the proposers on or before the tenth day of March next shall, at the charge of themselves and their adherents, man, victuall, and sett foorth fower gallyes, lewers, or long boates, to arive in the north or key of Sligo, by the day aforesayd, wth three hundred well armed souldiers, besides rowers and maryners, and mayntayne them there, or in such northern or other coastes of this kingdome, and goe on, and do their best endeavo[rs] in such services as the s[d] Lord Marquesse will direct, for to moneths next ensueinge the sayd tenth day of March; and if they be continued longer in the sayd service they are to be mayntayned out of the publicke dues of the barronye of Balleneheniye.

3. And as for the publicke dues in arreares on the sayd barony since the sayd first of October to the date heerof, the same is to be satisfied imediatly after the returne of the propossers from the present intended service, or before, or allowed for their charges, as the sayd Lord Marquesse will direct.

4. The proposers are amonge themselves to agree on the comanders of the sayd

CLII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 477.

sea-forces; wch agreem^t the sayd Lo. Marquesse will confirme and ratifie. And the proposers are heerby authorished to press all sea men from the Isles of Aren to Jcruse for this service, allowinge them competent wadges.

Appendix. 1649-50. 15. Feb. Clanricard and O'Flaherties.

5. And the sayd Lord Marquesse will issue a comission to enquire of the overcharge of the sayd barony and if any doe appeere justice shall be don therupon.

6. The proposers doe humbly and heartily accept of this result, and doe in the fayth of christians promise punctuall and dutifull obedience to his Majesties goverment and authoritie for the future.

Mor. Flahertye.
Edmond Flaherty.
Hugh Flahertye.

Roscoman Castle, 15th of Feb., 1649[-50.]

Endorsed: The Agreement with the Flahertyes.

CLIII. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Mr. Speaker,

1649-50. 15. Feb. Cromwell to Lenthal.

Having refreshed our men for some short time in our winter quarters, and health being pretty well recovered, we thought fit to take the field; and to attempt such things as God by His providence should lead us to upon the enemy.

Our resolution was to fall into the enemy's quarters two ways. The one party, being about fifteen or sixteen troops of horse and dragoons and about two thousand foot, were ordered to go up by the way of Carrick into the county of Kilkenny under the command of Colonel Reynolds; whom Major-General Ireton was to follow with a reserve. I myself was to go by the way of Mallow, over the Blackwater, towards the county of Limerick and the county of Tipperary, with about twelve troops of horse, and three troops of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot.

I began my march upon Tuesday the nine-and-twentieth of January, from Youghal: and upon Thursday the one-and-thirtieth, I possessed a castle called Kilkenny, upon the edge of the county of Limerick; where I left thirty foot. From thence I marched to a strong house belonging to Sir Richard Everard (called Clogheen), who is one of the Supreme Council; where I left a troop of horse and some dragoons. From thence I marched to Roghill castle, which was possessed by some Ulster foot, and a party of the enemy's horse; which upon summons (I having taken the captain of horse prisoner before) was rendered to me. These places being thus possessed gave us much command (together with some other holds we have) of the White-Knights' and Roche's country; and of all the land from Mallow to the Suir-side;—especially by 'help of' another castle called Old Castletown, 'which,' since my march, 'was' taken by my Lord of Broghil. Which I had sent to his Lordship to endeavour; as also a castle of Sir

CLIII. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. London: 1846, ii. 142-7.

Appendix.
1649-50.
15. Feb.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

Edward Fitzharris, over the mountains in the county of Limerick;—I having left his Lordship at Mallow, with about six or seven hundred horse, and four or five hundred foot, to protect those parts, and your interest in Munster; lest while we were abroad, Inchiquin, whose forces lay about Limerick and the county of Kerry, should fall in behind us. His Lordship drew two cannon to the foresaid castle; which having summoned, they refused. His Lordship, having bestowed about ten shot upon it, which made their stomachs come down,—he gave all the soldiers quarter for life; and shot all the officers, being six in number, to death. Since the taking of these garrisons, the Irish have sent their commissioners to compound for their contribution as far as the walls of Limerick.

I marched from Roghill castle over the Suir, with very much difficulty; and from thence to Fethard, almost in the heart of the county of Tipperary; where was a garrison of the enemy. The town is most pleasantly seated; having a very good wall with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortifications. We came thither in the night, and indeed were very much distressed by sore and tempestuous wind and rain. After a long march, we knew not well how to dispose of ourselves; but finding an old abbey in the suburbs, and some cabins and poor houses,—we got into them, and had opportunity to send 'the garrison' a summons. They shot at my trumpet; and would not listen to him, for an hour's space: but having some officers in our party whom they knew, I sent them, to let them know I was there with a good part of the army. We shot not a shot at them; but they were very angry, and fired very earnestly upon us; telling us, that it was not a time of night to send a summons. But yet in the end, the governor was willing to send out two commissioners,—I think rather to see whether there was a force sufficient to force him, than to any other end. After almost a whole night spent in treaty, the town was delivered to me the next morning, upon terms which we usually call honourable; which I was the willinger to give, because I had little above two hundred foot, and neither ladders nor guns, nor any thing else to force them. That night, there being about seventeen companies of the Ulster foot in Cashel, above five miles from thence, they quit it in some disorder; and the Sovereign and the Aldermen sent to me a petition, desiring that I would protect them. Which I have also made a quarter.

From thence I marched towards Callan; hearing that Colonel Reynolds was there, with the party before mentioned. When I came thither, I found he had fallen upon the enemy's horse, and routed them (being about a hundred), with his forlorn; 'he' took my Lord of Ossory's Captain-lieutenant, and another lieutenant of horse, prisoners;—and one of those who betrayed our garrison of Enniscorthy; whom we hanged. The enemy had possessed three castles in the town; one of them belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about a hundred or hundred-and-twenty men in them,—which 'latter' he attempted; and they, refusing conditions seasonably offered, were put all to the sword. Indeed some of your soldiers did attempt very notably in this service:—I do not hear there were six men of ours lost. Butler's castle was delivered up on conditions, for all to march away, leaving their arms behind them. Wherein I have placed a company of foot, and a troop of horse, under the command of My Lord Colvil; the

place being six miles from Kilkenny. From hence Colonel Reynolds was sent with his regiment to remove a garrison of the enemy's from Knocktofer (being the way of our communication to Ross); which accordingly he did.

We marched back with the rest of the body to Fethard and Cashel: where we are now quartered,—having good plenty both of horse meat and man's meat for a time; and being indeed, we may say, even almost in the heart and bowels of the enemy; ready to attempt what God shall next direct. And blessed be His name only for this good success; and for this 'also,' that we do not find our men are at all considerably sick upon this expedition, though indeed it hath been very blustering weather.

I had almost forgot one business: the Major-general was very desirous to gain a pass over the Suir; where indeed we had none but by boat, or when the weather served. Wherefore, on Saturday in the evening, he marched with a party of horse and foot to Ardfinnan; where was a bridge, and at the foot of it a strong castle. Which he, about four o'clock the next morning, attempted;—killed about thirteen of the enemy's outguard; lost but two men, and eight or ten wounded: the enemy yielded the place to him, and we are possessed of it,—being a very considerable pass, and the nearest to our pass at Cappoquin over the Blackwater, whither we can bring guns, ammunition, or other things from Youghal by water, and 'then' over this pass to the army. The county of Tipperary have submitted to 1,500*l.* a-month contribution, although they have six or seven of the enemy's garrisons yet upon them.

Sir, I desire the charge of England as to this war may be abated as much as may be, and as we know you do desire, out of your care to the Commonwealth. But if you expect your work to be done, if the marching army be not constantly paid, and the course taken that hath been humbly represented,—indeed it will not be for the thrift of England, as far as England is concerned in the speedy reduction of Ireland. The money we raise upon the counties maintains the garrison forces; and hardly that. If the active force be not maintained, and all contingencies defrayed, how can you expect to have but a lingering business of it? Surely we desire not to spend a shilling of your treasury, wherein our consciences do not prompt us. We serve you; we are willing to be out of our trade of war; and shall hasten, by God's assistance and grace, to the end of our work, as the labourer doth to be at his rest. This makes us bold to be earnest with you for necessary supplies:—that of money is one. And there be some other things,—which indeed I do not think for your service to speak of publicly, which I shall humbly represent to the Council of State,—wherewith I desire we may be accommodated.

Sir, the Lord, who doth all these things, gives hopes of a speedy issue to this business; and, I am persuaded, will graciously appear in it. And truly there is no fear of the strength and combination of enemies round about, nor of slanderous tongues at home. God hath hitherto fenced you against all those, to wonder and amazement; they are tokens of your prosperity and success:—only it will be good for you, and us that serve you, to fear the Lord; to fear unbelief, self-seeking, confidence in an arm of flesh, and opinion of any instruments that they are other

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
15. Feb.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

than as dry bones. That God be merciful in these things, and bless you, is the humble prayer of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Castletown, 15th February, 1649[-50.] Oliver Cromwell.

For the Honourable William Lenthall, Speaker of the Parliament of England: These.

CLIV. ORMONDE TO MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

1649-50.
16. Feb.
Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

After, etc. Wee are given to understand by intimation from that province that the subtile enemy hath gained soe greate an influence on the inhabitants of the next countie, unto them by his deceitefull and sly practises and promises (wherein the world knowes there is noething but falsehood), that they have not onely blinded them soe farre as to yeelde to contribution unto them, but have alsoe with drawen them from theire obedience, and wrought them to draw the parte of the army now there in quarter, almost to a coniunction with them. And your Lordship beeinge there uppon the place, wee thought it convenient to make this knowne unto you to the end you may indeavour to prevent the further inconveniences that may insue, if not timely looked into. And soe, etc.

Your Lordships affectionate friend,

From Lymerick, the 16th of February, 1649[-50.] Ormonde.

Lord Bpp of Clogher.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letter to the Bishop of Clogher, dated 16° February, 1649.

CLV. ORMONDE TO SIR PHELIM O'NEILL.

1649-50.
16, Feb.
Ormonde to Sir P. O'Neill.

After, etc. Wee received yours of the 25th of Ianuary on the 15th of this instant, and have written unto the Bishop of Clogher, who is now in that province to prevent the further groweth of the inconveniency therein sett forth; and returneinge you our thankes for your care of his Majesties affaires there, we bid you farewell, etc.

Your loveinge freind,

From Lymerick, the 16th of February, 1649[-50.] Ormonde.

Sir Phelim ONeille.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letter to Sir Phelim ONeill, dated 16 February, 1649[-50.]

CLIV. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 456. CLV. Carte Papers, p. 456a.

CLVI. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1649-50. 16. Feb. Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations: Wee pray and require you uppon receipte heereof to comaund the guarrison now at Kilcash, from thence to Clonmell, and to continue them there, or to dispose of them where you shall finde best for his Majesties service. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell.

Your loveing freind,

From Lymerick, 16th of February, 1649[-50]. Ormonde.

You are to leave the howse to our sister and the goods therin, without preiudice, and accordingly to send your orders.

For Major-generall Hugh ONeill.

CLVII. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1649-50. 16. Feb. Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

After, etc. You are uppon receipte heereof to send to the governour of Carrick, for a safe conduct for a convoy to be sent with Captain Caulfield, and what other prisoners of Generall Cromwells party taken since the 10th of this instant that are with you at Clonmell to Carrick, and uppon receipte of that safe conduct, you are to send the said prisoners to Carrick, in exchange for our brother Collonell Richard Butler, and Lieutenant Wall remaineinge prisoners with the said Generall Cromwell. And soe, etc. Your loveing freind,

From Lymerick, the 16th of February, 1649[-50]. [Ormonde].

Major-generall Hugh ONeill.

Endorsed: Coppies of My Lords letters to Major-generall Hugh ONeill, touching Kilcash and Clonmell prisoners. Dated 16 Feb., 1649[-50].

CLVIII. BASIL TO LENTHALL.

For the Right Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker in the Parliament of England.

1649-50. 16. Feb. Basil to Lenthall.

Right Honourable;

Upon the sixth instant, (information being given that five companies of the enemies foot were come to Poores Court about eight miles from hence, on Wickloe side), a party was sent from this place, under the command of Sir Theophilus Iones to beat them out, or fight them, but before our party got thither they demolisht all the buildings, they pull'd down the very walls, and fled away into the woods; we cannot keep any garrison there, because there is no manner of shelter for our men there.

CLVI. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 458. CLVII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 458 (466).

CLVIII. Severall letters from Ireland of the late good success of the Parliament forces there: one from Col. Hewson, Governor of Dublin, sent to the Honourable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament. Wherein were inclosed the summons and other passages between him and the Governour of the strong Garison and Fort of Ballisanon. Together with the Propositions tendred by them, and refused. As also the Articles upon which the same was surrendred, dated the first day of March, 1649[-50]. Two other letters from William Basil, Esquire, Atturney Generall for the State in Ireland. March 18, 1649[50]. These Letters and Papers are appointed to be Printed and Published. Imprimatur, Henry Scobel, Cler. Parliamenti. London, 1649.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
16. Feb.
Basil to Lenthall.

The tenth instant, letters from Sir Charles Coote (then at Belfast) brought the newes of reducing Castle Dooe.

There was lately a generall Counsell of the Clergy at Kilkenny, who treated upon propositions presented amongst themselves for carrying on of the war.

The plague continues in Galway, where there hath neare twenty thousand dyed since the first of August last; most of their gentry there have perisht by it, among the rest Ieffery Browne, heretofore a practiser at Law in England, Sir Richard Blague [Blake], both prime actors, and chiefe in the Supreame Counsell, with many others of their most eminent contrivers of the rebellion are dead.

Ormond was lately at Portumny with the Earle of Clanrickard in Conaught.

On Wednesday last Captaine Molineux arrived here from Wexford, who brings the newes of our taking the fort of Bally-hacke, over against Passage upon the river of Waterford, so that all trading by sea to Waterford is wholly stopt up; besides, there is a very great feare and jealousie between the townes-men of Waterford, and the souldiers there who are of the Northerne Irish.

We have certaine newes from Munster, that my Lord Lievtenant hath been in the field this good while, and hath taken Cashell and Callan (the latter being within six miles of Kilkenny) with severall other considerable garrisons of the rebbels about those parts, and now about if not in Clonmell.

The plague is very hot in Kilkenny.

The Toryes have behaved themselves so barbarously towards those of their owne party, that the fryers and priests have excommunicated them.

The Governour on Tuesday last marcht into the county of Kildare, and we hourely expect an accompt of the reducing of severall considerable garrisons thereabout; great guns are this day sent from hence unto him, the extreame wants of accommodations of all kinds for our men will, I feare, weaken our army and impede the present carrying on of the service in the neglect of this opportunity now the enemy is disperst and distracted, and a small matter will now effect that which a farre greater will not hereafter; I have not else to trouble your Honour, but humbly crave leave to rest, Sir,

Your Honours most humble servant,

Dublin, 16 Feb., 1649[-50]. William Basil.

CLIX. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1649-50.
19. Feb.
Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

After, etc. Notwithstanding our late orders unto you for release of prisoners in exchange for Collonell Richard Butler and Lieutenant Wall, and to draw away the guarrison at Kilcash, wee hereby require you to forbeare doeing either until further order from us. And soe, etc.

Lymerick, 19 Febr., 1649[-50].

Major-generall Neill.

Endorsed: Coppy of My Lords letter to Major-generall Hugh ONeill to countermaund former directions for release of prisoners and drawinge of the guarrison at Kilcash. Dated 19 Feb., 1649[-50]. A duplicate sent thereof.

CLIX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 473.

CLX. ORMONDE TO MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER.

1649-50. 22. Feb. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

My Lord,

I am soory the weight of the occasion wch requires yor presenc, and may not by letter be communicated unto yow, will bring that trobell upon you; as to repayre to Inise upon receipt of thees, if the provinciall meeting of Ulster from wch yow cannot be absent doe afford yow that time, if not, and that the day prefixt for that meeting be so neer as you may not conveniently returne back to be present with them, I pray you not to omitt, immediatly after they are mett, to come to Inise, in the cownty of Clare, wheer you shall fully understand what is to [be] imparted unto yow by

Y^r^ Lordships affectionate freind,

Lym[erick], 22 Feb., 1649[-50]. Ormonde.

Post[scriptum.] By this expresse I pray yor Lordship to hasten unto me the exact tyme when you intend to be at Inish, that thereof I may be informed.

My Lord, you may be sure the busines I have to imparte to you is of as high importance as any can be in relation to the safety of the nation.

Endorsed: Coppie of his Excyes lettre to the Bppe of Clogher, 22th of Feb., 1649[-50].

CLXI. CROMWELL'S SUMMONS TO CAHIR CASTLE.

1649-50. 24. Feb. Cromwell at Cahir.

Sir,

Having brought the army and my cannon near this place, according to my usual manner in summoning places, I thought fit to offer you terms honourable for soldiers: that you may march away, with your baggage, arms, and colours, free from injury or violence. But if I be necessitated to bend my cannon upon you, you must expect the extremity usual in such cases. To avoid blood, this is offered to you by

Your servant,

24th February, 1649[-50]. Oliver Cromwell.

For the Governor of Cahir Castle: These.

CLXII. ARTICLES FOR CAHIR CASTLE.

1649-50. 24. Feb. Articles for Cahir Castle.

Articles made and agreed on the 24th day of Feb^ry^, 1649[-50], between his Excelle^y^ the L^d^-lieu^t^ of Ireland on the one parte, and Captn George Mathews, Govr^nr^ of Cahyr Castle, of the other parte, concerning the surrender of the same castle, viz.

Imprimis, that the Govr and all officers, souldiers, and clergymen, and servants,

CLX. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 484. CLXI. MS. British Museum, 4769.
CLXII. MS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
24. Feb.
Articles for Cahir Castle.

may march out wth their horses, and armes, and bagg and baggage. The English souldiers willing to serve his Excell^y^ may be entertained. Those that will not, either English or Irish, to haue liberty to live quietly in the country, laying downe their armes, or passes to goe elsewhere. That the Governor may enjoy his estate wch he hath as his wives joynture or wardship of the heires of Cahir.

That he may haue his goods and chattells and liberty for a weeke, to carry them away; and haue the possession of the castle of Reghill for his habitation, and his corne yet remaining there, his Excell^cy^ keeping two files of musquiteers there.

That the goods he hath in the castle belonging to others may bee delivered to the severall proprietors.

That in consideration hereof the Governor is to deliuer up the said castle to his Excell^cy^ upon signing these articles.

February 24th, 1649[-50]. O. Cromwell.

CLXIII. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1649-50.
25. Feb.
Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations: Wee received your letters of the 23th thi instant, and have by our letters heere inclosed desired our very good Lord th Earle of Castlehaven to furnish you with what men and provisions hee can ourselves beeinge at present unable to furnish you with any at this distance. And so wee bid you heartily farewell, from Lymerick, the 25th day of February, 1649[-50.

Your loveing freind,

Governour of Clonmell. [Ormonde.]

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letters to Major-generall Hugh ONeill, fron Lymerick, dated 25 Feb., 1649[-50].

CLXIV. ORMONDE TO IRISH ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS.

1649-50.
27. Feb.
Ormonde to Irish Bishops.

After our heartie comendations: Whereas the present condition of this kingdor requireth a suddane and effective course to be taken for prevention of the utter ruy of it, and of his Majesties intrest, and his subiects of the same; wherfore wee . . hould it needfull to have a conference with the Archbishops, Bishops, and othe persons of qualitie of the kingdom, that by their advice and assistance the best an spidiest way of advancem^t^ of his Majesties service and preservation of his people ma be resolved uppon, to which end wee doe pray yor Lordship to repayre to the citti of Lymbrick, and there to be on the eight day of March next, wch day wee hav likewise prefixed for the rest. So wee bid you hartely farwell, from Gortt, the 27 of Febr., 1649[-50].

Endorsed: A coppy of a letter sent to the severall Bishops. for a meeteing at Lymerick, 8 Martij, dated 27 Feb., 1649[-50].

CLXIII. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 496. CLXIV. Carte Papers, xxvi. pp. 499—500.

NAMES OF THE BISHOPS.

1649-50. 27. Feb. Names of Bishops.

* The Lord Primate of Ardmagh.
* The Lord Archbp. of Dublin.
* The Lord Archbp. of Tuame.
* The Lord Bp. of Elphyn.
* The Lord Bp. of Clogher.
* The Lord Bp. of Killaloe.
* The Lord Bp. of Kilmaduagh.
* The Lord Bp. of Cloynmcnoyse.
* The Lord Bp. of Clonferte.
The Lord Bp. of Raphoe.

Clonmacknoshe.

* Lord Archb. of Cashell.
* Lord Bp. of Killallow.
* Lord Bp. of Lymerick.
* Lord Bp. of Emly.
Lord Bp. of Kilfenorae.
* Lord Bp. of Ross.
* Lord Bp. of Corke.
* Lord Bp. of Fferns.
* Lord Bp. of Dromore.
* Lord Bp. of Downe.
Lord Bp. of Ard[f]urte.
* Lord Bp. of Waterford.
Lord Bp. of Meath.
* Lord Bp. of Ardagh.

Endorsed: The Eleven [*sic*] Bishops to whome letters were sent, etc.

CLXV. MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL TO ORMONDE.

1649-50. 28. Feb. Hugh O'Neill to Ormonde.

May itt please your Excie,

This daye I receavd your letter of the 25th of this instant. Since my last letter to your Excie I have not to intymate more then that Caher was yealded without shott or blowe, uppon what condicions I knowe not, wch I beleeve your Excie knowes eare nowe; likewise Kilteenan was beseeged eare yesternight, and yealded yesterdaye morninge about nyne of the clocke; all their armye is within a myle to the towne, and the rest are cominge to them in great hast; they have sent a number of horses and oxen for more cannons. Wee expect nothinge else but bee beseeged every houre, they havinge nowe noe other place to ayme att but this; your Excie maye knowe in what condicion wee are, and the consequence of this place to the kingdome, wch requires a speedye succour, all wch I humbly referre to your Lordshipps grave consideracion. I humblye take leave, and remayne,

Your Excies most humble servant,

Clonmell, ultimo February, 1649[-50]. Hugo ONeill.

For his Excie the Lord Lievtenant-generall of Ireland: These present. Hast, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: Major-gen. Hugh ONeill. Dated ult. Febr. Recd 3 Mar., 1649[-50].

CLXV. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 504.

CLXVI. ORMONDE TO GENTRY OF KERRY.

To the Gentry and Inhabitants of the county of Kerry.

1649-50. 1. March. Ormonde to Gentry of Kerry.

After, etc. Having imployd Maior-generall Pursull, with a party drawen out of his Majesties army, to second the good endeavors of his Majesties loyall subiects in the county of Corke, who have risen in armes to free them selves from the slavery imposd upon them by the rebels, and being assured you wilbe reddy and willing to assist them in their good endeavors, and to keepe of the blowe wherwith yow are as well threatned, wee have thought fitt to lett yow know that it is our pleasure, and accordingly wee pray and require yow imediatly to rayse the whole streingth, booth horse and foote, within that cownty, and with four weeks provision, under captaine, and other inferiour officers, by yow to be appointed, to draw such and so many of them to assist Major-generall Pursell, as he shall have occation to call upon for prosecution of the service wherein he is imployed.

1 March, 1649[-50].

CLXVII. ORMONDE TO COLONEL MACCARTHY.

1649-50. 1. March. Ormonde to Col. Mac Carthy.

After our, etc. Having imployd Major-generall Pursell into the cownty of Corke, with power to commaund as well the party drawen out of his Majesties army, as the forces who shall rise there to free that cownty from the slavery wherein th' are at present, wee pray and require with thoos under yor commaund from time to time to give prompt and due obedience to such orders and directions as yow shall from time to time receave from the said Major-generall Pursell, and so:

[Ormonde.]

To Collonell Maccharty.

Endorsed: Coppies of My Lords letters to the gentry of and inhabitants of the cownty of Kiery, and Collonell M^c^Carthy from Inish, primo Martii, 1649[-50].

CLXVIII. CLANRICARDE TO MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER, ETC.

My Lords and S^rs^,

1649-50. 2. Mar. Clanricarde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

Uppon conferrence wth My Lord L^t^ concearneing yor proposition to have one of yor mayor officers sent downe to commaund the party designed to ioine with my forces for the present expedition unto Ulster, his Ex^cie^ was very willing to comply with yor desires therein; but those officers being in important garrisons, and the enimy stirring abrode, he could not make any alteracon without much

CLXVI. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 4. CLXVII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 4.
CLXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 14.

hazard to those places untill his owne drawing into the field, wch will bee within fiew dayes, and then he will speedily dispatch one of them into you, and in the meane tyme conceives that the oldest Collonel of that party may supply the commaund.

Appendix. 1649-50. 2. March.

I am now ready to march to Sligoe, and doe earnestly desire that you will cause the party of horse and foote, mentioned in yor former lettre, to be drawne in to a boddy with three wickes meanes at the furthest by the 15th of this moneth, and then readdy to martch, at wch tyme I will not faile to give you a cleere accoumpt of my designes, and the manner of ordering the assistance I expect from you, in the performance whereof I doubt not of yor ready complyance, the expedtion being undertaken with soe much care and regarde of the salfety and presarvation of y^t^ province by

Clanricarde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

Y^r^ very affectionat friend to serve you,

Loghreagh, the 2^d^ of March, 1649[-50]. Clanricarde.

Endorsed: 2 Martij, 1649[-50]. The coppy of my letter to the Bu[sho]pp of Clogher, Lord of Iniskillyn, and the Com^rs^ of Ulster.

CLXIX. Basil to Lenthall.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker in the Parliament of England.

Right Honourable,

It hath pleased God exceedingly to blesse our forces in this place, in their late march into the county of Kildare, where they have taken in the fort and castle of Bellesonan by surrender, surprized Athy, being a passe upon the Barrow, and a place of very great concernment, both for the enlarging of our quarters, investing the enemy, and securing a passe to joyne with My Lord if occasion require. In all which the governour hath placed garrisons; as also in Kilmaocke, being the castle of the bogge of Allen, which the enemy had burnt, and indeavoured to have sleighted, upon the rumour of his advance from hence; but the workes are now repaired and made tenable by ours.

1649-50. 2. March. Basil to Lenthall.

Upon Saturday last he returned againe hither to Dublin, having left his forces in the outquarters about the Naas, but intends another speedy march if accommodations may be by any meanes provided.

Our forces about Wexford have recovered the castle of Iniscorfy, which was yeelded unto them, and have taken Browns-wood by storme, all within the latter were put to the sword.

Col. Treavour hath by expresse sent his resolution to desert the Irish, and hath leave from the governour to come into our quarters, and there to stay untill My Lords pleasure be further known.

I have not else to trouble your Honour, but humbly remaine,

Your Honours most humble servant,

Dublin, 2 March, 1649[-50]. William Basil.

CLXIX. Several Letters, etc., 1649. *Ante*, p. 361.

APPENDIX.

CLXX. ORMONDE TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL.

1649-50. 3. March. Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

Sr,

Your letter of the last of February intimating your expectations of being suddainly beseiged, I received not till about nine of the clock this morning. In answeare whereunto I thinke fit to assure yow by these, that rather then that towne should fall into the hands of the rebells, I shall draw all the forces of the kingdome into a body for its releife, which I shall endeavour soe to effect, as in ten dayes to be in a readines to advance towards you, relying on your uttermost endeavours to defend that place during that tyme, though you should as you expect be closely beseiged, and soe desireing to heare as frequently from you as possibly you may, I remaine,

Yor very affectionate freind,

Signed: Ormonde.

Ennis, this 3d of March, 1649[-50], about 12 in the fornoone.

To Major-generall Hugh O Neale.

Endorsed: Coppie of his Excellencyes to Major-generall Hugh ONeile.

CLXXI. CROMWELL TO BRADSHAW.

1649-50. 5. March. Cromwell to Bradshaw.

'Sir,'

. . . It pleaseth God still to enlarge your interest here. The Castle of Cahir, very considerable, built upon a rock, and seated in an island in the midst of the Suir, was lately rendered to me. It cost the Earl of Essex, as I am informed, about eight weeks siege with his army and artillery. It is now yours without the loss of one man. So also in the Castle of Kiltinan; a very large and strong Castle of the Lord of Dunboyne's: this latter I took in with my cannon, without the loss of a man.

We have taken the Castle of Golden Bridge, another pass upon the Suir; as also the Castle of Dundrum, at which we lost about six men,—Colonel Zanchy, who commanded the party, being shot through the hand. We have placed another strong garrison at Ballynakill, upon the edge of King's and Queen's Counties. We have divers garrisons in the county of Limerick; and by these we take away the enemy's subsistence, and diminish their contributions. By which in time, I hope they will sink. . . .

Oliver Cromwell.

Cashel, 5th March, 1649[-50].

'For the Honourable John Bradshaw, Esquire, President of the Council of State: These.'

CLXX. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 15.

CLXXI. Cromwell's Letters and Speeches, by T. Carlyle. London: 1846, ii. 149.

CLXXII. John Hewson, Governor of Dublin, to Lenthall.

To the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Sir,

When his Excellency marched from Dublin towards Munster, he left me intrusted with that garrison, my selfe and those lefte with me at that time being sicke. The first party that recovered were sent after the army; to wit, about 800 foot, and 200 horse, which fought and beat the enemy upon their march: some more of those sicke men that were left recovering, and some recruits comming over. After I had surprised the strong fort upon the bog of Allin, and taken Castle-Martin in the county of Kildare, and placed a garrison therein. About the latter end of December, marched with a party of 1000 horse and foot into the island of Allin, and summoned Killmaog therein, but finding it not feazable to storme without guns, I marched to Rabride and Ponsers Grange, and tooke them, and placed two strong garrisons there, which did give me good footing in the county of Kildare, then sent a party and took Kildare, Hertwell, and Cotlingstowne, three usefull garrisons in the said county; and provisions being spent returned back to Dublin, there endeavouring to get guns, mortar-peeces, and other necessaries ready to draw forth againe with all possible speed; in the interim I received propositions from the governour and officers in the strong garrison and fort of Ballisonan, the originall whereof, I here inclosed present you with all under their owne hands, which being by me utterly rejected.

1649-50. 3. March. Hewson to Lenthall.

I marched upon Tuesday, the 26 of Feb., with a party of 2000 foot and 1000 horse, towards the county of Kildare, and took with me one culverin, and one demi-culverin, and one mortar-piece, the enemy fired their garrisons of Fort of Lease, Blackreath, and the forementioned castle of Kilmaog, in the island of Allin; but I shall easily make it tenable againe, it being very usefull for your service, they also did blow up the castle of Athy, where they had a strong garrison, and broke up the bridge. Upon the 28 Feb. I marched from the Naas, and about four a clock with the van of the party I came to Bellisonan, a strong garrison, double works, and double moted, full of water one within another, and a mount with a fort upon it, most of the officers with me esteeming the taking of it to be unfeazable, it being late, and I unwilling to lose time, did send in a summons, a copy whereof is here inclosed, and the inclosed answer under the governors hand was presently returned, and the town which was without his works by him burned that night, I caused a battery to be made and planted the artillery, and made a fort for the security thereof, having intelligence that the Lord of Castlehaven with 4000 horse and foot would come to raise me within two dayes, in which fort I could secure the guns and batter their works, whilst I drew off to fight the enemy if need were, we played our guns and morter-peece at the fort upon the mount, intending before night to storme it, having ladders and all necessaries ready, but

CLXXII. Several Letters from Ireland, etc., 1649. *Ante*, p. 361.

APPENDIX. 1649-50. 3. March. Hewson to Lenthall.

before any breach was made, the governour did send me a paper which is here inclosed, whereunto the inclosed answer was returned, and he treated with me about the surrender, which was concluded accordingly. The articles signed with both our hands herewith, is represented unto you.

And now, Sir, you have without the losse of one man this strong place, and thereby most of the county of Kildare; those garrisons in this county yet remaining, as castle Dormount, and Kilkenny, with others, I hope you shall have a good account thereof speedily, from

Your humble servant,

Bellisonan, March 3, 1649[-50]. Ioh. Hewson.

[Enclosures.]

Sir,

I am now marching the army to reduce that place you possesse unto the obedience of the parliament of England, and it being apparent to the world that God is making inquisition in Ireland for innocent blood, how farre you and those with you may be concerned therein, I shall observe by your answer hereunto.

These are to require you to deliver that place you now possesse unto me for the end aforesaid: whatsoever your return hereunto may be, and the effect thereof, my summons will justifie the future proceedings of

Your servant,

28 Feb., 1649[-50]. J. Hewson.

For the Governour of Bellisonan.

Sir,

I am now in possession in this place by authority from my king, how you may demand it by authority from the Parliament of England, I know not: England denying their king, therefore your power I disobey. And for God, my king, and country, will defend this place to the uttermost of my power.

Sir,

Your servant,

28 Febru., 1649[-50]. Donno[gh] Kelly.

For Col. Hewson, Commander-in-chiefe of the Parliament party now at the field of Ballisonan.

Propositions made by the Garison which were rejected.

We doe hereby employ Governour Donno[gh] OKelly for the delivery of the hereunder propositions to the Commissioners Generall of the Parliaments forces of Ireland.

Imprimis. That the party commanding this garison and fort of Ballisonan, and all other that will adhere to them, are really and willingly to joyne to the Parliament forces, upon such termes as are hereunder written.

2. That a Collonel, Lieutenant-Collonel, and a Major, besides Captains, and under officers, be imployed of the said party, constantly in the standing army, of the Parliaments Forces of this kingdome, That in case any such officers come in,

3. That they may have free liberty of their religion, and two priests admitted and imployed for to serve the said regiment now intended.

4. That neither Taaffe, nor Dillon shall be accepted of in the Parliaments party.

5. That their estates wrongfully detained and enjoyed by the said Dillon, Bourne, and Taaffes, may be allowed unto them by the State of Parliament.

6. That their arrears since May last may be allowed them, this and the aforesaid propositions may be granted by the Generall, Lieutenant-generall, Major-generall, and Commissioners-generall of the Parliament Forces of this kingdome, that what those counties assigned to them for their pay, are in arreare since their comming to Ballisonan, may be forthwith caused to be paid.

7. That this granted, they shall obey any deriving power from the State of Parliament.

J. Gordon. Connor Kelly.
Ch. Kelly. M. Donnogh.

Col. Hewsons last summons.

Sir,

Blood I doe not thirst after, yet so far a souldier, as not to neglect present opportunity, I shall for the end in your letter mentioned send Captaine Hewson according to your desire, provided you send one or two fully authorised to treat and conclude, and all to be concluded within halfe an houre, provided also you doe not worke at all to repaire what my guns and morterpeece have demolished, and to that end that Cap. Hewson may remaine in the Mount during that halfe houre. Sir, I shall be glad if your wisdome prevent what otherwise unavoidably will fall out, though not desired by

Your servant,
March, 1649[-50]. I. Hewson.

Sir,

To avoyd the confusion [*sic*] of Christian blood, we sent out a drum to demand a parley, my desire for the reasons aforesaid is, that you send in a captaine of yours to treat with us, and we will send forth a captaine of ours, who shall demand no more but what is honourable and just, and so Sir, I conclude,

Your servant,
March 1, 1649[-50]. Donno[gh] Kelly.

Articles agreed upon, between the Honourable Col. John Hewson of the one part, and Captain Donnogh Kelly, Governour of Bellisanon, in the county of Kildare, of the other part. 1 March, 1649[-50].

Imprimis. That the said garrison and fort of Bellisonan, shall bee immediately

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
3. March.
Hewson to Lenthall.

delivered with all the ammunition, an l provisions therein, except as in the insuing article is agreed upon.

2. That the said governour, officers, and souldiers, shall continue in the castle untill to morrow morning at ten of the clocke if they please, and then they are to march out of the said castle and fort with a trumpeter for convoy tenne miles if they desire it, or to any of the next Irish garrisons within ten miles as aforesaid, the trumpeter remaining without any prejudice. And the said officers are to march with their horses and pistolls, and with their colours flying, and drums beating, and the souldiers with their armes, and matches lighted, and each musketeer one pound of powder, with bullet and match proportionable.

3. Whatsoever oates and pease shall appear to be in the castle belonging to Mis[tress] Fitz Gerald shall be restored to her.

4. And lastly, for the due performance of the aforesaid articles, we have hereunto set our hands the day and yeare first above written.

John Hewson,

Donno[gh] Kelly.

CLXXIII. LEINSTER CONTRIBUTION FOR PARLIAMENTARY TROOPS.

1649-50.
5. March.
Contribution for Parliamentary troops.

Theis are to authorize to agree with the inhabitants of Kings county and Queenes county, and of such partes of the county of Kilkenny as are not already under contribution to us, for such contribution towards the maintenance of the Parliam^{ts} forces as they have usually paid to the enemy, and to assure them of proteccon from us, as other subiects under the authority of the Parliam^{ts} of England have within this nation; but the contribution you agree for is not to bee lesse then att the rate of twentie shillings a plowland for a moneth, accounting (if they reckon by colpes, each colpe to bee at least 3 plowlands; and if by horsemans bedds, each horsemans bedd to bee att least 5 plowlands. What you agree for, and for what barronies or partes of the said countyes you are to send an accompt of, to the L^{d}-leiutenant or my self, to bee further considered of and confirmed; and in the meane time you are to leavy, and receave from them, horsemeate and money for maintenance for the troope of dragoones and Cap^{n} Dethickes troope of horse, from Sonday last, the third of March instant, according to the rates, allowances, and rules contained in the L^{d}-leuitenants publique orders printed att Corke in December last, the valew whereof being ascertained according to the said ord^{rs}, shalbee accepted and allowed in and uppon the accompte of the contribution wch shall be settled uppon them, comenceing from the first of February last, and ending the 8 of November next. Given under my hand att Cashell. March the 5th, 1649[-50].

Signed: H. Ireton.

To Major Francis Bolton.

Endorsed: Copia vera. A coppy of Iretons Commission to Major Francis Bolton to raise contribution in the Kinge and Queenes countyes.

CLXXIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 21.

CLXXIV. MAC MAHON, BISHOP OF CLOGHER, AND PHILIP O'REILLY TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Lordship,

Wee have lately received two lettres from yor Lordship. The one dated the 22th of Ffebr. last from Portumna, the other the 2^d of this instant from Loghreagh; and wee will not omitt any tyme in perswadeing the eontry to have provision reddie, but as for the maine buissinesse expressed in yor Lordshipps said lettres, wee dare not undertake any parte thereof untill the provinciall meeteing, wch will bee on the 18th of this instant, of purpose to pich on a generall according the articles of agreem^t, and doe hope the said meeteing will settle matters soe as that his Maties service shalbe thereby furthered, and therein correspond wth yor Lordship, wch is the desire of

1649-50. 10. March. Bishop Mac Mahon and Philip O'Reilly to Ormonde.

Yo^r Lordships most humble and affectionat servants,

Emer Clogherensis.
Philipp Rely.

Dromavan, 10 Martij.

Endorsed: The eoppy of the Bushopp of Clogher and Phillip Reyly theire lettre of the 10th of March, 1649[-50].

CLXXV. LORD DILLON, PRESIDENT OF CONNACHT, TO GEORGE LANE.

Killinure: 23th March, 1649[-50].

Sir,

I eannot butt render you an infi[nite] d[ea]le of thankes for y^r lett^r, and am confident had you not beene reallie my freind you would not soe freelie expresed y^rselfe unto mee, for wch favor I shall ever acknowledge a high obligation. I shall in my owne iustification give you the subsequent accoumpt and satisfaction howe I have imployed my endevors since last I sawe you at Athlone, to gett the forces of this lower divident to march to my Lord of Castlehaven; then I acquainted you of my orders I sent to all the officers, both horse and foote, to bee at the forte of Leaze on the 24th of last mounth, wch haveinge fayled, ther has not beene a weeke since, butt I writt to each of them : 3 : orders to march to his Lordship on paine of death; and since that could not prevaile, I sett out a declaration to each countie in this divident proclaiminge them disbanded, and gave power to all the counties wherin they weare quartered to fall upon them as enemies. From my Lord of Westmeaths redgiment I heere nothinge from, nor doe I finde they observe theyr orders for marching; my Lord of Ievaghe hee sends mee butt frivelous and delayed excusess, butt I am informed his inclination is more towards the north then anie wayes southward, though hee has receaved his winter quarter in Linster, as well as anie redgiment in Ireland. Captaine Demsie and Captaine Patrick Nettervile writts to mee that they are on theyr march wth the Earle of Fingalls redgiment; and its nowe upwards of a weeke since I lleft Sir Iames Dillons redgiment in theyr march neere Castlgeazell; for the horse, I have as often sent my orders to my maior

1649-50. 23. March. Lord Dillon to George Lane.

CLXXIV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 48. CLXXV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 118.

APPENDIX.
1649-50.
23. March.
Lord Dillon
to
George Lane.

requireinge hime on paine of death to march wth them, as I did to the foote, butt finde verie litle effect therof, his excuse beeinge that for want of furage the horse was forced to bee sent to grass, and soe weake not servisable; the licke excusess as this I shall ever have from hime whilst hee is neere the English quarters, nor will hee willinglie bee ever gott out of it, most of my redgiment beeinge quartered therabouts, Collonell Harry ONeiles troope beeinge quartered at Ballimore, and beeinge allowed quarter for 40, hee sends mee word that hee will not march into the field till his redgiment goe; nor doe I thinke Sir Io: Netterville has 6 horse in his troope; Sir Iames Dillon, whoe has taken phisicke this 10: dayes past, is nowe reasonable well, and resolves on Munday to begine his iournie to my Lord of Castlehaven; hee caries wth hime his owne troope, Captaine Davids, and my troope, the rest of the troops of my redgiment are in the charge of my major; I have sent ye lett^r^ directed to mee to my livet.-collonell, Sir Ro: Talbott, whoe is at Tecrohan, a person I knowe will doe his endevor to send a waye the horse ther wth all the expedition possible can bee; Sir, I can assure you, I am as sincsiable of the bleedinge condition Linster is in as anie bodie can bee, and I protest to God, had I thought my person or attendance on My Lord of Castlehaven in the field weare more servisable then heere in the cuntrie, I would longe ere this have beene wayted on hime, butt I am confident if I goe noe forces will falloe; for as manie officers as I can finde I committ them. Ther is noe doute butt the cuntrie has beene at a highe expense in maintaininge thos forces, and of theyr stringth nowe in time of neede ther is noe visable signe; lett the faulte light wher it will I am confident I am giltless; nor is it possible to keepe forces in anie good posture when they are not kept in garrisons, and if in garrison my cuntreimen will never paye them, butt by dispersing them into the cuntrie for theyr meanes; havinge noe mustermaster butt such as I apoynted of the gentlemen of each countie on theyr first quarteringe, and to paye them accordinge that relation, they weare then returned unto mee full companies, yett I was not satisfied wth that till I had an ingagement under each collonells hand, on theyr houner, that they would bringe theyr full number alowed in quarter into the service whenever called upon. This ingagement I sent to his Excellencie; the lick ingagement I had from the officers of horse; and to vindiatt myselfe and proceedings heerin, I shall desire when time serves iustice don mee against thos officers that violatts their ingagements, and neglects to march to the present service. I am sure this countie nowe has as much neede of defensiffe forces in it as ever it had, Allexander Mc Donnells redgiment distroyeinge it, and doeinge more preiudice to it then anie enemye, by the libertie of spoyle they gett has increased his redgiment from a 150 to 600, and intertaines manie of our Linster souldiers, and as I am informed flocks to hime dayelye by dozens; haveinge trobled you wth a tedious lett^r^ and an unpleaseinge subiect, I shall nowe conclude wth this assurance that I am y^r^ most faythfull

Servt,
Dillon.

Endorsed: Lord President of Connaght to G[eorge] L[ane]. Dated 23° Martij, 1649[-50]. Concerning the delay of sending the forces of the lower divident of Leynster to the Earle of Castlehaven, etc.

CLXXVI. Intended Royal grants to Owen O'Neill.

Such thinges as his Majestie was pleased to graunte to Owen ONeile, soe hee joynes with his Excellencie the Lord Marquis of Ormonde, Lord Livetenant of the Kingdome of Irelande. 1649. Intended Grants to Owen O'Neill.

First, full libertie of conscience. 2. Comaunder or Generall of an armie. 3. A title of honour to be an Earle. 4. A safegarde of his persone and goods, and of all those that joyned with him. 5. An acte of oblivion.

A letter to Generall Owen ôNeale gave him assurance that he may with all freedom and safty advance with his army; this at the request of Father Nugent, he thinking it necessary, that he will, according the Kings pleasure, graunt him the titell of an Earle, that he shall command-in-chiefe under his Majesties authority the Ulster army, and that he and thoos who have joine with him shall be comprisd in the act of oblivion, that in pursuance of the articles of peace he and all the Roman Catholicks shall have full liberty of conscience throughout the kingdome.

Endorsed: Such things as his Majestie was pleased to graunt to Owin ONeill. Coppyd by Fr. Newgent.

CLXXVII. CROMWELL AT KILKENNY.

1. Cromwell's Summons to Kilkenny.

Gentlemen,

My coming hither is to endeavour, if God so please to bless me, the reduction of the city of Kilkenny to their obedience to the State of England, from which by an unheard of massacre of the innocent English, you have endeavored to rend your selves; and as God hath begun to judge you with his sore plague, so will he follow you until he have destroyed you, if you repent not: Your cause hath been judged already in England, upon them who did abet your evils, what may the principals then expect? By this free dealing you see I intice you not to a compliance, you may have terms may save you in your lives, liberties, and estates, according to what will be fitting for me to grant, and you to receive; if you choose for the worst, blame your selves: In confidence of the gracious blessing and presence of God with his own cause, which this is by many testimonies, I shall hope for a good issue upon my endeavors; expecting a return from you, I rest, 1649-50. 23. March. Cromwell at Kilkenny.

Your servant,

23 Martii, 1649[-50]. O[liver]C[romwell].

clxxvi. Carte Papers, xxiii. p. 334.

I. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland to the Honorable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, relating the several successes it hath pleased God lately to give the Parliaments Forces there. Together with the several transactions about the surrender of Kilkenny, and the articles agreed thereupon. . . . London: Printed by order of the Parliament, 1650.

APPENDIX.

1649-50.
23. March.
Sir Walter Butler to Cromwell.

2. SIR WALTER BUTLER, GOVERNOR OF KILKENNY, TO CROMWELL.

Sir,

Your letter I have received, and in answer thereof, I am commanded to maintain this city for His Majesty, which, by the power of God, I am resolved to do: So I rest,

Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, 23 Martii, 1649[-50]. Wa: Butler.

For General Cromwel.

1649 50.
23. March.
Mayor of Kilkenny to Cromwell.

3. THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY TO CROMWELL.

Right Honorable,

We know by experience, and have it by your Honors letters, that you desire not the spilling of blood, nor the spoiling of cities and towns: And though I doubt not but your Honor would easily agree to good and profitable conditions for the city and the citizens, yet we having a governor of the city, and another of the castle, who commands us also, if befitting honorable conditions be not given unto the military part, the city and citizens do stand in danger of ruine, as well from our own party, as from that of your Honors: This, in the name of the city and citizens, I humbly offer to your Honors gracious wise consideration, and desire your favorable remedy therein, and rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Ja: Archdekin, Mayor of Kilkenny.

For the Right Honorable the Lord Cromwel.

1650.
25. March.
Sir Walter Butler to Cromwell.

4. SIR WALTER BUTLER TO CROMWELL.

Sir,

Your last letter I receiued, and in answer, I have such confidence in God to maintain this place, as I will not lose it upon such terms as you offer, but will sooner lose my life, and the lives of all that are here, rather then submit to such dishonorable conditions. So I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, 25 Martii, 1650. Wa: Butler.

For General Cromwell.

2, 3, 4. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

5. CROMWELL TO SIR WALTER BUTLER.

1650. 25. March. Cromwell to Sir Walter Butler.

Sir,

If you had been as clear [as] I was in my last, I might perhaps have understood you, so as to give you some further answer; but you expressing nothing particularly what you except against in mine, I have nothing more to return, save this, that for some reasons I cannot let your trumpeter suddenly come back, but have sent you this by a drummer of my own. I rest,

Your servant,

25 Martii, 1650. O[liver] C[romwell.]

For the Governor of Kilkenny.

6. SIR WALTER BUTLER TO CROMWELL.

1650. 25. March Sir Walter Butler to Cromwell.

Sir,

Yours of this instant I received; the particulars which you would have me express are these, That the Mayor and citizens, and all other the inhabitants and others now resident in this city, and the liberties thereof, with their servants, shall be secured of their lives, liberties, estates, and goods, and live in their own habitations with all freedom: And that our clergy-men, and all others here residing, of what degree, condition, or quality soever, that shall be minded to depart, shall be permitted to depart safely hence with their goods, and whatsoever they have, to what place soever they please within this realm, and in their departure shall be safely conveyed; and that the said inhabitants shall have free trade and traffick with all places under the Parliament of Englands command, and elsewhere: And that the foresaid inhabitants shall have their arms, ammunition, and artillery for their own defence, the town and liberties thereof paying such reasonable contribution as shall be agreed upon, and not to be otherwise charged: And that the governors, commanders, officers, and soldiers, both horse and foot now garisoned, as well in the castle as in the city, without exception of any of them, shall safely march herehence, with their arms, ammunition, artillery, bag and baggage, and whatsoever else belongs to them, with their drums beating, colours flying, matches burning, and bullet in bouch; and that they shall have competent time for their departure and carrying away their goods, with a sufficient and safe convoy; and that Major Nicholas Wale, and all other commanders, officers, and soldiers who came out of the English quarters, now residing here, shall have the benefit of this agreement; without which I am resolved to maintain this place with Gods help: Thus expecting your answer to this letter, and that during this treaty there shall be a cessation of arms, and all other acts of hostility of both sides. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, 25 March, 1650. Wa: Butler.

For General Cromwel.

5, 6. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

APPENDIX.

7. CROMWELL TO THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

1650. 25. March. Cromwell to Mayor of Kilkenny.

Sir,

Though I could have wished you and the citizens had been indeed more sensible of your own interest and concernment; yet since you are minded to involve it so much with that of the soldiers, I am glad to understand you, which will be some direction to me, what to think and what to do. I rest

Your friend,

March 26, 1650. O. Cromwel.

8. THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY TO CROMWELL.

1650. 26. March. Mayor of Kilkenny to Cromwell.

Right Honorable,

I received your Honors letter in answer of mine which I wrote unto your Honor, in pursuance of the propositions sent by our governor unto your Honor, for obtaining of the said conditions, which seemed unto us almost befitting to be granted: The military part having exposed themselves for our defence, which obligeth us not to accept of any conditions but such as may be befitting them; I desire your Honor to grant a cessation of arms, and that hostages on both sides be sent, and commissioners appointed to treat of the conditions. I rest,

Your Honors servant,

Ja: Archdekin,

Kilkenny, the 26th of March, 1650. Mayor of Kilkenny.

For the Right Honorable, General Cromwel.

9. CROMWELL TO THE MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

1650. 26. March. Cromwell to Mayor of Kilkenny.

Sir,

Those whom God hath brought to a sense of his hand upon them, and to amend, submitting thereto, and to the power to which he hath subjected them, I cannot but pity and tender; and so far as that effect appears in you and your fellow citizens, I shall be ready without capitulation to do more, and better for you and them upon that ground, then upon the high demands of your governor, or his capitulations for you: I suppose he hath acquainted you with what I briefly offered yesterday in relation to yourself and the inhabitants, otherwise he hath done you the more wrong, and hath the more to answer for to God and man: And notwithstanding the advantages (as to the commanding and entring the town) which God hath given us since that offer, more then we were possessed of before;

7, 8, 9. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

yet I am still willing upon surrender to make good the same to the city, and that with advantage; now in regard of that temper which appears amongst you by your letter, though I shall not engage for more upon the governors demands for you, whose power I conceive is now greater to prejudice and endanger the city, then to protect it: To save it from plundering or pillage, I promised the soldiery that if we should take it by storm, the inhabitants shall give them a reasonable gratuity in money in lieu of the pillages, and so made it death for any man to plunder, which I shall still keep them to, by Gods help (although we should be put to make an entry by force) unless I shall finde the inhabitants engaging still with the governor and soldiery to make resistance; you may see also the way I choso for reducing the place, was such as tended most to save the inhabitants from pillage, and from perishing promiscuously (the innocent with the guilty) viz., by attempting places which, being possest, might bring it to a surrender, rather then to enter the city it self by force. If what is here exprest may beget resolution in you, which would occasion your safety, and be consistent with the end of my coming hither, I shall be glad, and rest,

APPENDIX. 1650. 26. March. Cromwell to Mayor of Kilkenny.

Your friend,

March 26th, 1650. [Oliver Cromwell.]

10. SIR WALTER BUTLER TO CROMWELL.

Sir,

Although I may not doubt with Gods help to maintain this place, as I have formerly written, yet I do send you the bearer to let you know that I am content to treat with you of propositions to be made of either side, so there be a cessation of arms, and all acts of hostility during that treaty; so expecting your answer, I rest,

1650. 25. March. Sir Walter Butler to Cromwell.

Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, the 25th of March, 1650. Wa: Butler.

11. CROMWELL TO SIR WALTER BUTLER.

Sir,

Except the condition were much bettered, and we in a worse posture and capacity to reduce you (then before the last letters I sent you) I cannot imagine whence these high demands of yours arise; I hope in God before it be long, you may have occasion to think other thoughts, to which I leave you; I shall not so much as treat with you upon these propositions. You desire some articles for honors sake, which out of honesty I do deny; viz., that of marching in the equipage you mention. I tell you, my business is to reduce you from arms, and

1650. 26. March. Cromwell to Sir Walter Butler.

10, 11. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

APPENDIX.
1650.
26. March.
Cromwell to Sir Walter Butler.

the country to quietness, and their due subjection, to put an end to war, and not to lengthen it, wishing (if it may stand with the will of God) this people may live as happily as they did before the bloody massacre and their troubles, and better too; if you and the company with you be of those who resolve to continue to hinder this, we know who is able to reach you, and I believe will. For the inhabitants of the town, of whom you seem to have a care, you know your retreat to be better then theirs; and therefore its not impolitickly done to speak for them, and to engage them to keep us as long from you as you can: If they be willing to expose themselves to ruine for you, you are much beholding unto them: As for your clergy-men, (as you call them) in case you agree for a surrender, they shall march away safely with their goods, and what belongs to them; but if they fall otherwise into my hands, I believe they know what to expect from me. If upon what I proposed formerly, with this addition concerning them, you expect things to be cleared, I am content to have commissioners for that purpose. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

March 26, 1650. O[liver] C[romwell].

12. SIR WALTER BUTLER TO CROMWELL.

Sir,

1650.
26. March.
Sir Walter Butler to Cromwell.

In answer of your letter, if you be pleased to appoint officers for a treaty, for the surrender of the castle and city upon soldier-like conditions, I will appoint also officers of such quality as are in the garison, provided that hostages of equality be sent on both sides, and a cessation of arms be also granted during the treaty, assuring a performance on my side of all that will be agreed upon. I rest, Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, 26 March, 1650. Wa: Butler.

I desire to know whats become of my trumpeter whom I imployed two days ago.

Wa: Butler.

For General Cromwel.

13. CROMWELL TO SIR WALTER BUTLER.

Sir,

1650.
26. March.
Cromwell to Sir W. Butler.

That no extremity may happen for want of a right understanding, I am content that Commissioners on each part do meet in the leagure at the southside of the city, authorized to treat and conclude; for which purpose, if you shall speedily send me the names and qualities of the Commissioners you will send out, I shall appoint the like number on my part, authorized as aforesaid to meet with them, and shall send in a safe conduct for the coming out and return of yours; as

12, 13. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375

for hostages, I conceive it needless and dilatory. I expect that the treaty begin by eight of the clock this evening, and end by twelve, during which time only I shall agree to a cessation, expecting your speedy answer.

March 26. [Oliver Cromwell.]

For the Governor of Kilkenny.

APPENDIX. 1650. 26. March. Cromwell to Sir W. Butler.

14. SIR WALTER BUTLER TO CROMWELL.

Sir,

Yours of this instant I received, and do hold the time appointed for the treaty and cessation of arms to be too short; Major John Comerford, Captain David Turnball, James Cowley, Esq; Recorder of this city, and Edward Rothe, merchant, are the Commissioners appointed by me, who will meet such Commissioners you fix on, at the place by you appointed, by six of the clock to morrow morning, or sooner if you please, so as hostages be sent to me for their safe return, for without hostages the gentlemen will not go. The reason that I conceive the time to be short is, because your trumpeter came not hither till nine of the clock this night, so as I conceive the business cannot be ended in so short a time: I have commanded mine to forbear acts of hostility during this treaty, and I desire that you do the like. I rest,

1650. 26. March. Sir W. Butler to Cromwell.

Sir,

Your servant,

Kilkenny, 26 March, 1650. Wa: Butler.

15. CROMWELL TO SIR WALTER BUTLER.

Sir,

The reason of the so late coming of my answer to you, was, because my trumpet was refused to be received at the north end of the town, and where he was admitted, was kept long upon the guard: I have sent you a safe conduct for the four Commissioners named by you; and if they be such as are unwilling to take my word, I shall not to humor them agree to hostages: I am willing to a treaty for four hours, provided it begin by twelve of the clock this morning; but for a cessation the time last appointed being past, I shall not agree unto it, to hinder my own proceedings.

1650. 27. March. Cromwell to Sir Walter Butler.

Your servant,

March 27, 1650. O. Cromwel.

14, 15. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

16. WARRANT FOR TREATY.

By both the Governors of the City and Castle of Kilkenny.

1650. 27. March. Warrant for Treaty at Kilkenny.

I do here appoint and authorize Major John Comerford, Captain David Turnbal, James Cowley, Recorder of Kilkenny, and Edward Roth, Merchant, to treat and agree with the Lord General Cromwel, or such as he shall appoint, touching the yielding up to the said Lord General this City and Castle of Kilkenny, and the conditions whereupon they shall be given up; as witness our hands this Twenty sixth of March, 1650.

Wa: Butler.
Ja: Welsh.

A warrant from the Governors of Kilkenny, to the Commissioners to treat.

17. ARTICLES FOR CITY OF KILKENNY.

1650. 27. March. Articles for City of Kilkenny.

Articles of Agreement between the Commissioners appointed by his Excellency the Lord Cromwel, Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for and on behalf of his Excellency, of the one part; and those appointed Commissioners by the respective Governors of the City and Castle of Kilkenny, of the other party, March 27, 1650.

I. That the respective Governors of the City and Castle of Kilkenny shall deliver unto his Excellency the Lord Cromwel, the Lord Lieutenant General of Ireland, for the use of the State of England, the said city and castle, with all arms, ammunition, and provisions of publique stores therein, without imbezlement; except what is hereafter excepted, at or before nine of the clock to morrow morning.

II. That all the inhabitants of the said City of Kilkenny, and all others therein, shall be defended in their persons, goods, and estates, from the violence of the soldiery; and that such as shall desire to remove thence elsewhere, shall have liberty so to do, with their goods, within three moneths after the date of these articles.

III. That the said Governors, with all the officers and soldiers under their respective commands in the said city and castle, none excepted; and all others who shall be so pleased, shall march away at or before nine of the clock to morrow morning with bag and baggage; the officers with their attendants, with their arms, and with their horses, not exceeding the number of one hundred and fifty horses; and their foot soldiers to march out of the town two miles distant, with their arms, and with drums beating, colours flying, matches lighted, and ball in bouch, and then and there to deliver up the said arms to such as shall be appointed

16, 17. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, etc., 1650. *Ante*, p. 375.

for receiving them, excepting one hundred muskets and one hundred pikes, allowed them for their defence against the Tories.

Appendix. 1650. 27. March. Articles for City of Kilkenny.

IV. That the said officers and soldiers shall have from his Excellency a safe conduct six miles from the city of Kilkenny, and from thence-forward a pass for their security out of his Excellencies quarters; the said pass to be in force for six days from the date of these presents, they marching at least ten miles each day, and doing no prejudice to the quarters.

V. That the city of Kilkenny shall pay two thousand pounds as a gratuity to his Excellencies army, whereof one thousand pounds to be paid on the thirteth of this moneth, and the other thousand pounds on the first day of May next following, to such as shall be by his Excellency thereunto appointed.

VI. That Major Iohn Comerford and Mr. Edward Roth shall remain hostages under the power of his Excelleney, for performance of the said articles on the party of the said city and garison of Kilkenny.

VII. Lastly, for performance of all and singular the premises, the parties hereunto have interchangeably put their hands the day and year first above-written.

Ia. Cowley. Iohn Comerford.
Edward Roth. David Turnbal.*

CLXXVIII. Cromwell to Lenthal.

For the Honorable William Lenthal, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England.

Mr. Speaker,

1650. 2. April. Cromwell to Lenthal.

I think the last letter I trobled you with was about the taking of Cahir; since which time there was taken by beating up their quarters, two Colonels, a Lieutenant Colonel, Major, and divers Captains, all of horse: Colonel Johnson, Lieutenant Colonel Loughorn, and Major Simes, were shot to death, as having served under the Parliament, but now taken up arms with the enemy. Hearing that Castlehaven and Lieutenant general Farrald were about Kilkenny with their

* "On the above-mentioned articles, the City and Castle of Kilkenny were both delivered into the hands of the English. The plague was then very hot in the town; so that the headquarters continued still at Burn-Church, and the General and army (none being left in the city but what was necessary under the command of Captain Axtel, governor of it) stayed very little in the city, but after he had settled the affairs of the garrison, marched his army back again, about the end of March, 1650, to his former quarters at Fethard, where he refreshed his army a while after their winter beleaguring, and taking Goran and Kilkenny."—History of Irish Rebellion. Dublin: 1743; App. 20.

CLXXVIII. A letter from the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to the Honorable William Lenthall, Esq., Speaker of the Parliament of England, relating the several successes it hath pleased God lately to give the Parliaments forces there. Together with the several transactions about the surrender of Kilkenny, and the Articles agreed thereupon. Die Sabbathi, 13 Aprilis, 1650: Ordered by the Parliament, that the letter of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the several papers and transactions therein inclosed, be forthwith printed and published; and that the consideration of the said letter be referred to the Councel of State. Hen. Scobell, Cleric. Parliamenti. London: 1650.

APPENDIX.
1650.
2. April.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

army, lying there quartered, and about Carlo and Loughlin-Bridge; and hearing also that Colonel Hewson with a good party from Dublin, was come as far as Ballisannon, and had taken it, we thought fit to send express to him, to march up towards us for a conjunction: And because we doubted the sufficiency of his party to march with that security which were to be wished, Colonel Shilbourn was ordered to go with some troops of horse out of the county of Wexford (which was his station) to meet him. And because the enemy was possessed of the fittest places upon the Barrow for our conjunction, we sent a party of seven or eight hundred horse and dragoons, and about five hundred foot, to attempt upon Castlehaven in the rere, if he should have endeavoured to have defended the places against Colonel Hewson.

Our party being a light nimble party, was at the Barrow side before Colonel Hewson could be heard of, and possessed a house by the Grage: They marched towards Loughlin, and faced Castlehaven at a pretty distance, but he shewed no forwardness to engage.

Our party not being able to hear of Colonel Hewson, came back as far as Thomas-town, a small walled town, and a pass upon the Nur between Kilkenny and Ross, which our men attempting to take, the enemy made no great resistance, but by the advantage of the bridge quitted the town, and fled to a castle about half a mile distant off, which they had formerly possessed: That night the President of Munster and my self came up to the party, we summoned the said castle, and after two days it was surrendred to us; the enemy leaving their arms, drums, colours, and ammunition behinde them, and engaging never to bear arms more against the Parliament of England.

We lay still after this about two or three days; The President went back to Fetherd, to bring up some great guns, with a purpose to attempt upon the Granno, and some castles thereabouts, for the better blocking up of Waterford, and to cause to advance up to us some more of our foot. In the end we had advertisement that Colonel Hewson was come to Loughlin, where was a very strong castle and pass over the Barrow; I sent him word that he should attempt it, which he did, and after some dispute reduced it: By which means we have a good pass over the Barrow, and entercourse between Munster and Leinster. I sent Colonel Hewson word, that he should march up to me, and we advancing likewise with our party, met near by Goran (a populous town) where the enemy had a very strong castle, under the command of Colonel Hamond, a Kentishman, who was a principal actor in the Kentish insurrection, and did manage the Lord Capels business at his tryal: I sent him civil invitation to deliver up the castle unto me, to which he returned me a very resolute answer, and full of height: We planted our artillery, and before we had made a breach considerable, the enemy beat a parley for a treaty, which I (having offered so fairly before to him) refused, but sent him in positive conditions, that the soldiers should have their lives, and the commission officers to be disposed of as should be thought fit; which in the end was submitted to.

The next day the Colonel, the Major, and the rest of the commission officers were shot to death, all but one, who being a very earnest instrument to have the

castle delivered, was pardoned. In the same castle also we took a Popish priest, who was a chaplain to the Catholiques in this regiment, who was caused to be hanged. I trouble you with this the rather, because this regiment was the Lord of Ormonds own regiment. In this castle was good store of provisions for the army.

After the taking of this castle, it was agreed amongst us to march to the city of Kilkenny, which we did upon Friday the 22th of March; and coming with our body within a mile of the town, we advanced with some horse very near unto it; and that evening I sent Sir Walter Butler and the Corporation a letter, a copy whereof is here inclosed, from whom the next day I received this answer: * We took the best view we could where to plant our batteries; and upon Monday the 25th our battery, consisting of three guns, began to play. After near a hundred shot, we made a breach, as we hoped, stormable: Our men were drawn out ready for the attempt; and Colonel Ewers ordered with about one thousand foot to endeavor to possess the Irish town much about the time of our storming, which he accordingly did, with the loss of not above three or four men. Our men upon the signal fell on upon the breach, which indeed was not performed with usual courage nor success, but were beaten off with the loss of one Captain, and about twenty or thirty men killed and wounded. The enemy had made two retrenchments or counter-works, which they had strongly pallizado'd; and both of them did so command our breach, that indeed it was a mercy to us, we did not farther contend for an entrance there, it being probable that if we had, it would have cost us very dear.

Having possessed the Irish town, and there being another walled town on the other side of the river; eight companies of foot were sent over the river to possess that, which accordingly was effected, and not above the like number lost that were in possessing the Irish town. The officer that commanded this party in chief, attempting to pass over the bridge into the city, and to fire the gate, which indeed was done with good resolution, but lying too open to the enemy-shot, he had forty or fifty men killed and wounded, which was a sore blow to us. We made our preparations for a second battery, which was well near perfected: The enemy seeing himself thus begirt, sent for a treaty, and had it; and in some hours agreed to deliver up the castle upon the articles inclosed, which we received upon Thursday the 28th of March.

We finde the castle exceeding well fortified, by the industry of the enemy, being also very capacious; so that if we had taken the town, we must have had a new work for the castle, which might have cost much blood and time, so that we hope the Lord hath provided better for us; and we look at it a gracious mercy, that we have the place for you upon these terms.

Whilest these affairs were transacting, a Lieutenant-colonel, three Majors, eight Captains, being English, Welch and Scotch, with others possessed of Cantwel Castle, a very strong castle, scituated in a bog, well furnished with provisions of corn, were ordered by Sir Walter Butler to come to strengthen the garrison of

* For the documents referred to as inclosed in this letter, see *ante*, pp. 375—383.

APPENDIX.
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Cromwell to Lenthal.

Kilkenny; but they sent two officers to me, to offer me the place and their service, and that they might have passes to go beyond sea to serve forraign states, with some money to bear their charges; the last whereof I consented to, they promising to do nothing to the prejudice of the Parliament of England.

Colonel Abbot also attempted Enisnag, where were gotten a company of rogues which revolted from Colonel Jones; the soldiers capitulated for life, and their two officers were hanged for revolting.

Adjutant-general Sadler was commanded with two guns to attempt some castles in the county of Tipperary and Kilkenny, which being reduced, exceedingly tend to the blocking up of two considerable towns: He summoned Polkerry, a garrison under Clonmel, battered it, they refusing to come out, stormed it, put thirty or forty of them to the sword, and the rest remaining obstinate were fired in the castle; he took Ballo-Doin, the enemy marching away leaving their arms behinde them; he took also the Granno and Donkit, two very considerable places to Waterford, upon the same terms.

We haue advanced our quarters towards the enemy, a considerable way above Kilkenny, where we hope by gaining of ground to get subsistance, and still to grow upon the enemy as the Lord shall bless us.

Sir, I may not be wanting to tell you, and renew it again, that our hardships are not a few, that I think in my conscience if moneys be not supplyed, we shall not be able to carry on your work; I would not say this to you, if I did not reckon it my duty so to do: But if it be supplyed, and that speedily, I hope through the good hand of the Lord, it will not be long before England will be at an end of this charge; for the saving of which, I beseech you help us as soon as you can. Sir, our horse have not had one moneths pay of five, we strain what we can that the foot may be paid, or else they would starve: Those towns that are to be reduced, especially one or two of them, if we should proceed by the rules of other states, would cost you more money then this army hath had since we came over; I hope through the blessing of God they will come cheaper to you: But how we should be able to proceed in our attempts without reasonable supply, is humbly submitted and represented to you; I think I need not say, that a speedy period put to this work will break the expectation of all your enemies: And seeing the Lord is not wanting to you, I most humbly beg it, that you would not be wanting to your selves.

In the last place, it cannot be thought but the taking of these places, and keeping but what is necessary of them, it must needs swallow up our foot; and I may humbly repeat it again, that I do not know of much above two thousand of your five thousand recruits come to us. Having given you this accompt concerning your affairs, I am now obliged to give you an accompt concerning my self, which I shall do with all clearness and honesty.

I have received divers private intimations of your pleasure to have me come in person to wait upon you in England, as also copies of the votes of the Parliament to that purpose; but considering the way they came to me were but private intimations, and the votes did refer to a letter to be signed by the Speaker, I thought it would have been too much forwardness in me to have left my charge

here, until the said letter came: It not being fit for me to prophesie whether the letter would be an absolute command, or having limitations with a liberty left by the Parliament to me, to consider in what way to yield my obedience: Your letter came to my hands upon Friday, the 22th of March, the same day that I came before the City of Kilkenny; and when I was near the same, and understood by Dr. Cartwright who delivered it to me, that by reason of cross winds, and the want of shipping in the west of England where he was, hindred him from coming with it sooner, it bearing date the eighth of January, and not coming to my hands until the twenty-second of March; The letter supposed your army in winter quarters, and the time of the year not suitable for present action, making this as the reason of your command. And your forces having been in action ever since the 29th of January; and your letter which was to be the rule of my obedience, coming to my hands after our having been so long in action, with respect had to the reasons you were pleased to use therein; And having received a letter signed by your self of the 26th of February, which mentions not one word of the continuance of your pleasure concerning my coming over, I did humbly conceive it much consisting with my duty, humbly to beg a positive signification what your will is, professing (as before the Lord) that I am most ready to obey your commands herein with all alacrity, rejoycing onely to be about that work which I am called to by those God hath set over me, which I acknowledge you to be, and fearing onely in obeying you to disobey you: I most humbly and earnestly beseech you to judge for me, whether your letter doth not naturally allow me the liberty of begging a more clear expression of your command and pleasure, which when vouchsafed unto me, will finde most ready and chearful observance from,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

Carick, April the second, 1650. O. Cromwel.*

* On the above day, Cromwell wrote as follows to R. Mayor :—

"The taking of the City of Kilkenny hath been one of our last works; which indeed I believe hath been a great discomposing the enemy,—it's so much in their bowels. We have taken many considerable places lately, without much loss. What can we say to these things. If God be for us, who can be against us? Who can fight against the Lord and prosper? Who can resist His will? The Lord keep us in His love."—*Cromwell's Letters and Speeches*, by T. Carlyle. London: 1846, ii. 159.

Ludlow refers as follows to these transactions :—

"Our army in Ireland, tho' much diminished by sickness, and harassed by hard duty, continued their resolution to march into the enemy's quarters, when they reduced Ross with little opposition: Goran also was surrendered to them, together with the officers of that place, by the soldiers of the garison, upon promise of quarter for themselves; their officers being delivered at discretion, were shot to death. The next town they besieged was Kilkenny, where there was a strong castle, and the walls of the town were indifferent good: having erected a battery on the east side of the wall, our artillery fired on it for a whole day without making any considerable breach; on the other side our men were much annoyed by the enemy's shot from the walls and castle. But the garison being admonished by the examples made of their friends at Tredah and Wexford, thought fit to surrender the town timely, upon such conditions as they could obtain, which was done accordingly."—*Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq., Lieutenant-general of Horse.* London: 1751. p. 118.

CLXXIX. BATES' ACCOUNT OF SIEGE OF KILKENNY.

1650.

Then they march to Kilkenny, the place where the Committee of the Estates met.

"From thence they march to Kilkenny, through which runs the river Noir, a pleasant place, and, without comparison, the chief of all the in-land towns of Ireland; but withall, the spring-head of an execrable rebellion; and the center, as I may justly call it, from which all the treasons, and damnable councils against the King, country, and religion, were as so many lines drawn; it was, as yet, the seat of the Committee of Estates, who, upon the approach of the danger, fled to Athlone—upon the river Shannon—upon the borders of Connaght, as a place more secure for their consultations. Kilkenny is divided into three parts, one on the farther side of the river, the other with a castle opposite unto it, and the third separated from the other two by walls. Cromwell lies down before it, and according to the custom of war, summons it to surrender: the governour refusing, without more delay, he attaques it by force, and having observed a convenient place, he presently raises a battery, and from thence plays upon the town.

The governour now perceiving the danger, causes forthwith two works to be cast up within the walls, with palisadoes, and engines laid in the way to hinder an entry, whilst the souldiers, in a full body, were posted behind to receive the enemy, if they attempted it. The breaches being made in the walls, the retrenchments within appear. Therefore to facilitate the assault, Ewers is commanded, with a thousand men, to fetch a compass about, and at the same time to attaque the other town adjoining to this. Here they come to blows, but with more resolution than success; the besiegers being beat off, with the loss of about seventy men, two Colonels, and other commanders. Nevertheless Ewers gains the town, which though divided from the other, yet served to straiten it, and distract the garrison. Next night another officer is sent over the river with a body of men, that by break of day he might break in into the other town; which he having performed with the loss of thirty men, whilst he attempted to burn down the gate, to make way into the city over the bridge, about fifty being exposed to shot, fell. At length the governour perceiving himself attaqued on all hands, and that there was no hopes of relief: he capitulates, and upon these conditions, delivers up the city* into the hands of the enemy, that the canon, arms, and all the ammunition, should be delivered to Cromwell; all the citizens have leave to continue in the place, or to remove any where else, as they thought fit: That the officers and souldiers, should with arms, bag and baggage, march to Athlone, and that the citizens should pay two thousand pounds to Cromwell. And so in eight days time, (for the siege lasted no longer) Kilkenny was reduced under subjection, which for a great many years had given laws to all the rest."

Which having made a brave resistance, at length yields upon conditions.

CLXXIX. Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles in England, by G. Bates, M.D. London: 1685, ii. 38-9.

* The Castle was also surrendered :—"Pactis hisce articulis, civitatem in hostiles manus una cum castro consignat." Elenchi Motuum Nuperorum in Anglia, Pars Secunda. Authore G. Bates, M.D. London: 1663, p. 71.

CLXXX. Commissioners of Trust to Sir Daniel O'Brien, etc. Appendix.

1650. 31. March. Commissioners of Trust to Sir Daniel O'Brien, etc.

Sirs,

His Excellency the Lord Liutenant for many reasons conducing to the advancement of his Maties service and good of this kingdom, hath thought itt fitt to dispose of such English officers and souldiers as are now in the county of Clare of the partie commanded by the Lord Presidente of Munster, and that those of the Irish nation in that partie should bee disarmed and disbanded, and to the end his Excellencies direccions in this particular should bee tymely complyed w^th^, in pursuance of his Lordships commands, wee thought good to pray and require you, or any three of you, to finde out and distinguish all the English officers and souldiers from the Irish; and upon exact muster of the English, withall the expedition that possibly you can to raise and provide a monethes meanes for them, and to appoynte them a convenient place as neere the county of Galway as may bee whereon that monethes meanes they may live untill his Excellency shall otherwise dispose of them, and leaveing theire owne horses and armes to all the English, you are to take speciall care that the horses and armes of all the Irish soe disbanded bee secured for the publique use. There is necessitie fo^r^ yor speedie performance and complyance herein, and therfore upon sight hereof you are to acquaint the Lord President there wth. And soe wee rest,

Yo^r^ very loveing Freinds,

Athenry.	Torlo[gh] Neill.
Muskery.	Gerald Fenell.
R. Barnwall.	Lucas Dillon.
N. Plunkett.	

Loghreagh, 31 Marcij, 1650.

Wee desire that you will certifie us with all expedicion of yor proceedings herein, and of the number of horses, and what armes you shall store upp in magazin for the publique use.

To our very loveing friends, S^r^. Daniell OBrien, Kn^t^.; Daniell OBrien, of Duogh; Daniell M^c^ ne Marrow, of Downe; Conn^r^ OBrien, of Lemineigh; and Therlagh Mc Mahoone, Esq^rs^, or any of them to bee communicated to the rest.

Endorsed: 31 March 1650. A coppy of the Com^rs^ letter to the gentry of the countie of Clare.

CLXXX. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 150.

Appendix.

CLXXXI. Bishop Mac Mahon's Commission as Commander of native Irish in Ulster for Charles II.

James Marquis of Ormond, Earl of Ormond and Ossory, Viscount Thurles, Lord Baron of Arklow, Lord Lieutenant-general and General Governor of the Kingdom of Ireland, Chancellor of the University of Dublin, and Knight of the most Noble Order of the Garter.

To our trusty and well-beloved Bishop Ever Mac Mahon.

Ormond,

1650. 1. April. Bishop Mac Mahon's Commission.

Whereas upon the treaty with General Owen ONeal, deceased, it was amongst other particulars concluded and agreed upon, that in case of death or removal of him, such other General or Commander-in-chief should be authorised by commission from us, to command his Majesty's forces of the province of Ulster, natives of the Kingdom as should be by general consent of the gentry of that province elected, and made choice of for the same. And whereas in a general meeting lately held by the gentry for that purpose, it was agreed upon and so represented unto us, that you should exercise that command over the said forces. We therefore upon the consideration thereof, and of the care, judgment, valour, and expedience, in martial affairs, as also of the readiness and good affections of you, to do his Majesty's service, have nominated and appointed, and we do hereby nominate and appoint you, the said Bishop, Ever Mac Mahon, to be General of all his Majesty's said forces, of horse and foot, of the province of Ulster, natives of the Kingdom. Giving thereby unto you, the said Bishop, Ever Mac Mahon, full power and authority, to take the said charge and employment upon you, and the said forces, and every of them, to lead and command according to the use and discipline of war, and such further order and instructions, as you shall from time to time receive from us, or other his Majesty's chief governor or governors of this Kingdom, the time being, in that behalf willing, and hereby requiring all the officers, troopers, and soldiers, of the said forces, to obey you, as their General, and to be at, and perform your commands, as they shall issue unto them upon all occasions of his Majesty's service, as they will answer the contrary.

In witness whereof, we have signed this our commission, and caused our Seal of Arms to be thereunto affixed, at Loghreagh, the first day of April, 1650.

CLXXXII. Bishop Mac Mahon to Sir George Monro.

Sir,

1650. 20. April. Bishop Mac Mahon to Sir G. Monro.

Your letter[s] beareing date the 18th of this instant were delivered unto me this day about two of the clocke. The resolucion inspired or inforced into yor mind of treateing and joyneing (as I conceave) with the enemy for the secureing of that place; as it is against yor will, soe I assure my selfe you will never execute the same.

CLXXXI. History of the Irish Rebellion. London: 1743. p. 312.

CLXXXII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 222.

That value and esteeme wch is painted in my heart of yor noble disposicion (unlesse the devill may assault and alter yor noblenes, and abolish the fresh memorie you ought to have of yor Kinge, yor nacion most of all behated by that enemy you speake off, and to the very true Protestant religion wherof I beleeve you are off whether by such an act you cast of all yor frendshipp with my Lord-lieutenant, the Lord Marques of Ormond, the Lord Marquesse of Clanricard, and whether you make yor selfe an author of contempt, slavery, and ruine of soe many Scotes as are in this land, and whether you will breake the oath taken by yo^r^selfe, and tendered to all that are under yor comaund, for being faithfull to his Matie, and his partie I leave it to yor consideracion. As for the election made of mee, by the Irish gentry of this province, I gaine nothinge by it but troubles, I was never ambitious for it; if yor countrymen, by generally jealous for it, or if it staggers or hinders them a jott from his Maties service, I begg that you will intimate soe much unto me, and I doe promise if that may be any way satisfactorie, that I will resigne my place to the electors againe, and to My Lord-lievten^ts^ hands, and move them to elect some else, although as I was informed by a sure hand that election was first moved by yo^r^selfe, and some other persons of qualitie of yor nation. I will soe farre frustrate the expectacion of such jealous people, that I shalbe as great a maintainer of his Majesties Protestant subiects serveing the Kinge, and the Scotes sideing with the partie wherof I am, as I shalbe of the Irish Romane Catholiques. I feare M^r^. Humphry Galbraith is jealous, and workes that way; he spoake to me at our being at Belterburt last for some tiethes, I tould him that according our agreem^t^ with My Lord-lieutenant these tithes were not due unto him; yet I have such an esteeme of his person and qualitie that I did not intend to put him off, if he would prosecute his proposalls to a finall answere. If that place is to be sould it might be as well sould to My Lord-lieutenant, My Lord of Clanricard, or any of the Kings partie, as unto any of theire enemy, for the more strength of the premisses, and washing away all jealousies and the settling of good understanding, I would most willingly conferre personally with you, and to that you may acquainte with the place of meeteing, and in my opinion Terburt might be very convenient.

Appendix. 1650. 20. April. Bishop Mac Mahon to Sir G. Monro.

I remaine yor most humble servant,

Grier, the 20th of April, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

For my honoured freind, Major-generall Sr George Monroe, K^t^ these.

Endorsed: A coppy of the B^pp^ of Cloghers letter to Sr George Monroe, dated 20 April, 1650.

CLXXXIII. Sir George Monro to Bishop Mac Mahon.

My Lord,

1650. 21. April. Sir G. Monro to Bishop Mac Mahon.

I receaved your Lordships letter, and am confident it is nether unknowen to your Lordship nor to anie of the Romane Catholiques in Ulster, Munster, or Connaght, with what sinceritie I did prosequute the Kings interest in this

CLXXXIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 227.

APPENDIX.
1650.
21. April.
Sir G. Monro to Bishop Mac Mahon.

kingdome, and whon farr I have been from anie divisive thought, because of the different professions. Bot when I found they nether had resolution to fight for themselves, nor trust to give unto others, as thair loosing the kingdome without blow will witnes the on[e] to posteritie, so the distrust had of My Lord-livtenant himselfe, gives assurance of the other. Withall my partie being altogither left desolate of anie being or subsistance, without anie hopes of carying on the bussines, bot reports of forraigne nations of the Romishe religion, and disobligations put on the same persons of the Romishe religion, whom wee conceaved to be most addicted to the Kings interest, as was evidenced at your Lordships election; I conceaved it high tyme to looke unto the preservation of the people under my care, and rather to preserve the persons of them, for ane other tyme then to destroy them altogither, and in this I am confident, nether to have fayled in my dutie to the King, My Lord-livtenant, nor My Lord Clanricard, unto whom I profered my endeavours, for the giving up of this place at severall tymes if he would secure the place from profanation by Mess, and the people from burden, provyding a reasonable manteanance for the officers in the garrizon. Bot indeed I was not so franke with your Lordships partie, as now become subjects, who had acted most of thair tyme against the Kings authoritie. And just upon thair entrie to be the Kings subjects, had destroyed utterlie the interest of all my nation in this land. I would not (I say) willinglie put my people in thair trust whose hands ar as yet embrued with our blood, and by thair discourse gives us litle testimonie of thair fayth or love. I will rather submitt to Gods pleasure and leave them in the hands of those who profess themselves children of the same mother, though they have thair owne faults, and great ones. And your Lordship may think whou much I was troubled in this choice; though I must confes iff the Catholique partie had been in condition to have protected themselfs I might happilie have left them in thair hands rather then the others, bot my profession teaches mee to say no prayers to those that must pray to ane other. And your Lordship will perceave by my future actions what my resolutions in the Kings service is, and by My Lord Clanricard whou clearlie I dealt with him and his armie, whose happines I heartilie wishe, as men of integritie and honor, iff My Lord Marques wer as good a Generall as hee is a good honorable man. Therfore I conceave thair needs no meeting in this purpose, since I can not weall wait on your Lordship who resolves, straight for France to give accompt of my stewardshippe. As to your Lordships election, in my iudgment to Philipp O Relie at Bellinacarrigge; to shun all divisions, I thought it best: bot finding to great obstructions in the principall men of the land; and so much adversnes in the people of our profession looking on it as a church bussines; iff I wer to stay with it, I would wish your companie, as ane assister, rather then a Generall. As for buying and selling this garrizon to My Lords Livtenant Clanricard or Ma^cOgueer, I will answear in short; that whiles I live, my lyfe shall bee no neerer to mee then my obedience to his Excellence, iff he wer become a private man in retaliation of his honor and loyaltie; and for My Lord Clanricard, I have sufficientlie expressed myselfe alreadie; bot for My Lord Ma^cOgueer, though his Lordship with his adherents have by thair last yeers actions enslaved themselfs and thair posteritie for a litle money and cowes. My former

carriage, present treatie and future actions, shall witnes I would not sell towne or subject for a kingdome; and so wishing your Lordship all happines, I rest,

Your Lordshipps humble servant,

Enskilling, the 21 of Aprill, 1650. G. Monro.

For the Right honorable My Lord Bishop of Clogher, Generall of the Irish in Ulster.

Endorsed: Sr George Monroe to the Bishop of Clogher. Dated 21 April, 1650. Monro his laste letter.

APPENDIX. 1650. 21. April. Sir G. Monro to Bishop Mac Mahon.

CLXXXIV. ORMONDE TO BISHOP MAC MAHON.

After, etc. We have receaved late advertisement of Sr Geo. Monroes inclination to quit his Maties service, and that he expects by the delivery of Iniskellin into the rebells hands to make good conditions for himselfe; but the greater part of the officers, soldiers, and inhabitants there beinge of other resolutions, determine to maintaine the place for his Matie and ye preservation of his interest, uppon discovery wherof, it is to be believed, that the rebells forces in that province will endeavor to distresse that towne: The reliefe wherof beinge of soe absolute necessitie for his Maties service, and the preservacion of soe well affected subiects as are there from the fury of their mercilesse enemy, upon notice from Capen Arnott, or any other well affected officer of that garrison, we pray and require yor Lordship to send what party of the army under yor comaund as shall be needfull for the reliefe of that place. We have given the like orders unto our very good Lord, the Lord Marquesse of Clanrickard. The consideratnes of the maintainingе the place for the advantage of the service we are certaine will equally gaine the endeavor of both for reliefe therof. And soe, etc.

Yor Lordships affectionat friend,

From Loghreogh, the 25th Apr., 1650. Signed: Ormonde.

Bishop of Clogher.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letter to the Bpp. of Clogher, dated 25 April, 1650, concerneing the reliefe of Iniskellin.

1650. 25. April. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

CLXXXV. CROMWELL'S ARTICLES FOR PROTESTANT PARTY IN IRELAND.

Uppon the addresses and overtures to me made by Sr Robert Sterlinge, Knt, Mr Michaell Boyle, Deane of Cloyne, and Colonell John Daniell, in the name and behalfe of the Protestant party in Ireland, now under the commaund or obedience of the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, I doe hereby declare and promise as followeth.

1650. 26. April. Cromwell's Articles for Protestant party in Ireland.

CLXXXIV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 237. CLXXXV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 244.

APPENDIX.
1650.
26. April.
Cromwell's Articles for Protestant party in Ireland.

1. That all such officers and souldiers, and gentlemen or clergymen (being English or Scottish and Protestantes), as desire to come of from the Irish Popish party, and shall come with, or under the conduct of, Colonel John Daniell, shall, and may freely, without any violence, iniury, or molestacion from any under my commaund, passe and repayre to Donerayle in the county of Corke, where (upon a true list sent unto me of theire names and quallityes, with the places they desire to goe unto), they engageinge themselves not to doe any thinge to the preiudice of the Parliament or Comonwealth of England, theire armyes or garrisons, dureinge theire continuance in our quarters or under our protection, shall have liberty and passes from mee, or from the cheife commaunders under mee in the respective provinces, to goe to the severall places they desire, within our quarter in the dominion of Ireland; or to transport beyond sea themselves and theire goodes (except armes or horses). And such of them as desire to live under protection and submission to the authority of the Parliament of England, shall have protections for theire quiett and safe liveinge and abideinge accordingly, dureinge the space of six monethes from the date hereof, without other oath or engagement then as aforesaid, or any question, trouble, or damage, dureinge the said six monethes, for any past acte, or thinge done in the time of warre, and in prosecution thereof. Provided, that I shall not hereby be obliged to graunt passes to goe into England or Scotland, but to such as I shall particularly thinke fitt, or into any of our garrisons of Ireland, in greater number then I shall thinke fitt, or to abide in such garrison any longer then myselfe, or the respective commaunders under mee within the severall provinces, shall find convenient.

2. That dureinge the space aforesaid, they shall, or may (without violence or molestation from any under my commaund) carry with them, and freely enioy and dispose of to theire best advantage, all such money and other goodes of theire owne (horses, armes, and amunition onely excepted) as they shall bringe with them, or procure to be brought after them out of the enemyes quarters, or which they have any where within our quarters not sequestred, or actually seised of, and disposed of to the publique use, nor beinge duely in the possession of our party as prize of warre.

3. That the commissioned officers and gentlemen of quallity and clergymen shall also keepe and enioy soe many of theire horses, with theire swordes and such other armes as shalbe fittinge and suteable to theire quallityes, and that both they and the souldiers shall have liberty to make benefitt of all theire horses and armes by sellinge them (the souldiers) within six weekes after the date hereof, and (the rest) within three monethes to any officers or souldiers under my commaund, or to the English Protestants within our quarters.

4. That I shall referre them to the consideration of the Commissioners for Revennue under my authority, within the respective provinces of this dominion (where any of them have or lately had any estates or land) . . . and determine whether and upon what termes they shalbe admitted to the present possession of such theire estates, untill either the pleasure of the Parliam^t be knowne concerneinge them respectively, or untill there be Commissioners or rules setled

by authority from the Parliament for the fines or compositions of persons in theire quallity of delinquency, wherein they shalbe reckoned, and dealt with equally or proportionably with other English Protestants, of like conditions and estates respectively, that have come in, and submitted since the first of December last.

5. That if any of them within the space of six monethes, shall not thinke fitt to give such engagem^t^ or assureance to the Parliament and Commonwealth of England for theire fidelity as shalbe required, or shall not have such further immunity and assurances to themselves for theire lives, libertyes, and estates, as they shall thinke fitt to trust unto; then they shall have liberty and passes to transport themselves, with theire familyes and moveable estates, to any place beyond the seas. But such of them as shall give such engagem^t^ or assurance of theire fidelity as shalbe required, and shall submitt to such fine or composition (as in the last precedent article), shall thereafter enioy theire lives, libertyes, and estates (both reall and personall), with the same immunity, protection, and right, as any other people under the authority, not obnoxious for any delinquincy att all.

6. That all such officers, souldiers, and gentlemen or clergymen (being English or Scottish, and Protestants), under the Lord Viscount Mountgomery of Ardes, as shall come of with him from the Irish Popish party, shall, and may freely, without violence, iniury, or molestation, passe and repayre unto Enniskillinge in the county of Donegall, where and from whence (upon the like listes to be sent, and the like engagem^t^ to be given as in the first article), they shall have the same benefitt in all respectes (accordinge to theire quallityes respectively) of the conditions expressed in that and the rest of the articles aforegoeinge, as those that shall come with and under the conduct of Colonel John Daniell are, or ought to have and enioy.

7. That all such officers, souldiers, and gentlemen, or clergymen (beinge English or Scottish and Protestants), as shall come of as aforesaid with and under the commaund [or] conduct of Sr Thomas Armestronge, Kn^t^, shall, and may freely, without any violence, iniury, or molestation, passe and repayre unto Trymme, in the county of East Meath, or to such other secure place thereabouts, as the Governe^r^ of Trymme (upon notice given of theire comeinge) shall appoint, where and from whence (upon the like listes to be sent, and upon the like engagem^ts^ (as in the first article) they shall have the same benefitt in all respectes (accordinge to theire quallityes respectively), of the conditions expressed in that and the rest of the articles aforegoeinge, as those that shall come with and under the conduct of Colonel Jo. Daniell are, or ought to have and enioy.

8. Provided alwayes that the benefitt of these conditions shall extend onely to such as shall come of within the space of thirty dayes, and send a list of theire names as aforesaid, within fifteene [days] from the date hereof, and that noe benefitt thereof shall extend to Colonel Wogane, or the Marshall that went out of Corke with him.

9. And all officers, souldiers, and others under my commaund, are required upon

APPENDIX.
1650.
26. April.
Cromwell's Articles for Protestant party in Ireland.

notice hereof, to observe the conditions hereby graunted, and not to doe any thinge to tho violation of them, as they will answere the contrary att theire uttmost perills.

Given under my hands and seale this 26th day of Aprill, Anno Domini, 1650.

Signed: O. Cromwell.

In consideration of the conditions graunted and promised by the Lord Lt-generall Cromwell unto the Protestant party, under the commaund or obedience of the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, beareinge even date herewith, Wee, the persons whose names are subscribed hereto (beinge intrusted and imployed by and in the behalfe of the said party, to the said Lord-generall Cromwell, for the obteyneinge of conditions for them, doe hereby engage and promise, that none of the partyes who shall pretend to come of from the Popish Irish party by vertue of the said conditions, shall under pretence of such comeinge of, as if it were to take benefitt of the said conditions, make use or advantage of any liberty of comeinge of, graunted by the said conditions, to the doeinge of any thinge to the preiudice or disadvantage of the Parliament of England, or theire armyes, garrisons, or interest in this nation. In testimony whereof wee have here sett our handes and seales this 26th of Aprill Anno Domini, 1650.

Signed: Robert Sterlinge.

Mich: Boyle. Jo: Danyell.

Copia Vera.

Endorsed: Cromwell's conditions offered to the Protestant party that goe off, etc., 26. Apr., 1650.

CLXXXVI. CROMWELL'S ALLOWANCE OF HORSES AND ARMS TO PROTESTANT PARTY.

1650.
26. April.
Cromwell's allowance of horses and arms to Protestant party.

The number of horses and armes intended to bee allowed for officers, gentlemen of qualletye, and clergymen, to keepe and enjoye according to the conditions graunted by me to the Protestant partie, under the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, of even date herewith, is to bee as followeth, viz.:

To every Colol., foure horses.
To every feild-officer, three.
To each Capt., two.
To each Leut.-cornett and
Quarter-mr of horse, one.
To each clergyman, one.
} With swords and pistolls.

Given under my hand the 26th of Aprill, 1650.

O. Cromwell.

Generall Cromwells note for what hee will allow of horses and armes to such as go off, etc.

CLXXXVI. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 243.

CLXXXVII. CROMWELL TO VICE-ADMIRAL WILLIAM PENN.

1650. 26. April. Cromwell to Vice-Admiral William Penn.

S^r^,

Understandinge that there are many of the English Protestant partie, with the Lord of Inchiquine and others, who are desireous to come in to mee, and to lay downe their armes, and desert the Irish interest; and that in their comeinge away the shalbe necessitated to pass over the river Shannon, neere the place where your shipps ride, which without your assistance wilbe very hard for them to doe, I therefore desire you (uppon their informeinge you thereof) that you will affoord them what countenance and assistance (for the furtheringe of this theire purpose) you may, without preuidice to the fleete. I rest,

S^r^,

Yo^r^ very loveinge frend,

O. Cromwell.

Fetherd, Aprill the 26, 1650.

Directed: For Capt Willm Penn, Vice-Admirall of the Irish seas: Theis.

Copia Vera: Ex[am.] per Tho. Sempery, Deput. Not[ary] P[ublic].

Endorsed: A coppy of Cromwells letter to Vice-Admirall Pen, concerning the passage of the Protestants, under the command of the Lord of Inchiquin, over the Shanon. Dated the 26. of Apr., 1650.

CLXXXVIII. OLIVER DARCY, BISHOP OF DROMORE, TO ORMONDE.

1650. 27. April. Darcy, Bishop of Dromore, to Ormonde.

May it pleas yor Ex^ly^,

I desyred Major Thomas Dongan to relate unto yor Ex^ly^ the condition of thes partes, and what hopes of haveinge a considerable party in a boddy, the 4th of May: and though the takinge uppon mee any commaund bee improper for a man of my profession, yett rather then through a confusion, and therby an utter loss, all affaires in thes partes would sinke, I intend to make use of My Lord of Castlehavens comission, and doe humbly desyre in all occassions relatinge to any advantage of his Majesties service (in my power to performe,) I may receave yor Ex^ls^ commaunds, which by Gods grace will bee punctually performed by

Yo^r^ Ex^lys^ most humble serv^t^,

Catherlagh, the 27th of Apr^l^, 1650. Fr. Ol. Dromore.

For his Ex^ly^ the Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland, at Loghreagh.

Endorsed: Lord [Bishop of] Dromore. Dat. 27 Apr. Rec. 4 May, 1650. Concerning his commission from the Earl of Castlehaven for the command of ye upper divident of Leynster, etc.

CLXXXVII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 241. CLXXXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 247.

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CLXXXIX. MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL AND THE MAYOR OF CLONMEL TO ORMONDE.

1650. 27. April. [Clonmel.] Hugh O'Neill, etc., to Ormonde.

May it please your Excellencye,

Beinge at the writinge hereof closelye beseidged by the enemye, wee thought it our dutye to give yor Excellencye notice therof, though wee have receaved yor Excellencys answer unto our late dispatches representing the dangers wee hourlye feared, which are now come in our seight. Wee are heere, God be praysed, of good couradge and resolucion, and will endeavor to defend this place as longe as may be in annye reason expected, if the present advance of the armye towards us, or the late promised releefe by y^r^ Excellencye will not fayle us for the defence of this place, wherof the safety of the kingdome maynelye depends, which is in hast humbly submitted unto yor Excellencys grave consideracion to prevent annye bloddie tragedye to be actod heer as in other places for want of tymely reeleefe. What comfort may be possiblye sent us, wee humbly desire that the bearer may be posted away night and day therwith, it being of great concernement unto

Yo^r^ Excellencys most humble ser^ts^,

Hugo ONeill.

Iohn Whyte,

Clonmell, the 27th of Aprill, 1650. Maior of Clonmell.

Postcript. May it please y^r^ Excellencye. It is our humble suite that the armye, if in annie reasonable condicion, may march night and day to our succor, and in the meane tyme that the promsed reeleefe may be sent us accommodated with provision for themselves and the guarison, together with the necessaries mencioned in yor Excellencys late letters.

For his Excellencye the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall and Generall Governor of Ireland, these, hast, hast, post hast.

Endorsed: Major-generall Hugh ONeill, and Mayor of Clonmell, dated 27 April, 1650. Concerning their being beseedged by Cromwell, etc.

CXC. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO ORMONDE.

1650. 27. April. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex.,

Yo^r^ dispatch of the 16th of this instant concerneing my goeing to the meeteing appointed for the nobilitie and prelates at Loghreagh, the 25th, of the same, came not to my hands untill the 23th of this present, at which time I could not for my life compley with yor Ex^cie^ desire, in reguard I was then seriously struggling to rectefie and reforme (to the best of my indeavors) the treachery then

CLXXXIX. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 248. CXC. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 249.

intended (and lately effected) by those of Iniskellin, the enemy then and now beeing in a body in the field neere and adioyneing to us; by the consideracion of these motives I doubt yor Ex. will excuse my absence from ye foresaid meeteing, which is humbly desired by,

Appendix. 1650. 27. April. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

Yo^r Ex^cies most humble servant,

Belterburt, 27 April, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

For his Ex. ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: Bpp. of Clogher. Dat. 27. Rec. 30. Apr., 1650. Concerning the treacherious delivery of Iniskellin, etc.

CXCI. The Duke of Lorraine to Ormonde.

Monsieur,

Enuoiant le Sieur Olivier Synot, Colonel de mes trouppes, en Irland pour y faire quelques recreues et levees de soldatz pour mon service, Je luy ay commendé de saluer Votre Excellence de ma part, lasseurant de mon affection et prier de vouloir favoriser son intention de vostre authorite et pouvoir. Cest pourquoy Je vous prie dadiouster foy a ce quil vous dira de ma part avec assecurance qu'en autre occasion ou Je pouray Je temoigneray que Je suis,

1650. 29. April. Duke of Lorraine to Ormonde.

Monsieur,

Votre tres affectionne

Amy servir,

A Bruxelles, le 29^e Auril, 1650. Ch[arles] Lorraine.

M. le Marq. d'Ormond.

A Monsieur, Monsieur le Marquis d'Ormond, Viceroy Dirlande.

Endorsed: Duke of Loraine, 29 Apr. Rec. 4 June, 1650.

CXCII. Cromwell's Pass for Colonel Richard Butler.

By the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:

Forasmuch as Collonell Richard Butler of Kilkash, in the countie of Tipperary, stands engaged for some moneyes for the ransomming of some prisoners at Dublyn, who are since released, and doth desire leave to go to the Lord of Ormond, the Lord of Inchiquin, or any other of the enimies partie, to disengage himselfe of the obligation aforesaid, these are therefore to require and strictly to charge all officers and souldiers under my command quietly to permit and suffer the said Collonell Butler, with James Lea, James Comerford, and Vincent Daulton, his servants and

1650. 29. April. Cromwell's Pass for Colonel Richard Butler.

cxci. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 260. cxcii. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle, Ireland.

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1650.
29. April.
Cromwell's Pass for Colonel Richard Butler.

their horses, riding arms, and other necessaries, quietly to passe to the Lord of Ormonde, the Lord of Inchiquin, or any of the enimies partie, to procure his discharge of the aforesaid ingagement, and to return to my head quarters without any lett or interruption. Provided the same be done before the twelveth day of May next. And I do hereby declare that if within the time aforesaid the said Collonell Butler shall discharge his said ingagement, that then the said Collonell shalbe free and at libertie from his imprisonment.

Given under my hand the 29th day of Aprill, 1650.

O. Cromwell.

CXCIII. MICHAEL BOYLE, DEAN OF CLOYNE, TO ORMONDE.

1650.
30. April.
Dean Boyle to Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

Being now returned from the enemy's quarters, I am bold to give your Lordship an account of what we have donn there. We were two days held in suspence by Generall Crumwell, whether he would descend to any capitulation npon those articles we delivered him, dureing which time his arguments were few, but his perswasions many, to come in upon a cleane score without any articling for conditions, and that, he sayd, would put the whole party into a condition of being trusted by the Parliament, which there insisting upon articles would deprive them off. But we, wholy waving the force of his perswasions, told him that we were limitted by instructions, and to decline them in any particular were very unfaythfull, and beyond our comission; we therefore desired his positive resolution, whether he would ascertaine them of there securityes, and the like, or no, that soe we might returne with an accompt to them that sent us; whereupon Ireton objected that by those proposals, which we gave in to them, our design might be to contract for the Lord Inchiquins estate, as well as others, he being under your Excellencyes command, to which I made him this answeare, that it was indeed mutch the desires of the officers to serve him in that particular, but that I had peremptory directions from his Lordship to signifye unto them that it was not your Excellencyes intent, or his Lordships, to capitulate with them at all, or to be comprised under any general conditions. Whereupon Crumwell then made answeare, that if that were our purpose, he would not a jot the more decline the businesse. There were many houres wasted in debate before we came to any issue; at last the result of all determined in these inclosed conditions, wherein your Excellency may be pleased to observe, that there lyes no obligation at all on our parts, but all on theirs, so that your Excellency may dispose of your men, or any number of them, as you shall thinke fitting, notwithstanding any engadgements from us; onely this mutch we are obliged to, that our party under the covert of these articles do not prejudice them in the surprisall of any of there garrisons, or the like, which emboldens me to beseech your Excellency, that Sir Thomas Armestrong may take notice of it, and send his engadgement hither for Sir Robert Sterlings and Lieutenant-collonel

cxciii. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 277.

Danyels security, and mine. This inclosed unto him I held it my duty to present open to your Excellency before I sent it to himselfe. My Lord, during my being there I had many opportunityes and hints given me by Generall Crumwell and Ireton, whereby I might plainly understand that if I would move anything from your Excellency, or the Lord Inchiquine, they would willingly hearken to it, but I waved them all so far that they at last in plaine English asked me what your Lordship intended to doe if this party came off. I sayd I were not acquainted with your resolutions, but that I beleeud you would endeavour to forme the army here into a considerable body, if upon the coming of of the English party you did not find their behaviours to be such as might give you no greate confidence of them, and so enforce you to desert them, if you were not necessitated to tarry with them for want of convenient transportation; to which they insinuated unto me that I might have a pass for youre safe goeing off, if you had a mind to it, and that I desired it. My reply was that I had no commission to that purpose, but on the contrary had positive directions not to ask anything in your Lordships or the Lord Inchiquines behalfe, yet if they would deliver me any such passes for your Excellency and my Lord Inchiquine, I would reserve them by me, and if I had any opportunity, make use of them; the passes I have here to dispose of as your Excellency shall appoynt. My Lord Inchiquine doth exceedingly dislike my bringing them at all, and the rather because there is not included in them a liberty for the ship itselfe, and all others to goe with you that have an intent to wayte upon you. But I find if your Excellency have any inclinations to make use of such a pass, it might easily be gained for any that shall desire it, either for My Lord Muskery or My Lord Taafe, or any other officer of quality. They say that they are very much concerned for the Marquess of Clanrickard, and if he would but desire anything that lyes in there power to serve him, he should find that the State of England would not be unmindfull of those many good offices (they were informed) he had don for the poore Protestants in that county. They gave me likewise a hinte concerning Sir George Hamilton and the castle of Nenagh, but I tooke no notice of it. Vpon discourse with General Crumwell, he sayd he had no interest at all in your estate, nor any designe upon it; he pretends to be a greate servaunt of your Ladye, and much to pitty her condition; the estate which she brought your Lordship they openly profess shall not be given to any from her. The day before I came from thence there came a pacquett which gave them some seeming disturbance, upon the observance whereof I used meanes by one of there owne party to discourse with the captain that brought it, who certifyed him that the news was very bad, and that Montrose was landed, or certainly did intend to land in Ireland, with 12,000 men, something of consequence there is in it, but whether this be the certainty thereof is not yet knowne. I must beg your Excellencys pardon for this tedious and rude diversion, which I could very mutch lenthen by severall other passages, but I feare I have transgressed to far already, which submitting to your Excellencys charitable interpretation, I remayne, My Lord,

Your Excellencys most faythfull and most humble servant,

Clare, 30th April, 1650. M. Boyle.

Endorsed: For yr Excllency: Deane Boyles: 30 Apr. Rec. 1 May, 1650.

APPENDIX.

CXCIV. WALSH, ARCHBISHOP OF CASHEL, AND OTHERS TO ORMONDE.

May it please your Excellencie,

1650. 30. April. Archbishop Walsh, etc., to Ormonde.

Wee being heere mett uppon y^r Lordships speciall letters, and y^r Exe being pleased to shewe unto us his Maties letters dated at his Courte att Castle Elizabeth, in the Isle of Jarsie, the second of February, 1649, in answere to others from y^r Lordship of the 24th of December last sent unto his Matie, by which his Matie signifies his pleasure that in case of disobedience in the people, and contempt of his authority in this kingdome, y^r Exe should withdrawe y^r selfe and his authority. Wee have conceived ourselves in duty bounde, for y^r Lordships better information of the inclinations of this nation, humbly to present unto you, that however your Exe might not have mett with a readdy concurrence to some proposalls made for advanceing his Maties service, occasioned through some misunderstanding in some few persons or places, yett this country generally, and the nation in it, as they have allready by expending theire substance in an extraordinary measure, and theire lives uppon all occasions, aboundantly testifyed theire sinceare and irremovable affections to preserve his Maties rights and interrests intyre unto him, soe they will for the future, with the like cheerefullnes in attayneing those ends, endevor to overcome all the difficultyes which the enemyes power and successe have layde in theire way, and that wee who are heere mett (and doubt not the same in generall is the sense of the nation), will with all care and earnestnesse endevor not onely to conserve in the people such theire good inclynations, but if any person or place shalbe refractory, or declyne that perfect obedience which is due to his Maties authority, wee will contribute our best endevors to reduce them, and make them conformable to the same; and although wee may not undertake to remove at present the distrusts and ielouzies the people entertayne through the want of successe in services, the sense of theire sufferings, and theire apprehensions for want of redresse of theire greevances, yett wee hope by the blessing of God in the successe of his Maties forces in this kingdome, when y^r Exe is pleased to apply befitting remedyes to the pressures and greevances of his Maties subiects, to be able to remove those apprehensions in them. And as y^r Exe, by an instrument dated at Loghreah the 27th of March last, and presented unto you in the name of the Roman Catholicke prelates of this kingdome, may observe theire hearty affections and inclynations to be obedient unto, and cooperat with, his Maties authority in all the wayes of his service, soe shall wee who are heere mett omitt nothing w^thin the reach of our endevors which shall tend to the same end of mayntayneing his Maties authority over us, and his undoubted interests in this kingdome, and in order thereunto wee doe humbly beseech y^r Exe to appointe commaunders in the severall provinces, to whome those of his Maties subiects, who by the excitements of the Clergy (ready with alacrity to undergoe that care) shalbe encouradged to take armes, may repaire for opposeing the power of the rebells now draweing to a boddye. And the better to enable them thereunto, and for the

CXCIV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 276.

greater encouragement of those they shall perswade to proceede in the service, that a certaine settled coorse be taken whereby the meanes to be raysed by the country for them may bee applyed to theire maintenance, and not to any other use, and this is humbly desired by us heere mett to be imediatly settled, to the ende that whyle other matters which concerne the redresse of greevances, regulating of the revenew, and the carrying on of the warr, which require tyme to be treated of, are in preparation, the people may be brought to a head to resist the enemyes and stopp theire further progresse, which wee are confident may be effected by the unanimous resolution which wee fynde in all men to put theire handes to the woorke, and to give a signall testimony of theire willingnesse to preserve themselves under his Maties obedience. Thus humbly takeing leave, wee remayne

APPENDIX. 1650. 30. April. Archbishop Walsh, etc., to Ormonde.

Y^r^ Exces most humble servants,

Thomas Cashell.

Dillon. Mountgarett. Netterville. Taaffe. Muskery. Ed. Limericen. Walter B. Clunfert. Fr. Hugo Duacensis. Fr. Antonius Clunmacnosensis Episcopus. Robertus Corcagiencis et Cluanensis. Upper Ossory. Athunry. Richard Ferrall. Patr. Purcell. Lucas Dillon. R. Everard. N. Plunkett. Robt. Purcell. Geffr. Browne. Torlo[gh] Neill. Gerald Fenell.

Loghreagh, ultimo Aprill, 1650.

Endorsed: Ar^ch^ Bp. of Cashell and others at Loghreagh. Dated and Rec. the last of Aprill, 1650.

CXCV. ORMONDE TO BISHOP MAC MAHON.

My Lord,

Though I have among many others of the bpps, noblemen, and comisrs writen to you to bee at Loghreagh on the 24 of this month,* yet I doubt the distance you may bee at from thence, or some important occasion in that province may be a reasonable impediment to your comeing, I hould it therefore necessary this way to imparte unto you the substance of what I am then to declare to all that shall bee there, pursueant to his Maties pleasure signified to mee by his leter, wherof I send your Lordship a copy herewith, which when you have considered, I shall not only desire your L^p^ with freedome to give mee your advice, but y^r^ leters, or what other meanes you thinke most effectuall, to endevour to remove a necessity that must inforce mee ether to withdraw my self from the defence of my country, friends, kindred and particular interest, or disobey the comands of my master in a thing wherein his honour, and the restitution of him to his rights in all his dominions, may bee concerned.

[1650. April.] Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

Endorsed: A coppy of My Lords letter to the Bpp. of Clogher.

cxcv. Carte Papers, xxvi. p. 332.

* April, 1650. See Ormonde's Letter from Kilcolgan, 2^d^ Dec., 1650. London: 1672, p. 83.

APPENDIX.

CXCVI. ORMONDE TO DEAN MICHAEL BOYLE.

1650. 1. May. Ormonde to Dean Boyle.

S^r^,

I have imparted Crumwells declaracion upon the overtures made unto him in the behalfe of the Protestant party unto Sir Thomas Armestrong and other of the officers now here, and doe finde them unsatisfied, in that it is not cleere whither natives of this kingdome, being Protestants, bee included in the first and 7th articles, in regard the greater number of the officers and souldiers are natives, as alsoe in the shortnes of the tyme limitted both for their goeing of, and sending of ye list expected, and whither that lyst must bee of all ye officers and souldiers, or the officers onely, is not ascertained, and besides iust-satisfaction in these particulars they expect to bee secured and freed from suites and arrests for debts incurred heretofore by any of them, and that they may have liberty of liveing or resideing in England or Scotland dureing their tyme, or at least of passage thorough either of those kingdomes to any other countrey, and therefore I desire you to endeavor to procure satisfaccion herein either by letter or otherwise, and soe I rest

Your affectionate freind,

Loghreagh, 1 May, 1650. Ormond.

I desire you to send a coppy of the passes granted by Crumwell upon the articles concluded upon with him.

Deane Boyle.

Endorsed: 2 May, 1650. From his Excy to Mr. Deane Boyle. Concerning Oliver Cromwells declaration.

CXCVII. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO ORMONDE.

1650. 4. May. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

May it please yor Excellencie,

Yo^r^ Ex^cies^ dispatch of the 25th of Aprill came to my hands not before this day. Notw^th^standing that (by great offers and obligacions I laboured about Iniskillin) Sr George Monroe and Vmphry Galbraith (onely authors of the treachery) seduced the people soe farr as that they gave upp ye castle to the Parliam^t^; wee are struggling about it as yett; for Monroe went away wth his mony, and the towne is in the hands of the Scotts, whoe are very penitent for what they did, if they could remedy it. A designe was left on the fforte and towne of Toome, about fives weekes agoe, whereby uppon an assault ye said fforte was gained to his Ma^ts^ obedience the 28th of Aprill last. Colonell Gie, one Ormsby, and many other offic^rs^ were therein kill'd. About the same time Colonell Cahane and Colonell Phelim Mc Toole ONeill (whoe were in woody passages this side of the Bann, to backe and countenance the partie that attempted the said fforte), encountered a partie of Sr Charles Coote and Coll. Venables, being then neere Dungannon; they

cxcvi. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 292. cxcvii. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 298.

had the routing of them a good while; yett they narrowly escaped wth a considerable losse by the advantage of a bridg they first possessed them selves off. Uppon these accidents (our army drawing neere them this side, and a reporte cunningly given out that 400 of the Leinster horse, under the comaund of Collonell Lewes Moore and Maior Barnewall, were comeing to our assistance) Coote night and day rann to Tirconell, and Collonell Venible to ye Newry.

Appendix. 1650. 4. May. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

His Ma^{ts} forces heere will march shortly over ye Bann, either to the county of Antrim by the way of Toome, or to the county of Downe by the way of the Newry. It is to be thought that Coote wth all his forces will follow to assist Venibles, and secure ye rich quarters there, if he can.

My Lord, this is the time for the Conaght forces to draw from Sligoe to the confines of Ulster to gaine Manor Hamilton, Ballashannon, Bellecke, etc., thereby the enemy wilbe diverted to ioyne, and render them less capable to effect theire designes. Of this subiect I have writen at large now to ye Marques of Clanricard, whom I humbly pray yor Ex. to move and mind to the same effect. I have hereinclosed sent yor Ex. Georg Monroes letters unto mee, and my answeres there unto. I doe not know but Coote went purposely to Tirconell to gather all his forces to beseige Toome, without which they can scarce live beyond ye Bann.

I humbly pray that yor Ex. wilbe pleased to write earnestly to all ye comaunders in Leinster to divert ye enemyes comeing to this province, and I am confident by the grace of God ye enemy resident in this province will have enough to doe at home, and shall not be left at leasure to assist ye enemyes residing in Leinster. I humbly take leave, and remaine

Yo^{r} Ex^{cies} most humble servant,

From Bellabeigh, 4 May, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

For his Ex. the Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant-generall of Ireland: These.

Endorsed: The Bisshopp of Cloghers letter to My Lord. Dated 4. Rec. 9 May, 1650. Concerning Sir George Monro and Mr. Humphrey Galbraith.

CXCVIII. Cromwell's Proposed Passport for Ormonde.

By the Lord Leivten^{t}-generall of Ireland.

Thees are to require you, and every of you, to permitt and suffer his Ex^{cy} ye Ld Marq^{s} of Ormond and his family, not exceeding the nomber of 20 persons, with three horses, and also their cloathes, houshold stuff, and other goods (not being merchandize), quietly and safely to take shipping at any place within the river of Shannon, or at Gallwey, or to pass to Kinsall and take shipping there, and from such place of their shipping to bee transported to any parts beyond the seas (except to England, Wales, or Scotland) without any violence, iniury, or molestation, as

1650. 7. May. Cromwell's Passport for Ormonde.

cxcviii. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 311.

APPENDIX.
1650.
7. May.
Cromwell's Passport for Ormonde.

you will answeare the contrary at yor perrills, Provided they take shipping and depart from Ireland within the space of two monthes after the date heereof. And that in the meane tyme they, or any of them, do not act any thing to the preiudice of ye Parliament or Comon Wealth of England.

Given under my hand and seale the seventh day of May, Anno Domini 1650.

Signed: O. Cromwell.

To all officers, souldiers, and others under my comaund, and to all cap^ts and comaunders of any of the shipping under the obedience of ye Parliam^t.

Endorsed: Copy of the Pass.

CXCIX. DEAN MICHAEL BOYLE TO CROMWELL.

1650.
8. May.
Dean Boyle to Cromwell.

My Lord,

I presume your Lordship remembers upon what score the passes for the Lord Lieutenant and the Lord Inchiquine were receeved by me from your Lordship, upon a suspition I had there might fall out some unhandsom carriadge towards them upon the departure of the English out of these quarters; which opportunity of serving them I was not very unwilling to embrace, conceaving it an honorable expedient for their security, in case they should be necessitated thereunto. But I find his Excellency is not at all satisfyd with me therein, I having no comission to that purpose, and upon intimation sent his Lordship that I had such a thing, he comanded me to returne it with civillity to your Lordship; but finding by the coppy of a letter unto the Governor of Waterford (which I here inclose) that there is some use endeavourd to be made thereof to his exceeding preiudice and dishounor, he hath comaunded me to send it to himselfe, lest the returne of it should be perverted to his prejudice, as the acceptance was; I have hereby returned your Lordship the passe for the Lord Inchiquine, and from both haue receaved very slender thanks for bringing them. Your Lordship knowes I made no engadgement for any thing on eyther of their behalfes; but on the contrary, in the discussion of those proposals, which I presented to your Lordship from the officers, did declare, that I had positive commands to exempt the Lord Marquess of Ormond, and Lord of Inchiquine, from having any benefit of, or relation unto, anything that was comprised in that treaty, so that the suggestions of M^r. Axtell to the Governor of Waterford, though they are nothing agreable to the conditions we receaved from your Lordship, yet they give a very greate dissatisfaction to many here of my integrity, as presuming me to act something underhand, eyther by designe, or beyond Comission, wherein if your Excellency would be pleasd to afford me the justice of some kind of vindication, it would extreamely oblidge in a very gratefull resentment, My Lord,

Your Excellencys humble servant,

Cloenrand, May 8, 1650. M. Boyle.

For the Lord Generall Crumwell.

Endorsed: Deane Boyles letter to Generall Cromwell concerninge the passe.

CXCIX. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 319.

CC. Dean Michael Boyle to Ormonde.

May it please your Excellency,

Reflecting upon the present sad condition of those who have adhered unto his Majesties service, I assumed to myselfe very mutch satisfaction (above many others) in the cleereness of my deportments therein, which hitherto hath alwayes justifyed me in the opinion of those who have bin entrusted in the management of his affayres; but I finde by some letters of your Excellencyes to my Lord of Inchiquine that I now lye under some hazard of being blasted in your Excellencyes esteeme, by a severe chardge layd upon my discretion, and a greater wound upon my integrity, as if I had exceeded the limits of my comission, in this last, (and as I may now justly call it infortunate) transaction. My Lord, my pretence is so slender to the first of these, that I can very easily disgest anything that is objected me on that score, being mutch more sencible of my owne weakeness then any other man can be, though I cannot yet convince my selfe of any sinn against the rules of reason: for apprehending when I left your Excellency, that it was your resolution to depart the Kingdom, and finding the intentions of the enemy to block up that harbour by their shipping, from whence you purposed your departure, I esteemed it a speciall peece of Providence for the preservation of your person and your honnor, that they by an accidentall discourse should offer that of themselves, which I suspected you might have bin necessitated to make suite for. As for that clause in the passe obliging you not to act anything to there disadvantadge during your remainder here, though I must confess that to be no way suteable to your Excellencyes condition, yet I conceave it may justly excuse my acceptance of it, I not making it at all my business to seeke it, and might therefore appeare impertinent, and indeed injurious, to your Excellency to except against it, which I the rather past over out of an opinion that your Excellency would have declined the service here, by the time of my returne out of there quarters. But for this particular, as it entrencheth onely upon (that which I cannot owne) discretion; I submit it wholy to your Excellencys better disquisition, having this sanctuary at last to be my refuge, that if I have transgresd herein, it had no other designe in it but your Excellencys preservation and your honnor. But as to the other particular of exceeding my comission, I must beseech your Excellencyes leave a little to justifye my integrity, the rather in that I looke upon my selfe out of any capacity to serve you hereafter, while I lye under the justice of that reproofe, dishonesty being an offence which I abhominate towards the most ordinary person, much more towards your Excellency, who have layd so many obligations upon me; I had nothing in chardge from your Excellency in the transaction of that busines, but to declare your refusall of coming to any conditions with them at all, or of having any inclinations there unto, which I did oftentimes not privately, or to the meanest of them, but publicquely, to the cheafest amongst them, Crumwell and Ireton. Which I conceave to be a perfect dischardge of what

1650. 9. May. Dean Boyle to Ormonde.

cc. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 329.

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1650.
9. May.
Dean Boyle to Ormonde.

was entrusted to me by your Excellency, and as for my bare reception of the pass, as it proceeded not at all from my demaunds, so it cannot certainly, without very mutch severity, be interpreted a breache of my comission.

This poore party being very suddenly to be dispersed to their severall destinyes, I know not what Providence intends me for the future, but for the present I am like to be necessitated to the same misfortune with them, and by this greate mistake of my assayes for there service, to be enforced to desert the persons whom I honnor, and to retyre amongst those whoe are, and have bin, my most professed enemyes. I know not when I shall have the opportunity to wayte next upon your Excellency and have therefore assumed the confidence of giving your Excellency the trouble of this my just excuse; if it may prevayle to re-establish me in your Excellencys good opinion, it will afford me many peacefull thoughts, while I continue in my banishment. However, as I was your Exeellencys most faythfull servaunt before you placed any of your favours on me, so no misinterpretation of my actions shall make one whit decline my unalterable resolution of avowing my selfe, My Lord,

Your Excellencys most obedient and humble servant,

M. Boyle.*

Cloenrand, 9th May, 1650.

CCI. SIEGE OF CLONMEL BY CROMWELL, 1650.

1. LETTERS FROM IRELAND.

"Mr. Lloyd, Chaplain to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland [Cromwell], came to London with letters from his Lordship. He informs that the army were set down before Clonmel, that the great guns were planted, and that his Excellency intended to fall upon the the place very suddenly, and then come to England. The enemy in Clonmel are in number about two thousand foot (all Ulsters) and six score horse. On Saturday was sevennight, the Lord Lieutenant came before Clonmel, and the Tuesday following the great guns were brought down before it."

* "I must not omit to tell you how Dean Boile, who was sent to treat with Cromwell for the English, that were disbanded, being offered it, as he saies, by Cromwell, and imagininge, as himselfe affirmes, to do a service to My Lord Lieutenant, and My Lord Inchiquin in it, adventured of his own head to take passes from him, for their departure out of the kingdom; whereof, as soon as ever Dean Boile was gone, he makes use to debaush the Irish garrisons, to take conditions from him, assuring them My Lord Lieutenant had received his passe to depart the kingdom, as appeares by a letter that the Governor of Rosse writ (it seemes by Cromwells order) unto General Preston commanding in Waterford; the copy of which letter, with that of Cromwells passe, and three of Dean Boiles letters concerning it, together with his Excellencies to Cromwell, when he sent him back his passe by a trumpet of My Lord Clanricards, (having procured them for my own satisfaction) I herewithall send your Lordship, that you may see how absolutely without My Lord Lieutenants privity or license these passes were accepted, and with what indignation resented."—*A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyve to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle.* Hague: 1650.

1. Perfect Diurnall, London, May 6 to 13, 1650

2. Letters from Clonmel, 10 May, 1650.

"This day [9 of May] we entred Clonmel, which was quit by the enemy the last night, after a tedious storm, which continued four hours. Our men kept close to the breach, which they had entered, all the time, save only one accidental retreat in the storm. We lost in this storm Colonel Cullum and some other officers, with divers private soldiers and others wounded. 1650. May. Letters from Clonmel.

The enemy had made many great preparations within by a traverse or crossework, and to beat our men off as they entred; but afterwards many of them stole out of the town, and left some few with the inhabitants, to make conditions; in the morning our forces pursued, and killed all they could light upon."

"From Clonmel, [we heard] that Colonel Reynolds is waiting upon the motions of Castlehaven with 1500 horse and dragoons.

That they found in Clonmel the stoutest enemy that ever was found by the army in Ireland, and that there was never seen so hot a storm of so long continuance, and so gallantly defended, neither in England nor Ireland."

3. Letter from Clonmell, 10 May.

Worthy Sir,

Yesterday [9. May] we stormed Clonmel, in which work both officers and souldiers did as much and more than could be expected. We had, with our guns, made a breach in their works, where after an hot fight we gave back a while; but presently charged up to the same ground again. But the enemy had made themselves exceeding strong, by double-works and traverse, which were worse to enter than the breach; when we came up to it, they had cross-works, and were strongly flanked from the houses within their works. The enemy defended themselves against us that day, untill towards the evening, our men all the while keeping up close to their breach; and many on both sides were slain. At night the enemy drew out on the other side, and marched away undiscovered to us, and the inhabitants of Clonmel sent out for a parley. Upon which, articles were agreed on, before we knew the enemy was gone. After the signing of the conditions, we discovered the enemy to be gone, and very early this morning pursued them, and fell upon their rear of stragglers, and killed above 200, besides those we slew in the storm. And on our party we had slain, Col[onel] Cullam, Capt. Jordan, Capt. Humpheries, and some others, and Lieut.-Col[onel] Grey, Lieut.-Col[onel] Lee, and some others are wounded. We entered Clonmel this morning, and have kept our conditions with them; the place is considerable; and very advantageous to the reducing of these parts wholly to the Parliament of England. 1650. May. Siege of Clonmel.

2. Memorials of English Affairs, by Mr. Whitelock, 1732, 456-7.

3. "Several Proceedings in Parliament," May 23 to June 6, London: 1650.

4. SIR LEWIS DYVE'S ACCOUNT OF SIEGE OF CLONMEL.

1650.
Siege of Clonmel.

"The next enterprize Cromwell went in hand with, was, to take Clonmell which was kept by Major-general Hugh ONeale, who behaved himselfe so discreetly, and gallantly in defending it, that Cromwell lost neer upon 2500 men before it, and had notwithstanding gone away without it, if they within had had store of powder; but their small proportion being spent, the Governour with his souldiers was fain to go out of the town on the other side of the river by night towards Waterford, and leave the townesmen to make conditions for themselves; which they did the next morning, the enemy not knowing but the garrison was still in towne, till the conditions were signed. Thus the losse of this place, and severall other garrisons, for want of ammunition, was another effect of the disobedience of the townes."

[For further documents relating to Siege of Clonmel, see p. 411.]

CCII. CROMWELL'S PASSPORT FOR LADY INCHIQUIN.

By the Lord Leiu[t] of Ireland,

1650.
13. May.
Cromwell's Passport for Lady Inchiquin.

Whereas I have formerly graunted lycence unto the right honn[ble] the Lady of Inchiquine and her family and servaunts with their household stuff and goods to depart this dominion, and to bee transported to any forraigne parts, In pursuaunce whereof at the desire of the said lady, and for her transportacion and better accommodacion in her voyage, I doe heereby give leave and lycence that the shipp called the Golden Sun of Ankehusen, whereof Reive Peeterson is master, burthen 160 tonne or thereabouts, bound for Midleburgh, and laden with the comodityes heereafter mentioned, vizt. 3646 salted hydes, 75 baggs of wooll, seven packes of sheepe and goate skinns, and 37 sydes of bacon, to goe from the port or harbour where shee now lyeth to Middleburgh aforesaid. Requiring all cap[ts] and comaunders of the Parliam[ts] shipps, and all others whom it may concerne, to permitt and suffer the said shipp, and the said master and seamen belonging to her, with her ladeing before mentioned. And also with the said lady, her family and goods quietly to pass from this dominion to Middlebrough afores[d]: without any lett or molestacion. Provided they act nothing to the preiudice of the State of England, and that under pretence heereof no person or goods bee transported then as afore specified according to the purport and true meaneing of these presence.

Given under my hand and seale the 13th of May, 1650.

Signed: O. Cromwell.

CCIII. SIEGE OF TECROGHAN.

1650.
16. May.
Siege of Tecroghan.

May it please your Excellency,

Collonell Reynolds is engadged before Tecrohan, what the state of the beseidged is, the streinght of the enemy, and the meanes to succor the place, S[r] Richard Barnwall whoe goeth herewith will relate, to whome Wee pray your

4. A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyve to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle. Hague: 1650, p. 49.
CCII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 339. CCIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 348.

Excellency to give creditt, and labour to apply a speedy meanes for preserveinge that fort of soe great importance to this province, and his Maties service. Wee doubt not but the province of Connaght in order to their owne safety will come to that service, without them wee finde noe possibility of effectinge it. Wee pray your Excellency to dispatch the bearer, beinge more usefull heere then there, soe wee remayne

Appendix. 1650. 16. May. Siege of Tecroghan.

Your Excellencyes most faithfull and most humble servants,

Dillon. Lu. Fitz Gerald.
Netterville. Law. Dowdall.
Trimlestoun. Pa. Netterville.
Athlone Castle, 16 May, 1650. Th. Whyte.

For his Excellency the Lord Marquess of Ormond, Lord Livtennant-gennerall of Ireland, theese.

Endorsed: Lord Netterville and others concerning Tecroghan, dated 16 May, 1650.

CCIV. Ormonde to Cromwell.

Sir,

Deane Boyle haveing brought mee a paper signed and sealed by you, seeming to bee a passe for mee to transporte myself beyond seas, I did much wonder from whence or for what reason it was that you ether gave or hee accepted it, since hee was directed to declare to you (if it came in question) that I had noe intention to treate with you for a passe or any other thing, and though I am yet to seeke a reason for his parte of that transaction, yet yours appeares to mee in Axtells letter to Generall Preston, I have by this trumpeter returned you your paper, and for your unsought curtesy doe assure you that when you shall desire a passe from mee, and I thinke fit to graunt it, I shall not make use of it to corupt any that comands under you. I remaine,

1650. 17. May. Ormonde to Cromwell.

Y^r^ humble servant,

Loghreagh, the 17th of May, 1650. Ormonde.

Endorsed: 17 May, 1650. A coppy of My Lords letter to Generall Crumwell, concearning a pass by him sent by Mr Deane Boyle. Sent by a trumpeter express.

CCV. SIEGE OF CLONMEL BY CROMWELL, 1650.

[Continued from page 409.]

1. Articles between the Lord Leifetenant and the inhabitants of Clonmell touching the rendition thereof, May the 18th, 1650.

It is graunted and agreed by and betwixt the Lord Lt-Gen^ll^ Cromwell on the one parte, and Mr Michael White and Mr Nicholas Betts, Com^rs^, intrusted in the behalfe of the towne and guarrison of Clonmell on the other parte, as follows:

1650. 18. May. Articles of Clonmel.

CCIV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 350. 1. MS. Royal Irish Academy, Dublin.

APPENDIX.
1650.
18. May.
Articles of Clonmel.

1st. That the said towne and guarrison of Clonmell, wth the armes, ammunicion, and other furniture of warr that are now theirin shall bee surrendered and delivered up into the hands of his Eccllcy the Lord Leift by eight of the clock this morninge.

2. That in consideration thereof the inhabitants of the said towne shall be protected [as to] their lives and estates, from all plunder and violence of the souldiery, and shall haue the same right, liberty, and proteccion as other subjects under the authoritie of the Parliament of England have, or ought to have and injoy within the dominion of Ireland.

O. Cromwell.

Copia vera.

2. BATES' ACCOUNT OF SIEGE OF CLONMEL.

1650.
May.
Siege of Clonmel.
Reynolds is sent to hinder the Lord-lieutenants levies.
The garrison forsake Clonmel, and make their escape by night.

"Next upon the stage of war succeeds Clonmell, a considerable well peopled town, and walled round, lying upon the Suir, four leagues from Waterford. This place was defended by Hugh Boy-Oneal, with a garrison of two thousand foot, and an hundred horse; whose reputation was much heightned by his pains and assiduity, as having caused several considerable works to be made for the security of the place. Hither does Cromwell now convert the stress of the war: and having encamped, and strongly entrenched himself, he sends two thousand five hundred horse, under the command of Reynolds and Theophilus Jones, the brother of the late Jones, to hinder the Lord-lieutenants levies, and to reduce towns every where, as occasion did present . . . .

In the mean time the siege of Clonmel is carried on; and though the garrison bravely defended it, and had beat off the enemy in a fierce assault, with the loss of Colonel Culham, and many others; yet fearing, since there was no hopes of relief; that they would at length fall as sacrifices, under the bloody hands of Cromwell, packing up bag and baggage, about mid-night they desert the town, and secure themselves by flight. The Mayor and townspeople, destitute of defence, without mentioning the departure of the garrison, desire a cessation and parly; and upon condition of saving their houses from being plundered, and of liberty of living as they had formerly done, they very willingly open their gates.

Whom Cromwell in vain pursues.

But the morning discovering the trick, Cromwell was vexed, and sends some troops to pursue the garrison in the rear. But they were before got out of reach, having in the night past the hills and most difficult ways; but the Cromwellians overtaking many stragglers, who by reason of their wounds, or other hindrances, staid behind, amongst them there were not a few women, put them all without mercy to the sword."

3. LUDLOW'S ACCOUNT OF THE SIEGE OF CLONMEL.

1650.
May.
Siege of Clonmel: Ludlow's Account.

"Youghall, Cork, and Kinsale were delivered to the forces of the Parliament, by the contrivance of some officers and well-affected persons in those places, and

2. Rise and Progress of the Late Troubles, etc., by George Bates, M.D., London: 1685. Part II., pp. 40—42.

3. Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, Esq. London: 1751, p. 118.

thereupon the Lieutenant-general sent a detachment, under the command of the Lord Broghil, to their assistance, in case any thing should be attempted by Inchequin, or any other, to their disturbance; whilst he with the rest of the army marched towards Clonmel. Being upon his march thither, he was met by the corporation of Feather[d], with a tender of their submission, wherewith the Lieutenant-general was so satisfied, the army being far advanced into the enemy's quarters, and having no place of refreshment, that he promised to maintain them in the enjoyment of their privileges. Having left our sick men here, he marched and sat down before Clonmel, one side of which was secured by a river, and the rest of the town encompassed with a wall that was well furnished with men to defend it. Our guns having made a breach in the wall, a detachment of our men was ordered to storm; but the enemy by the means of some houses that stood near, and earthworks cast up within the wall, made good their breach till night parted the dispute, when the enemy perceiving ours resolved to reduce the place, beat a parley, and sent out commissioners to treat. Articles were agreed and signed on both sides, whereby it was concluded that the town, with all the arms and ammunition therein, should be delivered up the next morning, to such of our forces as should be appointed to receive the same. After this agreement was made and signed, the General was informed that Colonel Hugh ONeal, governour of the place, with all the garrison, had marched out at the beginning of the night towards Waterford, before the commissioners came out to treat. It something troubled the commanders to be thus over-reached; but conditions being granted, they thought it their duty to keep them with the town."

Appendix. 1650. May. Siege of Clonmel: Ludlow's Account.

4. Account of Siege of Clonmel, ascribed to Mr. Cliffe, Secretary to General Ireton.

"About the middle of April he [Cromwell] drew his army before Clonmel, a garrison the Irish then much depended on, having manned it very well, and having placed an old surly Spanish soldier to be governor of it, one Hugh ONeal. After the army had been before it about three weeks from the middle of April (a time armies do not usually attempt places of strength, as that place so manned and governed, in appearance was), they made their approaches, wherein there was difficulty and daily hazard, and after raised their battery, where the guns performed their business very well, and had made a fair breach in the wall about three of the clock in the afternoon, disabling all the flankers that did any way annoy the breach, so that the soldiers stood safe on it, but the drawing the men to the breach was somewhat offensive, which caused some loss; but notwithstanding that hazard the men went on couragiously and gained the breach: The lot fell on one Colonel Culin to lead them on, and very stoutly he behaved himself in it, having several captains of horse (the foot not being so well satisfied that the horse, especially in storms, did not run equal hazards with them) to go on now with them in the storm, which they did with equal courage; but the breach being made on the wall at the end of a great

1650. May. Siege of Clonmel.

4. History of the Irish Rebellion. Folio. Dublin: 1743. App. pp. 20-21.

Appendix.
1650.
May.
Siege of Clonmel.

street, and the enemy having cast a work across the street and filled the houses, which had large windows, so full of men, that the soldiers that stormed and got over the breach, betwixt it and their work, could not be able (the enemy playing out of the windows thick upon them) to stay there long to force their way over their works into the town, but were forced to retreat again to the breach, where they met with some difficulty to get upon the wall again, most being pulled up by the hand before they could get back on the top of the breach, by which there was some loss; and Colonel Culin and several officers were killed, and such as escaped were quitting and leaving the breach, which occasioned the Major-general to go to them to the breach, and desired them to stand their ground on the breach, where they stood safe enough from the enemys shot, on which encouragement they did stand and make good the breach; and that night was given directions to bring some of the guns from the battery, and to place them on the breach, to force the next day a passage through the houses into the town; and after that direction was given, the General went to his tent in the camp, and about twelve o'clock at night some of the officers came from the breach, that the soldiers kept and maintained, and sent word from some of the guards to the General and acquainted him that some of the persons had called to them, that if a safe conduct might be given to some of the town, they would come out and treat for a surrender immediately on notice a safe conduct was sent them; but two of the town, before the safe conduct could come to them, had taken the word and promise of the officers of the out-guard that were nearest to them, for their safety, and so came along with them to the General at the camp, who thereupon treated and made articles with them before he understood or suspected that the great soldier Hugh ONeal, and all his officers and soldiers, were run away out of the town over the bridge on the Sure, that is on the further side of the town, and were all run towards Waterford. Yet the General told the persons that treated with him and had agreed on conditions, or at least had promised them to him, for the articles were not signed before he understood and taxed them with ONeal's being run away, which being put to them, they could not deny, yet he signed their articles and gave them the conditions they had agreed on, and immediately sent a party of horse to follow them, but the Irish were got so far that they could not overtake them; for it was supposed they began to run away as soon as it was dark, and the party of horse drew off, that, all the day the storm was, stood by that bridge over the Sure, on the county of Waterford side, and long before these persons that treated came out of the town to treat. And the next morning the army marched into the town of Clonmel, where a garrison was settled, and Colonel Sankey made governor of the town and county."

5. Account of Siege of Clonmel by a British Officer in Sir John Clotworthy's Regiment.

1650.
May.
Siege of Clonmel.

"Seeing now that all is calm in Ulster, and gone to their quarters, and that [the] Ulster army is returned from the Lord-lieutenant from Leinster, let us see what

5. The History of the Warr of Ireland from 1641 to 1653. Edited by E. H. 12mo. Dublin: 1873. pp. 104—113.

is doing there and in Munster. As for the latter, it seems most of them of the English is revolted from the Lord-lieutenant and the Lord Inchiquin, and joined with Crumwell's party, and headed by the Lord Broghill (afterwards made Earl of Orrery by the King at his restoration), and surrendered their garrisons to Crumwell's disposing. On which the Lord-lieutenant commanded Major-general Hugh Duff O'Neill with an Ulster regiment, of which one Tirlagh oge O'Neill Mac Henry of the Fews was Collonel, and about one hundred horse under the command of ——, to go and garrison in Clonmell a considerable place then as affairs stood, and [it was] much feared that Crumwell had a design upon it—which commands were accomplished by Hugh Duff O'Neill. Then Crumwell, hearing the Lord-lieutenant's forces [were] dispersed, took his opportunity of taking towns and castles without any great opposition, and sent two or three regiments of horse and foot before him to block up Clonmell at distance. Which was done about a month before himself appeared before it, who, as soon as he came, drew close to it, and then sent his summons to Hugh Duff to surrender it on good quarters and conditions.

To which answer was made, that he was of another resolution than to give up the town on quarters or conditions, till he was reduced to a lower station, and so wished him to do his best. On which Crumwell fell to his work, and planted his cannons, at which time and before several resolute sallies were made out, and sometimes with good success, and sometimes not. At this play they were like sons of Mars, till a long breach was made near one of the gates, but proved not level enough when night fell.

Within two hours after, the Major-general sent out two hundred chosen men and officers, with a good guide, through by-ways from a place of the wall next the river that was neglected by the besiegers, and fell on the backs of those in a fort not fully finished, behind them, and cut them all off before any relief came; on which immediately the next gate was opened for them, and [they] got in safe with the loss of half a dozen. The number killed in the forte was about sixty, being one of their companies.

After this Hugh Duff did set all men and maids to work, townsmen and soldiers, only those on duty attending the breach and the walls—to draw dunghills, morter, stones, and timber, and made a long lane a man's height, and about eighty yards length on both sides up from the breach, with a foot bank at the back of it; and caused [to be] place[d] engines on both sides of the same, and two guns at the end of it invisible opposite to the breach, and so ordered all things against a storm.

Which [storm] was about eight o'clock in the morning in the month of January, [May] and [the English] entered without any opposition; and but few [were] to be seen in the town till they so entered, that the lane was cram'd full with horsemen armed with helmets, back breast swords, musquetoons and pistols. On which those in the front seeing themselves in a pound, and could not make their way further, cryed out, 'Halt! Halt!' On which those entering behind at the breach thought by those words, that all those of the garrison were running away, and cryed out, 'Advance!' 'Advance,' as fast as those before cryed, 'Halt!' 'Halt!' and so advanced till they thrust forwards those before them, till that pound or lane was full, and could hold no more.

APPENDIX. 1650. May. Siege of Clonmel.

Then suddenly rushes a resolute party of pikes and musquetteers to the breach, and scoured off and knocked back those entring. At which instance Hugh Duff's men within fell on those in the pound with shotts, pikes, scythes, stones, and casting of great long pieces of timber with the engines amongst them; and then two guns firing at them from the end of the pound, slaughtering them by the middle or knees with chained bulletts, that in less than an hour's time about a thousand men were killed in that pound, being a top one another.

At this time Crumwell was on horse back at the gate, with his guard, expecting the gates to be opened by those entered, untill he saw those in the breach beaten back, and heard the cannons going off within. Then he fell off as much vexed as ever he was since he first put on a helmet against the King, for such a repulse he did not usually meet with.

The siege, at distance and close, being about five or six weeks, and by several sallies out and on the walls several of those within were lost, but many wounded and sick, on which the Major-general consulted with his officers, [and seeing] that their ammunition was gone, concluded to leave the town without Crumwell's leave, and so at nightfall he imported the same to the Mayor, one Whyte, and advised him after he was gone half a dozen miles off as he might guess, to send privately out to Crumwell for licence to speak to him about conditions for the town; but not to make mention of himself on any account till he had done. After which advice to the Mayor he marches away with his men about two hours after night fall, and passed over the river undiscovered by a guard of horse that lay at the other side of the bridge, and [he] made no great halt till he reached to a town called Ballynasack, twelve miles from Clonmell, where he refreshed his men, and then marched to Limerick.

Then the Mayor, according as he was advised, about twelve o'clock at night sent out to Crumwell very privately for a conduct to wait upon his Excellency; which forthwith was sent to him, and an officer to conduct him from the wall to Crumwell's tent, who after some course compliments was not long capitulating, when he got good conditions for the town, such in a manner as they desired.

After which Crumwell asked him if Hugh O'Neill knew of his coming out, to which he answered he did not, for that he was gone two hours after night fell with all his men, at which Crumwell stared and frowned at him, and said, 'You knave, have you served me so, and did not tell me so before.' To which the Mayor replied, if his Excellency had demanded the question, he would tell him. Then he asked him what that Duff O'Neill was; to which the Mayor answered, that he was an over sea soldier, born in Spain; on which Crumwell said, 'G— d—n you, and your over sea!' and desired the Mayor to give the paper back again. To which the other answered, that he hoped his Excellency would not break his conditions or take them from him, which was not the repute his Excellency had, but to perform whatsoever he had promised. On which Crumwell was somewhat calm, but said in a fury, 'By G— above he would follow that Hugh Duff O'Neill wheresoever he went.'

Then the Mayor delivered the keys of the gates to Crumwell, who immediately commanded guards on them, and next morning himself entered, where he saw

his men killed in the pound, notwithstanding which and his fury that Hugh Duff went off as he did, he kept his conditions with the town. APPENDIX. 1650.

This relation I had not only from some officers and soldiers of the besiegers, but also from the besieged, and that certainly Crumwell lost at the siege and storm about fifteen hundred men, being more than he lost by all the towns he stormed and took before since he came to Ireland. May. Siege of Clonmel.

Yet Mr. Phillips, the historiographer, in his continuation of Baker's history, in his relation of Irish transactions [in] the last warrs, has not a word of this siege or storm, neither of such a man as Hugh Duff O'Neill; but passes by him in silence, as he passed by him that defeated the Scottish army at Benburb, as if he never heard of Owen Roe MacArt ONeill; but he often names and reiterates the Rebells of Ireland; but never heard of a rebellion or rebells in England or Scotland, but all republicans. So—

> 'Let partiall pens be memorized with shame,
> And ne'er deserve a memorable good fame.'

At this siege Cromwell was sent for by the Parliament of England to repair to them with all haste, to be general of an army to be raised to go into Scotland, hearing that the King was come or to come thither; and so [he] staid no longer than to get Clonmell."

CCVI. ORMONDE TO LORD DILLON.

Loghreagh, 18 May, 1650.

My Lord,

Uppon consideration of yor letters, and of the greate importance of the place now beseeged, I have sett all persons proper for it on worke to provide the meanes of releeveinge it, and in the meane time have sent my Lord of Castlehaven to advance the busines of those partes, wherein I desire yor Lordship to give him all possible assistance, particularly that you make your regiment as stronge as possible you can, and incourage all the gentry of those partes to rise in theire owne defence. I purpose to be with you on Monday at night next, and not to remoove thence till it be towards the enemy. I remaine 1650. 18. May. Ormonde to Lord Dillon.

Yo^r Lordships affectionate servant,
Signed: Ormonde.

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords letter to the President of Connaght. Dated 18 May, 1650.

CCVII. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO ORMONDE.

May it please yor Ex., 1650. 19. May. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

Yo^r dispatch of the 6th instant was soe long in ye way, as it came not to my hands untill of late, in answere thereunto yor Ex. may understand that his

CCVI. Carte Papers, xxvii. 351. CCVII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 280.

APPENDIX.
1650.
19. May.
Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

Ma^{ts} forces in this province are in a body together in ye field since ye second of this month opposeing and diverting ye enemy ye best way they may. Our foote are soe indifferent considerable, as that if wee had ye assistance of a few more horse wee would, wth Gods permission, soone crubb Cootes insolencie, though Venables forces were ioyned wth him.

I have lately writen to ye Marques of Clanricard, desireing a meeteing place wth his Lordship where soever hee would appoint by the Earny side, or to give ord^{rs} that ye forces under his Lordships comaund (at least his horse) should be timely sent us, whereof I humbly desire yor Ex. to writ earnestly to his Lordship, or to give ord^{rs} that 4 or 500 hundred of ye Leinster horse may forthwth be sent us for two or three weekes onely; by whose assistance (if once they come) I doubt not very soone to compasse good service.

My Lord, this army is in a most pittifull case for want of amunicion, and especially lead, wch lately occasioned the losse of Toome, about which the warders there have these three weekes, by severall sallyes and otherwise, comitted good services, untill at last for want of lead they were driven to deliver it upp on condicions. I understand yor Ex. have given direccions to send us some quantity of lead, which as yett wee received not; therefore I humble desire yor Ex. to help us wth some out of hand, otherwise it feares mee ye want of it will prove extreamely preiudiciall to the service. I have formerly writen to yor Ex. for an instrum^{t} by way of a passe to be sent mee, authorishing and enabling all such marchants and others as will from time to time bring powder or any other kind of amunicion to this army, and now once more I humbly desire ye same. Sr George Monroe went from one to another of Scotts and sowed a world of sedicion and muteny amongst them, alleageing that yor Ex., my Lord of Clanricard, and ye Lord of Inchiquin, lay'd downe armes and made condicions wth ye Parliam^{t}. I am therefore humbly of opinion that yor Ex^{ces} proclamacion or declaracion to the contrary would not onely cleere yor Ex. and ye rest of that traitors aspersion, but alsoe be a way satisfactory for ye Scotts, and conducible to continue them in theire obedience and dutie to his Matie. Thus referring all to yor Ex^{ces} better and more iudicius consideracion, I humble take leave, and rest

Yo^{r} Ex^{ces} most humble serv^{t},

19. May, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

For his Ex. ye Lord Marques of Ormond, Lord L^{t}.-Generall of Irland: These.

Endorsed: Bpp of Clogher. Dated 19. Rec. 26 May, 1650. Concerning Sr George Monro, etc.

CCVIII. DECLARATION OF THE ULSTER PARTY.

The declaracion of the nobility, gentry, and comaunders of his Ma^{ts} forces of the province of Ulster.

1650.
20. May.
Declaration of the Ulster Party.

Whereas wee are given to understand that some ill affected members, for privat respects of theire owne and malice to our partie have indeavoured to sow sedicion

CCVIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 355.

and discord betwixt us, and such as are well affected to his Matie, both of the Scottish nacion and others, alureing many of them to harbour from time to time very preiudiciall and iealous thoughts of our proceedings, by casting the calumny and aspercion on us, that our intencion and accions tends rather to our owne particular ends and privat ayme, than to the advancem^{t} or preservacion of his sacred Ma^{ts} interrest, Crowne, and dignitie in this land. Which evill practises can produce nothing but sadd destractive and lamentable effects, as it is too too well knowne already by woefull experience, for it is most palpably evident, that the like unhappy misconstruccion enforced ye Scotts at first to raise armes and invade England against his Matie theire owne blould and flesh: That occasioned the falling out of the Irish and Scotts of Ireland in the begining of these warrs: That was onely and soly the cause of beheading his late Matie of happy memory: all these mischiefes being perpetrated by the practise and pollicie of the uppstartts of England, that this day thramples under feete in misery, thraldome, and slavery, the nobilitie and gentry of that kingdome, by raiseing and exalting the basest abortive scummes of England to the greatest hight of hono^{r}, power, and commaund. That alured the Scotts hitherto to endanger theire lives, indeavors and fortunes, first in England, as afforesaid, and secondly in this kingdome against our nacion, when wee litle expected that ever any such sedicion or quarrell could be fomented betwixt us and them; or that they (haveing once in theire hands all the forts and garrisons in this Province excepting a few) should be soe farr decevied by the sinister practises of the Parliamenteers of England, as that they have not at present the commaund of any one of them in all Ulster; soe as consequently it is to be feared that ere long none of the Scottish gentry or commonaltie wilbe suffer'd to inhabit in any parte of this Province bordering on theire native kingdome of Scottland. All which wee canot choose but saddly take to heart, and that the rather wee see our fellow subiects soe mislead and wth drawen from theire obedience to his Matie in not sideing with us in the present service; misconstrueing (by the evill suggestion of others) our indeavo^{rs} and intencion, which might sufficiently give us an occasion of discourragem^{t}, whereas theire coniunccion and assistance in the prosecucion of this warr, in his Ma^{ts} behalfe, was unfainedly expected by our partie and nacion. For the cleereing and removall of all past misunderstanding and mischieveous practise of that kind on our partes, and prevencion of any the like icalusie and discord heereafter, Wee thought it necessary, and doe accordingly declare and avow in the sight of the great God of Heaven and the world, That our intencion and resolucion is (to the last man) to indeavour with the losse of our lives, estates, and fortunes, the advancem^{t} and preservacion of his Ma^{ts} service and interrest in this kingdome, and of all those whoesoever that prosecutes his quarrell soe farr forth as wee be not troubled in the free exercize of our religion; as wee will noe way hinder or trouble any person or persons of what nacion or qualitie soever adhereing to his Matie, to exercize and embrace his or theire owne profession or religion. All which (with Gods assistance) our accions shall ere long more expressely manifest in the view of the world. Finally, it is our intencion that wee shall make noe distinction or difference betweene our selves and soe many of the Scottish or other nacion whatsoever that now shall (as wee invite them) with heart

APPENDIX.
1650.
20. May.
Declaration of the Ulster Party.

and hand ioyne in his Ma^ts service, or any way freely contribut to or countenance the same, but as becometh bretheren and fellow subiects engaged in one quarrell for their true and lawfull king.

Dated at Charlemount, the 20th of May, Anno Domini, 1650.

Clogherensis; Arthure Dunencis et Conorencis; Richard Ferrall; Iveagh; Iniskillin; Alexander Mc Donell; Phelim ONeill; Phillipp Reilly; Torlagh ONeill; Shane OCahane; Hugh Maguire; Anguis Mc Donell; Myles Swyne; Bryan Mc Artt Oge ONeill; Henry ONeill; Con ONeill; Bryan Mc Mahon; Phelim Mc Toole ONeill; Hugh Mc Mahon Mc Patrick; Torlagh OBoyle; Bryan ONeill; Torlagh ONeill; Owen ODogherty; Calvagh ODonell; Iohn ODonell; Terence OQuin; Tor[logh] Boyle; Iohn Mc Donell; Patrick ODonelly; Cormuck Mullhallen; Iohn Mc Donell.

Copia vera,
Roger Glanchy.

Endorsed: Proclamacion of the Bp. of Cloghers, dated 20 May, 1650.

CCIX. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOT TO ORMONDE.

1. For his Exelence the Lord Lieutennant-Gennerall of Ireland.

1650.
22. May.
Col. Oliver Synnot to Ormonde.

May it please yor Exellence,

Matters beinge treated by his Maties comission, with his Highnes the Duke of Loraine, my master, concerninge a port of the kingdome to by given into his hands for a some of mony, which treaty tooke effect, only my master desired to by satisfied in tow particulars, before he would part with his monyes; the first is that I might view the place to see if it by in condition to [be] enioyd; the second to by satisfied if the Catholicks will give noe oppossision to it, in regard of the jelousies that was reported to by in the kingdome. I had letters from my maister to your Exellie, whearin many particullars of the matter wear contained, which danger made me throw over boord,* yet to prevent that hazard the Duke sent with me another to your Exellence, whearin I am to have credit with a particullar mentioned in it: to cloake the matter which might be noe danger unto me, that letter I send by master Rochfort, my owne sicknes hindringe my travaile. He can tell all at large your Lordship may be pleased to consider of the particullars, and soe to ordre them as I may returne with satisfaction, for I am comaunded to make noe longe stay, nor may I omit the conveniensy of returninge with the same frygat I came, wch wilby very soone; I have the things in chargs to say of the Duke my masters good affection to serve the kinge, and that his Maties shall not want for mony for his affairs in this kingdome. So beseech your Lordship that all convenient dispaitch may be affoorded; in the meane tyme I shall remayne,

Your Exellens most humble servant,
Olyver Synnott.

Galloway, the 22 of May, 1650.

Endorsed: Collonell Oliver Synnot. Dated 22, Rec. 30 May, 1650.

CCIX. Carte Papers, xxvii. pp. 362-82.

* See page 424.

2. For his Excellence the Lord Lieutenant-Generall of Ireland. APPENDIX.

May it please your Excellence,

This inclossed was restored me this day by Mr Rochfort, with a letter to your Lordship. Some troubles wear licke to fall opon him, which I can hardly beeleive he would give any cause for, now that he doth not goe soe soune as I expected, whoe could much suply my weaknes of body if my letter be not soe perfect as without his help or my owne presence may by fully understood; I beleave it would by necessary to send some from your Exellence in charge, and trust to confer with me, whoe may give me answear to those particuliers, that I may returne in convenient tyme. The letter of credence to your Exellence, canot by of ffull use, untill I by able to wait on your Lordship or Mr Rochfort, may goe in person. In the meane tyme what your Lordship please to comand shalbe observed by

1650. 27. May. Col. Oliver Synnot to Ormonde.

Your Excellence most humble and obedient serviteur,

Galoway, the 27 May, 1650. Olyvier Synnot.

Endorsed: Collonell Oliver Synnot. Dated 27 May, 1650.

CCX. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO COLONEL MICHAEL BERESFORD.

Sir,

I am come hither with the army under my commaund to advance his Maties service, and haveing occasion to conferre with you, I desire you will come and speake with mee. This my lettre shalbe a safe conduct unto you in your comeing out and goeing backe, without any preiudice either in person or goods. I rest,

1650. 30. May. Bishop Mac Mahon to Col. Beresford.

Your humble servant,

30 May, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

Sir,

Notwithstanding your Generalls orders in maintaineing that place in opposition to his Mats authority, my occasion to use that garison is such as that I will endeavor to force present possession therof; and doe assure you (if you shedd one dropp of my souldiers blood, I will not spare to put man, woman, and child to the sword; and then your disobedience wilbe answereable to your deep disloyalty to his Matie. Expecting your undelayed answere, I rest,

Your humble servant,

30 May, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

For Lt-colonell Berisford, Governor of the garison and forte of Dongevin, these. May 30, 1650.

CCX. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 390.

APPENDIX.

CCXI. COLONEL BERESFORD TO BISHOP MAC MAHON.

1650. 30. May. Colonel Beresford to Bishop Mac Mahon.

Right Honble,

I must still stick to my principals, and crave your pardon for the delivery of that place, wher both my honer and reputation lyes at stake, and will bee redy to defend this strenth, which I now command, to the last drope of my blud. So I remaine,

My Lord, your servant,

Maye the 30th, 1650. Mich : Beresford.

For the Right Honble the Lord Generall, these.

Endorsed: May 30. Beresford to the Bpp. of Clogher, dated 30 Junij (*sic*) 1650.

CCXII. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO GENTRY, ETC., OF THE COUNTY OF LONDONDERRY.

1650. 31. May. Bishop Mac Mahon to Gentry, etc., of the county of Londonderry.

Sirs,

Haveing with this his Ma^ts^ army under my commaund, marched this way with a resolution to apply my endeavours in reduceing to loyaltie and obedience all such as stands in opposition to his Mat^es^ power; I tought fitt to signifie unto you that I will (in his Ma^ts^ name) receave into protection and favor all such as will on sight hereof submitting themselves to his Ma^ts^ authoritie appeare befor me, and compound for their contribution to the army; hereof I desire and advise you to make tymely use, and this my letter shallbe a salfe conduct for such as you will to that effect employ hither to mee. Your disobedience herein will produce you noe better effects than did Lieut^t^-colonell Beresfords contumacie to himselfe yesterday. Expecting your tymely answere, I rest,

Your humble servant,

Ultimo Maij, 1650. Emerus Clogherensis.

May 31, 1650. To the Gentry and Inhabitants of the respective baronyes of the Countie of London Deery, etc.

CCXIII. BISHOP MAC MAHON TO ORMONDE.

1650. 1. June. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

May it please yor Ex^cle^,

Yo^rs^ of the 23th of May I receaved the last of the same, wherin yor Excie makes mencion that yor positive comaunds were directed to Colonell Myles Relly, to drawe wth his regim^t^ either to the Linster or Ulster army, whereunto I finde noe obedience as yet given, for he still lyeth in the county of Cavan, detaineing and allureing entire troopes of horse and others of this army at home, to the great preiudice of the service; therefore I am humbly of opinion that yor Ex^cies^ orders should be dispatched to Colonell Philipp ORelly, authorishing him therby to force the said Myles to observe the same.

CCXI. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 391. CCXII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 395.
CCXIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 402.

Sithence the draweing of these forces into a body, wee have beene at a stand in an indifferent passage observeing the mocions of Sr Charles Coote and Colonell Venables, who had a designe joyneing in a body to march into Conaught or Linster (as the time would advice them), were they not prevented by our being in a body in equall balance betweene them ready to fall into the Claneboyes, wch kept Venebells at home, or into the Lagan, wch caused Coote to stand uppon his guard of the other side. At last wee resolved to march into the county of Derry to divert theire coniunction, and ariveing at a place called Dongevin, a considerable ffortte in the said county comaunded by L^t-colonell Beresforde, who was sumoned to deliver the possession therof to his Maties use, wch he utterly reiected, the coppies of my letters to him, and his answere there uppon here inclosed* sent will more at large informe yor Excie therein, whereuppon I had the army drawen before the said fforte, and a partie employed under the comaund of Colonell Myles Swine, who within halfe an houres time gained the said fortte, puting to the sworde all the warders, except the said L^t-colonell, who saved himselfe hidden amongst ladyes and other gentlewomen, yett he is deadly wounded. The comaunders of the army and gentry of this Province, hath issued a declaracion thereby indeavouring to induce the Scotts to declare for, and adhere to, his Matie; the coppy wherof† and of my owne letters to the inhabitants of the country I send yor Ex^cie. Our forces consists of 5000 foote, and neere 1000 horse, resolute men. I humbly desire yor Ex^cie to cause the Conaght forces to drawe towards the Earneside at least, if not further, wch would much distract the enemy, and conduce to the greate advantage of the service. This being all for the present, I remaine

Yo^r Excellencies most humble servant,

Emer[us] Clogherensis.

From the campe at Dongevin, 1 June, 1650.

For his Ex^cie the Lord Marquesse of Ormond, Lord L^t-generall of Ireland: These present.

Endorsed: Bpp. of Clogher. Dated 1 Junij. Rec. 17 July, 1650. Encloseing the coppy of a Declaracion, issued by the Lords and Gentry and Comanders of the Ulster Army, enduceing the Scotts to declare for his Matie, as also of coppys of severall letters past betweene the Bishop of Clogher and Lieut^t-coll. Berisford, concerning the fort of Dungevin, etc.

APPENDIX. 1650. 1. June. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

CCXIV. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOTT TO ORMONDE.

My Lord,

That which I delivered yor Exce upon the credence of the Duke my master his letter was, that a treaty haveing past betwine Comissioners from the Kinge and my master, concearninge a sea port in this kingdome for a summe of money, wch was well nere perclosed, my master desired first to be satisfied of the place and of the strenth and consequence of it, to wch purpose he sent me over to

1650. Recd. 13. June. Col. Oliver Synnott to Ormonde.

* See pages 421-2. † See page 422.

CCXIV. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 450.

APPENDIX.
1650.
Recd. 13. June.
Col. Oliver Synnott to Ormonde.

view it; next that I might learne if those Catholiques intrusted with yor Exce were agreing, and willing to ioyne in the delivery of the place; the third branch was that I had letters at large, in wch mention was made of the Kings comission, and some progresse of that treaty unto yor Exce with further credence to my selfe, in those perticulars wch I delivered yor Exce, and with all that I had a comission from his Highnes my master, to treat with any person or persons heere to raise the summe of tenn thowsand pounds to be delivered here in part payment, if I had liked the place, and if it had bene in condition without danger to be preserved, and kept untill my master had taken possession, wch letter and comission I was necessitated to throw over boord,* being pursued by two Parlament frigatts, lest being taken the Parlament might have intelligence of this treaty, and hereafter prevent it, and to avoid the hazard wch it might bringe my person. This was all I delivered beside the expression of the Duke my master his good affection to serve his Matie, in order to the preservation of this kingdome for his Maties interrest. Now I humbly desire yor Exce, if you intend to proceed that treaty to favour me with speed, in shewing me the place that I might proceed farther in this busines, for the time of my stay is already expired, and am willing to be dispached by yor Exce answere that I may returne with the first convenience. I am,

My Lord,

Yo^r Exce servant,

Olyver Synnotte.

For his Exce the Lord Leiuet.-Generall of Irland.

Endorsed: Collonell Synnotts letter to My Lord, without date. Received 13 Junij, 1650.

CCXV. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOTT TO ORMONDE.

1650.
16. June.
Col. Oliver Synnott to Ormonde.

My Lord,

Yours I receaved of the 16, but [not] beinge in a state of health to undertake that iourney I pray I may by excused, nor have I anny more to say that I writ to Exellence, and I have imparted hear to my Lord Tath [Taaffe] and divers of the Comissioners, whoe can full informe your Exce^ll of passed betweene us, soe as I hope I shall by both excused and pardoned for not waitinge at present on your Exce^ll, wch I wilby at all tymes ready and willinge when I shall recover strenth, and I hope that [the] Com[missioners] thear may prepare what they conceave best upon what I have all ready declared; in the my tyme I am,

My Lord,

Your Exellence [h]is most obedient servant,

Galloway, the 16 of June, 1650. Olyver Synnotte.

For his Exce the Lord Luiftennant-Gennerall of Irland.

Endorsed: Collonell Synnott. Dated 16, received 17 Junij, 1650.

* See page 420.

ccxv. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 474.

CCXVI. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERALL PURCELL.

1650. 19. June. Ormonde to Major-General Purcell.

Sir,

For important reasons, which I will imparte to you at meeteing, I desire you to doe what I give you order for touching the manninge of the castle uppon the weare, and makeing provision for the bridge as uppon your owne heade, without orders from mee, and to give out you doe it for the better passage of any to the other side, and securinge it uppon any necessity of retreate. I remaine

Your affectionate freind and servant,

Maior-generall Purcell. Ormonde.

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords 2d letter to Major-Generall Purcell, touchinge the Castle of the weare of Lym[erick], etc. Dated 19 Junij, 1650.

CCXVII. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL PURCELL.

1650. 19. June. Ormonde to Purcell.

After our hearty commendations: Wee received your letters of yesterdayes date, and are takeing the best and speediest course we can, with the assistance of the Comrs heere, to make present provision for this party. Wee desire you imediately to put a fitting number of men into the castle of the weare of Lymerick there to guarrison, and in case you cannot otherwise furnish them with pouder and amnuition, to supply them from Castle Connell, whether there was lately sent a barrell of powder. Wee alsoe desire and authorize you to take up in any parte of the country what plankes and timber you can finde that may make upp the bridge you mention. You are uppon receipte heereof to comaund a carefull officer with civill men unto Castle Bankes, to whome you are to give order that they preserve the place and comitt noe spoile, for there wee intend our selfe to reside for some time. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell from Inie, the 19th of June, 1650.

Your loveing freind,

Major-Generall Purcell. [Ormonde.]

Endorsed: A coppy of my Lords letter to Major-Generall Purcell for guarrisoninge the Castle on Lymerick weare and Castle Banke, etc. Dated 19 Junij, 1650.

CCXVIII. DEFENCE OF LIMERICK.—ORMONDE TO LORD DILLON.

Inis, 20 June, 1650.

1650. 20. June. Ormonde to Lord Dillon.

My Lord,

I shall expect the confirmation of Phillip Mc Hughes newes with greate impatience, for if it proue true it will adde soe much to the enimyes distraction, that wee may have hope to wether the storme for a tyme longer. Those that give

CCXVI. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 484. CCXVII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 487.
CCXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 492.

APPENDIX.
1650.
20. June.
Ormonde to Lord Dillon.

out that I am upon quitting the kingdome doe beleive they have given me cause soe to doe, and I beleive they purpose to proceed to the end in their designe. I am now past possibility of getting away if I would, and therefore I shall endeavour to trouble them and the other rebells a whyle longer. The busines of Lim[eric]ke is too long for a letter from me that am in forty other troables. Sr Luke Dillon will, I am sure, acquainte you with the whole proceedings. Your Lordship may be confident I shall never make soe greate an alteration of resolucion as quitting the kingdome but I will give you tymely notice of it, and an opportunity of seeing

Yor Lordships most affectionate servt,

Signed: Ormonde.

My service to my gossip and my freind Rupe.

Endorsed: 20 June, 1650. Coppie of his Excyes to the Ld Viscount Dillon.

CCXIX. CLANRICARDE TO LORD DILLON.

1650.
22. June.
Clanricarde to Lord Dillon.

My Lord,

I returne you most humble thanks for the plentifull and seasonable releefe I received from you the last night, though yr Lordship must not take it ill that I principally attribute it to my Ladyes care and faver towards her most most humble faithfull servant.

The relation yr Lordship received formerly carried much of truth in it; the party of foote I sent over the bogge with the releefe breaking through with a greate slaughter; their horse, foote, and canon placed upon and round about the Togher Gate, and had absolutly routed both and gained their peces, but for the cowardice of one Captaine Foxe, who by his example of runing broake all the reare and resarve.* But at this instant I have received intelligence, and with greate probability of truth, that our men salied out yesterday and kild 300 of their men, and gained and brought into the house both their peces, wch hath recompenced the former mischance. If wee can presarve our horse, they much overtopping us in number, I doubt not very speedily yr Lordship will receive a very comfortable accompt of our successes from

Yr Lordships affectionat, humble servant,

Terrills Pace Campe, the 22th of June, 1650. Clanricarde.

For the Right Honoble the Lord Viscount Costello, Lord President of Connaght: these.

Endorsed: Lord Marquis of Clanrickard to the Lord President of Connaght. Dated 22 June, 1650.

ccxix. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 9.

* See on this subject the statements at pages 93, 94, *ante*.

CCXX. DONNOGH O'DWYER TO ORMONDE.

1650. 23. June. Donnogh O'Dwyer to Ormonde.

May it please your Ex^cie^,

I have undertaken a greate taske to make up a regim^t^, and your Ex^cie^ hath beene pleased to apointe my quarters here in Kilnemanagh Ilieagh and Kilbenallumgurty, and to direct the Lord of Castelconell not to trouble my quarters, yett his leftenant-collonell and others of the army not only threaten destruction to the inhabitants, but yesterday have wrested forty beeves from them.

My Lord, I am confident of the inhabitants integritie, and receaved alredy good testimonie thereof. I humbly begge your Ex^cies^ order against such incursions and threatened destruction, wch will incurage me, and inable the countey to furnesh me now upon the pinche. And being directed to rayse the proportion of Clanwilliam within 14 days, whereof 4 days weere spente before the order came to my hands, I am diffident I shall not be able to rayse them so soone, and in as much as the enemy are hourly out in that barony, and som tyms here, and this very day came to Camas, and thereby the inhabitants so awed as they dare not send me men or armes, though I doubte not of their willingnesse. If it stand with yor Ex^cies^ pleasure to prolonge the tyme, it will be of great consequence to me and to the service, yett if any necessity hapen I shall be redy to wayte with such proportion as I shall be able to make up, wch I hope will be considerable, to serve your Ex^cie^ as shall becom

Your Ex^cies^ reall humble servante,

Glanradine, 23 Junij, 1650. Donnogh O Dwyer.

The bearer, my cousen Edmond Magrath, whose redinesse and reality I found in this businesse, will informe your Exelencie of all particulars.

For Exellencie the Lord Lieuten^t^-generall of Ireland at Inis.

Endorsed: Mr. Donnogh Dwyer. Dated 23 Junij, 1650.

CCXXI. LORD DILLON TO ORMONDE.

1650. 23. June. Lord Dillon to Ormonde.

May it please y^r^ Excellencie,

Captaine Butler, whoe came late last night from the campe, and brought mee the inclosed from my Lord of Clanricard, is nowe repayeringe to wayte on y^r^ Lordship, whoe will inform y^r^ Excellencie of all the passagess of the armie, to whose relation I humblye referr y^r^ Lordship, and remaine

Y^r^ Excellencies most faythfull and most humble servant,

Dillon.

Athlone Castle, 23th June, 1650.

For his Excellencie the Lord Marques of Ormonde, Lord Liuet.-gennerall of Ierland: these.

Endorsed: Lord President of Connaght. Dated 23, received 25 Junij, 1650.

ccxx. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 12. ccxxi. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 17.

CCXXII. ORMONDE TO COLONEL SYNNOTT.—TREATY WITH LORRAINE.

1650. 25. June. Ormonde to Col. Synnott.

After our hearty comendations: Wee have appointed and authorized our very good Lords the Lord Viscount Taaffe, the Lord Baron of Athanry, and Geffry Browne, Esq^rs, to treate and conclude with you concerneinge the matter for which you were imployed into this kingdome by his Highnes the Duke of Loraine, which wee thought fitt heereby to lett you know, and withall that wee shalbe concluded by, and performe what they shall doe therein. And soe wee bid you very heartily farewell from Inis, the 25th of June, 1650.

Your loveing freind,

Collonell Oliver Synnott. Signed: Ormonde.

Endorsed: A coppy of his Ex^cyes letter of credence to Collonell Synnott concerneing the treaty etc. Dated 25 Junij, 1650.

CCXXIII. LORD DILLON TO ORMONDE.—DEFENCE OF LIMERICK.

Athlon Castle, 26th June, 1650.

May it please y^r Excellencie,

1650. 26. June. Lord Dillon to Ormonde.

The orriginall of this inclosed came to Mr. Lawrence Dowdall as hee was with mee at dinner, wch I conceaved nessesarie to poast to y^r Excellence. I beleeve it will putt a period to y^r treatie with Limbrick, for nowe I doute not butt they will be glade to accept of your Lordships on anie tearmes. Theyr delaye all this time was, as I am credablye informed, dependinge on the sucsess of the Bushop of Cloghers armie, and its thought if they had beene masters in the north, ther would have beene as great a revolution against the Kings authoritie as ever was by that partie and theyr adherense in the whole kingdom. I shall endevore to finde the truth of it. In the meane time I shall bee glad to receave your commands, as beeinge

Y^r Excellencies most faythfull and most humble servant,

Dillon.

My Lord of Clanricard is gon to Portumna, from whom I am confident y^r Lordship has receaved all the newes of the campe. I beleeve the enemie will visett mee heere soone on both sides of the river, for I finde noe oposision. Sr Cha. Coote or his partie has nowe to come into Connaght.

For his Excellencie the Lord Marques of Ormonde, Liuetenant-Gennerall of Ireland: Theis. Hast, hast.

Endorsed: Lord Dillons. [Dated] 26, Rec. 27 June, 1650.

CCXXII. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 27. CCXXIII. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 44.

CCXXIV. LORD DILLON TO ORMONDE.—DEFENCE OF ATHLONE.

1650. 27. June. Athlone: Lord Dillon to Ormonde.

May it please y^r Excellencie,

I sent yesterday a post unto you with the newes of the north, wch is still confirmed. The inclosed came to mee this morninge, beeinge better conditions then I expected Tecrohan would have gott.* I am confident the enemy will suddenlie visett this place, I have often acquainted y^r Lordship and the Commissioners with the want of it, and that wch trobles mee most will bee the lacke of amunition, haveinge not above 6 barells of powder with a proportion of match and bullett; I beseech y^r Excellencie to thinke upon a speedie way to supplye it with thos wants; for provision, if I see nesesetie for it, whilst its in the cuntrie I shall make bould with it, if I may have y^r Lordships license. I conceave it fitt that imediatlie the guns of Tecrohan might bee brought from thence, perhaps delay might bee used in it, though I shall gaine nothinge butt charge and troble by it. If y^r Excellencie will laye y^r commands on mee with power to press carriage, I shall bringe them hyther. I am

Y^r Excellencies most faythfull and most humble ser^t,

Dillon.

Athlone Castle, 27th June, 1650.

For y^r Excellencie.

Endorsed: 27 June, 1650. Lord Dillon, touching Tecroghan, etc.

CCXXV. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOTT TO LORD TAAFFE.

1650. 28. June. Col. Oliver Synnott to Lord Taaffe.

My Lord,

I observed yor Lordship shewed mee yesterday a commission from his Ex^cy to yor Lordship, my Lord of Athenry, and Mr. Browne, to treat with mee. I doe not remember that yor Lordship or they moved any thing to mee upon that commission, nor doe I heare from yor Lordship that you have prepared the overtures which yor Lordship made to Captayne Antonio and to mee. I would bee glad that I might be satisfyed what yor Lordship doth intend, and to reduce it in writeing that wee may draw the neerer to a conclusion, whereby I may bee able to give a cleere accompt to ye Duke my maister, or if my health will not permitt my owne goeing, that I may certifye by yor Lordship how I finde matters heere. I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordships most humble servant,

From my Chamber, 28 Junij, 1650. Olyver Synnotte.

To the Right Honble the Lord Viscount Taaffe: These.

Endorsed: Collonell Synnott to Lord Taaffe. Dated 28 Junij, 1650.

CCXXIV. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 45. * See page 95.
CCXXV. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 55.

CCXXVI. DEFENCE OF LIMERICK.—ORMONDE'S INSTRUCTIONS TO MAJOR HUGH O'NEILL AND JOHN WAILSH.

1650.
29. June.
Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill and John Wailsh.

Instructions to be observed by Major-Generall Hugh ONeile and John Wailsh, Esqr, employed by us to the Mayor of the Citty of Lymerick, the 29th day of June, 1650.

First, That they shall imediatly receive such guarison and such a number of horse and foote as wee shall apointe.

That they shall submit to any thing shalbe comaunded them for the fortifying, securing, and defending the place.

That they shall give the like obedience to the governor when and as often as wee shalbe forced to absent from the place, as they should or ought to have given to ourselfe.

These perticulers being imediatly consented unto, wee shall ourselfe in person comaund in the place whensoever it shalbe beseiged, or in danger to be beseiged.

That the said particulers being imediatly consented unto, we are pleased to forgive and forget any act whatsoever comitted or done by the inhabitants of that citty at any tyme heretofore, and (if it be insisted upon) the late march of Colonell Murtagh OBryen thither, with all those who adhered unto him, soe as we be not thereby obleeged to continue him or them in comaund further then wee shall thinke fitt.

Endorsed: Coppie of his Ex^{cyes} instructions to Major-generall Hugh O'Neile and Mr John Wailsh.

CCXXVII. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOTT TO LORD ATHENRY.

1650.
30. June.
Col. Oliver Synnott to Lord Athenry.

My Lord,

Thee letter subscribed by my Lord Taaffe, yor honnor, and Mr. Browne, of the 22° of June I receaved the 29th of the same, and conceave there was a mistake in yor Lordships date of that letter, and would have sent an answeare at that very time, butt beinge not able to write, some that I would trust in that affaire refused to take the paines for me, wch was the cause I could not, with the expedition I desired, answeare that letter. Yo^{r} Lordship I hope will pardon me to lett yor Lordship know when yow shewed me yor comission I expected yow would have moved somwhat unto me in order thereunto, wch I conceave was not done, and as yor Lordship apprehendeth that Capt. Anthonio and I made overtures to my Lord Taaffe, that moved cleerely from my Lord Taaffe, wch were offered soe faire as if performance had beene the sequell; the blame might ly on either of us if the mony had not beene procured. But I conceave my Lord Taaffe hath undertaken more to us then hee could compasse, wch hath made his Lordship covert the proposition on us, and that itselfe he hath made soe short in the paper sent me, and soe unlikly in its owne nature to proceed from us, as I leave any indifferent man to iudge. Beside

CCXXVI. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 59. CCXXVII. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 67.

our answeare to my Lord Taaffe within an houre affter he made the proposition to us importeth the offers come from his Lordship, wch if they had not beene never our purpose, we had not made those propositions but unto his Ex^cie^ in answere of his last letter unto me, wch I would then answeare, but that my Lord Taaffe made his offers.

APPENDIX. 1650. 30. June. Col. Oliver Synnott to Lord Athenry.

My Lord, I doe not find this bussnes soe feasible as once I had hopes it would bee, and therefore I purpose no further to meddle with this matter, of wch I hope I am able to aquit my selfe, where to I crave yor Lordship pardon in this freedome, and remaine,

My Lord,
Yo^r^ Lordships most humble servant,
Galway, 30° June, 1650. Olyver Synnotte.

To the Right Honble the Lord Barron of Athenry and Jefery Browne, Esqr.

Endorsed: Coll. Synott's to the Lord Brimigngham and Geff. Browne, 30. June, 1650.

CCXXVIII. INSTRUCTIONS FOR COLONEL CONNOR O'BRIEN.

Instructions for Collonell Connor OBryen, to be presented unto his Excellencie the Lord Lieutenant-Generall of Ireland.

[1650. June.] Instructions for Colonel Connor O'Brien.

That a course may be settled to maintaine the party by publick dues.

That his Ex^cie^ may be pleased to cause a mutuall correspondency bytweene the said party and the party under Collonell Rotch his comaund.

The enemie being drawen to Leinster (as we finde) that there might be an order sent to Collonell Rotch to drawe his party to this body, that we might hinder the enemies designes in Leinster and Ulster by disturbing them att home.

That a good proporcion of match, bulletts and powder may be sent us.

That the riseinge out of the county of Clare may ioyne with this party, beinge resolved to force the counties of Limericke and Typerary to doe the like.

That all the field officers and other officers of horse and foote may be comaunded to the field, otherwise the faylers to quitt their imployment.

That the Comissioners generall likwise may be comaunded to attend the armie, wherby they should have the better sense of their want, and be readyer to remedy the same.

That the officers of this partye (who are in great distresse) may be forthwith succoured and releeved by yor Ex^cl^ out of the weeckly applottments of the county of Clare, and provided for, for the future.

That the partie come out of Killmallocke may be comaunded to ioyne with this partie.

That the Toreies or Idle boyes (who are assembled together in divers corners of the contry) may be comaunded to put themselves under comaund, in regiments already raised, otherwise to give speciall order for their reduceing with all severity.

CCXXVIII. Carte Papers, xxvii. p. 477.

APPENDIX.
[1650.
June.]
Instructions for Colonel Connor O'Brien.

That all regiments lately raised by his Ex^cies comission in this province of Mounster may be forthwith drawen to the field, and comaunded to ioyne with this partie.

That Collonell Pursells regiment may be comaunded to the field.

That if the generall course of riseing out be not observed, that all such as have horses be comaunded by speciall orders to appeare in the field, and to enlist themselves in such regiments as they thinke fitt, and required to bring a monthes provision.

That the forces garrissoned in the county of Limbricke bee drawne to the field to a smale number, in regard there is noe considerable boddie of the enemie in the said countie that may besiedge the said garissons.

CCXXIX. COLONEL OLIVER SYNNOTT TO ORMONDE.

1. July.
Col. Oliver Synnott to Ormonde.

My Lord,

The letter your Excellencie directed unto me of the 19 of June, whereby your Excellencie signified your pleasure that I should make knowen the place I would fix on, I receaved, and had answeared; but my Lord Taaffe tould me of the willingnesse of this towne to be ingaged, and made mee other offers, which were soe full of satisfaction, as I was in good hopes the matter was neere at end, beinge sufficiently satisfied by Capt. Anthonio that the money would not have beene the impediment, which may appeere by the letter subscribed by us both to my Lord Taaffe of which I suppose my Lord hath given your Excellencie an accompt, that being his errant as I then conceaved. But on my Lord his returne hither with the rest of the Commissioners your Excellencie intrusted in that affaire, I found thinges fall soe short of what I had hopes given mee by my Lord Taaffe, as I may not have confidence to deale any more in that affaire untill I receave further direction and command from the Duke my master, whom I have certifyed as I found matters heere, and expect with all speed his further pleasure, and rest,

My Lord,

Your Excellencies most humble and affectionate servant,

Galway, 1 July, 1650. Olyver Synnotte.

For his Excellencie the Lord Leiftenant-Generall of Ireland.

Endorsed: Collonell Sinnott's. Dated, 1. Rec. 6. July, 1650.

CCXXIX. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 72.

ADDITIONAL DOCUMENTS, NOTES, ETC. 1649-50.

1. PETITION OF PHELIM MAGENIS.

1649. 21. Aprill. Petition of Phelim Magenis.

The humble peticion of Phelym Magenis. Sheweth that Ever Magenis, Esqr., your petitioner's father, lately deceased, did alwayes adheare unto this Government and left your petitioner of tender yeares, since whose death your petitioner and his creaghts are very much impayred as well by the through fare of soldiers and other oppressions as alsoe by the excesse of country charges and taxes, and are like to suffer extraordinary for wante of your Excellencies protection to goe as free subjects under the present Government within your quarters.

In tender consideracion whereof your Excellencie may bee gratiously pleased to graunt unto your petitioner and his creaghts your protection requiring his Majesties subjects as well as officers and soldiers or whome else it may concerne hereafter not to trouble or molest them they paying such country charges and tolladges [as] of right shall fale due of them.

And he shall pray, etc.

Kilkenny Castle, 21. Ap. 1649.

The petitioner, his followers, and creaghts submitting to the peace and behaving themselves as good and loyall subjects are to conceive the benefitt of the peace and wee doe therefore hereby require all and euery his Majesties officers, ministers, and loving subjects as well civill as martiall whom the same may concearne to take due notice hereof and to affoard them the full benefitt thereof accordingly without any disturbance or molestacion whatsoever.

Ormonde.

2. OWEN O'NEILL TO COLONEL MONK.

[1649. 25. April.] Owen O'Neill to Colonel Monk.

Domine,

Epistolam tuam vicesimo primo datam nuperrimè recepi, nec priùs tibi respondere valui, eo quod cessationis articuli, ibidem inclusi nonnihil essent æquo breuiores, adeoque nec iis nisi ampliatis subscribere possem. Patricium Macmahonium Centurionem ad te misi cum potestate super eo negotio iuxta tradita sibi

1. Carte Papers, clv. p. 21. a. lib. ii.

2. Vindic. Catholic. Hiberniæ, authore Philopatro Irenæo, Paris: 1650, p. 187.—For account of transactions between Monk and Owen O'Neill, see *ante*, p. 216.

APPENDIX.
[1649.
25. April.]
Owen O'Neill to Colonel Monk.

mandata tecum agendi, et concludendi, vt et tradendi tibi quasdam propositiones Angliæ Comitiis præsentandas pro firma pace inter ipsa et partem nostram statuenda. Quarum quidem propositionum substantia, si bene memini, ad Colonellum Ionem tam missa fuerat; ad quas ille, quod miror, nullum adhuc responsum dedit. Quæ cumque conciliatio à prædicto capitaneo circa præmissa omnia facta fuerit, ea me omnesque mihi adhærentes obligabit, pactisque fideliter stabit,

Domine,

Humilis seruus tuus,

[25. April, 1649.] Eugenius O'Neillius.

3. Colonel Monk to Owen O'Neill.

Colonel Monk to Owen O'Neill.

Domine,

Literas tuas 25. Aprilis datas accepi, vidi etiam traditam à te Captianeo Hugoni à Mac-mahonio potestatem pro pace mecum tam tuo quàm parentium tibi copiarum nomine tractanda atque concludenda. Propositiones tuas perlegi, in quibus cùm nonnulla esse iudicarem, quæ Parlamentum Angliæ primo aspectu concedere refugeret earum aliquas nonnihil eo confidentiùs mutaui, quod pro comperto habeam rem tuam ne minimum quidem inde detrimentum esse capturam; quin potius efficit mutatio illa, vt maiorem illi in te, tuaque parte fiduciam collocent, quàm et te spero, tua in eorum obsequio, fidelitate, sinceritate, ac diligencia abundè meriturum; Si propositiones vt à me mutatæ et recusæ sunt, tibi probantur, eas, quæso, signo et sigillo tuo munitas, ad me remitte, vt easdem ego Angliæ Parlamento, quàm primum præsentem, eiusque fauorabilem super ijs responsionem obtineam. Interim peto, vt iuxta inclusam cartham trimestres induciæ inter nos concludantur, et inuiolabiliter inter vires nostro imperio subiectas illius temporis decursu seruentur.

4. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

6. May.
Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

After our hearty comendacions to your Lordship: Wee received your letters of the 27th of the last moneth on the 30th of the same, and in expectacion to give yow the result of what past heere since the meeting, stayd this your messenger by whom wee can onely advertise your Lordship that wee haue receiued very satisfactory professions and promises of loyalty to his Majestie and a perfect obedience to his authority placed in us, and as thereupon wee haue resolved to stay in expectacion of the seasonable effects which must both encourage and enable us to attempt all hazards to render this nation usefull to his Majestie and if possible to preserve it from the tyronous conquests of the prevayling rebells, soe wee doubt not but in case of a due and necessary obedience, and by the blessing of God upon our endeavoures, we may yet render all the victoryes of the rebells fruitelesse and ineffectuall, and soe wee bid you heartily, etc. 6th May, 1649.

Your very loveing freind,

Generall Ever Mc Mahon, Bishop of Clogher. [Ormonde.]

3. Vindic. Catholic. Hiberniæ, authore Philopatro Irenæo, Paris: 1650, p. 192.
4. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 241.

5. LETTERS FROM OWEN O'NEILL.

TO DIONISIO MASSARI, DEAN OF FERMO.

Reverendissime Domine,

Tandem ad tantas devenimus angustias et extremitates ut necessario adhaerere debeamus vel uni vel alteri parti haereticae, nempe factioni Supremi Concilii aut factioni eorum qui Dublinii degunt, quorum utrumque nobis amarius est ipsa morte. Hactenus ultra posse stetimus pro causa Dei expectantes summa aviditate inde auxilium paterna cura Illustrissimi Domini Nuncii et vestra ibi procurandum. Fuimus semper in castris, in comitatibus Longfordiæ, Cavan et Leitrim, ubi nostros speciales amicos funditus destruximus, nisi quod inde non audebamus egredi. Rogo vestram Reverendissimam Dominationem dignetur tempestive nobis adesse summe necessario succursu, ne irreparabili fidei damno et nationis gravi infamiæ nota cogamur iniquo fœdere nos conjungere haereticis. Illustrissimus Cloghorensis [Mac Mahon] fuit captus a Domino Felice O'Neill, sed felici astu evasit manus ejus. Casu quo nihil nobis procurare poteritis, dignetur, quaeso, vestra Reverendissima Dominatio nos suo salutari consilio dirigere ac benedictionem paternam impertiri. Quantum ad me, si necessario adhaerendum sit ulli parti haereticae, reliquam partem vitæ meæ in alienis transigam partibus. Misere mortificantur religiosi Sancti Francisci qui adhærebant Ecclesiæ, insultantia et inobedientia quorumdam discolorum ejusdem ordinis qui foventur favore et authoritate Commissari Generalis Belgarum, Marchant; faciat, quæso, vestra Reverendissima Dominatio ut in curia illius Commissarii cohibeantur suspecti conatus, ne ulterius in favorem hæreticorum procedat. His me commendo favori vestro et vestras deosculor manus.

1649. 13. May. Owen O'Neill to Massari.

Vestrae Reverendissimae Dominationis addictissimus servus,

Don Eugenio O'Neill.

Ex castris nostris prope Cavan, 13 Maii, 1649.

Ad Decanum Firmanum, Illustrissimum Dominum Dionisium Massarium.

TO CARDINAL DE LA CUENA.

Eminentissime Domine,

Hactenus unanimiter cum laude Catholici hujus regni pugnavimus cum communi Ecclesiae hoste, sed quorumdam corda ita exulceravit invidia, mentesque amor bonorum ecclesiasticorum, quæ toto tempore hæreseos inique et abunde possederant adeo excoecavit et demulsit, ut relicto sancto fœdere toties incremento firmato de propaganda vera fide, et contempta obedientia Sedis Apostolicae ejusque Nuncii, cleri regni spreta authoritate, iniqua collegatione se conjunxerint haereticis et ecclesiae inimicis, imo ejusdem perfidiae caput et

18. May. Owen O'Neill to Cardinal De la Cuena.

5. Rinuccini MSS., Florence.—"Spicilegium Ossoriense." By Right Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D. Dublin: 1878, pp. 33—36.

APPENDIX.
1649.
18. May.
Owen O'Neill to Cardinal De la Cuena.

gubernatorem instituerint regni Marchionem Ormoniae. Hoc tamen non obstante, favente divina clementia, inventi sunt qui huic Baal non flexerunt genua. Provinciae enim Ultoniae cujus militiam guberno, et ex toto regno major et sanior pars clerici et nobilitatis aucta majorum nostrorum haeretitate in obedientia et reverentia Sanctae Sedis Apostolicae remanemus. Sed hanc nostram filialem observantiam, tam in curia quam in aliis regnis, calumniosis titulis rebellionis et incendii contra rempublicam obscurare nititur pars adversa.

Eminentissimae Dominationis vestrae filius,
Don Eugenio O'Neill.

Ex campo nostro, 18 Maii, 1649.

Eminentissimo Domino, Cardinali de la Cuena.

To CARDINAL PANFILIO.

18. May.
Owen O'Neill to Cardinal Panfilio.

Eminentissime Domine,

Cum status nostri regni, proh dolor, sit redactus ad illam conditionem ut Illustrissimo Domino Nuncio nostro Apostolico, ipsum sequente saniore et digniore parte ecclesiastica et non contemnendo principalium nobilium totius regni numero, invitis, introductum sit haereticum caput sub praetextu pacis et fidei conservandae ab aliquibus hactenus in authoritate constitutis, palliantibus suam malitiam inurendo et Nuncio et ipsius sequacibus notam seditionis eo quod aversentur Lutheranismum cujus professionis est idem caput introductum contra commune votum et juramentum Confoederatorum Catholicorum a quo tres provinciae, Hiberniae, partim vi, partim seductae, recesserunt et gubernis ejusdem praefati capitis adhaeserunt, praeter aliquos nobiles majori zelo ductos hinc inde dispersos, ita ut sola Ultonia Nuncium et ecclesiasticos ipsi adhaerentes sequatur, quorum ego in militia praepositus tam de praesente quam de futuro protestor me nihil velle aut voluisse quam ipsorum vestigiis inhaerere et fidem Catholicam, quam semper anhelo, promovere, etc.

Don Eugenio O'Neill.

Ex campo nostro apud Cavan, 18 Maii, 1649.

Ad Eminentissimum Dominum, Cardinalem Pamphilium.

To RINUCCINI.

18. May.
Owen O'Neill to Rinuccini.

Illustrissime Domine,

Vix dici potest quantum passi sumus a discessu vestro continue in castris in quibusdam paucis nostris comitatibus, quos funditus destruximus eo quod inde egredi non potuimus. Jam sumus in puncto quasi desperationis. Sollicitat nos Ormonius cum sua factione ut secum nos conjungamus. Idem facit factio Parliamentaria: utramque, Deus novit, eodem odio et horrore prosequimur, sed, urgente necessitate, brevi unum aut alterum necessario nobis est faciendum nisi tempestive nobis inde succurratur. Quare humanissime rogo vestram Illustrissimam Dominationem ut paterna sua sollicitudine dignetur nobis providere de pecunia et

bellica ammunitione ut causam Dei et Ecclesiae defendere possimus et ne cogamur tam iniquo foedere in damnum fidei et opprobrium nationis ligari. In hac expeditione, summa festinatione opus est quia maximum est periculum in mora. Illustrissimus Cloghorensis [Mac Mahon] detinebatur captivus apud Dominum Felicem O'Neill,* sed felice omine evasit manus ejus. Multum persequuntur Provincialem Franciscanorum et fratres qui hactenus sequebantur partes Ecclesiae, et hoc authoritate Commissarii Generalis Belgarum, Marchant, qui jussu Supremi Consilii et inobedientium fratrum ejusdem ordinis misit unum Commissarium suae farinae ut mortificet et coerceat omnes adhaerentes partis Catholicae. Unde obnixe vestram Illustrissimam Dominationem obsecro dignetur in curia efficere ut cohibeantur tam suspecti conatus supradicti patris Commissarii, ac insuper nobis tempestive mittere vel nervum belli vel salutare consilium, et paternam vestram benedictionem. His sacras vestras deosculor manus.

APPENDIX. 1649. 18. May. Owen O'Neill to Rinuccini.

Vestrae Illustrissimae Dominationis addictissimus servus,

Don Eugenio O'Neill.

Ex castris nostris prope Cavan, 18 Maij, 1649.

Illustrissimo Domino Archiepiscopo Firmano et Nuncio Apostolico.

6. Petition of Hugh and Edmond Magennis.

The humble petition of Hugh Magennes and Edmond Magennes.

Most humbly shewinge that your poore petitioners complained unto your Excellencie about May last of the great wronges done them by the Lord Viscount Mountgarrett in takinge away their prey by stronge hand without any cullour of right that he could pretend any way against them only alleadginge that one Capten Edmond Magennes (one of their name) hath done some wronge to his Lordshipes tenants in the county of Wexford, which petition your Excellencie was pleased to referr to the Rt. Honorable the Earle of Roscomman, and Lord Viscount Taaffe, who sent their summons for your petitioners and the said Lord Viscount to appeare before them, with their wittnesses, which your petitioners obeyed for severall dayes, but the said Lord Mountgarrett haveinge (as it should seeme) excused himselfe, and the Lord Taaffe goeinge to the field hindered the said refference of going forward (as by the annexed certificat of their Lordshipes appeareth) to your poore petitioners undoinge and the destruction and famishinge of sixty persons of poore people that depended only on the said cowes. And inasmuch (if it may please your Excellencie that your petitioners haue nothinge to doe with the said Capten Edmond Magennes, who is of the Lord Viscount Iveagh his regiment: and responsible for what he hath done to the said Lord Mountgarrett his tenants, and that if he had tenn thousand poundes would not give your petitioners one penny in satisfaction for their prei taken by his Lordship as afforsaid. They humbly pray your Excellencie

9. July. Petition of Hugh and Edmond Magennis.

* See (vol. i. page 777) letter of Sir Phelim O'Neill, 2 March, 1848-9, to Ormonde, on the capture of Bishop Mac Mahon.

APPENDIX.
1649.
9. July.
Petition of Hugh and Edmond Magennis.

for God's cause to referr the same to some others indifferent lawyers or gentlemen, that will be chosen by your Excellencie to end and determine the said difference or to add some other unto the said Earle of Roscomman who is accquainted with the said difference to put an end to the same. And thei, etc.

9th July, 1649. We prai Sir Nich: Plunkett, Knt., and Gefferi Browne, Esquire, to call the parties to this petition before them and to examine and compose their difference if thei can, by consent or otherwise, to certifie us what they find, together with their opinions what they conceaue fitt to be done theruppon.

Ormonde.

7. ORMONDE TO COLONEL BIRNE.

3. Aug.
Ormonde to Colonel Birne.

After our harty comendacions: By our letters of this dayes date we haue directed Sir Tho: Armstronge to force into Drogheda all the provision therabouts either of hey or corne, and according to his direction to destroy what cannot be brought in. These are therfore to pray and require you to afford him what assistance you may in the execution of our said directions, at what time he shall desire it of you.

And soe, etc, 3 Aug. 1649.

Colo: Birne. Ormonde.

8. ORMONDE TO COLONEL GRACE.

3. Aug.
Ormonde to Colonel Grace.

After our harty comendacions: These are to require you on sight herof to send your orders for the present drawinge of Sir Edmond Butlers Regiment of horse from all partes where they now are into a body at Tulla in the county of Catherlagh. You are to aply yourselfe to the Commissioners of the said county for meanes who shall have orders to that effect. Of this you may not faile. 3. Aug. 1649.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grace. Ormonde.

9. ORMONDE TO COLONEL BIRNE.

4. Aug.
Ormonde to Colonel Birne.

After our very harty comendacions: yours of yesterdayes date we haue receaved, and have thought fitt for the expressions of loyalty therin made by you and of your desires to serve his Majestie to render you our harty thankes, and doe assure you the same shallbe truly represented to his Majestie in a very advantagious manner for your incoradgment. Wherfore we pray and require you to rally as many of your men together as possibly you may and to put them into a posture of service, for whose support present order shallbe taken in the co: of Wickloe. We doe also authorize you to treat with and graunt condicions to such as continue in opposicion to his Majesties authority by and with the advice of the said Sir

7. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 6. 8. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 7.
9. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 4.

Edmond. And what condicions you shall graunt unto them, or any of them, we doe hereby undertake to make good. Soe, recomendinge as well this particular to your best managment, not doubtinge of your readines therunto as the preservacion and maintenance of such straglinge soldiers as shall come of that way, we bid you hartily farewell. 4th Aug. 1649.

Appendix. 1649. 4. Aug. Ormonde to Colonel Birne.

Your loveinge friend,

Colonel Birne. Ormonde.

10. Ormonde to Mayors of Wexford and Cashel.

After etc: Wee understand that there is remaineing of the bisquett appointed by us to be made and sent by that Corporacion a proporcion of six thousand weight, and his Majesties service and your owne preservacion depending much upon the drawing into the feilds of the horse forces, wee haue thought fitt to pray and require yow with what possible speed yow may to hasten the said proporcion of bisquett to Athy, which will doe noe lesse then answeare the expectacion wee have of your care and diligence to promote the present service; and soe, etc. Dated 6th Aug. 1649.

6. Aug. Ormonde to Mayors of Wexford and Cashel.

Your loveing frind,

Mayor [of] Wexford. Ormonde.

Another to the Mayor of Cashell for 1000^{wt}. of bisquett, in the same words and of the same date.

11. Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

Sir,

I am informed by Sir Richard Barnwell that his house of Newcastle is a very considerable place in relacion to the security of the inhabitants thereabouts from the incursion of the enemy and therefore I desire you imediatly upon receipt hereof to send thether twenty musketeers of Captaine Gayners or any other company you shall thinke fitt, and to supply them with a reasonable proportion of amunition, match and leade, as alsoe to ascertaine the subsistence of them out of the weekely contribucion of that parish or otherwise as you shall judge best, I have receaved yours by Tompson and doe approve of your sending those men to Drogheda and of your endeavors to preserve that place. On thursday I intend to beginn my march from hence and doe hope to bee with you very speedily thereabouts. In the meane tyme I remaine

7. Aug. Ormondo to Daniel O'Neill.

Your affectionate friend,

Kilkeny Castle, the 7 Aug: 1649. Ormonde.

Colonell Daniell ONeale.

I shall bee aboute Tecroghan or Trim on Friday at night with money and as many horse as I can get.

10. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 2. 11. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 3.

12. SIEGE OF LONDONDERRY, 1649.

OWEN O'NEILL AND SIR CHARLES COOTE.*

i. Captain Henry Finch's Relation of the siege of London-derry, by the Scotch, Irish, and dis-affected English.

London-derry 19 June 1649.

Worthy Sir,

1649. Siege of Derry.

Lately I have received none from you, my last to you was the 14 of February of all passages; with some relation of the alteration since, but I thought it would never have come to this height, as then there was a grumbling, and presently it grew hotter, and in the Lagon they began to deny the payments agreed upon, so as souldiers were sent out for distresses, and brought in some money, but Sir Alexan. Stuarts quarters refused to pay any.

March 22. Two troops of horse went to Letherkenny, but were opposed in their return, yet at length had way given them, but without any money. Vpon this a generall revolt of all the Scotch of all sides appears, and they draw into armes, yet first upon other seeming occasions.

March 28. They totally debarre our markets, which before they had obstructed, and keepe their army at Cargans, and Mannur Conningham.

The first act of hostility was Aprill 1. they broke up John Elumes his house and stable, and took out 19 horses.

The 3. My Lord President having bought some meale in the country, was surprized, being some 30 odd boules of meal comming from the Mough [Muff], Cap. Kilner and the rest that had the charge of it, was put to flye for it.

The 4, They seased upon John Elumes house, laid a guard there, and debarred any passage, seasing upon some boats, and all his goods in effect.

7th. Capt. Kilner and my self were taken prisoners, but I was released for Capt. Lawson, who was detained in town, Cap. Kilner was shortly inlarged, but he is yet with them, and in a miserable condition.

10th. Some few of our troopers going to water their horses by the gallows was charged with a farre greater party, and beate up to the very gates, where two of them was laid dead, one taken prisoner, some others hurt.

23. A party of 50 horse of ours being no more officers and all, marched to the Carganes, where the generall randezvouze of the Scotch then was, 40 of our musketeers went out to make good the horse retreate, but went not a mile off, where wee tooke 45 prisoners, killed 16. whereof one was Maj. Belfore an able

* For references, in the "Aphorismical Discovery" and Colonel Henry O'Neill's "Relation," to these transactions, see vol. ii. p. 41, and vol. iii. p. 211.

i. A true Relation of the twenty weeks siege of Londonderry by scotch, Irish, and dis-affected English, with the daily proceeding passages thereof: as also the number of men killd and taken prisoners on both sides. Related in two letters from Captaine Henry Finch, one of the Captains of Londonderry, and one of the Aldermen of the city, to his friend in London. London: Printed by R. I. for S. G. and A. W. and are to bee sold at the Exchange, and at Westminster. 1649.

souldier, and a wise man, and another Captaine, 30 and odde of the prisoners were exchanged for so many boules of meale, the rest being Lieu. Col. James Galbraith; 2 majors, 1 captain and other officers and country men, who are reserved for ransome or other ends; brought eight coulors, and narrowly escaped many other commanders, and all this without the losse of one man, one hurt.

26. We begin to fire our sabberles over the bog, and pull down the cabines, ditches, and cut down all the orchards and gardens.

May 2, A party of our men went over the water and fired some of the houses, killed some men, and brought away some plunder.

The 3. All the cowes wee had about the Derry (which was about 80) was taken by the enemy, which was very grievous to the poor people, and many housholders.

The 5th, they came with their tents and laid close siedg to Derry within cannon shot of the towne, and in one night intrenched themselves beyond expectation, which daily since the enemy have been strengthening.

May 13. Our horse upon the strand beyond the gallows, was charged with a stronger party of their horse, but God gave us the victory, and five of theirs was laid dead, and only one was brought alive into the town, being shot thorow, and exchanged for one of ours then taken, but he dyed within a few dayes after his return, we had little hurt.

May 15. Another skirmish by the bogge side, where was three prisoners of theirs taken, and six kild.

17. We gave an allarm in the night, to the other side of the water, with our boats, but landed not, yet raised the whole country from Strabaine to Magilligan.

19. They desire a treaty, which was continued to the 23 day, but it was on their parts feignedly, not with any reall intentions, and so to no effect, but to gain time to secure their leagure by making new works which our ordnance did annoy.

26. A comfortable supply of wheat came from London, with a boate laden with barley, taken by the convoy bound for Dublin, which was landed for our store, but my Lord gave satisfaction for it to the owner, with a small barke wherein was some few cowes and horses, which were taken by the said convoy being bound for Scotland.

The same day came Sir Robert Stuart and Col. Mervin to the leagure which (as is said) had been broke up that night had they not come.

29. They took two prisoners of ours in the night out of their beds, lying without the Bishops gate, which was restored for one of theirs.

30. Our men went over the water, and burnt some houses, some men killed, and plunder taken.

June 1. All our horse, 150 foot, went over the water, the horse went to Goldsmiths new towne, fought with a party of horse and foot, routed them, fired the country, killed about thirty, took two prisoners, more they might, but would not, brought over some English, took a prey of 300 and odd cowes, as many sheep, some horses, with other plunder, fired and killed to the very Mough without any losse, onely one man, which lost himselfe in a glorious attempt, and God was mercifull in shewing so great a mercy to so few hands.

3. The cows being too many to keep for eating up our grasse, and not fit to kill,

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so many as were not usefull, was sold to the enemy for 10s. a peece, upon parrole, and was currantly paid.

8. The enemy in one night had built an incredible peece of work within almost musket shot of our towne, upon the top of the hill upon the way of Ballymackerooty: upon which my Lord President drew out all his horse, and about 200 foot marcht up to the worke, who immediately left it, gave alarm to the leagure, our men marched round about it, a party of horse encountred theirs, routed them, and our other part of horse comming in, gave them the chase for two miles, killed 25, took prisoners six, got many horses, good store of cloaks, some arms, and came and threw down their new worke, and after sent a challenge to the leagure to come out and fight them, standing in battalia above an houre within musket shot of their leagure, but they came not out, nor gave any answer to their summons, although they were more then three for one; much shot was exchanged this day between their musketteers and ours, but no hurt done to our party, many slightly wounded, but none mortally; the charge of horse was in sight of the towne bravely and resolutely given and received on both sides, but admirable was the successe, and divine providence did shew it selfe mightily therein in the chase they fired two miles, and beat up all their out-guards, some of their powder in the leagure blew up, and kill'd one man.

13. A new fort which were a building at the windmill was near finished, being throwne downe by the enemy this night, the wind being high, he was not discovered till done.

15. Three companies of English came in about 200. besides officers, without victualls or cloaths, and a great defect in armes, not above halfe armed, which is supplied by my Lord President in some measure.

18. White castle was this night plundred by some of our men, and the sea-men, got some mault, barly, meal, and much other luggage from thence, and other places.

19. The Scotch boat that was taken with the cows and horses bound for Scotland before mentioned, was manned out, and this day brought in two other small Scotch boats bound for Scotland from Colraine, laden with staves, clobords, rounds, and some butter, but they missed of their maine designe, being a bark laden with butter, tallow, and other good commodities, &c.

As if the Lord President had had a foresight, or some inspiration of this businesse, before any appearance was here, caused some 80 horse, and about 100. and odde foot, to come hither Feb. 5. out of Connough[t], and made stay of all manner of victualls and provisions, of which at this time of the yeare this towne was never so furnished, which hath mightily disappointed our adversaries, who did believe one month would have starved us, but praised be God, after three months siege, there is not one sicke or feeble body among us, and now in a better condition then the first day of the siege, our greatest want is and will be firing, there being no other firing but old houses and trees got out of orchards; for we suppose provisions will be plentifully sent us by the Parliament, which we daily expect: It is not without a great providence of God, that salt beef, herring, salt cod, salt salmon, at the time of the year drinking little (some nothing) but water, should prove so nourishing as

it doth, and not rather breed diseases. This is a part of the proceedings here since my last; but should I write you the laborious care, industry, and vigilency of our governour, scarce once in a week going to bed, nor sleeping at most times above two hours in twenty four, the gallantry of our horse, and stoutnesse of our foot, with every particular action, I should be too large. I shal I fear, lose the conveyance of this by my prolixity. So I conclude, with commendations to your selfe, friends, and rest,

London-derry
15. June, 1649.

Your assured friend
and servant,
Henry Finch.

I cannot say punctually that just so many men were killed at the skirmishes mentioned, yet by the report of the souldiery, and of the country, they were rather more then lesse.

London-derry, August 15. 1649.

Worthy Sir,

My last I writ to you, was of 19. or 20. of June, since no occasion hath presented, nor none came from you, nor indeed from any place else, all passages having been obstructed.

June 24. What had past from the beginning of our siege to that time, I advertised; since the most materiall are: Most of our horse, and 100 foot before day, went to surprise the enemies horse-guard, which lay at Mervins Mill, a mile of the towne, but were discovered by the guards on the other side of the water, the alarm being given, they took horse, and left the place, killed three men, and tooke nine cowes, so we took the plunder, and fired the mill, and foure or five houses.

28. These dayes past was spent in pulling downe of houses, and the mills, bringing home the wood for firing, and the stones for horse mills, onely one day a skirmish of the foot, where the enemy lost foure men.

30. The Presidents brother, and other officers of Connaught (the number of twenty horse in all, who were long before expected with their forces) came hither, having made a cessation for a month with the Scotch, but were to returne in 48 houres, which they did, but July 2. in the time of their stay, a great skirmish was almost all day between our foot and theirs, our horsemen being all in towne dispatching businesse with their friends of Connaught, onely a few which guarded the horses, 12. whereof went to second our foot, which was presently encountred with a like party of theirs, which had scarce exchanged their pistols, when 100 and odde horse comes amaine upon those few, and all their foot upon ours, beat our men to the walls, and with a full carrear came all along the wall within pistoll shot thereof, and close under our new work, firing all the way; yet blessed be God, we lost not a man, five of theirs was kill'd, and 2 taken prisoners, some of ours hurt, most recovered; in probability had the horsmen been out, and our foot had ammunition, which they had not, having spent it in the skirmish, a glorious day had been on our parts. Sligo sold to Clanricard by Henderson, whereby Connought is lost.

These eight dayes past, have resorted to the enemy great numbers of horse and foot, and daily skirmishes, and have brought to their leagure 12 pecces of

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ordnance, whereof they shot three peeces, carrying 4 l. bullet, but being without effect, they have made no more use of them. Col. George Munroe came to them with a party of horse and foot, who more then a month before, came to them with (as reported) 3 or 400 horse, 12 or 1500 foot English, Scotch, and Irish, which have miserably harried all the country, retaken Colraine, and those parts.

12. They built a fort at the Knock of Ember, to stop shipping and boats to come to us (which for 20 daies past, mightily relieved this place out of Enishoun [Inishowen] with fresh victualls) and having many hands, by noon, had made a defensible peece of worke; to slight which, and to get their ordnance, the President sent Cap. Keyser (a Par[liament] ship here), with 100 musketteers in boats, but they were so provided, that after exchanging on both sides good store of shot both great and small, the ship and boats went to Culmore, and could not returne.

13. Keyser went his way without leave, taking a great disheartning to lose him, who stood us in great stead, and 100 of our best men which would not returne.

16. They vapoured very much all day, but approaching something too near, two of their horses, and one man was kill'd by one of our peeces of ordnance, which indeed is all the hurt I know they have done: some fault there is in platforms.

19. This day came about 400 horse, and 150 dragoons of Connought forces on the other side the water, unexpected by us, and brought Humfrey Galbraith and Dean Bartly, and a Lieu. prisoners, immediately they send down a party of their horse to bring off our 100 men went with Keyser, who had lived the week past upon Enishowne, wanting nothing, but taking what they pleased.

20. The last night they remove their siege, and our men this day bring all their cabins and huts that was in the trench, and made of it for firing about 20. or 30*li.*

21. The enemy within a mile of the towne draws up into battalia both horse and foot, and seem resolved to fight, ours the like, but the ground being bad, and night approaching, nothing was done.

24. A party of 24 of our horse being sent out to discover the enemy, met with a party of theirs of 80, sent for the same end, charged and routed them, took two prisoners, both English, whereof Henry Pige, Col. Mervins barber, was one, 11 horses killed, 9 or 10 men, without any losse to us, onely two men hurt; this night a party of 100 horse, and as many dragoons, were sent into Enishown for contribution.

25. The enemy appears in great numbers, not lesse of horse and foot then 3000. which put us in a great fright, our party out of Enishowne not being returned, about noon they drew into battalia, so did we, and stood about an houre; when they marched to Enishown to get between our party and us, who by Gods providence came only time enough to get the shelter of Culmore, but so neer were they, that the van beat up our rear, one quarter of an houre longer had indangered or lost them all, a part of their prey they did take, but brought 500 cowes besides sheep, &c. The way not passable on this side, they ferryed over at Culmore, and came on the other side, but by that time they came here, the prey was reduced to 200, or lesse.

26. The Lord of Ards, ordered by the Prince to be governour, or commander in chiefe of Ulster, by commission, wherof he sent the Lord President a copy and a

summons in a threatning way, sets down beforo this towne, at a little more distance then the former leagure; but in the night forty of our men gave them a hot alarm, and put them in a cruel confusion.

27. One of our scouts was shot by an ambush of musketeers, wee took severall prisoners this day going to their leagure, all saying they would not rise till they had the town.

28. A little before noon the enemies foote drawes neer our horses, then a grasing, and before they could wel bridle were upon them, but they presently mounted and gave them the chase, cut and killed very many this was upon the side of the hill, the enemies horse were ready but out of sight, fell in the pursute of the foot, ours discovered them, who having spent their shot were glad to retreat a maine speed, and were followed with much eagernesse; at the foot of the hill the enemies charge was received by a few of our horse, the main body of horse not moving as they say for want of commanders, however great was the confusion, and the enemy followed our men to the windmill or as neer the town, but immediately they rallied and faced about: the enemy made an orderly retreat, but so as the dispute was hot, this skirmish continued near two hours all in much confusion, yet blessed be God we had no more losse, when once all was in hazzard, we lost four men upon the place, two dyed next day, 12 or 14 wounded, I think most is past the worst;

Of the other party, Lieu. Col. Ro. Galbraith, dangerously wounded, Cap. Fleming, of Phaughanvaile [Faughanvale], Lieu. Macklehan a bloody fellow, some other officers, and about 30 or 40 in all kild: taken prisoners 1 Lieu. 2 troopers of theirs, of ours eight, whereof one dyed.

We have two ships at Culmore, came up to try the fort to come by, the winde fell calme so as they could neither come up nor return, between them and the fort was discharged 80 pieces of ordnance, without any great hurt on either side.

29. While our horse came home the enemy removes in great hast and leaves their new leagure, marching away, gave order to the country to shift for themselves, as they did when they lost their former leagure; we settle a garrison at John Elumes house.

August 2 and 3 We burn Carganes, Sir John Cuningham's Newtown, Colmacktreene, and St. Johnstown.

4, 5 and 6. Some overtures and interchanging of letters have been about exchanging of prisoners, and offers of treaty; but nothing done more then the prisoners exchanged, who came hither the 6th.

7. Upon some articles of agreement, came Owen Oneale, with 300 horse and 4000 foote to our releife, and incamped on the other side of the water.

8. O Neal sent to summon Goldsmiths town which was rejected, a party of our horse and dragoones with 500 of Oneales foot marched into Enishowne for a present releif of Oneals men and ours, but their contribution being not ready; they take of the readiest 160 cowes and 30 or 40 oxen.

9. Oneale by a party of his again comes to Goldsmiths town, attempts to scale the bawne but were put off with the losse of a captain and 30 or 40 souldiers.

Sir Robert Stuart with so many as would side with him marched away, would

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have had the country gone with him, promising to return suddenly with an army of 10000.

10. New Buildings or Goldsmiths towne quitted and taken by Oneale wherein was good store of mault and other provisions.

11. Their new fort called Charles Fort upon the water was surendred to the President wherin was 180 men 11 peeces of ordnance and 4 small drakes upon one carriage, little ammunition or provision.

The souldiers left all their armes: but their powder-bags, hornes, bandaleeres, &c. being laid upon a heap (through accident or negligence) blew up and burnt severall of our officers and some souldiers very sore, and some horses, one or two in danger of death.

Two peece of ordnance were taken at New Buildings.

12. Eale [Elagh] Castle delivered up a serjeant and two file of men left in it, Mogerline, Lieu. Col. Jam: Galbraith's house delivered up, and Cap. Gore and a party of 20 or 30 left in it.

13. Bophee [Boveagh] castle summoned but rejected the summons.

Cap. Kilner came to town (having till Saturday at night past, in a manner been kept prisoner by the Scots) who then left them, the English and Irish return thither who hath about 40 good men, armes and ammunition and will suddenly be strengthened.

The Scots in these parts all fled to Ballicelly and Ballicastle which they victual and intend to make good.

14. A party of our own horse and foot and some of Oneals marched with 3 peeces of ordnance to Bophee castle to beleagure it. The whole country in effect comes in, submits, and gets protections.

Thus briefly have I given you a relation of our businesse which you may beleeve to be true, a few daies will either strengthen or alter our conditions much, the grand party of the Scots drawing to heads; I hear Mr. King is going down for aide. Now thinking I have been over tedious, communicate this to such and so many of our friends as you think fitting to whom I desire, with your self to be remembred, I rest, your assured friend,

Henry Finch.

ii. SIR CHARLES COOTE TO COUNCIL OF STATE AT LONDON.

14. Aug.
Coote to Council of State.

Right Honourable,

Be pleased to understand that General Owen O'Neal, being sensible that the Parliament's interest in these parts was in danger to be wholly lost, and the forces under my command likely to be ruined and destroyed in defence thereof by a numerous party of English and Scots under the Lord of Ards and other desperate enemies against the Parliament, was pleased freely to offer his assistance to our relief, which was accordingly accepted by me, upon the articles or conditions

ii. "A Perfect Diurnal of some passages in Parliament." London: 1648-9, p. 2738.

1649. 14. Aug. Coote to Council of State.

herein inclosed,* which I purpose (God willing) inviolably to observe, till your Lordships' pleasure be known therein: And truly I must ingeniously acknowledge that I have hitherto found General O'Neal and the army under his command very punctuall and faithfull in all their promises and engagements that they had made unto me; and I make no question but they will continue so unto the end: In the meantime while the Generall hath been pleased to communicate unto me certain proposals, which he saith were transmitted into England to the Parliament by Colonel Munk; and though, for his own part, and the prime officers with him, they do not doubt but that the proposals are already yeelded unto by the State; yet, in regard their army and party in all other parts of the kingdom cannot be satisfied therewith, untill the Parliament be pleased to declare themselves more publickly therein; He hath therefore desired me humbly to intreat your Lordships to declare your resolution therein, and that with as much speed as may be, to the end that he and his party might with the more vigor and cheerfulnesse endeavour the preservation of the Parliament's interest in this country, which I humbly desire may be accordingly performed, as that which I humbly conceive (with submission to your Lordships greater judgments) may much conduce to the advancement of the Parliament's interest in this country: And so I remain,

My Lords,

Your Lordships most humble and faithfull servant,

Charles Coot.

London-derry, August 14, 1649.

For the Right Honourable the Councell of State, sitting at Whitehall, Westminster.

24. Aug.

After the the reading hereof [on 24 Aug. 1649] the House [of Commons] voted as followeth:

1. Resolved, etc. That the vote of this house of the tenth of this moneth in the case of Colonel Monke, be communicated to Sir Charles Coote, as the resolution of this house, and a direction for him how to behave himselfe in the transaction between him and Owen Roe O Neal.

2. Resolved, etc. That this house is well satisfied of the diligence, faithfulnesse, and integrity of Sir Charles Coot in preserving the garrison of London-derry for the interest of the Commonwealth of England; and that it be specially recommended to the Councell of State to take care for provisions for him for the future, to prevent the like straits, and encouragement of him and his officers and souldiers under his command.

It was also voted, that one Captain Keyser who, with his frigot disserted Sir Charles Coot's assistance, should be sent for and examined, and power given to the Councell of State to commit him if there be cause, and the house ordered £100 to be given to M. King (one that had done good service) who brought the letters from Sir Charles Coote.

* See *ante*, pp. 216, 227, 433-4, for documents in connection with Owen O'Neill, Monk, and the Parliament.

APPENDIX.

iii. STATEMENTS BY EARL OF CLARENDON IN REFERENCE TO OWEN O'NEILL, MONK, AND COOTE.

1649.
Owen O'Neill, Monk and Coote.

"The Parliament party who had heap'd so many reproaches and calumnies upon the King for his clemency to the Irish, who had grounded their own authority and strength upon such foundations as were inconsistent with any tolleration of the Roman Catholick religion, and even with any humanity to the Irish nation, and more especially to those of the old native extraction, the whole race whereof they had, upon the matter, sworn to extirpate; and Owen O Neal himself being of the most ancient sept, and his whole army consisting only of such who avow'd no other cause for their first entrance into rebellion, but matter of religion, and that the power of the Parliament was like to be so prevalent and great, that the King himself would not be able to extend his mercy and favours towards them, which they seem'd to be confident he was in his gracious disposition inclin'd to express, and therefore professed to take up arms against the exorbitant power only of them, and to retain hearts full of devotion and duty to his Majesty; and he himself, at present, by underhand and secret treaties with the Lord Lieutenant, seemed more irreconcileable to the proceedings of the General Assembly, and to the persons of those who govern'd there, than to make any scruple of submitting to the King's authority, in the person of the Marquess [of Ormonde], to which and to whom he protested all duty and reverence: These two so contrary and disagreeing elements had, I say, by the subtle and volatile spirits of hypocrisy and rebellion, found a way to incorporate together, and Owen O Neal had promised and contracted with the other, that he would compel the Lord Lieutenant to retire and draw off his army from about Dublin, by invading with his army those parts of Leinster and Munster which yielded most, and indeed all, the provision and subsistance to the Marquess, and which he presum'd the Marquess would not suffer to be spoil'd and desolated by his incursions: For the better doing whereof, and enabling him for this expedition, Colonel Monke, Governour of Dundalk (and who was the second person in command among the English rebels) had promis'd to deliver him, out of the stores of that garrison, a good quantity of powder, bullet, and match proportionable; for the fetching whereof Owen O Neal had sent Farrell, Lieutenant-General of his army, with a party of five hundred foot and three hundred horse, at the time that Drogheda was taken by the Lord Inchequin, who being there advertis'd of that new contracted friendship, resolv'd to give some interruption to it, and made so good haste, that within few hours after Farrell had receiv'd the ammunition at Dundalk, he fell upon him, and routed all his horse, so that of the five hundred foot there were not forty that escap'd, but were either slain or taken prisoners,* and got all the ammunition, and with it so good an account of the present state of Dundalk, that he immediately encamp'd before it, and in two days compell'd Monke (who else had been deliver'd up by his own soldiers) to surrender the place,

iii. The History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Dublin: 1719-20, p. 82.

* See "Aphorismical Discovery," *ante*, p. 37.

where was a good magazine of ammunition, cloaths, and other necessaries for war, most of the officers and soldiers with all alacrity engaging themselves in his Majesty's service.

Upon this success, the less garrisons of Newry, Narrow Water, Green Castle, and Carlingford, were easily subjected, and the Lord Inchequin, in his return, being appointed to visit Trym, the only garrison left to the rebels in those parts, except Dublin, in two days after he had beseig'd it, made himself master of it, and so returned with his party (not impair'd by the service) to the Lord Lieutenant, in his camp at Finglass.

Owen O Neal still continued his affection to the English rebels, and when he found that his design of drawing the King's army from Dublin could not succeed, he hasted into Ulster, and upon the payment of two thousand pounds in money, some ammunition, and about two thousand cows, he rais'd the siege of Londonderry, the only considerable place in that province that held for the English rebels, and which was even then reduc'd to extremity by the Lord Viscount Mountgomery of Ardes, and must in few days have submitted to the King's authority, if it had not been in that manner reliev'd by the unfortunate Irish."

iv. "The Lord Lieutenant [Ormonde] now discovered the reason why Owen O'Neile had refused to consent to the peace which the Confederate Roman Catholics had made with the King, and kept his army in Ulster from submitting thereunto, and pretended to desire to treat apart with the Lord Lieutenant for himself; which was then thought to proceed from the jealousy that was between him and Preston, and the animosity between those old Irish of Ulster, and the other of the other provinces. But the truth was, from the time of the Marquis of Ormonde's transporting himself out of France, and that the correspondence was discovered to be between him and the Lord Inchiquin, and the treaty begun with the Confederate Catholics, the close committee at Westminster sent secret instructions to Monk, who commanded their forces in Ireland, 'that he should endeavour to treat with Owen O'Neile, and so divide him from the rest of the Irish'; which Monk found opportunity to do: and it was no sooner proposed than hearkened unto by O Neile; who presently sent a trusty messenger with such propositions to Monk, as he desired to have granted to him. He offered, 'with his army, which should always consist of such a number of horse and foot, and artillery, as should be agreed between them, to serve the Parliament; and not to separate from their interest;' and proposed, 'that he, and all his party that should adhere to him, should enjoy the exercise of their religion, without any prejudice or disadvantage: that himself might be restored to those lands which his ancestors had been possessed of in Tyrone, Londonderry, or any other parts of Ireland; and that all those who had or would adhere to him, should be likewise restored to their estates; and that an act of oblivion might be granted.' Monk received these propositions, and after he had perused them, he sent him word, 'that there were some particulars, which, he doubted, would shock and offend the Parliament, and therefore desired they might be altered;' and proposed the

iv. The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Oxford: 1843, vol. ii. p. 743.

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alterations he advised; which principally concerned the public exercise of their religion; which he so qualified, that they might well enough satisfy; and proposed, 'that if O'Neile would consent to those alterations, he would return the treaty signed by him; which he would immediately send over to the Parliament for their confirmation; and that in the mean time, there might be a cessation of arms between them for three months; in which time, and much less, he presumed, he should receive a ratification of the treaty from the Parliament.'

"Owen O'Neile consented to the alterations, set his hand and seal to the treaty, and returned it to Monk, with his consent likewise to the cessation for three months. And at this time it was, that he refused to agree with the Confederate Council at Kilkenny in the peace with the King. Monk sent it presently to the committee, which had given him authority to do what he had done. But their affairs were now better composed at home, and some preparations were made towards sending relief for Ireland; besides, they had not authority to make any such ratification, but presented it to the Parliament, which could only give it. It was no sooner reported there but the house was on fire; all men inveighed against 'the presumption of Monk, who deserved to be displaced, and to have his command taken from him, and to have exemplary punishment inflicted on him. They remembered how criminal they had declared it to be in the King himself, to have treated, and made a peace with the Irish rebels: and what would the people think, and say, if any countenance should be given to the same transgression by the Parliament? if they should ratify a treaty made by the most notorious of the rebels, and with that people under his command, who were the most notorious contrivers of that rebellion, and the most bloody executioners of it? for the most merciless massacres had been committed in Ulster, by that very people who now constituted that army of which Owen O'Neile was now general.' After all the passion and choler which they thought necessary to express upon this subject, they declared, 'that they had given no authority to Monk to enter into that treaty; and therefore, that it was void, and should never be confirmed by them; but that, since he had proceeded out of the sincerity of his heart, and as he thought (how erroneously soever) for the good and benefit of the Commonwealth, he should be excused; and no farther questioned thereupon.' For they knew well, that he could produce such a warrant from those in authority, as would well justify his proceeding: and so the treaty with Owen O'Neile became void, though they had received a very considerable benefit by it; for though the Scots in Ulster had not yet submitted to the peace, and had not received directions from Edinburgh to acknowledge the authority of the Lord Lieutenant, which they ought to have had before that time, yet, after the murder of the late King, they had used all acts of hostility against the Parliament forces, and had beseiged Londonderry; the only considerable place that yielded obedience to the Parliament; which was defended by Sir Charles Coote, and when it was brought to some extremity, by the cessation made with Owen O'Neile, and by his connivance and assistance, Londonderry was relieved; and O'Neile, finding himself deluded by the Parliament, sent then to offer his service and conjunction to the Lord Lieutenant, with abundant professions of fidelity and revenge."

13. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

1649. 17. Aug. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After etc. Understanding by your letters of the —— this instant that your troope is at Geshill and noe parte of the regiment therewith, wee thinke fitt and accordingly require you on sight heereof to send your said troope under the command of your Lieutenant unto us to receive our further orders, and that you goe backe and with what convenient hast you can draw the rest of the regiment together except Sir Edmond Butler's troope, and therewith march towards us. And soe wee bid you farewell from Drogheda, the 17th of August, 1649.

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

For Lieutenant-Colonell Richard Grace.

20. Aug. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After our etc. Wee find that Colonell Francis Trafford is necessitated for his health to goe for France, for which iourney he is greate want of money. As it is probable Colonell Francis Trafford may be in France, wee have therefore thought fitt heereby to desire you to pay unto Colonell Francis Trafford soe much as you can possibly spare out of your receipts of the rents of that towne, and the lands thereunto belonging, to supply the exigence of both, and, upon Colonell Trafford's comeing over, wee shall settle some course between you as shalbe to your satisfaction. And soe etc. 20th August, 1649.

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant-Colonell Richard Grace.

14. ORMONDE TO EARL OF DERBY.

24. Aug. Ormonde to Earl of Derby.

My Lord,

This noble lady, the Lady Tichburne, in the unsatiable mallice of the rebells to the King's frinds, being particularly threatened with ruine, is forced for safety to betake her selfe unto that Iland,* the last refuge of the distressed of that stampe, to whom I shall desire your Lordship's favour in the best maner that it can be afforded to a lady of soe great vertue and honor, being now seperated from her husband, and both distressed for the onely cause that makes us all sufferers. I need not much intreaty to your lordship in a thing to which you are soe frequently accustomed, but remaine

Your Lordship's affectionate seruant,

Ormonde.

Earl of Derby.

From Drogeda, 24th of Aug. 1649.

13. Carte Papers, cxlii. pp. 12, 16. 14. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 26.

* Isle of Man.

APPENDIX.

15. ORMONDE TO SIR ARTHUR ASTON.—LADY WILMOTT AT DROGHEDA.

1649. 28. Aug. Ormonde to Sir Arthur Aston.

After our hearty commendations: We understand that you have discovered some more correspondence to bee betweene the Lady Willmott* and the enemy which might giue iust occasion to her restraintc. But, in the consideration and respect wee retaine of her yeeres and qualitie, wee conceave it sufficient to confine her to our very good Lord, the Lord Moore's country-howse, to debarr her from occasions of giveing future intelligence in that kinde. And soe wee bidd you heartily farewell from Tecroghan, the 28th of August, 1649.

Your loving friend,

Sir Arthur Aston. Ormonde.

16. ORMONDE TO COLONEL HUGH BOY [*BUIDHE*] O'DONELL.

28. Aug. Ormonde to Colonel O'Donell.

After etc. By our patent of this dayes date, wee required your imediate march to Athy, where wee shall order your payment from tyme to tyme dureing your continuance there. Wee thought fitt hereby to require you to leave one sufficiently instructed to account with the Receavor of the King's County of what payments were made unto your regiment since your comeing into that county, to the end that if any thing remaine in arreare to you wee may giue order for your satisfaccion, and therefore, that at or before your departure you take noe distresse in the King's County, being that, upon returne of the account of their Receauer and him intrusted by you therein, wee have undertaken your satisfaccion, whereof not doubting your performance, wee bid you heartily farewell from Tecroghan, the 28th day of Aug. 1649.

Your loveing frind,

Ormonde.

Colonel Hugh Boy O'Donell.

30. Aug. Ormonde to Colonel O'Donell.

After etc. Your are to observe our orders of the 28th of this instant in your marching to Athy you [are] not [to] impute the dispersing of your regiment unto our many patents haveing not by any removed you out of that county since your coming thither, though wee understand that since your being with us at Drogheda, you removed your selfe and regiment into the Queen's County, by vertue of a former patent which you denied unto us to have come to your hands and wee gave our patent of the 21th of this instant to march to Phillipstowne with your regiment their untill further order, contrary unto which you afterwards marched into the Queen's County. By your letters of the 28th this instant, wee appointed you to leave one behind to account with the Receaver, upon returne whereof wee promised

15. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 31. * See also *ante*, pp. 233-34-35.
16. Carte Papers, cxlii. pp. 29, 34.

you by these our letters to see you paid what should remaine unsatisfied, wherewith you are to rest satisfied in present and to delay your obedience to our orders noe longer nor to expect to be your owne paymaster. Wee bid you farewell from Tecroghan, 30th Aug. 1649.

Appendix. 1649. 30. Aug. Ormonde to Colonel O'Donel.

Your loveing freind,

Collonel O Donnell. [Ormonde.]

17. Ormonde to Sir Phelim O'Neill.

After etc. We receaued your letters of the 28th of the last moneth. I doe assure yow that wee had noe informacion given us that might occasion our varieing from the good opinion by us received of your fixednes to what yow professed unto us in reference to his Majesty's service. And as wee are sinceible of your readines to offer your selfe and assistance to further that service, soe wee shall when tyme serves send you our order to draw into the feild to that end, and remember your constant faithfullnes thereto unto your advantage. And soe etc.

3. Sept. Ormonde to Sir Phelim O'Neill.

Your affectionate freind.

Ormonde.

3d. of September, 1649.

Sir Phelim O Neill.

18. Ormonde to Oliver Cromwell.

Sir,

This gentleman, Captain John Bellew, whoe was taken at Rathmines, beinge sent to labour the ransomes of himselfe and the rest taken there, informes me that he hath written twice to Colonell Jones to knowe the same, but as yett cannot learn it; wherefore he now goes thither himselfe to knowe the certainty therof accordinge the contents of the articles of quarter given them which he caries alonge with him. I shall desire that you will be pleased to lett him knowe the same and to dispatch him back therewith, that a speedy course may be taken therin. And soe I remaine,

8. Sept. Ormonde to Cromwell.

Yours,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant-Generall Crumwell.

Castle Jordan the 8th of September, 1649.

I have intrusted the bearer, Captain John Bellew, to capitulate for the release by exchange or ransome of such prisoners as now or heerafter shalbe of eyther side, whose capitulacion therin I doe hereby undertake to make good; and withall to desire your answere to my letters of the last of this August tuchinge tho release of my servants..

Endorsed: Letter to Cromwell.

17. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 39. 18. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 42.

19. ORMONDE TO COLONEL HUGH BYRNE.

Ormonde.

1649. 9. Sept. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Byrne.

Whereas it is of absolute necessity in order to the advancement of his Majesties service that all possible meanes and industry be used to anoy [and] distresse the enemy at Dublin on Wickloe side of the citty. Wee therefore being confident of your readines to performe that service, have thought fitt, and accordingly wee doe hereby pray and require you to rise with the regiment of foote under your command from your now quarters and thence to march to Powerscourt in the county of Wickloe where being come you are as well for your owne security as to disapointe the enemy to cause all the strength and holts in those partes whereof you conceive the enemy [might] possese himselfe, and which by consequence may draw danger and prejudice upon you and your men there, to be demolished and made useles unto him, you are withall at the utmost of your power to distresse the enemy either acting some service against him or preventing him of marketts (which would administer him releife) in detcyneing the people of the country from goeing to Dublin with provisions and other necessaryes, for doing whereof etc.

9. Septembris, 1649. [Ormonde].

To Collonell Hugh Byrne.

20. ORMONDE'S NEGOCIATIONS WITH OWEN O'NEILL.

i. INSTRUCTIONS FROM ORMONDE TO FATHER NUGENT.

By the Lord Lieutenant Generall of Ireland.

Ormonde.

29. Sept. Ormonde's Instructions to Father Nugent.

[1.] Forasmuch as Father Francis Nugent hath, in pursuance of letters of credence given him, dated xxth of February last,* subsigned Emerus Clogherensis, Owen O'Neill, and Richard Ferrall, obtained his Majesties gratious letters vnto vs directed, in the behalfe of Generall Owen O Neill, comaundinge vs that wee should by all faire invitations drawe the said Owen and his party to submitt to the due obedience which they owe vnto his Majestie theire Kinge and lawfull Soveraigne; wee, in observance of his Majesty's saide directions and beinge our selfe exceedeinge desireous to unite all his Majesties subiects of this kingdome, as well in theire due obedience vnto his Majestie as in theire mutuall assistance and supporte one of the other, doe in his Majesties name promise and vndertake, that the said Generall Owen O Neill, his party and forces, submittinge to his Majesties authority and ioineinge against the Rebells of England for the preservation of his Majesties interests in this kingdome, shall have the full and free benefitt of the Act of

19. Carte Papers, clxii. p. 84.

i. Carte Papers, xxiii. p. 333, and vol. lxv. p. 367.—This appears to be the "instrument" referred to in Ormonde's letter to Owen O'Neill of 29th Sept. 1649, *ante*, p. 282.

* For this letter, see vol. i. p. 772.

Oblivion, in the same measure as it is granted to any other of his Majesties subiects by the Articles of Peace, and shall have his Majesties gratious pardon for all former offences.

APPENDIX. 1649. 29. Sept. Ormonde's Instructions to Father Nugent.

2. That the said Generall Owen O Neill his party and adherents shall, in pursuance of the Articles of Peace, have the full liberty of theire conscience, and free exercise of their religion throughout the kingdome.

3. That the said Generall Owen O Neill, shall have his Majesties commission to commaund in chiefe vnder his Majesties authority, an army in this kingdome provided for in the same manner as the rest of his Majesties forces are.

4. That the titell and honor of an Earle shalbe by his Majesties Letters Pattents be conferred vppon him and his heires males.*

Theise beeinge the conditions which the said Father Francis Nugent declared vnto vs would be satisfactory vnto the said Generall Owen O Neill, wee doe, in case of his the said Generall Owen O Neill's submission to his Majesties authority, and assistance in preserveinge his Majesties interests in this kingdome, condiscend vnto, not intending heereby to limitt the said Generall Owen O Neill from receavinge all further benefitts or advantages, which are or may be derived vnto him or his party, by any conclusion vppon the treaty now on foote betweene our Commissioners and the said Generall Owen O Neill. Giuen at Kilkenny Castle, this 29th of September, 1649.

Ormonde.

29. Sept. 1649. A Coppy of my Lord's Instructions to Father Francis Newgent.

Endorsed: Sir, You are to shew theise our instructions to Colonel Daniel O'Neill, and to be guided by him in the pursuance of them. Given at Kilkenny Castle, this 29th. of Sept. 1649.

ii. Negotiations at Madrid, 1649.—Statements by Lord Clarendon.

Negotiations at Madrid.

"The truth is, Don Alonzo [de Cardenas], who had no affection for the king, upon the memory of some disobligations when he first came over into England, and liked well his employment and residence there, used all the endeavours imaginable to have the king's condition thought to be irrecoverable and desperate, and therefore that all civilities extended towards him were cast away, and would yield no fruit, and that the Commonwealth was so established, that it could never be shaken. So that Spain thought only how to make a firm friendship there, and to forget that there ever had been a king [of England], in the confidence that there would be no more. And therefore when the ambassadors,† after all ceremonies were over, had a private audience with the king, and desired, 'that he would appoint commissioners, with whom they might treat about the renewing the alliance between the two crowns, which had been provided for by the last treaty to

* See, at p. 375, Intended Royal grants to Owen O'Neill.

ii. History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England. By Edward, Earl of Clarendon. Oxford: 1843, vol. ii. p. 734.

† Lord Cottington and the author, Edward Hyde, subsequently Earl of Clarendon.

APPENDIX. 1649. Negociations at Madrid.

be renewed within so many months after the death of either king, and with whom they might likewise confer upon such relief in arms and money, as his Catholic majesty would think [proper] to send to their master into Ireland,' (whither one of the ambassadors desired to hasten his journey as soon as might be: and in that memorial, which they then delivered to his Catholic Majesty, they had desired likewise 'that he would write to Owen O'Neile to dispose him to submit to the king, since his standing out did only weaken the Catholic party, and would make them less united to oppose the Parliament, whereby their own destruction would inevitably follow, as well as irreparable damage to the King their master,') they received shortly after an answer, sent to them by Don Francisco de Melo, who told them, 'that the king had sent him to them to confer with them upon the substance of their last memorial. He said, the king did not think it necessary to appoint any committee to renew the last treaty of peace; which was still in force, and might well be observed between the two nations; and that the renewing might be deferred till the times should mend'; implying very little less than that when the king should be in England, it would be a fit time to renew the alliance. He said, 'he was ready to receive any propositions from them, wherein they might more particularly set down their desires, if they were ready to depart; and for writing to Owen O'Neile,' (whom he called Don Eugenio,) 'he had so misbehaved himself towards his Catholic majestie, by leaving his service * in Flanders, and transporting himself into Ireland without his license, that his majestie could not in honour write to him; but that he would take such care, that he should know it would be agreeable to his majesty's good liking, that he betook himself to the service of the king of Great Britain without reserve; which he did believe would dispose him to it:' which method they did conceive was proposed, because they should believe that the Spaniard had no hand in sending him into that kingdom, or in fomenting the rebellion; whereas at the same time Don Diego de la Torre was with the Irish as resident or envoy from Spain.

This answer was evidence enough to them, how little they were to expect from any avowed friendship of that crown, though they still thought they might be able to obtain some little favour in private as arms and ammunition and a small supply of money for the king's subsistence, that could hardly be taken notice of. And therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who was designed by the king to attend him in Ireland, expected only to hear that he was arrived there, till when he could not present his memorial so particularly as was demanded, nor prepare himself for his voyage thither: and so they rested for some time, without giving the court any farther trouble by audiences, and enjoyed themselves in no unpleasant retreat from business, if they could have put off the thought of the miserable condition of their master, and their own particular concernments in their own country."

* See passage in letter of Owen O'Neill (vol. i. p. 666), relative to payment due to him by the King of Spain. In December, 1647, Rinuccini informed Cardinal Panzirolo that the Spanish Agent in Ireland had privately promised to assist Owen O'Neill with funds: "Io so," he wrote, "che l' Agente di Spagna prometteva a D. Eugenio in segreto buona assistenza anco di denari." *Nunziatura in Irlanda. Firenze:* 1844, p. 277.

21. ORMONDE TO COLONEL MYLES O'REILLY.

1649. 1. Oct. Ormonde to Colonel Myles O'Reilly.

After etc. We haue by another hand dispached a patent unto you for your march with the regiment under your comaund by the way of Doneda to the army, and feareing least that should miscarry, wee thought fitt hereby to seacond the same and doe now againe pray and require with what possibly speed yow may to draw your said regiment to the army by that way in as great strength and as well furnished as yow may, where you are to expect further orders. And soe expectinge your punctuall performance heerein, wee bid you farewell, and remaine, at our Castle of Kilkeny, the first of October 1649,

Ormonde.

Collonel Myles Reyly.

22. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

20. Oct. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After our harty comendacions: Haveing receaued notice from you of your intencions to be this night, with the horse of the co: of Kilkenny, and those of your own regiments, at Thomastowne, we think fitt and accordingly we herby require you to march with them towards the ferry this side of Rosse, and to quarter therabouts in the countrey, and to annoy the enemy if they should send any party this side the water, and to giue us an account as well of your actions therin as of their motion from time to time untill further order. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Killkenny Castle, 20. Oct. 1649.

Ormonde.

23. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

21. Oct. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After our harty commendacions: The occasions of his Majesties service requiringe a present supply of beoves to be had, we haue thought fitt herby to pray and require you with all possible speed to leavy and take upp, from those in the borders of the county of Killkenny neerest unto the enemy, 500 beoves whether they be [those of] inhabitants or such as came out of other counties: where you are to use the uttermost of your endeavours for indifferencie to all parties. But for any cattle that lyes in the power of the enemy or bound towards them you are to use your uttermost power to seise on them wholy. Herin expectinge your especiall care, we bid you farewell from our Castle of Kilkenny 21. October 1649.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

You are to take a particular note from whome every of these beoves were taken.

To Lieutenant-Collonel Grace.

21. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 51. 22. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 55.
23. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 53.

24. ORMONDE TO CAPTAIN TERENCE COGHLAN.

1649. 22. Oct. Ormonde to Captain Terence Coghlan.

These are to require you to issue unto Major Generall Hugh O Neale of threescore beoves for the use of the part of the Northern army under his comaund, takinge his hand for receipt therof. And for soe doinge this shall be unto you a sufficient warrant.

Given at Killkenny Castle, the 22th day of October, 1649.

To Capten Terence Coghlan.

After our harty commendacions: We have seen your letter of the 21th of this instant unto Geo: Lane, expressing your prsent occasions of stay in that county, which beinge for the present necessary, we haue sent our direction for the speedy marchinge of that party hither, and haveinge the rest of the army now in a body, we require you to make your imediat repaire unto us after the supply of these forces, and that you take a course that the corne and beoves of those partes be dispatched after you for the supply of the army. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Killkenny Castle, 22 Oct. 1649.

Your loving friend,

Terence Coghlan. Ormonde.

You are to bringe with you all the shoes and stockens you can.

25. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FERRALL.

22. Oct. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Ferrall.

After our harty commendacions: Wee haue by twoe severall letters formerly desired your imediat marchinge hither unto us with the whole party there under your commaund; and least those might miscarrye, we thought fitt by this expresse to renewe our said former desires of your speedy marchinge; wherof not doubtinge your effectuall performance, we bid you hartily farewell from Killkenny Castle the 22th day of Oct. 1649.

Your loveinge freind,

Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall. Ormonde.

26. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL.

22. Oct. Ormonde to Hugh O'Neill.

After our harty commendacions: These are to pray and require you to issue present order unto the officers of Connaght foot to be tomorrowe by twelve of the clocke at the rendezvous at Newnam neer Gran. Herof expectinge you will not faile, wee bid you farewell, from our Castle of Kilkenny, the 22th of Oct. 1649.

Ormonde.

To Major-Generall O Neale.

24. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 56. 25. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 56.
26. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 55.

27. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Ferrall.

1649. 24. Oct. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Ferrall.

After our harty commendacions: Wee haue seen your letters of the 22th of this instant unto Collonel Daniell O Neile, and thought fitt herby to require your imediat marchinge with the party under your commaund by this peace unto Thomastowne, where we intend to encampe with the rest of the army. We haue given order to the Commissioners to make provision and to haue it in a readinesse for your party. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Killkenny Castle, the 24th of Oct. 1649.

We have writt to the Commissary of the Victualls to see your men provided in your way.

Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall.

28. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

27. Oct. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

Sir,

It is nowe become of absolute necessitie that for the preservacion of his Majesties interest and subiects in this kingdome, some course should be resolved on to impede the further progresse of the rebells, and therefore I think fitt to hasten unto you my desires that yow would repaire hither with all possible expedicion to the end we may have the benefit of your conference and advice touchinge the most probable wayes and meanes of effectinge the same. And soe I remaine

Your affectionat friend,

Killkenny Castle, 27. October, 1649, about 4 in the afternoone. Ormonde.

29. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Byrne.

27. Oct. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Byrne.

After our hearty comendacions: Wee have receaved late informacion that you aliened from those professions of loyaltie and good affeccions lately come from you unto us both to his Majesty's service and the kingdome's welfare, to which wee can in nothing give credence, haueuing on our parte removed (as much as in us lay) all things that might giue you occasion to recede from the reall demonstracion of those professions. And therefore wee thought fitt hereby to pray and require your imediate marching into the feild with the regiment of foote and troope of horse under your comaund to joyne with other his Majesty's forces in the opposicion of the rageing enemy whoe intends to over runn the whole kingdome.

As the distance of your brother hitherto might haue hindered your communication with our forces, soe wee hope nowe that his satisfaction hath taken away the feare of prejudice in your absence out of that county, and that you will bee

27. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 57. 28. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 58.
29. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 59.

Appendix.
1649.
27. Oct.
Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Byrne.

instrumentall in the forwarding of his coming into the feild as considerable as hee can. If any thing there bee which may give grounde for the formencioned informacion (as wee hope there is not) wee desire to knowe it, to the end that upon due consideratien thereof fitting satisfaction may bee given. And soe we bid you heartily farewell from Kilkeny Castle, the 27th of October, 1649.

Your loveinge friend,

Colonel Hugh Byrne. Ormonde.

30. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

27. Oct.
Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our harty commendacions: We are informed by our very good Lord, the Lord Viscount Nettervill of Dowth, that one Capten Thomas Maguire, with others his adherents, came into the Co: of Weastmeath to Ballimour Loghisidiey, and thence by force of armes tooke of his Lordship and his tennants and others, whoe for saftie from Cromwell's army fled thither, six score cowes, with horses and other goodes, which act of his is of very evill consequence. We shall therefore desire you to giue present order unto Phillipp Mc Hugh Reylie to cause restitucion to be made forthwith of the said cowes, horses and other goodes, unto such as the said Lord Nettervill shall imploy to receave them, or sufficient satisfaction for them; and, if otherwise they may not be had, to force restitucion or satisfaction as afforesaid. Herein desiringe your especiall care, we bid you hartily farewell. From our castle of Killkennie, the 27 of October, 1649.

Your very loving freind,

Generall Owen O Neale. Ormonde.

31. Ormonde to Mayor of Kilkenny.

29. Oct.
Ormonde to Mayor of Kilkenny.

After etc. Whereas the number of one hundred and fower men are to be raised and armed by the citty of Kilkeny for the recruite of Collonel Richard Butler's regiment of foote, wee have hereby thought fitt to signify unto you that, for the ease of the citty, if you deliver sixty musketts with bandaleers unto Capten James Bryan of the said Regiment, wee shall accept thereof in lew of sixty men of the said number, and saue you the trouble and charge of raiseing soe many of the said men. And soe wee bid you heartely farewell from Kilkeny Castle, the 29th of October. 1649.

Your loveing freind,

Mayor [of] Kilkeny. Ormonde.

30. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 60.

31. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 62.

32. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL BARRY.

1649. 30. Oct. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Barry.

Sir,

Since the dispatch of my letter directinge your comeinge hither, I receaued advertisment that the Rebells have sent shippinge towardes Corke which may perhappes import some reliefe for the countenance of the revolt there. And in that regard I haue thought fitt herby to direct you to prosecute your busines as was formerly intended till further order, and to the end you may proceed with effect (if possible) we haue directed Major-Generall Purcell, in our patent for his march to the army, that in case he should receave your orders to march unto you with his party, that he should obey it; and soe I rest

Your affectionat friend,

Lieutenant Generall Barry. Ormonde.

Killkenny Castle, 30. Ochtober, 1649.

33. ORMONDE TO COLONEL TORLAGH O'NEILL.

31. Oct. Ormonde to Colonel Torlagh O'Neill.

After our etc. Your letter of the 29th of this instant, by which you desire assurance for yourselfe and your regiment to be of the standinge forces of this kingdome, we haue receaued yesterday. In answeare to which we returne you this, that you with your regiment comeinge to the campe of his Majestie's army on Saturday next, soe considerable as you by your said letter mentions, they shallbe of the standinge forces of this kingdome; which by this we doe herby undertake unto you. And soe we bid, etc. From our Castle of Kilkenny, the last of Octo: 1649.

Your very loving friend,

Collonel Terlagh O Neale. Ormonde.

34. ORMONDE TO MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

31. Oct. Ormonde to Mayor of Kilkenny.

After etc. Wheras, by our letter of the 29th of this instant, we haue signified our pleasure, that in case you furnished Capten James Brien (in lieu of soe many armed men) with 60 musquets and bandaleeres, we would accept thereof; yet, findinge that the men were to be also furnished with swordes, we expect that you doe deliver sixtie swordes also to Capten Brien, alonge with the musquets and bandaleers. And so etc. from our Castle of Kilkenny, the 31 of October, 1649.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

32. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 67. 33. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 68.
34. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 69.

35. Ormonde to Mayors of Clonmel, Cashel, Kilkenny, etc.

1649. 1. Nov. Ormonde to Mayors of Clonmell, Cashel, Kilkenny, etc.

After etc. It is of absolute necessitie, in order to the prevention of the army's dispersing and the many dangers which will inevitably thereby ensue to his Majesties present service, that sutlers be sent from all partes to the said army. And therefore [we] will and require you without faile to send from that towne as many sutlers as possibly yow may to Graig, by Sunday at night or Munday morning next, furnished with bread, beare, and such other provisions as that place affords, for which punctuall payment is to bee made. And soe, etc.

Dated 1 November, 1649.

Your loveing friend,

Ormonde.

Clonmell, Cashell, Kilkeny, Catherlagh, Gowran, Knocktopher, Leghlin, Callan, Fetherd.

36. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

2. Nov. Ormonde to Owen O'Neill.

After our hearty comendations: Wee have appointed Collonell Myles Reily, with the regiment of horse under his commaund, to march downe into the Scotch quarters unto Sir Geo. Munroe, to receaue his commaunds, in order to his Majestie's service and the preservation of his intrest in that province, which to enable Collonell Reily the better to performe, wee pray you to furnish him with what number of beoves shall bee requisitt for the sustenance of his men untill hee gett into the said quarters. And soe wee bidd you heartily farewell. From Kilkeny Castle the second of November, 1649,

Your loveing friend,

Generall Owen O Neale. Ormonde.

37. Ormonde to Colonel Mayart.

3. Nov. Ormonde to Colonel Mayart.

After our hearty comendations: Upon certaine weighty considerations, wee have thought fitt heereby to will and require yow, notwithstanding our former order, to continue with your regiment of foote in the fort of Duncannon untill you shall receiue our farther direction. Soe not doubting of your observance heereof, we bid you heartily farewell from Kilkeny Castle, the 3d of November, 1649.

Your very loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Colonel Mayart.

35. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 69. 36. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 70.
37. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 72.

38. ORMONDE TO MAYOR OF KILKENNY.

1649. 3. Nov. Ormonde to Mayor of Kilkenny.

After our etc. Such is the occasions of his Majestie's service, that the party of Generall Owen O Neales army now encamped neer the citty of Killkenny under the conduct of Lieutenant-Generall Ferrall must of necessity march towardes the enemy on Munday next, whose condicion is such that without a weeke's pay in money both to officer and soldier they can not march. Now we must desire you to furnish them with that weeke's pay, which doeth amount unto £500 the one halfe therof to morrowe, and the other moytie on Munday, for repayment wherof, the Commissioners authorized by us, in pursuance of the Articles of Peace, will secure you your failer herin will not only much prejudice his Majestie's service, but alsoe be the occasion of great trouble to the cittie, to prevent both which we shall once more desire your complyance. And soe we bid you hartily farewell. from our Castle of Killkenny the third of November, 1649

Your loveing friend,

Mayor [of] Kilkenny. Ormonde.

39. EPITAPH ON OWEN O'NEILL.

EUGENII O'NELLI, COPIARUM ULTONIENSIUM PRAEFECTI GENERALIS, EPITAPHIUM.

Epitaph on Owen O'Neill.

Hic jacet ille ingens patriae defensor O'Nellus,
  Nobilis ingenio, sanguine, Marte, fide.
Qui genus et magni mensuram stemmatis implens,
  Per suos Catholicos arma probavit avos.
Quem neque vis dubii potuit perfringere belli,
  Nec mutare boni spesve, timorve mali.
Quem tria conjuncto petierunt agmine regna,
  In caput unius tot coiere manus.
Celsus in immota mentis sed constitit arce,
  Et coeptum infracto pectore duxit iter.
Spem contra humanam, coelum tamen adfuit ausis
  Cumque suo Christus milite miles erat.
Impia Catholicum seu strinxit in agmina ferrum,
  Discolor haeretica caede madebat humus.
Sive fugam simulat, simulando comprimit hostem,
  Nec minus arma viri quam metuenda fuga.
Hoc tamen, hoc ingens et inexpugnabile Marti
  Pectus humi positum spicula mortis habent.

38. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 74.

39. Rinuccini MSS., Florence. — "Spicilegium Ossoriense." By Right Rev. P. F. Moran, D.D. Dublin: 1878, p. 37.

APPENDIX.
1649.
Epitaph on Owen O'Neill.

Aemula nam crebris Parca invidiosa triumphis,
Vincendi et vitae sit tibi finis, ait.
Fata sed Eugenium nequeunt ita sternere, servent
Posthuma Romanam quominus arma fidem.
Hanc lapis et cineres, sed et ipsa cadavera spirant,
Et Petrum litui, tela tubaeque sonant.
Magna viri merces, tot palmas astra coronant.
Sic praestant meritum terra polusque decus.

40. ORMONDE TO COLONEL CROMWELL.

9. Nov.
Ormonde to Colonel Cromwell.

After etc. Wee had a complainte lately exhibited unto us by Mrs. Clotworthy, that by vertue of our orders of the 24th of August unto you for seiseing of such corne and cattle belonging unto Major Clotworthy for recruiteing the troope lately comaunded by the said Major Clotworthy and buying of horses and armes for and in stead of those disposed of by the said Major Clotworthy, you have seised on divers of the said Major's goods much above the vallue of any horses and armes soe disposed of by him, and wee, haveing not intended by that our order to dispose of more of the said Major's goods then would recruite the losse by him occasioned of that troope, thought fitt to referr unto Lieutenant-Collonel George Keith and Lieutenant-Collonel Robert Stewart to examine what the vallue amounted unto of the horse and armes of that troope disposed of by the said Major, and uppon proofe and appearance therof to allow you the full vallue of the horses and armes disposed of by the said Major out of the said troope, and the remainder to bee allowed unto the said Major's wife, which as it was our intent by our said former order that shee should injoy, soe wee shall desire you to allow her the benefitt of according to what order the said referrees upon hereing of both parties shal thinke fitt. And, etc. From Portlester, 9 Novembris, 1649.

Your affeccionate frind,

Collonel Crumwell. Ormonde.

41. ORMONDE TO COLONEL PHILIP O'REILLY.

18. Nov.
Ormonde to Colonel Philip O'Reilly.

After our etc. Wee understand of a designe intended by Sir Charles Coote upon the guarison of Inishkellin, and therefore wee have [thought] fitt to give you advertisement and withall to pray and require you with all possible [speed] to send thither 200 foot, or as many as Collonel Acheson shall desire from you, the better to enable him to withstand any attempt that the rebells shall make uppon that important place; whereunto it willbe requisitt you endeavor the keepinge of a good correspondence with him, and alsoe give him what encouragment you may for the mainteininge of the place. Soe we bid you farewell, and remaine at the Castle of Kilkenny, the 18th of November, 1649.

Your very loving friend.

To Collonel Phillip O Relye. Ormonde.

40. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 46. 41. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 78.

42. State of Armies in Ireland, 1649.

[Ormonde's] Answers to the particulers delivered by Mr. Seymour, in pursuance of his Majestie's letters of credence.

1649. 30. Nov. State of Armies in Ireland.

1. First. His Majestie's armys, as they are in the feild and dispersed into garrissons, and in the country, amount to noe less than 18000 foote and 4000 horse. Of these I had lately in the field 8000 foote and 2500 horse, and doubt not but uppon the next rendezvous or soone after (when it shall be knowne that provision is made for their subsistence) that number will be againe made upp, and a much larger, if I can get wherewith to support them. Sir George Monro hath about 2800 foote and 200 horse in the Laggan, in the North, and is in hope there to encrease his party considerably; and his Majestie can want noe numbers of good men in this kingdom either for his service heere or elsewhere if but a moderate proportion of mony can be had for the encouragement and support of them and their officers uppon their first drawing togither, and to keepe them for a short tyme.

2. The Rebells are possessed of most of the garrissons in Mounster formerly under the power of the Lord Inchiquin.

3. Besides the recovery of most of the considerable places lost by them in the begining of the yeare in Leynster, they have gained Wexford and Ross, and other less places are garrisson'd by them.

4. Colrane, Belfast, and other dependent garrissons in Vlster have been surprised and betrayed to them; but if the remaineing garrissons of Carrickfergus, Charlemount, Iniskillen, Castle Lieagh and Drumore, be kept till Crumwell either retire to winter quarters or receive a cheque by the missing of Waterford, now beseiged by him, soe that I may be at leisure to send assistance to the Lord Mountgomery, and Sir George Monro, they will not only become masters of the feild in that province but in a faire way to recover the places they have lost.

5. The province of Connaght is entirely under his Majestie's obedience, and the plague (which hath infested the town and county of Galway [in] the best inhabited partes of it) abateing, I expect considerable assistances of men and provisions thence.

6. The misfortune before Dublin, Crumwell's arrivall, with soe greate a treasure, and his successes since, have principally occasioned the defection of the greater parte of the army under the comand of the Lord Inchiquin and the losse of the townes, but as to such as are firme to his Majestie and the whole Irish, that misfortune, those successes and revolts have united them the more, and but for the loss of the seaportes I should not esteeme his Majesties party much weakened by the drawing of men that weare only to be kept by good successe.

7. Crumwell now before Waterford is sayd to be at most 4000 foote about 2000 horse and 500 dragoones. To make these numbers he hath drayned his garrissons

42. Clarendon Papers. 1649. No. 180. Bodleian Library.

APPENDIX.
1649.
30. Nov.
State of Armies in Ireland.

of almost all serviceable men, leaveing the defence of them to few but sick men, and in Dublin to the townesmen. His army decays incredibly and will become very inconsiderable unless he be strongly and tymely recruited out of England, and had already been wasted had not townes been poorely given him, and the winter proved fairer then in man's memory any winter hath been; by which it appeares how easyly what he hath gained would be recovered, if by any considerable diversion he weare disappointed of recruits and support to his army out of England. For though at his first comeing into the country he pay'd his men plentifully and suffered men to take noething from the country but what they pay'd for, yet now he hath not only retrenched halfe his pay but forces as much contribution from the countrys under his power as they pay'd formerly, which, till his worke weare ended, I conceive he would not doe, but that he doubts hee shall not constantly be supplyed out of England.

8. His designe evidently is first to master the sea coast and then by degrees the inland townes and countrys, wherein, though he be farr advanced, yet if he meete any stopp, it will soe much discourage his men and giue life to the contry, that a short diversion or any reasonable assistance given mee may quickly alter the face of affaires heere.

9. The treaty with Owen O Neile was concluded about the latter end of October last, and hee soone after dyed, much about the tyme his army came to mee. They are a very considerable body of good foote, and, notwithstanding the death of their Generall, are very cheerefull in the service. When a new comander in cheefe is chosen, as by the articles the gentry of Vlster are to doe, I am perswaded they will be yet more considerable. Dated at Clonmell, the 30th of November, 1649.

Ormonde.

Endorsed: Answers to the particulers delivered by Mr. Seymour, etc.
1649. Nov. 30.

Endorsed: State of the Army in Ireland, and of Cromwell's strength; consisting of nine articles. An original, signed by Lord Ormond and brought to the King by Mr. Seymour, of his Bedchamber, who was sent thither on purpose by his Majesty. This was while Cromwell lay before Waterford.

43. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL.

18. Dec.
Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

i. After our, etc. Wee have by our patent of this dayes date withdrawen the regiment under the comand of Colonel Terlagh O Neale from Clonmell, and have directed their marche to Laghlinbridge. Therefore we have thought fitt heerby to pray and require yow to send the Lord of Iniskellin's regiment, upon the said regiment removable, to quarter in Clonmell in their steed, and to withdraw the same from Fethard their now quarters; for doing wherof this shalbe your warrant. Wee bid you farwell, and remaine at Kilkeny the 18th of December, 1649.

Ormonde.

Major-Generall Hugh ONeale.

i. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 80.

19. Dec. Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

ii. After our etc. Havingo received a letter of the 11th of this monthe from the Maior of that Corporacion, expressinge their greevances by reason of the multiplicity of the souldiers there, wee think fitt heerby to pray you to afford them what ease you may by manning the castles adjacent with som of the foote now engarrisoned there, wee intendinge, as soone as it shalbe possible, to ease them to their satisfaction. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell from Kilkenny Castle, the 19th of December, 1649.

Your lovinge freind,

Ormonde.

Major-Generall Hugh O Neall.

44. LETTER FROM CROMWELL TO LENTHAL, 19. Dec. 1649.

19. Dec. Cromwell to Lenthal.

The following passages within brackets, omitted from this letter in the hitherto published copies, as at pages 341-2 *ante*, are supplied from that in the Archives of the House of Lords, London.

Page 341.—After the passage: "Not long after my last to you from before Waterford"—

["finding the indisposition in point of health increasing, and our foot falling sick near ten of a company every night they were upon duty, and our numbers, not above three thousand healthful foot in the field, being necessitated to put so many into garrisons as I have given you an account all along, the enemy mustering about ten or twelve thousand horse and foot, having well near as many in the town as we without, our bread and other necessaries not coming to us"]

Page 341.—After the passage: "a castle some eight miles from Dungarvan"—

["where we had to many scarce straw, food, or firing, being deceived in reports of the place."]

Page 341.—After the passage: "near Dungarvan which was newly rendered to him"—

["And, indeed, upon this occasion I must needs say that in the bringing in of this garrison, Kingssale, the fort of Bandenbridge, Mallow, and divers other garrisons, his Lordship [Broghill] hath been most eminently serviceable unto you, and I do earnestly and humbly desire he may be taken into consideration, his Lordship never having shrunk from your interest, though under as great trials and necessities as any man, he having his whole fortune under the power of the enemy, which was in Ireland, and that little in England so engaged that I dare say his wants were scarce to be paralleled; and as yet his estate lies in those countries which are under the enemy's power. Sir, I take no pleasure to mention these things of charge, but where eminent services are done, and those enabling the State to give marks of their favour and good acceptance, I trust it will be accounted no fault in me to represent the merits of men to you"]

ii. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 83.

44. Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. London: 1879, p. 73.

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1649.
19. Dec.
Cromwell to Lenthal.

Page 341.—After the passage: "went to Dungarvan, where (struggling some four or five days with a"—

[pestilent and contagious spotted"]

Page 341.—After the passage: "a noble friend and companion in labours"—

["Before that my poor kinsman, Major Cromwell (if I may name him), died before Waterford of a fever; since that two persons eminently faithful, godly, and true to you, Lieutenant-Colonel Wolfe and Scout-Master-General Rowe, are dead at Youghall. Thus"]

Page 342.—After the passage: "and that very time that men were praising God was this deliverance wrought."—

["Sir, in all my addresses to you I have much declined to make discourses either of the enemy's numbers or other advantages or of what remains to be recovered to you, or of the ways and means best to break and hinder the enemy's design or interests or what might best promote your own, or indeed to trouble you with many discourses of this kind, desiring chiefly to present you with narratives of fact. But forasmuch as there is an aptness from a current of successes to apprehend a work to be done when indeed the greater part rest behind, and thereby that which should enable to finish and perfect may be withdrawn or slackened, to the prejudice of public interest, I thought fitt to take the boldness to present you with a true view of the state of affairs here so far as occurs to me. At the present, Oneale's party are in full conjunction with the Earl of Ormond, by which they contribute the assistance of near 7,000 effective horse and foot, these being the eldest sons of the Church of Rome, most cried up and confided in by the clergy. The rest of the army consists of the old English-Irish, some protestants, some papists, and other popish Irish, who are caried by the interest of Ormond, Clanreckerd, Castlehaven, Muskere, Taff, and other old English and Irish, both lords and gentlemen, who are able to bring, and have already in the field very considerable numbers of bodies of men not to be neglected upon any any human confidence, or undervalued. They have so much of Ireland still in contribution as ministers to them a livelihood for the war, all the natives, almost to twenty, being friends to them, but enemies to you. And although God hath blessed you with a great tract of land in longitude alongest the shore, yet it hath but a little depth into the country; and the people that are under your contribution, being so daily robbed by their neighbours, are disabled from following their tillage whereby to pay the same; and we cannot be in all places to protect them, unless we should resolve to keep no body of an army in any one place. I mention this not to increase your charge, but to prevent mistakes concerning an over value of your Irish contributions as yet. And, therefore, if the money out of England allotted to this army be not continued to us, the army will no ways be able* to subsist, nor to prosecute your business. In the next place, if† this interest grow purely popish, which the Roman clergy are highly labouring, and are in a probable way to accomplish, then it cannot be expected but supplies will come to them from foreign parts, which do too fast already. And, therefore, it is humbly presented that such shipping as will be necessary for this coast may be continued

* Deest, in orig. † Of, in orig.

to us. The ports by which the enemy expects their supplies of powder and all other ammunition (which, indeed, being kept from them will disable them to their defence, they having no manufacture within themselves) are Waterford, which we have not as yet been able closely to shut up, and where less than two ships cannot be applied for the ends aforesaid, as also for the straightening of it, and the fort of Duncannon, where now no ships are, partly because those determined for the winter fleet are not yet come, which we desire may be speeded. Next, the bay of Dingle, in the river of Shannon, whither (as we are informed) divers ships with ammunition are coming, Galloway, in which two places less than three or four ships (whereof one or two of countenance) cannot be, and Sligo. As also two ships to lie between Scotland and the North, and some to follow the motions of the army for their assistance with necessaries. This is the sum of what I thought fit to present unto you at this time; and if we may be allotted any share of judgment (being upon the place) we hope we have represented nothing unworthy of due consideration. And although this "]

Appendix. 1649. 19. Dec. Cromwell to Lenthal.

45. Ormonde to Mayor of Clonmel.

After our, etc. Wee have receaued your letter of the 11th of this instant, and doe heerby assure you that, as it was the necessitie that appeered unto us for placeinge horse in that place beinge a frontier, occasioned our sendinge Lt. Collonel Fenell thither with the horse yow mention, soe shall wee speedily imploy our best endevours for the ease of the Corporation to their satisfacion, and have heerwith written to Major-Generall Hugh O Neale to afford therunto what ease he possibly may. And soe wee bid you heartily farewell from Kilkenny this 19th of December, 1649.

19. Dec. Ormonde to Mayor of Clonmel.

Your very lovinge freind,

Maior of Clonmell. Ormonde.

46. Ormonde to Philip MacHugh O'Reilly.

Sir,

The Lord Nettervil complained unto us that, about the 13th of October last, sixscore and odd cowes, with some horses and armes belonginge unto him and some distressed frends of his that fled for refuge from the English quarters under his protection, were forcebly taken, in a rebellious manner by loose persons, from his dwellinge at Ballymore in the county of Westmeath. Wee pray and authorise you to seize on the said cattle, horsse, and armes, whersoever they may be found, and to lay horses and foote upon such persons as receaued any parte of them, untill restitucion or satisfaccion be made, and withall to apprehend and secure the persons of the offendor wherby they may be brought to justice. Soe prayinge you to use all dilligence heerin. we remaine etc.

21. Dec. Ormonde to Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly.

21 December, 1649. Your loving freend,

Phillip Mc Hugh Realy. Ormonde.

45. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 82. 46. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 81.

47. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FERRALL.

1649.
21. Dec.
Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Ferrall.

After etc. As concerneing the shipp in question betwixt Collonel Wogan, the French merchant and Captain Antonio, wee have herewith sent authoritie to examine the trueth of the allegacione upon oath [on] both sides, and upon certificate thereof made unto us, wee shall giue such order as to justice shall appertaine. But wee wonder that if the promise of the hundred pound was extorted and given onely to gaine tyme to informe us of the injury done why, whilst wee weare severall tymes at Waterford, there was noe complainte made to us of that violence. And soe, etc. at Kilkeny, the 21th of Dec. 1649.

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

The Lieutenant-Generall Farrell.

48. COMMISSION TO COLONEL MYLES MAC SWINY.

23. Dec.
Ormonde to Colonel Mac Swiny.

For speciall reasons of his Majestie's service, we thinke fitt and accordingly wee doe herby require and authorise Colonel Myles Mc Swiny to hould and maintaine the guarrison of the island of Torye and the rest of the islandes towardes and about Killibegge, and for the better enablinge him to continue and maintaine those islandes, we doe graunte unto him the allowance or entertainment for a Capten, under officers, and fiftie men, which is to be raised and leavyed in the barronie of Killmirenan. And forasmuch as the said Colonel Mc Swiny hath a regiment of foot under his commaund in his Majestie's service in this kingdome which we have directed to continue their winter quarters (this winter) in the north of this kingdome, we likewise order that he, his officers and soldiers of the said regiment, doe receaue maintenance in the co. of Donegale in equall proportion with any other regiment of the standinge forces of the kingdome, accordinge the strength therof; wherof all Commissioners and other persons whatsoever, who are or shallbe herafter apointed for raisinge and leavyinge meanes for the soldery in the said county, are to take due notice and care that maintenance be provided for the said regiment accordingly, and therof not to faile. And in further fauor of the said Colonel, we are content that for his grandfather and his owne estate he pay only as other freeholders in the countres doe for theirs proporcionably, wherof all whome it may concerne are likewise to take due notice, and for which, and what else is herin contained, this shalbe sufficient warrant. Giuen at Kilkenny Castle, the 23 of Dec. 1649.

47. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 84. 48. Carte Papers, clxii. p. 109.

49. ORMONDE TO COLONEL O'FLAHERTY.

1649. 24. Dec. Ormonde to Colonel O'Flaherty.

After our harty comendacions: We haue by the letters which accompany these signified unto our very good Lord, the Lord Marquesse of Clanrickard, our pleasure concerninge the provision to be made for quarteringe your regiment in the province of Connaght, soe as we are confident you will not find any impediment in your way or want of care of settlinge maintenance for them in that province untill you shall receaue our further orders. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Kilkenny Castle, the 24th of Dec. 1649.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

Colonel Flaherta.

50. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL.

26. Dec. Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

After our harty comendacions: We have intelligence given us that the enemy haue a designe upon Callan, and that they intend to march suddainly from Carrick thitherward, with intention to garrison it, wherof we thought fitt to give you this notice to require you to be very vigilant of their motion in that kind, and upon notice therof that you commaund Lieutenant-Collonel Fennell, with what horse are there with him, and what number of foot you shall thinke fitt, to pursue them. Wherin not doubtinge your watchfull care, we bid you hartily farewell from Kilkenny Castle, the 26th of Dec. 1649.

Your loving freind,

To Hugh O Neale, Major-Generall. Ormonde.

51. ORMONDE TO COMMISSIONERS OF CO: WEXFORD.

26. Dec. Forces in Wexford.

After our harty comendacions: Wheras the maintenance of his Majestie's forces for the defence of the kingdome against the power of the Rebells opposinge his Majestie's authority doeth necessarily require contribution from all his Majestie's subiects, his Majestie's rights and their lives and fortunes beinge concerned in the suppression of the power of those rebells; therefore, nothinge doubtinge of all true subiectes their free concurrance in that which so much tendeth to their own preservacion; we haue determined to raise in the co: of Wexford fower hundred and fower pounds viii^{s} ii^{d} weekly to begin the 25th day of this instant December which is to be payd over unto such officers, troops and companies as are mencioned in the inclosed list accordinge to the summes to their respective names annexed. And we require the gentry and inhabitants of the said co: of Wexford weekly to

49. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 89. 50. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 89.
51. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 115.

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1649.
26. Dec.
Forces in Wexford.

leavy the said summe in an equall and orderly way, that the forces dependinge theron be not necessitated to compell the payment therof in a way lesse indifferent, and that may proue destructive to such persons from whome the same shall be inforced. Whereof all concerned are to take notice, and soe wee bid them farewell from our Castle of Kilkenny, 26. Dec. 1649.

Your loving freind,

Commissioners Com. Wexford. Ormonde.

52. Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

1649-50.
1. Jan.
Bishop Mac Mahon to Ormonde.

May it please your Excellencie,

As many of the gentry of Vlster as could vpon a sudden be conuoked haue meete att Bealtarbertt, the 18th of this present moneth, and had doene what could be doene in order to his Majestie's service by applotting try [three] thousand pounds ster. in money, meale, and beres. As for my owne parte, I would my actions might be correspondent to my affection to the service, and although I am not soe hapie as to merite such authorite with the people as some men doeth conceit me to haue, yet I will not faile in any occasion to persuade and mowe as many of my friends to his Majestie's service as may be pleased to be lead and aduised by me. And I would rather your Excellencie might be informed by other and different iudges and eye wittnesses of my endeauours and labors therein, than to speake or writt much of it me selfe at any tyme; and this, my Lord, doeth occur in answer to your Excellencie's late commaunds and the contents of the letter sent to your Excellencie from the north, bearing date the 9th of December, whose copie your Excellencie was pleased to cause to be sent vnto me. I conclude and am

Your Excellencie's most affectionate
and most humble servant,

The first of Jan. 1649[-50]. Emerus Clogherensis.

For his Excellencie the Lord Lieutenant and Generall Gouernor off Ireland, these present.

Endorsed: Bishop of Clogher, 1 January. Received 12 [January] 1649[-50]. Applotment.

53. Ormonde to Colonel Maguire.

16. Jan.
Ormonde to Colonel Maguire.

After our hartie Commendacions. The Commissioners of the weekly assessments for the county of Tipperary have complained unto us; that your officers at Cashell doe not only refuse to accept of their pay accordinge the establishment but threatens to fall upon their stock, if they be not paid after an establishment of their owne prescribinge, which if they aprehend to be matter of great discouragment they beinge imployed about the affaires of the kingdome: And therefore as

52. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle. 53. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 92.

Letter from EMEF

16. Jan.
Ormonde to Colonel Maguire.

we can not but take notice of their misbehaviour in this particular, seinge it may produce very evill effects, soe we expect that you, in prevention therof, and to encourage the said Commissioners to proceed in the service they are about, will see theise inconveniences rectified as soone as possibly you may otherwise as the gentlemen affirme they can not assure themselves of saftie. And soe etc. Kilkenny Castle, 16 Jan. 1649[-50].

Your very loving friend,

Colonel Maguire. [Ormonde.]

54. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL.

18. Jan.
Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

After our harty comendacions: Haveinge considered of your letter, complaininge of the distresse of the guarrison of Clonmell for want of due payment of their meanes, and of other particulars represented likewise in their behalfe, we thought fitt to let you knowe that we have issued our directions to the resident Commissioners of the weekly assessment in the county of Typerary to pay the soldiers and officers of that guarrison their meanes, untill further order from us accordinge their last list of their muster, wherof we sent them a coppie for what the officers and soldiers there aprehend in lesseninge their pay, the measure as to them is no other then in pursuance of the generall establishment made by the consent of the Commissioners intrusted in pursuance of the Articles of Peace and approved by us, which generally the rest of his Majesty's army doe cheerfully imbrace, and may not (the condicion of the kingdome beinge considered) be thought to those in that guarrison or any other unsatisfactory. It is under consideracion with the Commissioners here how the arreares of the army shallbe paid, and accordinge the settlement they shall make in that matter, provision shallbe made to satisfie the arreares of the officers in that guarrison. We are in preparacion for makinge up of a magazeen, out of which, we hope to be enabled seasonably to suply the want of armes you complaine of. Herwith is sent you an order for the pay of a Quartermaster Generall or Adjudant Generall, it beinge resolved that one man will sufficiently discharge what may be said to belonge to those officers and therin is directed the payment of the Chirurgeon Major Generall. By the establishment Chaplens are allowed to each regiment, wherof those guarrisoned in that towne are to receave benefitt, and to that purpose the Commissioners of the county of Tiperary are written unto. Adjudants in regiments of foot, Drum Major, and Chirurgeons mates, are held unnecessary, and without allowance for any such, the rest of the army is payed. Soe we bid you hartily farewell from our Castle of Kilkenny, 18 January, 1649[-50].

Your very loving friend,

Ormonde.

Major Generall Neale.

54. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 95.

55. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FERRALL.

1649-50. 21. Jan. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Ferrall.

After our etc. Wee understand that there is a troope of horse and an addition of foote placed by your directions in the Castle of Grannagh, or neere adioyninge, which are continued there as for their maintenance on the charge of the baronyes contributinge in all publique dues proportionably with the rest of the county of Kilkenny in generall which occasions heavy complaints of the inhabitants to be releeved. Wee therefore pray and require you to remove the said horse and foote from Granagh aforesaid to Waterford or other quarters assigned for them leaveinge there in the said Castle (to man the same) fifty men commaunded by good officers whoe are to receave their meanes out of the place appointed, and not to be a burthen to the said baronyes. Soe wee bid yow farewell and remaine at Kilkenny the 21 of January, 1649[-50].

Your very lovinge freind,

Ormonde.

To Lieutenant-Generall Farrall.

56. APPOINTMENT OF COLONEL HUGH BYRNE AS GOVERNOR OF COUNTY OF WICKLOW.

James [Marquis of Ormonde], etc.

23. Jan. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Byrne.

Wheras we, reposinge especiall trust and confidence in the vallour, iudgment, integritie, and circumspection of you, and in your readines and good affections to doe his Majestie faithfull service, have nominated and appointed, and wee doe hereby nominat and appoint you, the said Collonel Hugh Byrne, to be Governor of the county of Wickloe and of all the forces, officers, soldiers, and inhabitants that now are or hereafter shallbe therin, willinge and herby requiringe all the said forces soldiers and inhabitants to acknowledge you as their Governor, and to be at and performe your orders commaunds, as from time to time they shallbe issued unto them from you uppon all occasions of his Majesty's service and the safty and security of the said county: To haue and to hould the said Government unto you, the said Coll: Hugh Birne with all powers, priveledge, authorities, proffitts, preheminences and emoluments thereunto belonginge or appertaininge, in as large, ample, and beneficiall manner to all intents and purposes as any the like Governor or Governors held or injoyed, or of right ought to have held and injoyed the same for and duringe our will and pleasure. Given at our Castle of Kilkenny, the 23th of January, 1649[-50].

Collonel Birne.

55. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 100. 56. Carte Papers, clxii. p. 118.

57. ORMONDE TO LORD DILLON.

1649-50. 23. Jan. Ormonde to Lord Dillon.

After our harty comendacions. Wee have received your Lordshipe's letter of the 11th of this instant, and doe hereby aprove of your Lordshipes indefatigable endeavors for the improvement of the trust comitted to your charge to the best advantage of His Majesty's publique service; and as we are confident of your Lordshipe's constant perseverance therin, so shall we never be wantinge in affordinge you all possible countenance and encouragment in all your loyall undertakinges, which we hartily wish may proue constantly successfull to your Lordshipe's honor and advantage. We haue understood, by our Secretary, of the destructiue proceedinges of the forces you mention in their late throughfar notwithstandinge our carefull orders, and, as we understand, the carefull complyance with them in all places for their provision. But we know not how in present to afford that redresse which we really intend the sufferers untill uppon particular applications and proofes in that behalfe, we may fix a judgment for the punishment of particular persons, and such especially as shall appear to have bene either conivers at, or countenancers of such insufferable transgressions. We are deeply sensible of the vast consequence of that his Majestie's Castle of Athlone in relation to the provinces of Linster and Connaght, and shall readily contribute in what way we may for the strengtheninge and fortification therof, and as a preparative shall, as your Lordshipe advises, imploy an engineer thither as soone as possibly we can. Wee apprehend the reason of the Lord Marquesse of Clanrickard's not delivery of the powder accordinge to our desires, to be the want therof, yet we send your Lordship inclosed our renewed desires for your supply, and in case he cannot comply therwith, we shall use other meanes to furnish that store; yet we desire your Lordship to enter into the examinacion of those warrants pretended by that clarke for his issues, and to returne unto us a particular accompt of them. Your Lordship will herwith receave the letter concerninge your troope, and an order for 40 barrells of wheate, accordinge to your desire, and as we have not ordered Major Doghertye's march to the county of Longford, soe it is our pleasure that you cause him thence to march to the rest of the Vlster party and use all fittinge necessarie meanes for the preseruation of your quarters in case it shallbe needfull. Many are the complaints that are dayly brought and sent unto us, from well affected persons in those parts, of the dayly traiterous and destructive intercourse twixt divers of the inhabitants there and the rebells in the quarter of Dublin, who had undoubtedly bene much streightened for want of provisions, were not beoves and other cattle constanly conveyed unto them, and therefore it is our expresse commaund that your Lordship by gards on the convenientest passages on those frontiers permitt noe manner of provisions to passe to the rebells or any other marchantable traffique without especiall lycence from us; which some particular persons in those partes haue, as we are informed confidently vouched, though we can not call any such

57. Carte Papers, cxlii. 103.

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1649-50.
23. Jan.
Ormonde to Lord Dillon.

to mind and in that regard we must recomend it to your Lordshipe to cause any who have latly traded thither to produce those pretended lycences, that, uppon your returne of them to us, we may take them and the pretendants into our further consideracion. And soe we did your Lordship very hartily farewell from our Castle of Killkenny, this 23th of Jan. 1649[-50].

Your Lordshipe's very affectionate friend,

Ormonde.

Lord [Dillon of] Costilloe.

58. ORMONDE TO SIR THOMAS NUGENT.

25. Jan.
Ormonde to Sir Thomas Nugent.

After our harty commendacions: We receaved complaints from Sir Luke Fitz Gerrald, Knt., that notwithstanding Sir Geo: Hamilton's assignment unto you for payment of eighteen and odd poundes grounded uppon our orders, and our letter unto you pursuant therunto; you have hitherto omitted giveinge him any benefitt therof, which we can not take well, the money being borrowed by us from the said Sir Luke, uppon extraordinary and urgent occasion. Wee shall therefore againe renew our commaunds unto you for payment of the said summe unto Sir Luke accordinge our former directions herin. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Kilkenny Castle, the 25th day of January, 1649[-50.]

Your loveinge friend,

Ormonde.

Sir Tho: Nugent.

59. ORMONDE TO MAYORS OF CLONMEL AND CASHEL.

28. Jan.
Ormonde to Mayors of Clonmell and Cashel.

After etc. We understand that, without our speciall orders in that behalfe, the moneyes charged on that corporacion for the supply of his Majestie's navy, comaunded by Prince Rupert, is denyed to be payd to Richard Butler, Esqr., the Receaver therof, which hath added to the delay to the bringe in those moneyes and payinge the same to Lieutenant-Collonell Morley, who stayes for it. Wherfore we pray and require you imediatly to cause the moneyes to be leavyed in that corporation for the use afforsayd; to be payed to the proper receaver, that there may be noe more cause of complaint in that behalfe. And soe we bid you farewell and remaine at our Castle of Kilkenny, the 28th of January, 1649[-50].

Your very loveing friend,

Ormonde.

Mayor of Clonmell.

The like letter to the Mayor of Cashell, of that date.

58. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 110.

59. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 114.

60. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-GENERAL FERRALL.

1649-50. 29. Jan. Ormonde to Lieutenant-General Farrell.

After our harty comendacions. We have receaved divers intelligence of a designe intended to be presently put in execution by the rebells, tendinge to the surprisall of the house of Grannagh. To prevent which we have thought fitt to give you timely advertisement therof, to the end you may speedily take order for the manninge of that place, with stoute men and an able soldier to commaund them, to withstand the assaults of the enemy. And soe we bid you farewell and remaine at our Castle of Kilkenny, the 29th of January, 1649[-50].

Your very loving friend,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant-Generall Farrall.

61. ORMONDE TO MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL.

29. Jan. Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

After our harty comendacions: We are informed of some late miscarriages in Capten Tho: Fitz Gerrald in disobeyinge orders giuen him by Lieutenant Collonell Fennell whome we appointed to comaund the horse guarrisoned in Clonmell and thereabouts next and immediate under you, wherunto if way should be giuen, and offences of that kind not timely punished, might rise to a great height of inconvenience to occasion further disorder in the army. And therefore wee thought fitt hereby to pray and require you forthwith to call the said Capten Fitz Gerrald unto a councell of warr, and accordinge to the discipline of warr to proceede against him to punishment accordinge the nature of his offence, and to give us a speedy accompt of your proceedinges herin. And soe we bid you, etc. from Kilkenny Castle, 29. Jan. 1649[-50].

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

Major-Generall Hue O Neale.

31. Jan. Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

After etc. We haue, in consideracion of certain differences arisen betweene the Commissioners of the Assessements of the Corn of Typperary and the Magistrats of the townes of Clonmell, Cashill, and Fithard, for and concerneing the proportion of the said townes of the wickly assessment growing due in the said county, wherein wee haue not yett tyme to wade to a determinacion; but for your present subsistance wee haue appointed the sume of £150 ster. to be paid you, wherewith you are to rest satisfied untill wee shall determine the said difference which wee doubt not very soone to doe, in the meane tyme that the payment expected on the assessments given upon the citty of Cashell and towne of Fethard be suspended and wee shall take a speedy and effectuall course to satisfy all arrears accrued due unto you.

60. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 112.

61. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 111, 117.

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31. Jan.
Ormonde to Major-General Hugh O'Neill.

Wee desire that Captaine Macaibe, whoe hath lately comitted some discords in the towne of Clonmell, now in restrainte, may be forthwith safely conveyed hither to be dealt with according the nature of his offence. Wherein, as in the other particulers, expecting your continuall care. And wee bid you, etc. Kilkenny Castle, ultimo Jan. 1649[-50].

Your loveing freind,

Major Generall Hugh O Neill. Ormonde.

62. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT BRIAN O'NEILL.

3. Feb.
Ormonde to Lieutenant Brian O'Neill.

After our harty comendations: We haue received certaine intelligence that the rebells are drawen into a bodie about Carricke and that they haue a designe either to destroy the country or to gaine some garrisons. We therefore require you imediately uppon receipt hereof to march with your whole troope to Thurles, and there to remaine as longe as possible you may for the defence thereof; and in case of too prevailinge a power you are to march directly to this cittie where you shall receiue further orders. We haue receiued your last letter and shalbe ready to expresse our care of your selfe and troope when this occasion shalbe ouer. And soe we bid you farewell frem our Castle of Kilkeny the 3d. Feb. 1649[-50].

Your loveinge freind,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant Bryen O Neill.

63. ORMONDE TO CAPTAIN JOHN BRYAN.

7. Feb.
Ormonde to Captain Bryan.

After, etc. For reasons conduceing to his Majestie's service, wee haue issued late orders for the demolishing of the force of Maryborough, wherein yow are in garrison. That the same may not be strange unto you, wee thought fitt to give yow this notice thereof, and to require yow to be ayding and assisting in performance of our said comands. And soe, etc. 7. Febr. 1649[-50].

Your loveinge freind,

Captain Jo: Bryan. Ormonde.

64. ORMONDE TO DONOGH MCFEVEN, ESQ.

7. Feb.
Ormonde to Donogh McFeven.

After, etc. We haue issued orders to the Receauer-Generall to give an assignment upon the county of Kery for payment to be made unto our very good Lord, the Lord President of Munster, of a monethes meanes due to the officers of the forces under his comaund whilst the army was in the field, amountinge to the

62. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 121. 63. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 126.
64. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 151.

summe of £321 15*s.* 8*d.* ster. And forasmuch as the present condicion of affaires will not permitt that the said assignment issue in time convenient as we haue appointed that payment might be made accordingly, we haue thought by these our letters to pray and require you uppon receipt herof to giue notice to the respectiue Receauers of the said county of Kiery, that, notwithstandinge the non issueinge of the said assignment, at present our pleasure is they make present payment unto the said Lord President of the aboue mencioned summe accordinge to such orders as from his Lordship from time to time shall issue unto them in that behalfe, and in time convenient assignment will issue for the same from the said Receauer - Generall accordinge the usuall course. We bid, etc. from Lymericke, 7. Feb. 1649[-50].

APPENDIX. 1649-50. 7. Feb. Ormonde to Donogh McFeven.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

To Donogh Mc Feven, Esqr.

65. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

After, etc. You are upon receipt of these our letters to rise with the troope of horse under your commaund from your new quarters and march with them unto Burris Ileagh in the county of Typerary, where you are to guarrison within the castle there; (as well for defence thereof from the power of the enemy, as to offend the enemy upon occasion) untill further order from us. For your better enablinge therto, we herby authorize you to commaund the next foot company to you not in guarrison with their officers to march with you thither there to remaine and receaue orders from you from time to time, whome we require to giue obedience to such your commaunds you are alsoe to take into the said castle out of the country, with what indifference and equality you can, such provisions as well for man's meat as horse meat, as you conceaved needfull to maintaine your said guarrison for a competent time, and so from time to time as occasion shall require; for which satisfaction shallbe given in due time. We haue written to Mac Walter to give you admittance at your comeinge thither and to leaue the defence of that place to your managment, wherof we expect a frequent accompt from you. In case Mc Walter will not receaue you, accordinge our orders, you are to take what you can of his goods, and to endeavour to destroy and burne his owne and his tenants houses, and what goods you cannot carry away, we haueinge written to the Lord Marquesse of Clanrickard to furnish you with 2 or 3 barr[els] of powder. And soe, etc. from Lymericke, 18. Febr. 1649[-50].

18. Feb. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant Collonel Grace.

65. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 132.

66. ORMONDE TO COLONEL HUGH MAGUIRE.

1649-50. 23. Feb. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Maguire.

After, etc. We thinke fitt for speciall reasons of his Majestie's service by these our letters to require you, with such of the regiment under your comaund as are not setled by former orders in guarrison, to march forthwith into the co : of Lymericke where beinge come you are to observe such orders as you shall receaue from Major Generall Patrick Purcell, and in your march you are to take competent meat drinke and lodginge for yourselfe, officers and men, but not exacting any money. And soe expectinge your punctuall performance, we bid you farewell and remaine at the citty of Lymericke, the 23th of Feb. 1649[-50].

Your very loveing friend.

Collonel Hugh Maguire. Ormonde.

67. ORMONDE TO CAPTAIN HUGH MAC MAHON.

24. Feb. Ormonde to Captain Hugh MacMahon.

After, etc. Complaint is made unto us by Capten Hugh Mc Mahon that he is hindered by you in the injoyment of the 2 ballybeataghes of Ballylourgen in the county of Monoghan accordinge to our orders graunted him in that behalfe, bearinge date the 29th day of November last. We hereby againe require you to forbeare giveinge any disturbance to our said commaunds in the said Capten Mc Mahon's behalfe but to permitt him to injoy the said parcells, untill such time as a Commission doe issue for his disposeinge of all lands of that kind accordinge the Articles of Peace, which shall be soone. Wherein expectinge your performance, we bid you hartily farewell from Lymericke, the 24th day of Febr. 1649[-50].

Your loving freind,

Capt. Hughe Mac Mahon. Ormonde.

68. ORMONDE TO GOVERNOR AND MAYOR OF CLONMEL.

24. Feb. Ormonde to Governor and Mayor of Clonmell.

After etc. In regard we may presume by the enemyes faceinge that way that he intends to distresse the guarrison in Clonmell, and that wee understand you are like to fall into some wants by reason of the want of corne which yet wee understand to be stored upp in great plenty in that towne; we therefore on such an exigencie have thought fitt, and we doe herby authorise you, or any one of you, to search the garners and store houses in towne and therout to take uppon tickett equally so much of the said corne as from time to time shall supply that guarrison untill we shall take further order for the reliefe of it. And soe etc. from Lymericke 24. febr. 1649[-50].

Your loving freind.

Governor and Mayor [of] Clonmell. Ormonde.

66. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 142. 67. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 145.
68. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 146.

69. ORMONDE TO TERENCE COGHLAN.

1649-50. 3. March. Ormonde to Terence Coghlan.

After, etc. Yow [are] upon receipt hereof to send us an accompt what provision of corne yow have in his Majestie's store, and where they lye, that wee may direct yow how to dispose of them to the most convenient places to be usefull to the army, and in the mean tyme to converte what quantity yow can into meale. A speedy accompt herein is needfull and therefore expected. Wee bid yow etc. 3. March, 1649[-50].

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Mr. Terence Coghlan.

70. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

8. March. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After etc. Wee haue sene your letters unto our Secretary, uppon consideracion wherof and other reasons us thereunto moveinge, we thinke fitt to require your continuance at Roserea, accordinge to former orders, notwithstandinge any since to the contrary; and we desire you to place some musketeers at Burris Ileagh that may keepe footinge there for to receaue in forces to man and defend the place, which we intend to place there, when the party by us designed to come into those parts drawne thither, which willbe very soone. We have allready written to Sir Geo: Hamilton to dispose of some of Collonel Walter Butler's regiment of foot into Burris, from whome you are to knowe what he hath done therein and accordinge the advertisement from him to proceed in this our direction. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Lymericke the 8th of March, 1649[-50].

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

To Lieutenant-Collonel Grace.

71. PHILIP O'REILLY AND MAGUIRE, BARON OF ENNISKILLEN.

20. March. Philip O'Reilly and Maguire.

The answeare of Phillip Rely defendant to the peticion of the Lord Barron of Inniskellin.

The said defendant, saueinge to himselfe all advantages of exceptions that may be taken and layed to the insufficiency of the said petition, for answeare saith that Collonel Rory Maguire, some six or seven yeares agoe, repaired the walles about the house of Cromme and altered at severall times the warders therof, imagineinge therby to reduce them to civility, but hath not otherwise punished them for feare, as the defendant believes, they would runne to the enemy, which lenitio occasioned

69. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 147. 70. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 158.
71. Carte Papers, clvii. fol. 3b.

66. ORMONDE TO COLONEL HUGH MAGUIRE.

1649-50. 23. Feb. Ormonde to Colonel Hugh Maguire.

After, etc. We thinke fitt for speciall reasons of his Majestie's service by these our letters to require you, with such of the regiment uuder your comaund as are not setled by former orders in guarrison, to march forthwith into the co : of Lymericke where beinge come you are to observe such orders as you shall receaue from Major Generall Patrick Purcell, and in your march you are to take competent meat drinke and lodginge for yourselfe, officers and men, but not exacting any money. And soe expectinge your punctuall performance, we bid you farewell and remaine at the citty of Lymericke, the 23th of Feb. 1649[-50].

Your very loveing friend.

Collonel Hugh Maguire. Ormonde.

67. ORMONDE TO CAPTAIN HUGH MAC MAHON.

24. Feb. Ormonde to Captain Hugh MacMahon.

After, etc. Complaint is made unto us by Capten Hugh Mc Mahon that he is hindered by you in the injoyment of the 2 ballybeataghes of Ballylourgen in the county of Monoghan accordinge to our orders graunted him in that behalfe, bearinge date the 29th day of November last. We hereby againe require you to for beare giveinge any disturbance to our said commaunds in the said Capten Mc Mahon's behalfe but to permitt him to injoy the said parcells, untill such time as a Commission doe issue for his disposeinge of all lands of that kind accordinge the Articles of Peace, which shall be soone. Wherein expectinge your performance, we bid you hartily farewell from Lymericke, the 24th day of Febr. 1649[-50].

Your loving freind,

Capt. Hughe Mac Mahon. Ormonde.

68. ORMONDE TO GOVERNOR AND MAYOR OF CLONMEL.

24. Feb. Ormonde to Governor and Mayor of Clonmell.

After etc. In regard we may presume by the enemyes faceinge that way that he intends to distresse the guarrison in Clonmell, and that wee understand you are like to fall into some wants by reason of the want of corne which yet wee understand to be stored upp in great plenty in that towne; we therefore on such an exigencie have thought fitt, and we doe herby authorise you, or any one of you, to search the garners and store houses in towne and therout to take uppon tickett equally so much of the said corne as from time to time shall supply that guarrison untill we shall take further order for the reliefe of it. And soe etc. from Lymericke 24. febr. 1649[-50].

Your loving freind.

Governor and Mayor [of] Clonmell. Ormonde.

66. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 142. 67. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 145.
68. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 146.

69. ORMONDE TO TERENCE COGHLAN.

1649-50. 3. March. Ormonde to Terence Coghlan.

After, etc. Yow [are] upon receipt hereof to send us an accompt what provision of corne yow have in his Majestie's store, and where they lye, that wee may direct yow how to dispose of them to the most convenient places to be usefull to the army, and in the mean tyme to converte what quantity yow can into meale. A speedy accompt herein is needfull and therefore expected. Wee bid yow etc. 3. March, 1649[-50].

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Mr. Terence Coghlan.

70. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

8. March. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After etc. Wee haue sene your letters unto our Secretary, uppon consideracion wherof and other reasons us thereunto moveinge, we thinke fitt to require your continuance at Roscrea, accordinge to former orders, notwithstandinge any since to the contrary; and we desire you to place some musketeers at Burris Ileagh that may keepe footinge there for to receaue in forces to man and defend the place, which we intend to place there, when the party by us designed to come into those parts drawne thither, which willbe very soone. We have allready written to Sir Geo: Hamilton to dispose of some of Collonel Walter Butler's regiment of foot into Burris, from whome you are to knowe what he hath done therein and accordinge the advertisement from him to proceed in this our direction. And soe we bid you hartily farewell from Lymericke the 8th of March, 1649[-50].

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

To Lieutenant-Collonel Grace.

71. PHILIP O'REILLY AND MAGUIRE, BARON OF ENNISKILLEN.

20. March. Philip O'Reilly and Maguire.

The answeare of Phillip Rely defendant to the peticion of the Lord Barron of Inniskellin.

The said defendant, saueinge to himselfe all advantages of exceptions that may be taken and layed to the insufficiency of the said petition, for answeare saith that Collonel Rory Maguire, some six or seven yeares agoe, repaired the walles about the house of Cromme and altered at severall times the warders therof, imagineinge therby to reduce them to civility, but hath not otherwise punished them for feare, as the defendant believes, they would runne to the enemy, which lenitie occasioned

69. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 147. 70. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 158.
71. Carte Papers, clvii. fol. 3b.

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1649-50.
20. March.
Philip O'Reilly and Maguire.

a perseverance of their villanies from time to time in such manner as the countyes of Cavan, Monighan, Longford, and Letrim, had their goods stollen thither from them, and when the forces of the said countyes marched into the field the said warders callinge to their assistance all the theeves, rogues, and vagabonds, within the county of Farmanagh marched where they pleased and seized of great preyes of cowes, pilladge of churches and houses, as if they had bene a comon enemy, and when the owners followed their goodes, they were not only refused restitucion but divers times murthered, and at other times clapped up in the house of Cromme, soe that the unsufferable mischiefs perpetrated by the said harpyes could not be paralelled, which the defendant will reduce to particulars on demaund, and will by the testimonie of the inhabitants of the said countyes plainly prove, and their rapine haueinge growen to that height could not be supressed by the neighbours but by civill warres or dealinge with Colonel Maguire for puttinge the said house into the hands of some honest men of the neighbours. Your Excellencie's said defendant at the request of the gentry of the county of Cavan agreed with Col: Maguire to receave the said house into his handes on condicion to giue the possession therof unto him backe or to whome he pleased, on demaund, but that the defendant had any dealings with the plaintiff the Lord Barron of Inniskellin or that Collonel Maguire by his letters or instruments to him, euer involved him in the said agreement, the defendant denyeth; your Excellencies said defendant offered unto the plaintiff the possession of the said house, on condicion to get sufficient securitie to answeare and bringe in such theeves as would steale out of the county of Cavan, but noe responsible person haue bene, but people of noe ability returned.

The defendant further most humbly sheweth that he hath on receaveinge the said house placed Capten Robert Savage therin with a stronge foot companie, who shewed himselfe soe industrious that he hath compelled all or most of the malefactors of the said county of Farmanagh to goe to service or disperse soe that noe crew of them, as usually appeare; however some of them doe now and then steale the goodes of the county of Cavan and other adioninge countyes which very often by the assistance of the said Capten are rescued. And your Excellencies said defendant doubts not, that if the said Crome should be given over to the plaintiff it beinge uppon the borders neere Beltarbart, the said countyes willbe infested as before in regard the plaintiff is not as yet come to yeares as would direct his Lordship to rule and punish malefactors. And therfore the defendant humbly desireth that he be continued in the possession therof, and this his answeare to be admitted in regard he can not appeare in person, for that he hath in charge to get in from the co of Cavan the provision designed for the present service in Vlster. And further most humbly desireth to be dismissed with cost.

Let this answeare be shewed unto the petitioner that he may reply therunto, if hee see cause.

Loghreagh, 20th of March, 1649[-50].

Ormonde.

72. ORMONDE TO DANIEL O'NEILL.

[1649.] Ormonde to Daniel O'Neill.

Sir,

I have receaued your letter dated yesterday, intimating the fayler of those baronyes towards Dublin in contributing towards the support of that guarison as hitherto. I hope upon my Lord of Inchiquine's comeing thither, which he writes wilbe on Thursday or Friday next, with a strong partie of horse and foote, those inhabitants wilbe more amenable to reason and consequently that place reduced to a better posture of defence and subsistence. If the money expected from Kilkeny for the support of these horse I haue with mee, and for the provision of this guarison, were once come, I would draw into those partes. I hope it may be at Trym by this tyme. If it be, I desire to heare from you that if it be needfull a convoy may be sent to meete and secure it; I conceive by the way of Slane a few horse from thence would serve the turne.

The corne applotted by yow upon the barony of Navan for that guarison beinge unknowne to me, I cannott judge whither or noe it be able to spare that, and the proporcion ordered to be sent for this being 100 barrells, but till that be ascertained I am content the later be suspended.

The Earle of Westmeath shalbe spoken unto touching the demolishing of Athboy and the hastening to you the rest of his regiment as they shall be armed. Soe I rest

Your affectionate freind,

Ormonde.

I send you herewith a more usefull and certaine authoritie for the raysing of money for the fortyfying that place. You will receiue a patent for Captaine Campell's company to ioyne with Sir Henry Tichborne's regiment, but it is not to be answeared till you haue the like number in of those regiments you expect or that you conceive you need them not.

Colonel Dan. O Neill.

73. ORMONDE TO OLIVER CROMWELL.

Ormonde to Cromwell.

Sir,

I was lately assured by Collonel Michaell Jones, whoe commanded at Dublin in chiefe before your arivall, that certaine servants of mine taken at Rathmines were freely given mee, whereupon I sent him a list of the names of such servants as I found missing, desireing the benefitt of that civility; but his answere was, that application therein was to be made unto you. In pursuance of that intimacion, I have here inclosed sent yow the names of such of my servants as I heare are prisoners at Dublin, and if you thinke fitt to make good to mee the

72. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 18.

73. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 29. This appears to be the communication referred to by Ormonde in his letter to Cromwell, *ante*, p. 453.

[1649.] Ormonde to Cromwell.

curtisy intended by Collonel Jones, I desire you would be pleased to give order for their inlardgement, and you would lett me know upon what condicions the officers and souldiers now prisoners there may be inlardged.

I remaine

Your humble servant,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant-Generall Crumwell.

74. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

1650. 27. Mar. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After etc. We require you upon receipt herof to remove with your troope and Capten Mooneyes foot companie from Roscrea, and either to ioyne with the forces under the comaund of our very good Lord, the Earle of Castlehaven, or to guarrison in some other convenient place for defence of the King's County and the annoyance of the enemy, And soe, etc. from Loghreagh, 27th March, 1650.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

75. Ulster Creaghts, 1650.

27. March. Ulster Creaghts.

The Answeare of Phelem Mc Gennes to the peticion of the Lady Ellinor McDonnell, the relict of Ever Magennes, Esqr., decessed, and mother of the defendant.

The defendant, saveinge unto himselfe all manner of exceptions that may be taken to the insufficiencie and untrueth of the plaintiff's peticion, for answeare sayth, that the Creats dependinge of him, are not tyed or bound to pay any rent or certaintie unto the petitioner or his mother they and euery of them liveinge not uppon the estate of the defendant theise many yeares past, and doeth humbly conceave that, though they had lined there in times past, the same is not a perpetuall tye uppon them to pay rent therout. The defendant further sayth that what condicions (expressed in articles of agreement and produceable by the petitioner) past between the petitioner and the defendant petitioner's father upon their intermarriage, the defendant never gave nor doeth intend to give her the least oposicion in reeeaveinge the benefit therof. And wheras, upon the plaiutiff's peticion to your Excellencie, it was ordered, that she should reeeaue the thirds of the profitts of the said Creates as well for the time past as to come, otherwise that the defendant should shew cause to the contrary; the defendant sayth (as before) she hath noe right therunto, they liveinge not upon her estate nor dependinge of

74. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 169. 75. Carte Papers, clvii. p. 33.

her nor the defendant other then what they please to give to the defendant in charitie for his reliefe, beinge an orphant and under age. And therefore humbly prayeth your Excellencie, for the ease of banished Creates, as alsoe in charitie and Justice to recall your said former order, and to dismisse the petitioner with his costs injustly sustained in this suite.

APPENDIX. 1650. 27. March. Ulster Creaghts.

Let this answeare be shewed unto the petitioner, that [s]he may reply therunto if [s]he see cause.

Loghreagh, 27. March, 1650.

Ormonde.

76. ORMONDE TO COLONEL SWYNY.

After, etc. By our observacion of your carriadge and inclinacion, as by notice of some late passages of yow, we find your sincere affeccions to his Majestes service and particuler good will unto us which wee thought needfull heereby to let yow know our sence thereof, soe wee shall not omit to reteyne the memory thereof when occasions of your advantage are offered, and soe we bid etc. 1. Aprill, 1650.

1. April. Ormonde to Colonel Swyny.

Your very loveing freind,

Colonel Swyny. Ormonde.

77. ORMONDE TO COLONEL COLLO MAC MAHON.

After our hearty comendacions: Wee have received informacion not onely of your disobedience unto authority and government but alsoe of your correspondence with the enimy and condicions made with them, the latter wherof is evidenced unto us by your permitting the enimy without resistance or opposicion to passe through your quarters to prey the county of Cavan lately, which we cannot looke upon but as inconsistent with loyalty or affecion to his Majestie's service, and therefore require yow upon your duty of allegiance to forbeare such accions in the future as may savor eyther of non conformity unto government or correspondence with the enimy, and that you forthwith send us the agreement past betweene yow and them. And soe etc. 13th Aprill, 1650.

13. April. Ormonde to Colonel Collo Mac Mahon.

Your loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Colonel Collo Mc Mahon.

76. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 178.

77. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 239.

APPENDIX.

78. ORMONDE TO BISHOP MAC MAHON.

1650. 13. April. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

After our hearty comendacions: Complainte being made unto us by our very good Lord, the Lord Baron of Iniskillin, that the Castle of Crume, belonging unto his Lordship, is deteyned from him, and wee being well informed that the right thereof doth properly belong to his Lordship, wee pray and require yow to cause the quiet possession thereof to be delivered unto his Lordship and continue him therein. And soe, etc. 13. Aprill, 1650.

Your loveing freind,

Generall Ever Mc Mahon Bishop of Clogher. Ormonde.

79. ORMONDE TO LIEUTENANT-COLONEL GRACE.

14. April. Ormonde to Lieutenant-Colonel Grace.

After etc. We have comaunded Sir Geo. Hamilton unto his Government of Ormond and withe him a handsome partie both of horse and foot of those that are allready upon their march thither and to joine by particular orders with him, whereof you beinge one and in whome we allwayes had reall confidence of ambition to further his Majestie's service both in affection therunto and unto us, we shall now uppon this occasion expect that you will manifest the same to both in your chearful conjunction with Sir George and the rest to performe good services and shewinge your activenes therin. And as we expect a very good accompt of the actions of that party and that much may be done by them, soe we haue given Sir George speciall charge to haue great regard to provide for them, and a particular care of you. And soe, etc. from Athlone Castle 14th Apr. 1650.

Your very loving friend,

Lieutenant-Colonel Grace. Ormonde.

80. ORMONDE TO COLONEL PHILIP MAC HUGH O'REILLY.

19. April. Ormonde to Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly.

After our hearty comendacions: Your letter of the 17th, incloseing one conteyning intelligence of Sir Charles Coote's intencions and designes we have even now received, and according to your advice and desire doe send you the inclosed letter to be after perusall perclosed and sent to Iniskillin. Wee hold it of great importance that wee be constantly advertised by yow of the certaine motions and intencions of the rebells forces in Ulster as alsoe that yow advertise our very good Lord the Earle of Castlehaven thereof who will be with that parte of the Leinster forces drawen together at or neere Teeroghan. Soe not doubting of your especiall care herein, wee bid yow etc. 19 Aprill, 1650.

Your affeccionate freind,

Colonel Phillip Mc Hugh O Reyly. Ormonde.

78. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 240.—Letters in similar terms were addressed, on same day as above, to Colonel Philip Mac Hugh O'Reilly, Colonel Collo Mac Mahon, and Captain Savage.

79. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 201. 80. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 207.

81. ORMONDE TO BISHOP MAC MAHON.

1650. 6. May. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

After our hearty comendacions: Being desirous so to settle the manadgment of the warre in the north as might most tend to the advancement of his Majestie's service, wee shall desire to be informed from your Lordship how soone the forces under your command shalbee brought into a body and whether you conceave them of strength able . . . . Sir Charles Coote intention to invade the province of Conaght, or what party of horse and foote, together with the cowntenuance of a strong garrison placed at Sligoe, will be necessary so to doe, to the end the rest of that parte of his Majestie's army now in Conaught may bee drawen for the defence of these borders and to assist as occasion shalbee offered the forces of Leynster and Munster to appose Cromwell, which would be of very great and generall advantage to the wholl service and might divert the forces of Dublin and those partes from falling into the north. Wee doe desire to understand with expedition your Lordship's since upon these particulars, and remaine at Loghreagh 6 May, 1650.

Your Lordships very loveing freind,

Ormonde.

Bishoppe of Clogher.

82. ORMONDE TO COLONEL PHILIP O'REILLY.

23. May. Ormonde to Colonel Philip O'Reilly.

After etc. We receaued your letters of the 10th of this instant, in answeare wherunto we thinke fitt herby to let yow knowe that we hould it reasonable you should continue the possession of that place mentioned in our late letters unto yow to be delivered unto our very good Lord the Lord Barron of Inniskellin, whose peticion demaundinge the same we have answeared, untill uppon further consideracion of the reasons by you given in the said answeare we shall give further order therein. We have, by letters herewith sent, suspended that order graunted unto Colonel Myles Rely concerning Cloghocoter, untill our further order issue therein. And for what else may concerne you dependinge before us dureinge our attendinge his Majestie's service in the field; we will haue due regard therof. And so, etc. 23 of May, 1650.

Your loveinge friend,

Ormonde.

Colonel Phillip Rely.

81. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 242.

82. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 267.

83. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

1650. 23. May. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

After, etc. Wee receaved your letters of the 13th of this instant, the desires wherof at our last beinge here before now we accomplished in sendinge our positive orders unto Colonell Myles O Rely to drawe his regiment into a bodye and march with them unto our very good Lord the Earle of Castlehaven, Generall of Linster, or unto your Lordship, and to joine with yow in the service of that Province, which we hope he hath now performed. And soe, etc. 23th of May, 1650.

Your Lordship's affectionate friend.

Ormonde.

Bishop of Clogher.

84. Ormonde to Colonel Myles O'Reilly.

27. May. Ormonde to Colonel Myles O'Reilly.

After etc. For certaine reasons offered unto us by Colonell Phillip Mc Hugh O Rely, we desire you to desire the benefitt of our order graunted unto you concerninge the castle or fort of Cloghocoter untill uppon further consideracion those reasons we shall give further orders therein. And soe, etc. 27. of May, 1650.

Your loving friend,

Ormonde.

Colonell Myles O Rely.

85. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

30. May. Ormonde to Bishop Mac Mahon.

We will by publique proclamacion vindicate ourselfes from those fowle aspersions endeauored to be layd on us by Monroe, wherof our now goeinge into the field in opposicion to the rebells we hope will satisfy the world we are in nothinge guiltie. And soe we bid your Lordship very heartily farewell from his Majestie's Castle of Athlone, the 30th of May, 1650.

Your Lordship's affectionate friend,

Ormonde.

Bishop of Clogher.

There are 10 ferkins of bulletts at James towne, which our very good Lord, the Lord Marquis of Clanrickard, will order to be delivered your Lordship, or whome you will appoint, which we haue ordered for you and be signified unto you would be delivered on a call.

83. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 266. 84. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 266.
85. Carte Papers, cxlii. p. 273.

86. Surrender of Tecroghan, 1650.

1650. 25. June. Surrender of Tecroghan.

Articles agreed vpon, by and betweene Capten John Bellewe, Lieutenant of the Ordinance, Capten Ffeaghra O Flyn, and Mr. Pembrocke Harbertt, Commissioners authorized by Sir Robertt Talbott, Baronett, Gouernor of the Castle and forte of Teeroghan, of thone parte, and Major Thomas Stanly, Lieutenant Wm. Purefie, and Mr Henry Shankey, Commissioners authorized by the Honorable Collonell John Reynolds, on the other parte, for and concearning the surrender of the said Castle and forte unto the said Collonell Reynolds, for the use of the Parliament of England, this 25th. of June, 1650.

1. In primis, it is condescended unto and agreed upon and the said Capten John Bellew, Capten Ffeoghra Flin, and Mr. Pembrocke Herbertt, for and in the behalfe of the said Sir Robertt Talbott, to and with the said Major Thomas Stanly, Lieutenant-Collonell Wm. Purifie and Mr. Henry Sankey, doe covenant and agree that the said Sir Robert Talbott shall at the houre of twelve of the clock at noone to morrow beinge Wednesday, surrender, and give upp unto the possession of the said Collonell John Reynolds or to whome he shall appointe, the Castle and forte of Tagh Craghan, together with all the armes, ammunition, and artillirie and other provision for warr, therein, except what is consented to be carryed, in the following articles, or any other graunt, under the hand of the said Collonel Reynolds: Provided the seige be not raised in the meane time, and if, at the said houre of twelue of the clock, the said Governor and the rest of the said Garrisson, be not ready to march away, then the said Capten Bellew, and Capten Fflin, to be and remaine hostages, with the said Collonell Reynolds, for delivering upp the said Castle and forte and marching away of the said Governor and Garrisson at or before ten of the clocke, on Thursday next.

2. Item, it is condescended unto, and agreed uppon that the said Major Thomas Stanly, Lievtenant-Collonell Wm. Purifie, and Mr. Henry Shankey; for and in the behalfe of the said Collonell John Reynolds to and with the said Capten John Bellew, Captin Feoghra O fflyn, and Mr. Pembrock Herbertt, doe covenant, and agree, that the said Sir Robert Talbott, Baronett, Gouernor of Tecroghan, with all the officers and souldiors formerlie in that Garison, and Collonell Richard Burke,

86. Carte Papers, lxv. pp. 391, 393. For notice, in the "Aphorismical Discovery," of the siege and surrender of Tecroghan, see *ante*, p. 95; also (p. 410) letter of Lord Dillon. On this subject Sir Lewis Dyve wrote as follows: "Through whose fault, or through what miscarriage, Tecroghan is lost, after it hath been so long and gallantly defended by Sir Robert Talbot, and the Lady Fitz-Garret, and the Ulster army defeated, I cannot undertake to say, since they are accidents after my coming to sea; though I do much feare that the first was occasioned principally through the reliques of those unhappy emulations and backwardnesses that dwelt in some of the great ones against others who were like to reap too much honor and advantage from the enterprize in case that place had been relieved and preserved. Whatever the matter were, I confess those mischances have much altered the case from what it was, but yet I despaire not of the business in giving all for gone, but hope God's justice having been in some measure satisfied, and the people being become more humble, and more united, that by God's blessing they may weather this storm, and preserve themselves with that kingdom to the King."—*A Letter from Sir Lewis Dyve to the Lord Marquis of Newcastle.* Hague: 1650, p. 54.

Appendix.
25. June.
Surrender of Tecroghan.

with all the officers, and souldiers and all others who came with him to reliue that Garison, and all others of what function or qualitie soever they be, shall parte thence in safetie with bagg and baggage, apparelled, armes, horses, and other cattle, the officers and souldiers to march, with their armes, armour, and ammunition, musketts, and fire locks loaden, bandeleeres filled, ball in buch, match lighted, cullers flying, drumes beating, and that none of them shall be now questioned for any former behauior what soever, and that for the space of three dayes, after the departure of the said Gouernor, and Garisson, noe acts of hostillitie shall be comitted against them by any parte of the English army.

3. Item, it is further condescended unto, and agreed uppon by the said Commissioners, that all such officers and souldiers, and all others now in the said Castle and forte of Tecroghan, whoe haue any corne in ground or goods or chattles, shall be protected and enioy the benefitt of their saide corne in ground, goods and chattles, paying their contributions as others in their neighbourhood.

4. Item, it is condescended unto, and agreed uppon by the said Commissioners that Sir Luke Fitz Gerald, his Lady, or either of them, and their seruants, may liue at Tecroghan, if they please, and quietely enioye and be secured in their estates and profitts therof thire goods, chattles, and provisions, and their corne in ground sowen either, on their owne estate, at Castle Jordan, and else where, paying their contribucion, and if they, or either of them shall desire, to remove into any parte of their estate, that they may be licensed soe to doe and to carry away at their pleasure their said goods and chattles, provision and corne, and that they may leave servants at Tecroghan to ripe their harvest, and oversee their corne, cattle and other goods, and to returne againe at their pleasure. And the said Sir Luke and his tenants, in regard of the spoile of their corne by the army; shall be abatted all arreare of contribucion, to the date of these presents. And as touching the ascertaineinge of the contribucion to be paid for the said Sir Luke's estate, and the said Sir Luke's and his familyes free residence at Tecroghan is referred to a conferrence to be had betweene the said Collonell Reynolds and the said Sir Luke's Lady.

5. Item, it is condescended unto, and agreed uppon that the said Sir Luke shall with securitie, enioye all his horses, and that he, with his meniall servants, and other necessarie attendance, be allowed to carry thire usuall travelling armes and to keepe armes for the defence against theefes and robbers.

6. Item, that the inhabitants of Tecroghan and else where on the said Sir Luke's estate, whoe are now flead may returne again to liue on his said estate, and may enioye the benefitt of these Articles, in all pointes, touching their owne securitie, their corne in ground, thir cattle and other goods as afforesaid.

7. Item, that the Lady of Trimelstowne, with her tenants and servants, may enioye Corbetts Towne, with her and their corne in ground, cattle, and other goods, untill she reap her corne, and bringe it from thence, she paying her contribucion as formerlie.

8. Item, that Mr. Robertt Lench, of Croboy, and his son, Capten Allexander Lench, and Christopher Eustas, with the said Robert's familie and tenants, may liue quietly at Croboy and enjoy their corne in ground, with such cattle, and other

goods as they shall bringe uppon the said lands of Croboy they paying their contribucion. as the rest of their neighbours.

APPENDIX. 1650.

9. Item, that such household stuffe, apparell, and other goods as can at the present be brought from Tecroghan, unto whome soever the same shall belonge, that the same be layd upp there in safetie, and convenient time allowed the owner to carry the same away. For true performance of all the aboue written Artticles, wee, the said Commissioners haue hereunto interchangably put our hands and seales the day and yeare first above written.

25. June. Surrender of Tecroghan.

Signed: Thomas Stanly.
Wm. Purifoy.
Henry Shankey.

Being present att the signing, sealing, and deliuery heereof, wee whose names ensueth:

Rich. Dale.
Robt. Farrerr.

Endorsed: 25 Junii, 1640. Coppie of the Articles for surrender of Tecroghan.

I, Collonell John Reynolds, upon the surrender of the Forte of Tecrohan into my hands by Sir Robertt Talbott, Governor thereof, doe heereby agree and promise that the said Sir Robert Talbott shall haue halfe the Artillerie now in the said forte. The said Sir Robt. Talbott and I, castinge lotts for the first choyce gunn, and to whose lott that gunn shall fall, the other is to make the next choyce, and soe successiuely for the rest of the gunnes; and that, at any time within eight weekes after the date heereof, the said Sir Robt. Talbott, or any other imployed shall haue free libertie and safe conduct for all such persons as shall be ymployed to carry away the said gunnes within the said time; and that all carriadges and other necessaryes as belongs to the said gunnes, and now within the said forte, shalbe safely deliuered unto such as shall be sent for the said gunns. Wittness my hand and seale the 25th of June, 1650.

J. Reynolds.

Endorsed: Coppie of Reynold's engagement upon the surrender of Tecroghan, 25 Junii, 1650.

87. MAINTENANCE OF FORCES IN MUNSTER.—CASE OF LADY MARY HAMILTON, OF ROSCREA.

Athlone Castle, 29. July, 1650.

The Commissioners apointed for the affaires of the province of Munster are herby desired to take imediat course that what areares, if any be allready due, uppon the towne and lands of Roscrea, or that shall fall due herafter, to the publique may be put in accompt uppon the petitioner in part satisfacion of what is due unto

29. July. Forces in Munster.

87. Carte Papers, clvii. p. 245.

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1650.
29. July.
Forces in Munster.

her for the charge she hath bene at for the maintenance of the horse and foot above mencioned. And all Receauers, Collectors, officers, and soldiers, are herby required at their perilles not to trouble the petitioner her tennants or their goodes or the said towne or landes with any cesse distresse or otherwise for any areare allready due, or that shall herafter accrue due uppon the said towne and landes for contribution, weekly assessments, composition or otherwise to the publique untill our further order. Whereof, etc.

Ormonde.

Uppon the peticion of the Lady Mary Hamilton, of Roscrea.

88. DANIEL O'NEILL TO THE MARCHIONESS OF ORMONDE.

Hage, 12 of October, 1650.

12. Oct.
Daniel O'Neill to Marchioness of Ormonde.

Madame,

After that to my extreame grieffe I was by the persecution of the bishops forced to leave my Lord Lieutenant, when hee had most need of his friends, I came with Sir Thomas Armstrong, and the rest of those English that were with my lord, to Ireton, who perswaded himselfe that I had something to propound to him from my Lord Lieutenant concerning his leaving the Irish, whom hee beleeved were neither faithfull to him nor long able to maintaine a warre. When hee understood I had none, hee seemed to be much troubled att itt, both for his Lordship's and your Ladyship's sake; especially yours, whose present condition hee laboured to perswade mee hee much pittied. When I was with his Majesty in Scotland, after giving him an account of the ill condition my Lord Lieutenant was in in Ireland, and the reasons why he was so, I made him a relation of my discourse with my Lord Deputy Ireton. His Majesty told mee, hee would be very glad his tongue had spoke his heart, and that for his part hee would send to my Lord freely leave to deale with the Parliament for his fortune, and protested to mee his owne concernment in that kingdome did not more trouble him than his Lordship's. Hee made mee long and oblieging discourses of my Lord and all his enemies, and closed with assuring mee, that it was not in the power of his mother, if she and attempted itt, to give him the least ill impression of a man that hee beleeved wedded his interest as a father and a friend. I must confesse, madame, such sence of my Lord's services, and so free an acknowledging of them, moderated much of my grieffes for my Lord's misfortunes; and so I hope they'le of your Ladyship's, unto whom hee commanded mee to present his service, and to desire you to deale with the Parliament for your fortune. Madame, I dare not give you my advyce upon this point, knowing how severe my lord is to himself, and that no extreamity will obliege him to doe any thing he beleeves that will reflect upon his loyaltie or honor: but the condition I fear yow are reduced to, and what I heard from his Majesty to secure my Lord's scruples and fears, perswades mee, itt were not ill done to try what could be done in England to save yowr fortune. The late defeate of the Scotts so miracoulously, and notwithstanding the barbarous usage of the King and his friends by the insolent ministers, makes many faithfull

88. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 378, 379, 430.

servants of his Majesty in these parts to thinke of reconciling themselves to the present governors of their country: and I cannot beleeve their wants nor fortune are greater then yowr Ladyship's, nor their warrant so good for attempting.

Att my being with Ireton, I made propositions to him for liberty to leavy men for the King of Spaine or the States of Holland. Hee granted leave to transport five thousand men for the King of Spaine or the States service: but denyed for France. Upon my arriveall here, I offered my service to the States who intend to make warre in Portugall. Finding some diffieulty in that, I made my application to the Spanish ambassador, from whom yett I have no answear. The apprehension I have that my Lord Lieutenant will not long stay in Ireland, makes mee presume it will not be disadvantagious to him to owen these levyes, therefore I resolve to loose all the advantage of them and to propound them in his name. Some from Bruxells discourages my designe, because the Irish clergy has made him blacke on that side; yett I am resolved not to serve where hee may not finde his advantage. I have writt to my Lord Digby, that if he can make the same conditions for my Lord, which were offered him by the Cardinall heretofore, that I'le give over these levyes for the Spaniard. Madame, if this way, or with the losse of my life, I may expresse my gratitude to my lord, no man in the world could thinke himself happier then,

Madame, your most humble servant

D. N.

Endorsed: A Coppy of Mr. D. O Neiles to my lady, of the 12 of Octo. 1650.

An Abstract of my Propositions to the Spanish Ambassador.

That I shall raise 3000 men at the rate of four pound a man, and deliver them to a Commissary of the King of Spaine at the sea side, who is to take the care and charge of transporting the men upon him.

That the said Commissary shall be obleeged every time to bringe him 500 men to receive them from mee and embarque them away, paying mee upon the place for the number of men I still bring, who are from their embarquement to enter into the king's pay.

That if his Majesty shall have need of any more foot and make any new leavies the next year, hee shall allow mee leavy money and ships for the raising and transporting 3000 men more to joyne with these; and yearly upon our coming out of the field, to give mee allowance for 400 men to every regiment to recruit withall.

That after fourteen dayes after their landing, my men shall be cloathed and armed by his Majesty.

That these 3000 men shall be divided into three compleat regiments of 1000 men apeice, none of which regiments are to be reduced, whilest they are 300 strong, nor none of the companies whilest they are 30.

That I shall bring over besides these 3000 foot, 600 men to be composed into a regiment of horse, for mounting and arming of which I shall have allowed mee

APPENDIX.
1650.
12. Oct.
Daniel O'Neill to Marchioness of Ormonde.

within fourteen dayes after their arriveall, 180 francks a man, and yearly upon our comming out of the field 300 pistolls apeece to every troope to recruit withall.

That I shall yearly also have a very particular care taken of my men, in having a good garnison and winter quarter assigned mee for them.

That for my owne particular I shall have the same * command over all the Irish in all his Majesty of Spaine's dominions, that my Lord Goring had over the English, with all the appointments and pensions † that were granted him.

That hereafter when any command shall fall voyde, as well as now at the first raising of my men, I shall have the nomination of all my officers.

That as long as any body of strangers shall be continued in his Majesty's service, either in Flanders or Spaine, I shall not be cashiered; and whenever that shall happen, that it shall be thought fitt to disband my men, I shall have my pension continued unto mee during life, and my men have their arreares.

That his Majesty of Spaine shall intercede and doe his utmost endeavour with the present governours of England and Ireland, for the restoration and securitie of the estates and fortunes of all such of my nation, as shall come under my command to serve him.

Lastly, That hee shall procure the renewing of my license given mee by Ireton for the transportation of the men, and obtaine a pasport and permission for myselfe and all such as I shall thinke fitt to imploy into Ireland to passe and repasse through England; wee engaging ourselves to act nothing to their prejudice, during our residence in any of their dominions.

89. DANIEL O'NEILL TO THE MARCHIONESS OF ORMONDE.

Madame, Hage, 9 of November, 1650.

9. Nov.
Daniel O'Neill to Marchioness of Ormonde.

The honor you did mee off your letter of the 24th off October, I receaved the day after the last post went hence. This inclosed is an abstract of my last proposalls to the Spanish Ambassador. My first were such as hee would not treat upon; those hee has brought to Bruxells, and promised mee the Archduke's answeare within 14 dayes; which I doubt will not meet with my desires. For out of Germany there are such numbers of men offered, and all att so cheap rates, that they may have a reasonable army for the summe that must be given to raise and transport 3000 men out of Ireland. However (Madame) if either their interest or necessity drawe them to agree with mee, my Lord-Lieutenant shall have all the advantages of my conditions, as well of command as appointments, iff hee will make it his choyce. Madame, this is all I can doe, and the least hee can expect from mee, whom not onely his favours but friendshipps has oblieged to have no ambition so strong as his service, and especially now, when I know both his safety and your wants require itt.

I have writt to my Lord Taaff what I did here; what diffidence I have in the reall dealing of the Spaniards; and that therefore my Lord Dighby and hee

* Colonel General. † His pension 500 crownes a month.

89. Carte Papers, xxviii. p. 43.

showld not neglect what was offered my Lord-Lieutenant in France: for I would have him be secure off one side before hee leaves Ireland. Not from my Lord Dighby, but my Lord Taaff—I have what was offered in France. I am confident your Ladyship had the same. I'le not presume to give my opinion which is the best condition for his Lordship: that of France has the more glorious face, and some thinke this of Spaine the more certaine. I see you tyed so to your obedience, that I dare not give yow advyce concerning your estate. Sure I am his Majesty would be infinitely satisfied yow had your owne, though with an agreement with the Parliament; and that what yow doe in order to itt will never begett another thought in him, than what may suit with that which hee commanded mee to tell yow and write to my Lord Lieutenant; which I have done to him att large by an express, just as I was leaving Scotland. Your apprehensions for my Lord are very just, unles that dispatch of his Majesty be come to him; which leaves him att liberty to quit his ill condition, when hee thinkes fitt.

Yesternight Sir Edward Wa[l]ker came hither: four dayes agoe hee left Scotland; hee sayes that a great body of the malignants and ingagers to the number of tenne thousand in the north of Scotland gott together, and under the conduct of Middleton declared for his Majesty. That secretly they sent for his Majesty; that hee intended to goe to them, but was betrayed by my Lord Wilmot, unto whom the matter was told in a secrecie by my Lord Duke of Buckingham; that notwithstanding his Majesty gott thirty miles on his way, when he was stopped by the intreaty of Collonel Montgomery (my Lord of Eglington's son) who assured him, that the army att Sterling should bee att his command totally; that not so much this, as his finding the other party short of his expectation, made him returne to Sterling where hee is now, in much more authority and esteeme than hetherto; that hee is this day crowned; that these two Scotts armies are treating, and great hopes of their agreeing; which is that that doubtles will banish Cromwell [from] Scotland. This is the summe of his newes, and this is all wee have to comfort us for the sad losse of the Prince of Orange, who died a Sunday last of the small-pox, more through the ignorance or malice off his doctors, than the malignity of his sicknes. Madame, I dare not give you my apprehensions upon this sadd disaster: they are too melancholy for your condition. I onely say, that the excellentest yowth that ever I knew is lost, and that I thinke his wife will soone follow, for she is within tenne dayes of being brought to bedd, and is so seised with grieffe, that no consideration can prevaile with her to thinke of life. Though her sorrowes be immoderate; yet they are much to be pardoned, considering that she has not onely lost a husband, but a passionat lover, and the kindest friend to her family that could be desired.

Madame, if hereafter you favour mee with your letters, direct them hither to myself. I humbly beg yowr pardon for this long letter; hereafter they shall not take up so much of your time. I am,

Madame, your most humble servant,

D. N.

APPENDIX.

Drogheda Garrison, 1649.

MILITARY LISTS, MUSTER-ROLLS, ETC.

I. GARRISON IN THE TOWN OF DROGHEDA, PRIOR TO SIEGE BY OLIVER CROMWELL IN 1649.

A list of the severall troopes of horse in the garrison within the towne of Droghadah, 30th August, 1649, with their intertainment.

Maior Buttler:	£	s.	d.
Maior	03	00	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Q[u]art[ermaster]	00	12	00
Chaplaine	01	01	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Trumpet	00	09	00
Marshell	00	16	00
2 Corp[or]alls, 9*s.* a peece	00	18	00
27 Troopers, 6*s.* a peece ...	08	02	00
	£17	00	00

Captaine Harpall:	£	s.	d.
Captaine	02	10	00
Leiftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quarterm[aster] ...	00	12	00
Chaplaine	01	01	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
A trumpeter ...	00	09	00
21 Troopers ...	06	06	00
	£13	18	00

Sir James Preston:	£	s.	d.
Captain	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quartermaster ...	00	12	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
Trumpeter ...	00	09	00
34 Troopers ...	10	04	00
	£16	15	00

Sir John Dongan:	£	s.	d.
Captain	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quart[ermaster] ...	00	12	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
A Trumpeter ...	00	09	00
23 Troopers ...	06	18	00
	£13	09	00

Liftenant-Collonel Dungan:	£	s.	d.
Captain	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quarter[master] ...	00	12	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
Trumpeter	00	09	00
22 Troopers ...	06	12	00
	£13	03	00

1. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle, Ireland.

Captain Plunckit's Troope:

	£	s.	d.
Captain	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quart[master] ...	00	12	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
A trumpeter ...	00	09	00
22 Troopers ...	09	00	00
	£15	11	00

Captaine Fleming's troope:

	£	s.	d.
Captaine	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quartermaster ...	00	12	00
Chaplaine	01	01	00
2 Corp[or]alls ...	00	18	00
A Trumpeter ...	00	09	00
Marchell ...	00	16	00
60 Troopers ...	18	00	00
	£26	08	00

Captaine Finglas troop:

	£	s.	d.
Captaine	02	10	00
Lieftenant	01	04	00
Cornet	00	18	00
Quarter[master] ...	00	12	00
Chaplane	01	01	00
2 Corporalls ...	00	18	00
Trumpet	00	09	00
Marshell	00	16	00
48 Troopers ...	14	08	00
	£22	16	00

Sume totall of the weekly pay to the 8 troops amount to £139.

The number of the horse is	256
The number of the commanders and officers belonging to the horse ...	63
	319

Colonell Byrne:

	£	s.	d.
Colonell	04	10	00
Leiftenant-Colonell	03	00	00
Maior	02	05	00
7 Captaines	10	10	00
9 Leiftenants, 15*s.* a peice	06	15	00
9 Ensignes, 10*s.* a peice	04	10	00
19 Sargeants, 3*s.* 6*d.* a peice ...	03	06	6
41 Corporals and Drum	06	03	0
385 Private souldiers, 3*s.* 6*d.* a peice	67	07	0
2 Chaplins, 17*s.* 6*d.* a peice	01	15	0
Quartermaster	00	15	0
Marshall	00	12	0
Chirurgion and his Mate	00	18	0
Cariage Master	00	10	0
	£112	16	06

	£	s.	d.
Of my Lord of Inchequin's armie:			
Ensigne	00	10	0
69 Souldiers	8	12	6
	£9	2	6

Colonell Wale:			
Colonell	04	10	0
Maior	02	05	0
7 Captains, 30*s.* a peice	10	10	0
12 Leitenants, 15*s.* a peice	09	00	0
12 Ensignes, 10*s.* a peice	06	00	0
21 Sargeants, 3*s.* 6*d.* a peice ...	03	13	6
36 Corporalls, 3*s.* a peice	05	08	0
7 Drums, 3*s.* a peice	01	01	0
391 Souldiers	68	08	6
2 Chaplins, 17*s.* 6*d.* a peice	01	15	0
Quartermaster	00	15	0
Marshall	00	12	0
Chirurgeon and his Mate	00	18	0
Cariage Master	00	10	0
	£115	0	0

His Excellencie's Regiment:*			
Collonell	04	10	0
Maior	03	00	00
9 Captaines	13	10	00
11 Leiftenants	08	05	00
9 Ensignes	04	10	00
22 Seriants	07	14	00
13 Drums	01	19	00
423 Private souldiers	74	00	06
7 Reformades	02	02	00
A Preacher and a Chaplin	01	08	00
Chirurgion and his Mate	00	18	00
Quarter-Master	00	15	00
Cariage-Master	00	10	00
3 Reformades	00	18	00
6 Souldiers	01	01	00
Marshall	00	12	00
27 Corporalls...	04	01	00
	£129	13	06

* The Marquis of Ormonde's regiment: Sir Edmund Verney, Lieutenant-Colonel. See *ante*, p. 269.

Colonell Warren:	£	s.	d.
Colonel	4	10	00
Maior	2	05	00
9 Captaines, 30*s.* a peice	13	10	00
11 Leftenants, 15*s.* a peice	08	05	00
11 Ensignes, 10*s.* a peice	05	10	00
22 Sargeants, 3*s.* 6*d.* a peice ...	3	17	00
14 Drums, 3*s.* a peice	02	02	0
33 Corporalls, 3*s.* a peice	04	19	0
528 Private souldiers, 3*s.* 6*d.* a peice	92	08	0
2 Chaplins, 17*s.* 6*d.* a peice	1	15	00
Quartermaster	00	15	00
Marshall	00	12	00
Chirurgeon and his Mate	00	18	0
Cariage Master	00	10	0
	£141	16	0

Trayne of Artillery:			
The towne Maior	00	15	00
His Man	00	05	00
Clarke of the store	00	07	06
William Pearson, Master gunner ...	00	10	00
William Wade, gunner	00	08	00
Georg Calluert, gunner	00	08	00
Phebus Begnall, gonner's mate ...	00	05	00
Thomas Paine, gunner's mate ...	00	05	00
Thomas Bankes, gunner's mate ...	00	05	00
Robert Euers, Carpenter	00	08	00
John Keane, his mate	00	05	00
William Purchas, smyth	00	06	08
	£04	08	02

	£	s.	d.
Sume of the weekly paye to the foote is	512	17	0
Sume of the weekly pay to the horse	139	0	0
To Captaine White	02	05	0
To Chubbe, a wounded souldier, by his Exelencie's order	00	05	0

Number of the commanders, officers, and troope	319
Number of the commanders, officers, and foote belonging to the redgments	2221
The wounded souldiers of My Lord of Inchequeene's, being numbered 69 theirin reckoned belonging to the train of Artillerie	0012
In the whole	2552

APPENDIX.

Drogheda Garrison, 1649.

	£	s.	d.
The totall sum of the weekly pay	653	17	6
Besides the paymaster and allowance not as yet known			
And theirin desire his Exelentie's order to him that taketh care of all the materialls	0	5	0
To fouer laborers for remoueing and turning of corne	0	10	0
Sume totall is	£654	12	0

Besides extraordinarie and vnavoidable expences:

The payment of carpenters, masonis, smjthes, and other worke men vpon extreordinarie occasions for the making and mending of meterials.

Besides sume assistants to be granted to the Chyrurgans, in furnishing their chist.

Their are allsoe many of Sir Henry Titchburne's redgment sicke, and noe allowance for them.

Moreouer, there dayly comes diuers souldiers who formerly haue belonged to these regements, both horse and foote, and noe allowance for them.

Endorsed: Estimate of the charge of Drogheda, the 30th of August, 1649, with a lyst of the seuerall regiments and troopes garrissoned there, etc.

II. MEMORANDA OF MAJOR-GENERAL HUGH O'NEILL, COMMANDER OF THE GARRISON OF CLONMELL, 1649-50.

Clonmel Garrison, 1649-50.

A noat of Lieutenant-Colonell Goeghes companie, Lieutenant-Colonell to Colonell Edmond Fitz Morice his regiment, taken by mee at Kilmanehyn, by vertue of my Lord President of Mounster's direction, the 27 of December, 1649.

Lieutenant-Colonell Clement Goegh.
Lieutenant Edmond Butler.
Ensigne Thomas Henesie.
Serieant Dermott Henesie.
Serieant Edmond OFelon.
Corporall Edmond Power.
Corporall Edmond OReyly.
Corporall Dermott OPhelan.

And fortie-four souldiers well armed with musquetts, and most likewise with swords.

Mr. Briuer,

I shall desire yow in your muster accoumpt to include the aboue relacion of which I made a returne to my Lord Lieutenant, to the end they may receaue pay respectiuely with this garrizon till further order.

Hugo ONeill.

Clonmell, the 6th of January, 1649[-50].

II. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle, Ireland.

A list of the souldiers sent out of the regiments of this towne of Clonmell to guarrisons abroad as followeth.

Imprimis: Sent 100 souldiers to the guarrison of Kilkash out of Colonel Realyes regiment. Sent out of Colonell Tirlagh ONeyll's regiment to Ballydine, 14 souldiers and a Lieutenant, with a Corporall.

Sent out of the said regiment to Castle-Kavnagh garrison the number of 30 souldiers and a Lieutenant and Sargent, with two corporalls.

Tirlagh ONeyll, Adiudant Generall.

Shane Mc Vagh, Surgeon-Major-Generall.

Hugo ONeill.

Endorsed: The Maior-Generall's certificat for the souldiers in the by gards.

The field and staff officers in garrisone:

Collonell Turlagh ONeille.
Major Phelim ONeille, prisoner with the enemy.
Father Dermott Mc Trenlamee, Chapline.
Murtagh Mc Cann, Quarter-Master.
Breyne Mc Gilchoyle, Aiudant.
Art Mc Cormicke, Chirurgion.

The field and staff officers in garrison:

Lieutenant-Collonell Owen OReilly.
Major Phillip OReilly.
Fa: Breyne Mc Keighikin, Chapline.
Dermott OSheridan, Chirurgion.
Edmond Sauag, Quarter-Master.
Donell OReilly, Aiudant.

Vpon the request of the Major-Generall, by his letter, I haue inlisted these ensuinge souldiers belonging to Lieutenant-Collonell Clement Geogh, consistinge of Lieutenant, Ensigne, two Sargents, three Corporalls, and forty-foure souldiers, as may appeare by the said letter; as alsoe the Aiudant-Generall and Chirurgeon-Maior, likewise presented by the said Major-Generall to receaue pay as appeareth by his List of the outward garrisons, and the same included, by vertue of the said intimacion in the musters not otherwise accepted.

James Briuer,

Deputy-Commissary.

APPENDIX.

Clonmel Garrison, 1649-50.

III. MUSTER OF ULSTER HORSE AND FOOT AT CLONMEL, JANUARY, 1649-50.

A true and perfect relacion of the musters made at Clonmell of the hors[e] and foote companies and officers the third daie of January, 1649[-50], as well by poale as vpon reputacion of the seuerall commaunders in cheefe of each company.

A particulare company of musketteers, consistinge of Captaine, Lieutenant, Ensigne, two sargents, three corporalls, thirtie-one souldiers, tenn absent by the Major Generall's lysence, one sicke, and one vnarmed.

Collonell Turlagh O'Neill's Regiment:

(1) Captain Edmond mc Ardles company, consistinge of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 3 Corporalls, 16 musketteers, 2 pick[men], 2 vnarmed, present; 6 absent in by garrisons, 2 sick, by the chaplins certificat, and 2 guardinge of beeues for the garrisons vse.

(2) Captain Roger mc Donells company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, present; one Ensigne, sick in garrisone; two sargents present; 3 corporalls, 16 musketteers, and 21 pickmen present; 4 sick, one vnarmed, and 8 absent, whereof 7 in by garrisons and one guardinge of beeues for the said garrison.

(3) Captain Edmond OHanlons company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, one Sargent, 2 corporalls, 15 musketteers, 11 pick[men] present; 2 sick, by certificat from the Chapline, and one Sargent with 4 souldiours in by garrisons, and 3 souldiours after muster produced by the Captain vpon reputacion.

(4) Captain Twoell mc Donells company, consisting of Captain, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 14 Musketteers, 11 pick[men], and 2 vnarmed, present; 4 sicke and the Lieutenant with 9 souldiours in by garrisons and with the Captains horses 2 absent.

(5) Captain Fardorcho OHanlons company, consistinge of Captain, Lieutenant, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 8 Musketteers, and 17 pick[men], present; 5 souldiours in castles abroade, 2 wounded, one absent; the Ensigne and 4 souldiours sick in the quarters.

(6) Captain Art mc Donells company, consisting of Captain, Ensigne, sicke; 2 Sargents, 2 Corporalls, 7 Musketteers, and 14 pick[men] present; the Lieutenant, one Corporall, and 4 souldiours, in a castle abroade, and 4 souldiours sicke, by certificat from the Chapline.

(7) Captaine Donell O'Neills company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 13 musketteers, and 13 pick[men], present; 5 souldiours in by garrisons, 2 sick by certificat as aboue said.

(8) Captain Breyne O'Neills company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, 2 Sargents, one Corporall, 17 Musketteers, and 4 pick[men], present; 3 souldiours in by garrisons, two imployed to guard the Collonells baggadge, one Corporall and 5 souldiours by the Captain sent to Kilkenny for armes, the Ensigne and 2 souldiours sicke by certificat.

III. Ormonde Archives, Kilkenny Castle.

(9) Captain Owene OHanraties company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 9 Musketteers, 10 Pick[men], present; 3 sick by certificat, 4 souldiours in by garrisons, and 2 guardinge of the Collonells baggadge.

Collonell Phillip Mc Hugh OReillys Regiment:

(1) Lieutenant-Colonells company, consisting of Lieutenant, Ensigne, one Sargent, one Drume, 2 Corporalls, 8 musketteers, 12 pick[men], 7 vnarmed present; one sargent and one souldiour sicke.

(2) Major Phillip OReillys company, consisting of Lieutenant, Ensigne, twoe Sargents, 2 Corporalls, 17 Musketteers, and 20 Pick[men], present; 3 sick and 7 vnarmed.

(3) Captain Breyne OReillys company, consisting of Captain, absent by lysence from the Major-Generall O Neille, a Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 2 Corporalls, 5 Musketteers and 18 pick[men], present; three sick and 8 vnarmed.

(4) Captain John OReillys company, consisting of Captain, absent, the Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 3 Corporalls, 9 musketteers 15 picke[men], and 7 vnarmed men, present; besides 5 souldiours that are in by garrisons and 4 sicke.

(5) Captain Edmond Bradys company, consistinge of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 3 Corporalls, 3 Musketteers, 32 Pick[men], and 5 vnarmed men, present; 12 more sicke not inlisted but certified after the muster daie by seuerall patrons.

(6) Captain Mills Reillys company, consistinge of Captain, wounded, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Corporall, one Drume, 8 Musketteers, 22 Pick[men], and 4 vnarmed, present; one Corporall, sick, 6 souldiours in by garrisons, and 2 souldiours prisoners in Passage, as the Captain affirmeth vpon reputacion.

(7) Captain Shane Oge OReillys company, consistinge of Captain, absent, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 2 Corporalls, 9 Musketteers, tenn Pick[men], and foure vnarmed, present; 4 sick by certificat, and 7 in by garrisons.

(8) Captain Mylmore Mc Edmond OReillys company, consisting of Captain, absent, Lieutenant, Ensigne, one Sargent, 2 Corporalls, 11 Musketteers, and 20 Pick[men], present; one sick and 5 vnarmed.

(9) Captain Mylmore Mc Hugh OReillys company, consisting of Captain, absent, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 3 Corporalls, 3 Musketteers, and 27 Pickmen, present; 8 sick, and 8 vnarmed.

(10) Captain Daniell Bradys company, consisting of Captain, absent by lysence from the Major-Generall Neille, Lieutenant, Ensigne, and 2 Sargents, one Drume, two Corporalls, 6 Musketters, 5 Pick[men], and 12 vnarmed men, present; 6 more after muster produced vpon reputacion of the officers in cheefe not mustered before.

(11) Captaine Phillip Gawne his company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant,

Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 2 Corporalls, 16 Musketteers, 19 Pick[men], and 2 vnarmed present; and 7 sicke.

(12) Captain Caheire Oge OReillys company, consisting of Captain, absent, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 2 Corporalls, one Drume, 11 Musketteers, 20 pick[men], 15 vnarmed, and one sicke.

(13) Captain Phillip Mc Mylmore OReillys company, consistinge of Captain, absent, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 2 Corporalls, one Drume, 19 Musketteers, 29 pick[men], and 6 vnarmed, present, together with 5 sick souldiours.

(14) Captain Owen Mc Cabes company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 8 Musketteers, 31 Pickmen, and 5 vnarmed, present; 7 sick by certificat, and 7 more vnlisted that are in by garrisons.

(15) Captain Nicholas Farralls company, consistinge of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, 3 Corporalls, 9 Musketteers, 36 Pickmen, and 9 vnarmed souldiors, present; one drume, and six sick souldiours.

(16) Captain Coochonaght Mc Kearnans company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, one Sargent, one drume, three Corporalls, 13 Musketteers 35 pick-[men], and 8 vnarmed men, present; 6 sick by certificat, and one Sargent prisoner with the enemy, as the Captain protesteth.

(17) Captain John Bradys company, consisting of Captain, Lieutenant, Ensigne, 2 Sargents, one Drume, 3 Corporalls, 15 Musketteers, 24 Pickmen, and 13 vnarmed present; together with fiue in garrison.

The horse mustered eodem die:

The Lieutenant-Collonells Fennells troope, consistinge of Corn[et], Quartermaster, two Corporalls, and sixteene troopers, present; the Chirurgion of the regiment beinge imployed about som sicke.

Captaine Peirce Butlers troope, consistinge of Captain, Corne[t], Quartermaster, two Corporalls, one [*oblit.*], thirtie-six troopers, present.

James Briuer,

Dep[uty] Comissary.

Foote:

In number, besides officers afield, within Clonmel as in by garrizons, 1214 souldiours; as alsoe absent by the [Major] Generalls lysence, not including Lieutenant Goeghs company.

Endorsed:—The returne of the musters of Clonmell, 3° January, 1649[-50], of the Vlster army.

IV. Ulster horse and foot, mustered at Waterford, 1649-50.

A list of the vndernamed regiments, and troopes of horse, as they were mustered at Waterford, the 24th of January, 1649-[50].

Liuetennant-Generall Richard Farrall's regiment:

Maior Farrall's company:

Maior,	1	7.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Drume,	1	
Corp[oralls],	2	
M[usquetts],	21	38.
Pikes,	14	
Sick, vpon oath,	3	

Captaine Bryen ORourk:

Captaine,	1	9.
Liuetennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Drume,	1	
Corporalls,	3	
M[usquetts]	34	49.
Pikes,	10	
Ab[sent], by certificate,	3	
Sick, by certificate,	2	

Captaine Nangle:

Ensigne,	1	3.
Seriants,	1	
Corp[oral],	1	
M[usquetts],	4	14.
Pikes,	9	
Sick, vpon oath,	1	

Captaine Fergus Farrall:

Captaine,	1	7.
Liuetennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corp[orals],	2	
M[usquetts],	18	39.
Pikes,	17	
Vnarmed,	1	
Sick, vpon oath,	3	

Captaine Michaell Farrall:

Captaine,	1	8.
Liuetennant,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corporalls,	3	
Drume,	1	
M[usquetts],	19	35.
Pikes,	14	
Sick, vppon oath,	2	

Captaine Richard Farrall:

Liuetennant,	1	6.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corporalls,	2	
M[usquetts],	7	23.
Pikes,	14	
Sick, vppon oathe,	2	

Captaine Walter Phillips:

Captaine,	1	9.
Liuettennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Drume,	1	
Corporalls,	3	
M[usquetts],	27	49.
Pikes,	22	

Captaine Connell Farrall:

Captaine,	1	4.
Seriants,	1	
Corporalls,	2	
M[usquetts],	8	23.
Pikes,	15	

Captaine Gerrald Farrall:

Captaine,	1	5.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corporalls,	1	

M[usquetts],	9	17.
Pikes,	7	
Sick, vpon oath,	1	

Captaine Hanly:

Captaine,	1	5.
Liuetenant,	1	
Seriants,	1	
Corporalls,	2	
M[usquetts],	13	33.
P[ikes],	17	
Sick, vpon oath,	2	
Corporall, sick,	1	

Captaine Charles Reynolds:

Captaine,	1	8.
Liuetennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corporalls,	3	
M[usquetts],	14	51.
Pikes,	28	
Sicke, by certificate,	9	

Absent at Ballyhack, by certificate from the Liuetenant-Generall, from all the Regiment, 12.

Staffe Officers:

Chapline-Maior,	1	6.
Adiudant-Generall,	1	
Chirurgion,	1	
Mate,	1	
Adiudant,	1	
Quartermaster,	1	

Liuetennant-Gennerall Richard Farrall's regiment, including seriants, corporalls, drumes, and common souldiers, doe amount in all vnto 430.

Collo[nell] Tirlagh Mc Art Oge O Neile's Regiment:

Liuetennant-Collo[nells] company:

Liuetennant,	1	7.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Piper,	1	
Corp[orall],	2	
M[squetts]	7	32.
Pikes,	18	
Sick, vpon oath,	4	
At Ballyhack,	1	
Ab[sent], by lycence,	2	

Captaine Bryen ONeile:

Captaine,	1	5.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	1	
Corpo[ralls],	2	
M[usquetts],	11	30.
P[ikes],	16	
At Ballyhack,	1	
Sick, vppon oath,	2	

Captaine Richard Mc Quilline:

Captaine,	1	8.
Liuetennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Corporalls,	3	
M[usquetts],	17	28.
Pikes,	9	
At Ballyhack,	1	
Sick, vppon oath,	1	

Captaine Donell Grome Mc Donnell:

Captaine,	1	3.
Seriant, sick vpon oath,	1	
Corp[orall],	1	
M[usquetts],	2	15.
Pikes,	12	
Sick, vppon oath,	1	

Captaine Tuell O Hagan:

Liuetennant,	1	3.
Seriant,	1	
Corp[orall],	1	
M[usquetts],	8	14.
Pikes,	4	
By lycence, at Duncannon,	1	
Sick, vppon oath,	1	

Captaine Shane O'Neile:

Captaine,	1	6.
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	1	
Piper,	1	
Corporalls,	2	
M[usquetts],	8	21.
P[ikes],	11	
Sick, vppon oath,	2	

Captaine Edmond Oge Mc Donnell:

Captaine,	1	9.
Liuetennant,	1	
Ensigne,	1	
Seriants,	2	
Piper,	1	
Corporalls,	3	
M[usquetts],	14	44.
Pikes,	26	
Att Ballyhack,	2	
Sick, vppon oath,	2	

Staffe officers:

Chapline,	1	5.
Adiudant,	1	
Quartermaster,	1	
Chirurgion,	1	
Mate,	1	

Collo[nell] Tirlagh Mc Art Oge O Neile's regiment, includeing seriants, corporalls, drumes, and common soildiors, doe amount in all vnto 211.—Both regiments amount vnto 641.

Captaine Walter Dalton's troope:

Captaine,	1	7.
Liuetennant,	1	
Cornett,	1	
Quartermaster,	1	
Trumpett,	1	
Corp[oralls],	2	
Troopers,	21	25.
Sick, vpon oath,	2	
In prison,	2	

Captaine Lewes Farrall:

Captaine,	1	7.
Liuetennant,	1	
Cornett,	1	
Quartermaster,	1	
Trumpett,	1	
Corp[oralls],	2	
Troopers,	20	28.
Vnmounted,	1	
Ab[sent], by lycence,	6	
Sick, vpon oath,	1	

Endorsed: A list of horse and foote mustered at Waterford, the 29th of January, 1649[-50].

VOL. II.

ERRATA.

Page 14,	line	2,	*for*	fox	*read*	fex
,, 25,	,,	8,	,,	afenall	,,	a fenall
,, ,,	,,	31,	,,	monster	,,	Monster [Munster]
,, 32,	,,	16,	,,	Kilkenny,	,,	Kilkenny
,, 52,	,,	9,	,,	name	,,	nauie,
,, 53,	,,	23,	,,	reviewed	,,	reviewed.
,, 61,	,,	15,	,,	Jonen	,,	jouen,
,, 69,	,,	23,	,,	Renaliagh	,,	Kenaliagh
,, 90,	,,	3,	,,	tienniall	,,	triennial
,, 191,	,,	23,	,,	form	,,	from
,, 211,	,,	28,	,,	redan helabant	,,	redanhelabant.
,, 236,	,,	21,	,,	Munster	,,	muster
,, 261,	,,	30,	,,	Athendee	,,	Atherdee;
,, 265,	,,	12,	,,	town	,,	tower
,, 301,	,,	42,	,,	advance	,,	adherence,
,, 317,	,,	20 (margin),	*for*	Oct.	,,	Nov.
,, 334,	,,	16	,,	,, 1 Dec.	,,	11. Dec.
,, 355,	,,	11,	*for*	acceptable	,,	acceptable to

Gilbert, (Sir) John Thomas
A contemporary history