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THE HISTORY OF THE REIGN OF THE EMPEROR OF THE EAST

BY J. H. P. [illegible]

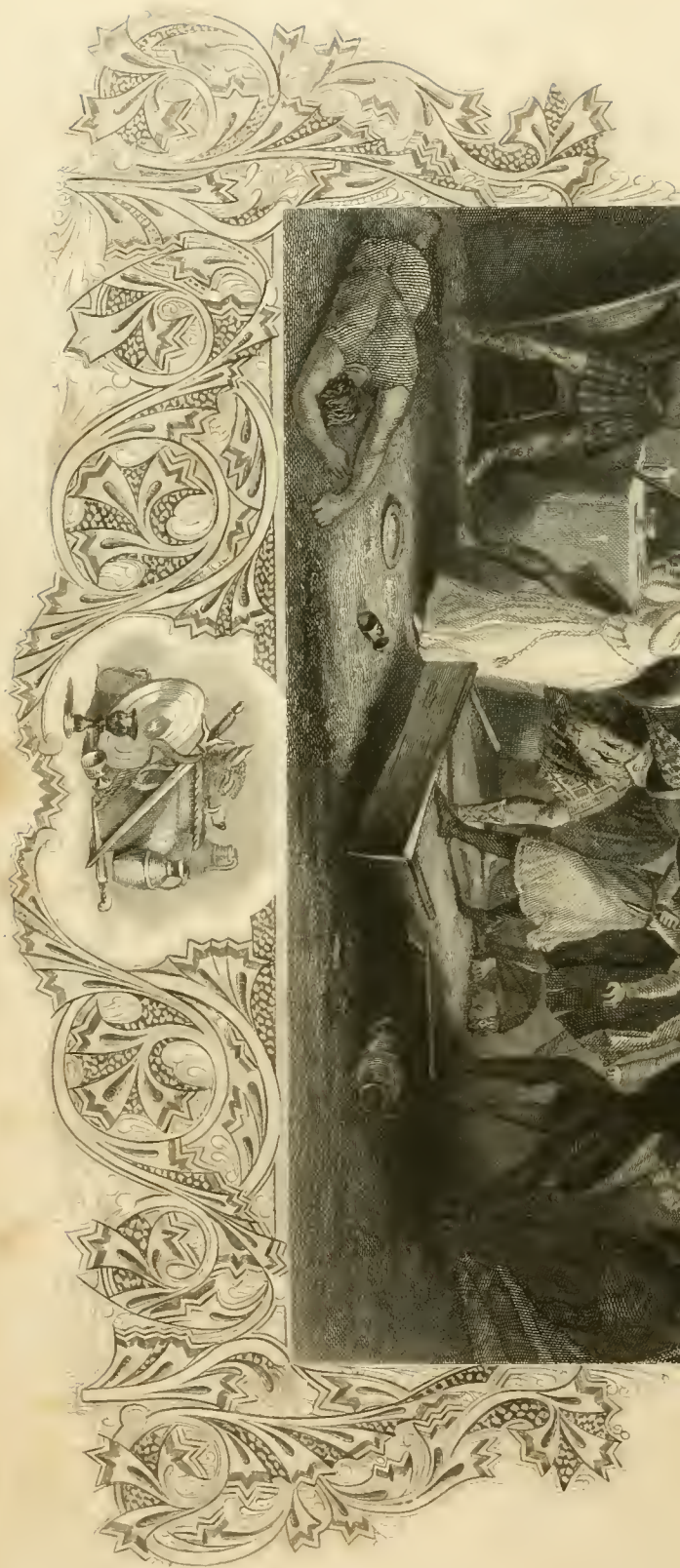
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IRISH ANNALS.



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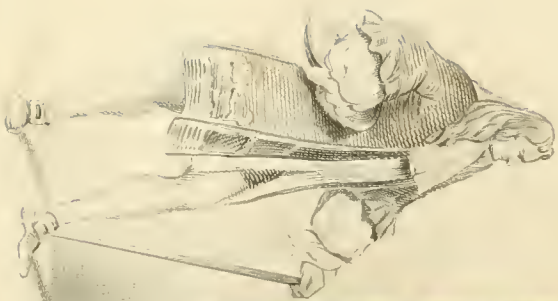




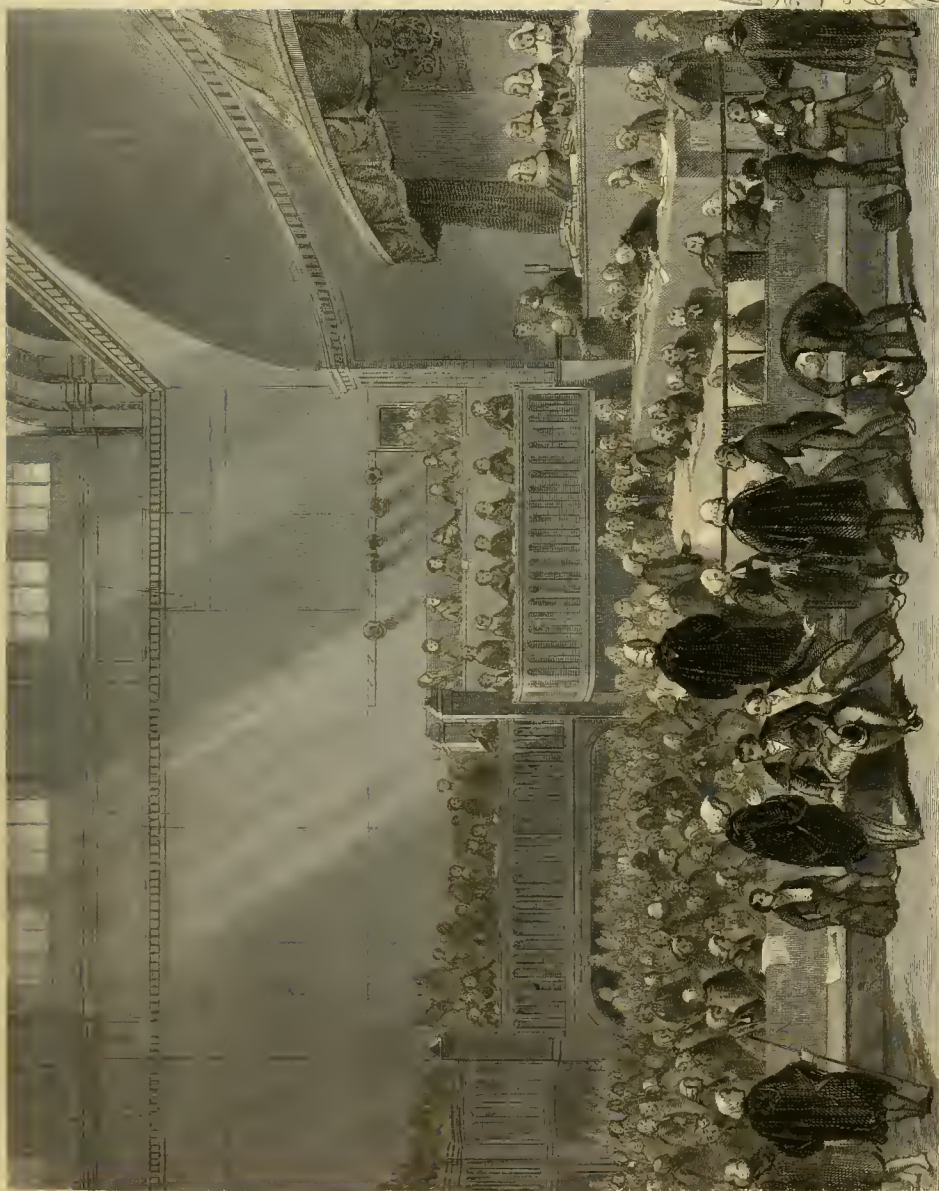
THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION IN SWITZERLAND







THE LIBERTY OF THE PRESS



possession of Down and Ardglass. Then, hearing that the earl of Tyrone had posted himself in the direction of Armagh, he returned to that neighbourhood to watch or pursue him. On the 24th of June the lord deputy went with his whole force to Newry, and there encamped to wait for reinforcements from the pale, with which he proposed to march again towards Tyrone, and superintend the rebuilding of the old fort of the Blackwater. These reinforcements came much more slowly than was expected, which circumstance partly determined Mountjoy to limit his operations to moving about and making an appearance in the field, in order to weaken and weary his opponent, by forcing him to keep his army together. In the course of these movements there was frequent skirmishing, and many were killed on on both sides. In one of these encounters, on the 3rd of August, Pierce Lacy, the leader who had distinguished himself in the recent wars of Desmond in the ranks of the Sungan earl, was slain.

After having effected his object of rebuilding and garrisoning the fort of the Blackwater, and having received into the queen's pardon and protection the sept of the Magennis, Mountjoy drew off his army, and returned to Armagh and to Newry,

where he was met with despatches from the English court, announcing to him the queen's alarm at the more certain information now received of the preparations and designs of the Spaniards. There seemed little room for doubting that the king of Spain was on the point of sending a large body of disciplined troops, some said from ten to twelve thousand, who were to land in Munster, raise up the persecuted party of the Geraldines, and act in concert with O'Neill and O'Donnell. The lord deputy was therefore required to turn his attention more especially towards the south, and he was promised immediate and strong reinforcements from England. According to the informations then received, it was thought that the Spaniards would land either at Galway or at Waterford. Carew, who had more particular intelligence of the Spanish designs, and who therefore saw the danger in its most alarming form, ventured to countermand Mountjoy's order for the march of a portion of the English troops in Munster towards the north. Before the lord deputy left the north, he entered into a not very creditable plot with a discontented officer named sir Henry Davers, to assassinate the earl of Tyrone, which failed, as it appears, by the cowardice of the assassin.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SPANIARDS IN KINSALE.



WHILE the province of Munster was reduced to a state of gloomy tranquillity, that of Connaught was torn to pieces by the factious rivalry of its chiefs, fomented by the presence of Red Hugh O'Donnell, who, since he had obtained possession of the strong holds of Sligo, had made his usual residence on the northern border. Here he was joined by as many of the insurgents of Munster as had refused to submit to their English rulers, and it was understood that O'Donnell was preparing to march with them to the south to renew the rebellion. Carew felt himself sufficiently secure to

detach a strong body of his soldiery into Connaught to act against these insurgents, but he gave strict orders to their commander, Sir Francis Berkley, not to undertake any service beyond his express directions without first obtaining his consent. The lord deputy was still earnest in his designs against Ulster, and commands sent by him to the forces under Berkley to join him in the north, disobeyed by that officer, and some other subjects of dissatisfaction, led to a serious misunderstanding between lord Mountjoy and the president of Munster, which was only dispelled by the generous moderation exhibited by both parties. Carew and Mountjoy henceforth acted with the unity and cordiality which were soon required by the gravity of the circumstances.

Reports of the approaching arrival of a Spanish army were daily assuming a more substantial form, and the confidence of the disaffected increased in every quarter. The agents of Rome were active in encouraging disaffection and preaching rebellion, and a letter was brought from the pope to the earl of Tyrone which flattered his vanity and ambition by addressing him as the head of the catholic league in Ireland. The O'Neill, whose zeal was thus stimulated, sent his agents to all parts of the island to carry intelligence to the native chieftains of the preparations in Spain, and to urge them to be ready for a general rising, and he held frequent councils to deliberate with his friends. In one of these, at which the Spanish archbishop of Dublin, Oviedo, was present, it was resolved that the first attack should be made at Cork, by which it was anticipated that the Spaniards would obtain possession of the English stores and ammunitions deposited there as the seat of government of Munster.

Carew was not negligent of these rumours, vague as they still appeared. He communicated his apprehensions to the ministers in England, pointed out the danger, and demanded a sufficient force to meet it. Secretly informed of the intrigues of Florence Mac Carthy, he seized upon that chief, and by his examination and the papers found in his house obtained a further insight into the designs of the queen's enemies. It was considered a necessary precaution to send the Mac Carthy over to England, in spite of his promises to support the government. When Carew asked him what course he should pursue in case of the landing of the Spaniards, he replied frankly, "In that case let not your lordship confide in me; no, nor in any of those lords who seem most devoted to your service."

Mountjoy, anxious on one side to carry on the war in Ulster, and on the other alarmed by these increasing rumours, invited the lord president of Munster to meet him at Kilkenny, to consult together on the position of affairs. The lord deputy reached the appointed place about the middle of September, but Carew had hardly made himself ready for the journey when he received intelligence from Sir Francis Berkley, who was then stationed at Galway, that a Spanish ship which had put in at Shigo had brought certain intelligence that six thousand men were assembled on the coast of Spain, ready to embark for Ireland with the first favour-

able wind. Almost at the same moment a letter from the captain of a small English man-of-war which had been cruising in the Spanish seas, and was now in Cork haven, informed him that forty-five ships of the Spanish fleet had been descried at sea to the north of Cape Finisterre, apparently shaping their course for Ireland. The lord president immediately recalled Berkley and his small army from Connaught, took measures for concentrating the forces of Munster, and dispatched a messenger to lord Mountjoy at Kilkenny, to acquaint him with his reasons for deferring the journey. The alarm was great in Ireland and in England, and two thousand troops were already sent from the latter country, while three thousand more were prepared to follow them.

The lord-deputy left Kinsale to return to Dublin; but he had not gone far when another messenger announced that Carew, anxious to confer with him, had already come as far as Leighlin, where he was detained by sickness. In fact, the lord-president had been encouraged by the contrary winds, which seemed to forbid the expectation that any fleet would arrive on that coast until they changed, to entrust the command of Cork to Sir Charles Wilmott. Mountjoy came to him at Leighlin, and they proceeded thence in company to Kilkenny, where they were lodged in the house of the earl of Ormond. On the day after their arrival, which was the 20th of September, sir Charles Wilmott received intelligence from the sovereign or mayor of Kinsale that the Spanish fleet of five-and-forty ships had been discovered from the old head of Kinsale, and that they were past the river of Kinsale bearing towards the Cove of Cork. This was followed immediately by messengers from the Cove announcing that the fleet had made its appearance there, and was holding its course towards the harbour. Sir Charles Wilmott despatched a messenger to Kilkenny, where the lord president received this intelligence on the twenty-third.

On this very day, the Spaniards, having taken advantage of a change in the wind to tack about, had entered the haven of Kinsale and taken possession of that town, which was at once evacuated by its small English garrison. After their departure the gates were thrown open to the foreigners, "the sovereign," we are told, "with his white rod in his hand, going to billet and cess them in several houses, more ready than if they had been the queen's forces."

The alarm was soon spread over the country, and a party of horse and foot, sent to from Cork to observe them, found the Spaniards in full possession of Kinsale and the adjoining castle of Rincorran.

When Wilmot's report of these events reached Kilkenny, Mountjoy and Carew, with the earl of Ormond and the other members of the council there present, met to consult on the measures best fitted to meet the emergency in an efficient manner. Some of them were of opinion that the lord deputy should return to Dublin to collect his forces and make the necessary orders for furnishing supplies of ammunition and provisions for the war which now menaced the south of Ireland. Others, however, were of a different opinion; and Carew especially urged the inexpediency of making any appearance of retiring from the invasion, which would only encourage the disaffected Irish to revolt, in their belief of the weakness of the English government. He represented that the forces might be collected by Mountjoy's officers, while the magazines of Cork were filled with stores sufficient to serve the army for several months.

Carew's advice prevailed, and Mountjoy returned with him to Cork, as though fully prepared to resist the invasion. The policy of this step was soon apparent, for very few of the Irish of Munster joined the Spaniards for some time after their arrival. The confederates, indeed, appear to have miscalculated entirely in choosing the southern coast for the place of debarkation. Had the Spanish troops landed at Sligo, as the English authorities seem to have anticipated, they would have been in the midst of a country already in a state of insurrection, and close upon the territories of Tirconnell and Tyrone. Whereas in Munster they had no powerful ally near at hand to support them, and the country had been so thoroughly subdued by the recent operations of its president, that it was at this moment the district where the English power was most firmly established. But the chieftains of the north appear to have been anxious to remove as far as possible from their own territory the seat of war, and they calculated

that, if the rebellion in Munster were once revived, the attention of the government would be so completely distracted, that it would fall an easy prey to their simultaneous attacks from different sides. Had the Spaniards landed in Munster a few months before, when the rebellion of the Sungan earl was at its height, the result of the struggle might have been very different. But now the bravest and ablest of its leaders were dead, or captives, and their followers were discouraged by the repeated and terrible disasters they had suffered.

The commander of the expedition thus sent by the king of Spain to the Irish shores was Don Juan de Aguila, an officer of considerable experience, who had served in the civil wars of Brittany against the French and English. His soldiers were veterans, from the garrisons in Italy and the Terceiras, and his force amounted originally to six thousand men. But the Spanish fleet had been scattered by a storm, and the force now in Kinsale, with Don Juan himself, is said to have amounted to no more than three thousand five hundred men. A part of the fleet had been obliged to return to Corunna, and the rest, with a large portion of their provisions, and of the arms and ammunition destined for the Irish insurgents was driven into Baltimore. Among these stores were sixteen hundred saddles, for which the Irish had promised to furnish horses. Don Juan is said to have been much mortified when, after his landing, he learnt that Florence mac Carthy had been arrested, for it appears that the raising of Munster had been entrusted to him; and, disappointed at the tranquillity of the south, the Spanish commander and the Spanish archbishop of Dublin (who was with him) dispatched letters to O'Neill and O'Donnell, informing them of their arrival, and urging them to lose no time in collecting their forces and marching to their assistance.*

Oveido and other equally zealous Romish ecclesiastics, spared no exertions to engage the provincials of Munster to rise in a new rebellion, but their exhortations produced little effect. Some of the adherents of Florence mac Carthy, with O'Sullivan Beare, the O'Driscolls, O'Connor Kerry, the knight

* The letter of the archbishop and general, as printed in the *Pacata Hibernia*, is as follows:—

“Pervenimus in Kinsale, cum classe et exercitu regis nostri Philippi; expectamus vestras excellentias qualibet hora; venerint ergo quam velociter potuerint, portantes equos, quibus maxime indige-

mus; at jam alia via scripsimus, non dico plura. Valet. Frater Matheus archiepiscopus Dublinens.

“Aqui estamos guardando a vuestras senorias illustrissimas, como largamente otra via hemos escritos. A Dios.—12 Octob. 1601.

“Don Juan de Aguila.”

of Kerry, and a few others, were all who joined the Spaniards; while Cormac mae Carthy, lord of Muskerry, and many others of the Munster chieftains, proclaimed their loyalty and ranged themselves under the queen's banner. The Irish afterwards said that their countrymen were discouraged by the cold supercilious manners of the Spanish commander, and O'Sullivan Beare declared that he offered to bring a thousand men to Kinsale if Don Juan would furnish him with the necessary arms and accoutrements, which were refused on the ground that the arms and ammunition were on board the vice-admiral's ship, which was at Baltimore, and the refusal was given in terms that hindered the Irish chieftain from venturing a second application. The lord-president's vigilance and foresight had probably placed far greater obstacles in the way of a rising than the coldness of the Spaniard; and he now sent to the cities and great towns of Munster, requiring each to send a body of its armed citizens to assist in the siege, and they all obeyed the summons, although, as we are told, they did it "grudgingly." In fact, the towns of the south had already shown so much sympathy for the rebels that their loyalty began to be suspected; and it was considered better policy to hold these armed citizens in the camp as hostages, than to weaken the army by sending garrisons to keep the towns and cities in awe.

Before the English army marched from Cork a proclamation appeared in the name of the lord deputy and council, declaring to the world the injustice of the invasion, and the futility of the pretences set forth by king Philip and the Roman Catholics. This, which the Spanish general termed "a proclamation or certain libel," was answered by a counter-proclamation, in which Don Juan de Aguila inveighed with some bitterness against those who accused him of coming "to lead away the pretended subjects of the queen of England from their obedience." "Ye know well," he said, "that, for many years since Elizabeth was deprived of her kingdom, and all her subjects absolved from their fidelity by the pope, unto whom he that reigneth in the heavens, the king of kings, hath committed all power, that he should root up, destroy, plant, and build in such sort that he may punish temporal kings, even to their deposing." "I speak," he adds, "to Catholics, not to froward heretics (who have fallen from the faith of the Roman church), seeing they are blind leaders of the blind, and such

as know not the grounds of the truth, it is no marvel that they do also disagree from us in this thing; but our brethren the catholics, walking in the pureness of the faith, and yielding to the catholic church (which is the very pillar of the truth), will easily understand all those things: therefore it remaineth that the Irish which adhere to us do work with us nothing that is against God's laws, or their due obedience, nay, that which they do is according to God's word and the obedience which they owe the pope." The English proclamation had accused the Spaniards of a design to allure the Irish from their allegiance, in order to draw them under the far more oppressive government of Spain. "Ye affirm," said Don Juan, "that we Spaniards go about to win the Irish with allurements and feigned flatteries (which is a thing far from our nature), and that we do it but for a while, that after we have drawn the minds of simple men unto us we might afterwards (exercising our cruelty towards them) show our bloody nature. O the immortal God! who doth not wonder at your bitter and unexpressible cruelty, and your boldness shown in these words? For who is it that doth not know the great cruelty which you English have exercised, and cease not to exercise, towards the miserable Irish? You, I say, go about to take from their souls the catholic faith which their fathers held, in which consists eternal life. Truly you are far more cruel than bears and lions, which take away the temporal life, for you would deprive them of the eternal and spiritual life. Who is it that hath demolished all the temporalities of this most flourishing kingdom except the English? Look upon this, and be ashamed. Whereas, on the other side, we, commiserating the condition of the catholics here, have left our most sweet and happy country, Spain, that is replenished with all good things, and being stirred with their cries, which pierce the heavens, having reached to the ears of the pope and our king Philip, they have (being moved with pity) at last resolved to send unto you soldiers, silver, gold, and arms, with a most liberal hand, not to the end they might (according as these feign), exercise cruelty towards you, O Irish catholics, but that you may be happily reduced (being snatched out of the jaws of the devil and freed from their tyranny), unto your own pristine ingenuity, and that you may freely profess the catholic faith. Therefore, my most beloved, seeing that which you have so many years before desired

and begged for, with prayers and tears; and that now, even now, the pope, Christ's vicar on earth, doth command you to take arms for the defence of your faith; I admonish, exhort, and beseech you all,—all, I say, unto whom these letters shall come—that as soon as possibly you can, you come to us with your friends and weapons. Whosoever shall do this shall find us prepared, and we will communicate unto them those things which we possess. And whosoever shall (despising our wholesome counsel) do otherwise, and remain in the obedience of the English, we will persecute him as a heretick, and a hateful enemy of the church, even unto death.”

On the 16th of October the lord deputy and the lord president marched from Cork with their army, and encamped under the hill of Knock-Robin, within half a mile of the town of Kinsale. This bold advance was made more for the purpose of impressing on the enemy a belief in their resolution, than with the object of commencing immediate operations, for the English had as yet few of the artillery or military engines and stores necessary for a siege, which they were expecting by sea. The weather, moreover, continued for some days so tempestuous that the soldiers were confined most of the time to their tents. Scarcely a day or night, however, passed without some skirmish with the Spaniards. The English were here reinforced by a body of Irish under Cormac mac Carthy of Muskerry. After a part of the artillery and stores had arrived the English army removed its quarters on the 26th of October, and entrenched itself on the side of the hill called the Spittle, facing Kinsale from the north, and little more than a musket-shot from the town. The skirmishing now became warmer and more frequent, but it generally ended to the advantage of the English. Kinsale itself was built round a hill at the head of the harbour, and it had two forts or castles at the entrance of the harbour named Rincorran and Castle-ni-park, which had been taken and garrisoned by the Spaniards. These annoyed the English commander by hindering the approach of the ships which brought him his supplies, and it was an object of some importance to obtain possession of one of them. That of Rincorran, on the right of the entrance to the harbour, was accordingly besieged and obstinately defended from the 29th of October till the 1st of November, when it surrendered, the garrison yielding up their arms on condition of being sent back to Spain. As yet the English forces were in

no condition to proceed with the more important operations of the siege of Kinsale, now occupied by a Spanish army estimated at four thousand men; but in the course of November strong reinforcements reached Mountjoy's camp. Sir Christopher Saint Laurence brought some forces of the pale; the earl of Clanrickard came at the head of a strong body of his own followers; the earl of Thomond, who had been sent over to England, returned with a thousand men; two thousand infantry and some cavalry were landed at Waterford; and sir Richard Leviston, one of the queen's admirals, arrived at Cork with ten ships of war, which brought over two thousand infantry and a large quantity of military stores.

The Spanish commander appears to have been indignant at the little impression which his proclamation had made upon the Irish of Munster, but he had probably received more encouraging intelligence from the north. O'Donnell and the earl of Tyrone at once responded to his call. The former, who was residing at Ballymote in Sligo, was the first to move. He collected together the chosen warriors of the various septs which acknowledged his rule, and his army was swelled by the forces of O'Rourke, of the Burkes who followed the standard of Tirconnell, of Mac Dermott, of O'Connor Roe, and of O'Kelly, Fitz Maurice of Kerry (the lord of Lixnaw), the knight of Glynn, and other chiefs of Munster, who had sought refuge in his territory after the suppression of the rebellion of the Sagan earl. With these O'Donnell marched from Ballymote about the beginning of November, proceeded through Roscommon and along the borders of Galway, and crossed the Shannon at the ford of Ath Crock, near the place now called Shannon Harbour. He then marched through Delvin, along the borders of the Slieve-Bloom mountains, into Ikerrin in Tipperary, where he encamped with his forces to wait for the earl of Tyrone, and remained nearly three weeks plundering and devastating the surrounding country.

The O'Neill had not only commenced his march a week later than his ally, but his progress appears to have been slower. After crossing the Boyne, his army scattered itself over the plains of Meath, “preying and burning;” and he was occupied in the same manner in Ormond, at the moment when O'Donnell found himself compelled to break up his camp in Tipperary.

Meanwhile, the English before Kinsale

had to struggle with the inclemency of the season as well as with the want of artillery, and their progress was proportionally slow. No attack had as yet been made upon the town, when, on the 6th of November, the intelligence that O'Donnell and Tyrone were on their march into Munster, compelled the English to strengthen the entrenchments and fortifications of their own camp. Next day, upon further intelligence of the advance of the two northern chieftains, a council was held, and it was determined to send a part of the army to intercept O'Donnell in his march, contrary to the opinion of sir George Carew, who urged the certainty of missing him, for, said he, "they are sure to have the country to friends, to give them hourly intelligence of our lodgings and marches, and they are so light-footed, as if they once get the start of us, be it never so little, we shall hardly or never overtake them." The lord president,* as the officer best acquainted with his own province, was appointed to command the force employed on this expedition, which consisted, according to the muster-roll, of two thousand five hundred men, although it was in reality at this moment not more than half that number. It was, however, increased by a regiment of foot and some horse, which joined Carew on his way. He left the camp the same day (the seventh of November), and by forced marches reached Ardmail, only a few miles distant from O'Donnell's camp, who lay in the neighbourhood of Holy Cross Abbey, a place of great celebrity in the Irish insurrections of the sixteenth century. Carew had posted himself here with great judgment, for, in the position then occupied by O'Donnell, the English army stopped up the only road by which he could proceed towards the south. His route was closed on the borders of Tipperary and Limerick by a range of mountains covered with boggy ground, which, passable in the summer months, was totally impracticable at this time of the year, and especially in an unusually wet season, as this had been. But the English found the anticipations of their commander fulfilled; for the natives, while they carried to O'Donnell exact in-

telligence of the slightest movements in the English camp, kept the English in entire ignorance of the plans and movements of their enemies. O'Donnell, unwilling to risk a battle with Carew, although far his superior in numbers, remained in a position strongly defended by bogs and morasses, until the twenty-fourth of November, when an extraordinary frost set in, and rendered the mountains passable. The English, suspecting that O'Donnell would take advantage of this accident, began their march four hours before day-break to intercept him; but when they reached the abbey of Owney, they learnt that he had crossed the mountains, and got the start of them. The same day Carew made a long and hasty march from Cashel to Kilmallock, in the hope still to come up with his opponent; but he found that O'Donnell's march had been still more rapid, and that he was already on the borders of Desmond, plundering the country, capturing the castles, and calling the native chiefs to his standard. Carew, fearful that O'Donnell might reach Kinsale before him, and that the English camp might thus be exposed to danger by his own absence, made a hurried march, and entered it on the twenty-sixth of November, at the same time with the reinforcements under the earls of Thomond and Clanrickard.

The town of Kinsale had now been regularly invested since the middle of the month, and the approaches of the besiegers were every day advanced nearer and nearer to the walls in spite of the obstinate resistance of the Spanish garrison. As early as the 22nd of November, Mountjoy had learnt by deserters that the latter were already reduced to inconvenience by scarcity of provisions; yet when, on the 28th the lord-deputy sent a trumpeter to summon the Spanish general to surrender, he received a proud answer, delivered at the gate, that Don Juan held the town first for Christ, and next for the king of Spain, and that he would defend it, to use his own words, *contra tutti inimici*, against all enemies. The attack was now carried on with redoubled vigour, until, on the evening of the second of December, the Spaniards, to the number

have received the fruit thereof, and bid you faithfully credit, that what so wit, courage, or care may do, we truly find they have been all truly acted in all your charge, and, for the same, believe that it shall neither be unremembered nor unrewarded; and in mean while believe my help nor prayers shall never fail you.

"Your sovereign that best regards you.

"ELIZABETH R."

* The zeal of the lord president, sir George Carew, had just been sharpened by one of those familiar autograph letters which queen Elizabeth knew so well how to bestow with effect. It was worded as follows:—

"My faithful George, if ever more service of worth were performed in shorter space than you have done, we are deceived among many eye-witnesses, we

of about two thousand, made a desperate sally for the purpose of destroying some new works which the English had just completed. After an obstinate combat they were repulsed with loss, and the English batteries suffered little injury.

This success was, however, more than counterbalanced by the intelligence, which had reached lord Mountjoy in the course of the day, that six Spanish ships had entered the harbour of Castlehaven, and landed there two thousand fresh troops, with a large quantity of ammunition and ordnance. A small ship, laden with Spanish soldiers, was soon afterwards driven by rough weather into the harbour of Kinsale, and fell into the hands of the English, who learnt from its commander that other and larger bodies of Spanish troops were preparing to follow. Alarmed with this intelligence, the lord-deputy added new entrenchments to his own camp to defend it against an attack, and increased his exertions against the town, in the hope of capturing it before the arrival of the Irish army to its relief.

The Spanish troops who landed at Castlehaven immediately joined O'Donnell, and the disaffected chiefs of south Munster were now encouraged to rise, and they crowded round his standard. His army had entered the county of Cork, and about the 6th of December it assembled in full force at Bandon, not many miles from Kinsale, where at length the earl of Tyrone, who had made a more rapid march from Ormond, effected a junction with O'Donnell. We are informed by the contemporary historians of this siege, that the garrison of Kinsale was at this moment so much discouraged, that it was on the point of surrendering when the near approach of the Irish army inspired it with new confidence. Several letters from Don Juan to the Irish chiefs were intercepted, in which he intimated his own necessities, and endeavoured to convince them of the ease with which they might succour him. The English army, he said, was weak in numbers, and the soldiers wearied with their long sufferings, and he urged them to lose no time in attacking the camp of the besiegers, while he promised to sally out upon them from the town. At length on the evening of the 21st of December, the Irish army was seen crowning the high grounds between Kinsale and Cork, at a distance of little more than a mile from the English camp; and they so effectually established themselves in the woods behind it, that the

English army was deprived of its forage, and cut off from all communication with the interior. Thus, although the operations of the siege were continued, but with less vigour, the besiegers were soon reduced to almost as great distress as the besieged, and their sufferings were increased by the extraordinary inclemency of the weather. The English soldiers, we are assured, dropped dead at their posts "by dozens," so that the army which on the 20th of November had amounted to nearly thirteen thousand men, was now, we are told, reduced by casualties and desertion to less than seven thousand. The Spanish commander in Kinsale, impatient under his own privations, was urgent with the two Irish chiefs, whom he honoured with the titles of the *condes*, or earls, of Tirconnell and Tyrone, to attack the English camp. Red Hugh O'Donnell, whose ardent temper brooked no slow operations, advocated the policy of Don Juan's plans, believing that the English would, in their present condition, afford them an easy victory, and the larger part of the Irish forces probably joined in this opinion. The O'Neill alone, who was more wily and cautious, insisted that they ought to remain in their present position, representing that they would soon reduce the English to starvation, and compel them to surrender without fighting. But the opinion of O'Donnell, in the end, carried the day; and the garrison of Kinsale was given to understand that the time was near at hand when they would be relieved from their sufferings.

On Tuesday, the 22nd of December, one of the chiefs of the Irish army, a Mac Mahon, whose eldest son had formerly been in England as a page with sir George Carew, sent a boy privately into the English camp to captain Taaffe, praying him to ask the lord president to bestow upon him a bottle of aquavita, or usquebaugh (as Moryson calls it.) Carew, for old acquaintance sake, sent him the liquor. This little act of generosity moved the Irish chieftain to repent of the share he had taken in the rebellion, if he had not already made up his mind to betray the cause in which he was engaged. Next day Mac Mahon sent another message to the lord president, thanking him for his present, and warning him to be on his guard during the night, for he said "himself was at the council wherein it was resolved that on the night aforesaid (towards the break of day) the lord deputy's camp would be assaulted, both by Tyrone's army (which lay at their backs), and

by the Spaniards from the town, who upon the first alarm would be in a readiness to sally." Carew carried this warning to Mountjoy, who immediately gave orders to strengthen the ordinary guards, and put the whole army in readiness, though not under arms. The "flying regiment," commanded by sir Henry Power, was ordered to arm, and at the fall of the moon to occupy an advanced post on the side from which the first attack was anticipated. Every commander was ready at his post, and the lord deputy and his council remained at the council-table during the night, but morning came and no intimation of danger had yet been given. "All the night," Moryson tells us, "was clear with lightning (as in the former nights were great lightnings with thunder) to the astonishment of many, in respect of the season of the year. And I have heard by many horsemen of good credit, and, namely, by captain Pikeman, cornet to the lord deputy's troop, a gentleman of good estimation in the army, that this night our horsemen set to watch, to their seeming, did see lamps burn at the points of their staves or spears in the midst of these lightning flashes."

The information conveyed to the lord treasurer by Mac Mahon's messenger was, nevertheless, perfectly correct. The Irish had at length yielded to the urgent solicitations of Don Juan, and determined upon attacking the English camp by night. They were so fully convinced of the reduced condition of their enemies that they reckoned upon an easy conquest, and were already disputing about the disposal of their prisoners. In spite of the vigilance of the English several messengers had passed between Don Juan and his Irish allies in the earlier part of the night, and it was arranged that the latter should begin their march about midnight. The Spanish garrison in Kinsale were at the same time put under arms, to be ready to make a simultaneous attack from the side of the town. The whole Irish army is said to have numbered nearly seven thousand men, including five hundred horse, and three hundred Spaniards from Castlehaven under the command of Don Alonzo del Campo. It was arranged in three columns; the first, formed of the soldiers of Tyrone, and the Mac Mahons, Maguires, Magennises, and others, under the immediate command of the earl of Tyrone; the second, consisting of the forces of Tirconnell and Connaught, under the command of O'Donnell; while in the third were the various septs of Meath, Leinster, and

Munster, who had joined in the insurrection, with the Spaniards from Castlehaven. They began their march at the hour appointed, but by some error of the guides they lost their way, and after wandering about during the night, confused not less by the intense darkness than by the fitful glare of the lightning which from time to time relieved it, it was near daybreak when they found themselves unexpectedly in the neighbourhood of the English camp.

A little before the break of day, when the English commanders appear to have given up all expectations of an attack, Carew repaired to the house of the lord deputy, whom he found in council with the marshal. He had not long entered the house, when one of his own horsemen rode up hastily to the door, and announced that the enemy had been seen near the camp. Almost at the same instant, a messenger brought similar intelligence to the lord deputy. The latter immediately broke up the council, gave orders to put the whole army under arms, and proceeded without delay to the quarter from which the alarm had been given. There he soon discovered that the whole Irish army was advancing upon the English camp, and that a portion of their advanced column had already passed a ford on the western side of the English position, and he drew out a strong detachment of English troops, and arranged them in order of battle on a piece of ground in advance of the camp, where he determined to fight the enemy.

It was now sufficiently light for the two armies to see each other; and when the Irish beheld the English drawn up ready to receive them, and became aware that they had no longer any chance of attacking the camp by surprise, all their confidence and courage seemed suddenly to have forsaken them. At first they resolved to wait the English on the other side of the stream, and their advanced body, which was commanded by Tirrell, withdrew over the ford. As they were observed to retire in some disorder, Mountjoy determined to pursue them, although he had only about twelve hundred foot, and between three and four hundred horse. He sent Carew back to the camp to take command of the rest of the army, with directions to occupy the attention of the Spaniards in Kinsale by a feint of pushing on vigorously the siege operations.

As the English approached the ford, a violent storm suddenly burst over their

heads, which helped to cover the retreat of the Irish army, and they drew off over a plain, still arranged in three great bodies of foot, with their horse in the rear. The day, however, soon cleared up, and the lord deputy, more than ever convinced that the enemy were endeavouring to escape from him, quickened the march of his men in the hope of overtaking them. But, having proceeded thus about a mile, they suddenly came in view of the Irish army, drawn up in order of battle in a good position, separated from them by a bog, and by a deep ford, which was defended by a strong body of their foot. But the marshal, who, with his own troop and that of the earl of Clanrickard, was in advance of Mountjoy's small army, discovered another and easier ford about a musket shot to the left of the other, which was only defended by a small body of horse. Here the English army effected a passage, and attacked the first body of the enemy, which was Tyrone's own column. The Irish stood but for a short time, and then gave way, broke, and fled. O'Donnell, who supported the retreating column with that under his command, attempted to rally the fugitives, but in vain, and the panic caught his own men. The whole Irish army was now thrown into the utmost confusion, and chiefs and their followers mingled together, became easy victims to the swords of their pursuers. The Spaniards and the Irish of the south under Tyrrell, who occupied a bog to the right, alone stood firm, and seeing the disorder which had spread through the ranks of the rest of their army, they made an attempt to protect their flight by throwing themselves between the fugitives and the pursuers. It was then that Mountjoy drew his own sword, and, placing himself at the head of his regiment, charged the division under Tyrrell's command, and drove them to the top of a low hill, where the Irish scattered themselves in every direction, leaving the Spaniards to their fate. The greater part of the latter were put to the sword; fifty only, including their commander, being taken prisoners. The Irish were pursued a short distance, and then the English troops were called in, and drawn up on the field of battle, where Mountjoy offered up thanks for his victory, and knighted the earl of Clanrickard for the extraordinary bravery he had shown throughout the engagement. This Anglo-Irish nobleman had slain twenty of the Irish with his own hand, and the

dangers he had escaped were evinced by his clothes torn in many places with the enemy's shot.

Thus was gained the famous battle of Kinsale, which gave the last blow to Irish independence. The Irish never showed less resolution in battle, a circumstance which is not only acknowledged by their own annalists, but is proved by the small loss of the conquerors. They lost all their arms and ammunition; they left nearly twelve hundred bodies on the field, among which were those of several distinguished chiefs, and many perished afterwards in the flight. The English had one officer slain and three wounded, and a few common soldiers hurt. The Irish annalist of the time, who attributed this disaster to "the displeasure of God and misfortune," and who seems to have underrated the number of the slain, laments their "great and immense loss in that place, though small was the number slain there, for the chivalry and bravery, prosperity and affluence, nobleness and valour, renown and pre-eminence, hospitality and generosity, heroism and defence, piety and pure religion, of the island of the Gael, were lost in that conflict." At night the two northern chieftains assembled their shattered forces at Innishannon, between Kinsale and Bandon. "Alas!" says the annalist just quoted, "it was not in the condition they were in on that night they thought they would have returned from that expedition, for much blame and recrimination, regret and sadness, sorrow and anguish, prevailed throughout their camp in every quarter, and they could not become calmed, or much consoled; hasty, immature, and precipitate were their counsels after they assembled together." Red Hugh O'Donnell, broken-spirited, gave up the command of his forces to his brother Rory, and prepared to sail for Spain in the hope of obtaining further assistance for his countrymen, while the O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell led back their discomfited followers to Ulster.

The Spaniards in Kinsale, equally with the English, seemed to have supposed that their Irish allies had relinquished the design of attacking the camp when they saw morning approach without any intelligence of them. They were naturally confirmed in this belief when, at the usual hour after day-break on the 24th of December, they saw the English soldiers return to their work in the trenches; and they seem to have been ignorant of the fierce strife which was raging in the country behind. At length the vic-

torious regiments returned from the battle, and as they mounted the elevated ground of the encampment they fired a triumphant volley, and flourished the flags which they had captured. The garrison of Kinsale, hearing the firing, imagined that Tyrone's army had made their attack by day instead of night, and a sally was immediately made to favour it. But when they came nearer, heard the shouts, and saw the Spanish colours (which they knew had belonged to their comrades of Castlehaven) in the hands of the English soldiers their hearts failed them, and they were easily beaten back. A few skirmishes took place between the garrison and the besiegers on the day following, which was Christmas-day, but both parties seemed to have entered into a tacit agreement to refrain from any serious hostilities during the rest of the month. On the 28th a Spanish man-of-war arrived at Castlehaven, but hearing of the disastrous overthrow of the Irish, its commander immediately set sail, and carrying with him O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, and some other Irish chiefs, returned with them to Spain.

On the last day of the year 1601 Don Juan de Aguila intimated, by a letter to the lord deputy, his wish to treat for conditions of surrender, and desired him to send into the town a person of special trust to confer with him. He had come to Ireland with high notions of the courage and military force of the Irish, and great expectations of the zeal with which they were prepared to rise in the cause to which they had invited his assistance, and his experience had been a continued series of disappointments. Knowing the condition of the English in their camp, when he heard of the numerous forces under O'Donnell and O'Neill which surrounded them, and of the boasting language held by its chiefs, he made no doubt of the destruction of the besiegers; and now, when he saw the Irish forces scattered and dispersed almost by a breath of wind, in his mortification and disgust he accused his allies not only of cowardice, but of treachery, and he resolved to leave them to their fate. When, therefore, sir William Godolphin came from the lord deputy to listen to his proposals, the Spanish commander acquainted him with these sentiments, and, after paying a compliment to the bravery of the English soldiers, and the honourable character of lord

Mountjoy, he offered to deliver up the town of Kinsale, with the other places in Ireland held by the Spaniards (Baltimore, Castlehaven, and Bearehaven), on condition that he and his men should be allowed to return home with their colours flying, and carrying with them their treasure, artillery, ammunition, and stores. This proposition being carried to the English camp, the lord deputy at first required that the treasure, ammunition, and artillery, as well as all the queen's natural subjects who had joined against her, should be left at her disposal. This exception was relinquished on a second parley, both because it was of small importance in comparison with the advantages to be derived from the recovery of the four posts occupied by the enemy, and because Don Juan, with the pride of his countrymen, declared that he would rather hold out to the last extremity than accede to terms which he looked upon as dishonourable to his master's arms. "The king, my master," he said, "sent me to assist the *condes* O'Neill and O'Donnell, presuming on their promise that I should have joined with them within few days of the arrival of his forces; I expected long in vain, sustained the viceroy's (deputy's) arms, saw them drawn to the greatest head they could possibly make, lodged within two miles of Kinsale, reinforced with certain companies of Spaniards, every hour promising to relieve us, and being joined together to force your camps, saw them at last broken with a handful of men, blown asunder into divers parts of the world, O'Donnell into Spain, O'Neill to the furthest part of the north, so as now I find no such *condes in rerum natura* as I came to join withal; and therefore have moved this accord the rather to disengage the king, my master, from assisting a people so unable in themselves that the whole burthen of the war must lie upon him, and so perfidious as, perhaps, might be induced in requital of his favour at last to betray him."

Mountjoy was now anxious to bring the negotiation to an end, and the articles of surrender were drawn up and signed on the 2nd of January. Next day Kinsale was in possession of the English, and within a week afterwards the lord deputy broke up his camp and removed to Cork, attended by Don Juan de Aguila, the Spanish commander. The latter quitted Ireland, with the last detachment of his forces, on the 16th of March.

CHAPTER XVI.

REMAINS OF THE REBELLION IN MUNSTER; SIEGE OF DUNBOY CASTLE; DEATH OF O'DONNELL; FLIGHT OF O'SULLIVAN.



THE Irish of the south of Ireland who had been encouraged to rise against the English government by the arrival of O'Donnell, remained still in arms, and, in spite of the defeat of the northern forces and the surrender of Don Juan, they were encouraged to persevere by the exhortations of the priests, and frequent messengers from Spain, who told them of the great preparations making in that country to assist them. King Philip, it was said, now felt his honour engaged in the quarrel, and was determined, cost what it might, to overthrow the English power. The lord deputy was well informed, both by his own direct information and by letters intercepted,* of

the Spanish preparations, and of the hopes of the rebels; but before he took active measures against the latter he was anxious to be relieved from the presence of Don Juan de Aguila and his Spaniards. Thus the first months of the year 1602 were spent by the English almost in idleness.

The Irish, however, displayed more activity, and, under the guidance of O'Sullivan Beare, they prepared for the reception of the foreign forces which were to come to their deliverance. As the defeat of the northern chieftains had destroyed the hopes of the Spanish garrison of relief from the Irish, so the surrender of the latter now left the Irish chiefs of the south exposed to the vengeance of the English. On the first landing of the Spaniards they had voluntarily

* A curious instance is given in the *Pacata Hibernia* of the unscrupulous means which the English authorities adopted to obtain possession of the enemy's dispatches:—"About the tenth of February, Don Juan de Aguila residing in Cork whilst his troops were preparing to be embarked for Spain, in this interim a Spanish pinnace landed in the westernmost part of the province, and in her there was a messenger sent from the king to Don Juan de Aguila with a packet of letters. The president having knowledge thereof, told the lord deputy that, if he had a desire to know the king of Spain's intentions, there was a good occasion offered; the lord deputy's heart itching to have the letters in his hands, prayed the president to intercept them if he could handsomely do it; the president undertook it, and having notice that the next morning the messenger would come from Kinsale to Cork, and knowing that there was but two ways by the which he might pass, called captain William Nuce unto him (who commanded his foot company), to make choice of such men as he could trust to lie upon those passages, and when they saw such a Spaniard (whom he had described unto him) to seize upon him, and as thieves to rob him both of his letters, horses, and money, not to hurt his person, but to leave him and his guide bound, that he might make no swift pursuit after them, and when they had delivered him the letters to run away. Captain Nuce so well followed his instructions, as the Spaniard was taken in a little wood, and the letters brought at dinner time, Don Juan (if I do not mistake) that very day dining with him, who instantly carried them to the lord deputy, where at good leisure the packets were opened and read, which done the president went to his house, leaving the letters with the lord deputy. The same evening, the Spanish messenger having been unbound by passengers, came to Don Juan de Aguila, relating his

misfortune in being robbed not five miles from the town. Don Juan de Aguila went immediately to the lord deputy, grievously complaining that the messenger was robbed by soldiers (as he alleged). The lord deputy seemed no less sorry, but said he, it is a common thing in all armies to have debauched soldiers, but he thought it to be rather done by some of the country thieves; but if the fact was committed by soldiers, it was most like to be done by some Irishmen, who thought it to be a good purchase (as well as the money) to get the letters to show them unto their friends in rebellion, that they might the better understand in what estate they were in. Don Juan not being satisfied with this answer, desired the lord deputy to inquire of the lord president (for of his intercepting of them he had a vehement suspicion) whether he had any knowledge of the matter, and so they departed. The next morning the lord deputy related to the president the complaint, and and his answer. Don Juan, eager in the pursuit of his letters, came to know of the lord deputy what the president answered. The lord deputy answered him, upon his faith, that he was sure that the president had them not; which he might well do, for they were in his own possession. In conclusion, a proclamation was made, and a reward (in the same promised) for him that could discover the thieves, and a pardon for their lives granted that committed the fact, if they would come in and confess it. With this Don Juan rested satisfied. Not long after most of the Spaniards were embarked in Kinsale, only a few remaining which were to pass with Don Juan. The day before his departure, the lord deputy showed him the copy of the letters, saying that they were sent unto him out of Ulster by a priest, who was his spy about Tyrone, unto whom the letters had been carried. Don Juan (taking this for good payment) thanked the lord deputy for his favourable care."

surrendered their own castles to be occupied by Spanish garrisons, and their indignation was great when they learnt that by Don Juan's capitulation these castles were to be delivered up to the English, and not to the chiefs from whom they had been received. The most important of these fortresses was Beare or Dunboy, the chief castle of the O'Sullivan, lords of Beare. The Irish, who had surprised Castlehaven and another of the small forts, were soon expelled, but the fate of Dunboy forms one of the most romantic episodes of this war.

In the month of February, 1602, O'Sullivan resolved to regain possession of his own castle of Dunboy before it should be surrendered to the English. This chief was still at the head of a formidable body of insurgents, who found security in the natural strength of the country, and he had in his company several of the chiefs and ecclesiastics most obnoxious to the English government, such as Archer the Jesuit, Thomas fitz Maurice lord of Lixnaw, captain Tyrrell, and some of the Mac Carthys and Burkes. The commander at Dunboy was Francesco de Saavedra, who held the place with a small garrison of Spaniards; but O'Sullivan, as an ally of the Spaniards, and the rightful lord of the castle, was admitted with his friends to lodge in it at will. One night, when he took his lodging in the castle as usual, his forces, to the number of about a thousand men, were drawn close round the castle, and masons, brought thither for that purpose, made a hole in the wall through which, in the dead of the night, eighty of O'Sullivan's men were introduced. In the morning the Spanish commander was made acquainted with the posture of affairs, and, after some slight opposition, in which two or three Irishmen were killed, he and his garrison surrendered to O'Sullivan, and were disarmed and treated as prisoners of war. All except the cannoneers, who were retained to serve the artillery of the castle, were subsequently conveyed to Baltimore, to be embarked with the other Spanish soldiers who were returning to Spain. At the same time O'Sullivan wrote to the king of Spain, excusing himself for having employed force against the Spanish garrison, and declaring that he held the castle of Dunboy as king Philip's subject.

Don Juan de Aguila, who was still at Cork, stood with Spanish pride upon the punctilio of honour, and was irritated beyond measure when he heard how O'Sullivan had infringed

his articles of capitulation. A large portion of the Spanish troops had not yet embarked, and Don Juan hastened to the lord deputy, gave vent in his presence to his anger against O'Sullivan for the affront which he considered that chief had put upon him, and offered to march immediately with the Spanish troops which remained, and regain the castle of Dunboy by force. But Mountjoy and Carew "were desirous to see his heels towards Ireland," and they calmed his anger, and assured him that after his departure they would see to the punishing of O'Sullivan for this outrage. Towards the middle of March, when Don Juan had embarked, the lord deputy departed for Dublin, accompanied as far as Kilkenny by the lord president of Munster, who returned thence to Cork to pursue his own measures for the final pacification of the province entrusted to his charge, and to exhibit anew those talents for government and war which had made so profound an impression on the Irish, that they believed he had dealings with the evil one, and that he derived his knowledge of their movements and intentions from the revelation of a spiritual familiar.

The rebellion was now confined almost entirely to the wild mountainous district which forms the south-west corner of the island, and extends over the county of Kerry and part of that of Cork. To use the words of the writer of the *Pacata Hibernia*, "the rebels swarmed especially in Carbury, Beare, Desmond, and Kerry, insomuch as there was no place in them or adjoining unto them free from those caterpillars, who, beholding the grievousness of their offences, grew to be desperate, concluding themselves to be the children of perdition, and not capable of her majesty's gracious mercy, whereby their obstinacy was increased." In the tract of land aforementioned, there was no castle which was held for the queen, but those which the Spaniards rendered, and which were guarded by the two captain Harveys, and Castle Mange, in Kerry, wherein a guard of sir Charles Wilmott's had continued all the time of the siege at Kinsale: all the rest were in the possession of the rebels.

Their strong-hold was now the castle of Dunboy, which stood in such a position among the mountains of Beare at the western extremity of Bantry Bay, as had given it the popular reputation of being impregnable, and which O'Sullivan had been strengthening, and fortifying the approaches to it

A.D. 1602.]

HISTORY OF IRELAND.

[THE WAR IN DESMOND.

with the assistance of foreign engineers ever since he had recovered it. To gain possession of this fortress was now the object which Carew held most at heart, for he knew, on one hand, that when it was taken the rebellion in Munster would be at an end, and on the other, he believed that the news of its capture would give a final check to the preparations which Spain was making for a new invasion. One of the first steps of the lord-president was, therefore, to send the earl of Thomond with a force of twelve hundred foot and fifty horse into Carbery, Bantry, and Beare, with instructions to lay waste the country occupied by the insurgents, to encourage the well-affected, to take a survey of the country and observe the best places for garrisons, and especially to report upon the position and strength of Dunboy Castle. The earl of Thomond executed his instructions, left a part of his forces in the Whiddy, an island on the northern side of Bantry Bay, and with the rest returned to Cork.

Carew, who was just recovering from a severe fit of illness, now prepared in earnest for his march against Dunboy castle, an enterprise which seemed to people in general so rash and imprudent, that his best friends advised him to desist. They represented to him the impregnable character of the place, and the fruitless charge which he would incur, besides the disaster to the queen's service which must result from a failure. They assured him that "no approach by land forces could be made nearer than the bay of Bantry, being short of Dunboy four-and-twenty miles, the ways being, in many places, so impassable for horse and carriages, and in some places such straits and craggy rocks, as it was impossible for men to march but in file, whereby one hundred that were to make defence, might forbid an army to pass; if he purposed to transport his army by sea, that he should find no landing-place for his ordnance near unto it, and, being landed, the wit of man was not able (without an infinite number of pioneers) to draw them unto the castle; for all the grounds near unto it were either bog or rocks, and also that there was no convenience of ground to encamp in, no good water near, nor wood for necessary use, or gabion stuff within three miles of it." In addition to these arguments, urged by the English as well as the Irish of Munster in general, the earl of Ormond wrote privately to Carew, earnestly exhorting him to reconsider

his design, and letters came even from the English court, speaking of the apprehensions which were entertained there. But the stern resolution of Carew was proof against everything; he declared that he cared neither for bog nor rock; that he would fill up the one and level the other; and that nothing should hinder him from making queen Elizabeth mistress of Dunboy castle. On the 23rd of April, 1602, the lord-president marched out of Cork, and encamped that night at Owneboy, the spot where Tyrone had lodged the day before the battle of Kinsale. On the 30th he reached Carew castle, within a short distance of Bantry, where he established his camp to await the arrival of his ships with the ordnance, munition, and provision necessary for the siege. At this time, Carew's army amounted to considerably less than two thousand men. The first week during which he remained here, was spent in plundering the lands held by the rebels in the surrounding districts. He then addressed a letter to the Spanish cannoneers in Dunboy castle, urging them to disable their artillery and make their escape, in return for which he offered them reward, protection, and a safe passage for Spain. But they appear to have paid no attention to his request. On the 8th of May, a body of three hundred light foot were sent to make their way through the mountains by night, and join sir Charles Wilmott, who was advancing upon the district of Beare from Kerry.

The progress of Wilmott, who had been dispatched with a small army against the rebels in Kerry immediately after the surrender of Kinsale, had been successful and decisive. He forced a strongly defended pass between Askeaton and the Glynn, took possession of the castle of Carrig-a-foyle, and captured the castle of Lixnaw from Fitz Maurice. He then formed a junction with the English garrison at Castle-Mange, plundered the country of the knight of Kerry, who was acting with the rebels, took his chief castles, and inflicted a severe defeat on the knight himself. Both Fitz Maurice and the knight of Kerry were thus driven into the mountains of Desmond. Several of the lesser chiefs of these districts now made their submission, among whom was one of the O'Sullivan's, who informed Wilmott that the chief force of Fitz Maurice, the knight of Kerry, and the Mac Carthys who were acting with them, consisted of a thousand hired soldiers from Connaught and the north,

under Tyrrell, William Burke, and other commanders.

The old domestic divisions among the Irish were now conspiring powerfully in favour of the English arms. Owen O'Sullivan, who aspired to be the chief of his sept in place of the one who now held the title of O'Sullivan Beare, was serving in the camp of Sir George Carew, and acting as his adviser and guide; and in the same manner, Donal mac Carthy now declared himself an adherent of the English, and came into Wilmott's camp. Having thus cleared the north of Kerry of insurgents, sir Charles Wilmott proceeded about the middle of April into the mountain districts, and while occupied in this more difficult warfare received the lord president's letters informing him of his arrival at castle Carew, and directing Wilmott to join him there on a certain day. As Wilmott advanced gradually into the mountains, the insurgents retreated before him and established themselves in the wild district of Glengariff. On the 5th of May, Wilmott's troops were in the barony of Iveragh, plundering and burning the lands of Donal O'Sullivan. This was followed by the submission of the knight of Kerry; upon which Wilmott prepared without further delay to hasten his junction with the lord president. His way lay over the Mangart, then described as "a most hideous and uncouth mountain," the passes of which had been occupied by the Irish under Tyrrell, who declared their resolution to defend them to the last extremity. But Carew, aware of their designs, drew out the main bulk of his army, and marched against the Irish on one side, while Wilmott approached on the other; and then the insurgents deserted their posts without striking a blow. The same day, the 11th of May, on which Carew and Wilmott marched into the camp, the long-expected ships from Cork made their appearance in Bantry Bay, a welcome sight to men who had just consumed the provisions they brought with them.

Carew had now his whole army assembled, and his ordnance and stores ready, but the great inclemency of the weather still kept him to his camp, and continued with little interruption till the end of the month. At a council held on the 14th of May, to consider the expediency of attempting to reach Dunboy by land, it was shown by the evidence of Owen O'Sullivan and others well acquainted with the country, that "the passage

must be made through such huge rocks, mountains, bogs, and straits, as it was not possible for a man to march, carry arms, and use his weapons, if he should have occasion to fight, much less to carry any victuals, munition, or baggage." It was therefore resolved that the army should be transported over the arm of the sea to the great island facing the district of Beare, to pass from thence to the point nearest the object of their anxiety. It was not till the last day of May that the weather became more favourable for embarkation, and then the English left their camp at Castle Carew, and moved to the shore, from whence, during the two following days, the whole army was transported to the island.

The Irish commander of the castle of Dunboy was Richard mac Geoghegan, a man whose resolution and courage were shown in the manner in which he defended his charge. The rebel chiefs made more than one attempt to display their strength before their assailants, in the hopes of deterring them from their bold enterprise. Tyrrell had thus shown himself at the head of a strong force, under pretence of seeking an interview with the earl of Thomond, before the army passed over to the island; and now Richard mac Geoghegan came to the island, and had an interview with the same earl, the only object of which appears to have been to impress on that nobleman's mind the temerity of the enterprise in which he was engaged. But no representation could daunt the fearless lord president, who determined to carry his army over to the main land the following morning, which was the 6th of June. Carew himself was up at a very early hour, and taking only one attendant passed over to a little island which faced the only place that appeared to afford any facility for landing. He soon saw that the landing-place had been so strongly fortified that the attempt to carry his men on shore there would be attended with great difficulties, and, taking a circuit round the small island, he fortunately discovered another landing-place at no great distance from the former, which had been overlooked by the insurgents themselves. Hither, having placed a part of his troops temporarily on the small island to deceive the enemy as to his real intentions, he carried all his army on shore in the course of the day; the Irish made some attempt to resist, but were beaten, and next day the English army came in view of Dunboy.

The Irish had never ceased fortifying and

strengthening the castle, and, although they are said to have had thoughts at one moment of abandoning it, the arrival of a Spanish ship bringing money and stores for O'Sullivan and his adherents and the assurance that a large army was assembling in Spain to be sent to their assistance, had encouraged them to make a desperate resistance. Dunboy was considered by all as a post of the utmost importance, and the greatest efforts were made on one side to preserve it, and on the other to reduce it. The priests exhorted its garrison to die like martyrs in the good cause rather than allow their fortress to fall into the hands of the heretics. Owen mac Egan, the pope's bishop of Ross and his apostolic vicar for Ireland, who had come over from Spain in the ship just alluded to, and had repaired immediately to O'Sullivan's camp, wrote an encouraging letter to Richard mac Geoghegan, assuring him of the importance of his services in the eyes of the pope and the Spanish monarch. "Upon my credit and conscience," he said, "there is no greater piece of service now in hand in all Christendom for the king of Spain, than the same that ye have; how great it is to God and necessary for our country affairs you know; moreover within few days you shall have relief of men come to help you thither out of Spain; the great army of fourteen thousand men are forth coming, you shall all be as well recompensed, both by God and by the king's majesty, as any ward that is in all the world again. Have me I pray commended to all, and especially to father Dominic, and bid him be of good courage. There comes with the army a father of the company (of Jesuits), an Italian, for the pope's nuncio, in whose company I came from Rome to the court of Spain, and then he expects the army's coming hither; he shall give all a benediction, yea, I hope, within your castle there, spite of all the devils in hell." Dominic Collins, here alluded to, a zealous Jesuit, was the spiritual encourager of the garrison in Dunboy. "Be ye of heroic minds," writes the Jesuit Archer to his brother priest, from O'Sullivan's camp, "for of such consequence is the keeping of that castle, that every one there shall surpass in deserts any of us here, and for noble valiant soldiers shall pass immortal throughout all ages to come." The priest then lays aside his religious character, to give the advice of a soldier—"now to come to more particular matters, under-

stand that there are but two ways to attempt you, that is, scaling with ladders, or battery; for scaling, I doubt not but your own wits needs no direction; and for battery, you may make up the breach by night. The higher you raise your works every way the better, but let it be thick and substantial; raise up a greater height that work captain Tyrrell made, betwixt the house and the cornell; make plain the broken house on the south side. For fire-work direction do this, prime the holes, and stop in the balls with powder mixed through the material well, and some powder uppermost that shall take fire; the rest you know, as you have heard me declare there." Such was the active part performed by the Jesuit missionaries in the little war which was now raging in the south-western corner of Ireland.

On the 7th of June, Carew, after mastering many difficulties, was encamped within a mile of Dunboy castle, separated from it by a narrow arm of the sea. Having advanced with sir Charles Wilmott and a guard of a hundred foot to view the castle, he found, contrary to all expectations, convenient ground for planting his ordnance to batter the walls. The next three days were occupied in transporting the army and its stores to the spot on which the siege operations were to be commenced. The artillery was conveyed to the new camp with great toil and danger on the tenth, and on the evening of the eleventh the first shot was fired at the castle, but it was from a small gun, and produced no effect. From this time to the 17th of June the English were occupied on their trenches and batteries. The firing on either side was as yet slight and ineffective, and an attempt by the Irish forces under Tyrrell to interrupt the English works was unsuccessful. At five o'clock in the morning of the seventeenth the English batteries, now completed, began to play furiously upon the castle, and continued without intermission till nine, when a turret annexed to the castle on the south-west side fell, and buried its defenders in the ruins. A small piece of ordnance planted in that turret was also buried among the rubbish. The English ordnance was now directed against the west front of the castle, which at one o'clock also gave way, and by its fall left what appeared a practicable breach. The garrison, alarmed at the rapid destruction caused by the English artillery, now sent to Carew, offering to surrender the place on condition they should be allowed to march

out with their arms. The English hanged the messenger, and prepared for the assault, while the garrison encouraged each other to make a desperate defence.

As they mounted the breach the English soldiers had to face a heavy fire of musketry and small ordnance, but still they pushed on, and after an obstinate struggle succeeded in climbing up to a turret of the barbican, which is described as being "reinforced with earth and faggots of great thickness, unto which was added a large spur on the south-west part of the castle of the height of sixteen feet, as in like manner all the turrets and curtains of the barbican were reinforced, at the top whereof they barricaded themselves with barrels of earth." This turret had been occupied by a party of the garrison with one of those small pieces of artillery then termed a falcon, and as they were driven from it they retreated to another turret facing it, from which they fired upon the English in the other turret until the latter again drove them away.

They thus fought with desperation from turret to turret, until the garrison was compelled to take refuge in the eastern part of the castle, which as yet had not suffered from the English artillery. The only approach to this part of the castle was by a narrow way behind the curtain of the barbican, where neither side could make use of shot. This passage was obstinately disputed for an hour and a half, during which, in other parts of the castle, "the enemy still made good defence," to quote the words of an eye-witness, "beating with shot and stones upon us, from the stairs and likewise from that part of the castle which stood from the top of the vaults, both with pieces (guns), and by their throwing down stones, iron bullets, and other annoyances, wherewith many of our men were slain and wounded, and we oppressing them in all those places by all means we might, and still attempting to get up to the top of the vault by the ruins of the breach, which was so maintained by the enemy, as we were divers times forced down again. And whilst in each of these places our men were thus employed, captain Slingsby's sergeant, who had gotten to the top of the vault of the south-west tower, by clearing the rubbish thence, found out that the ruins thereof had made a way, that leads to a spike or window that looked into it, and commands that part of the barbican of the castle which the enemy possessed and defended, having been there two hours before

he discovered the same, by which passage our men making their descent to the enemy, and gaining ground upon them, they being then in desperate case, some forty of them made a sally out of the castle to the seaside, whither our men pursuing them on the one side, and they being crossed by captain Blundell with a small party of men (on the outside of the barbican) on the other side, we had the execution of them all there, saving eight which leapt into the sea to save themselves by swimming. But the lord president supposing before that they would in their extremity make such an adventure to escape, had appointed captain Gawen Harvey and his lieutenant Thomas Stafford, with three boats, to keep the sea, who had the killing of them all. Other three leapt from the top of the vault, where our soldiers killed them."

It was now near sunset, and a great part of the castle was reduced to a mass of ruins in the terrible struggle which had been carried on without intermission during the day. The numbers of the garrison were greatly reduced, and the courage of those who remained was now considerably damped. The combat, however, still continued, and, as the describer of this siege tells us, "we gave a new assault to the top of the vault, where, having a difficult ascent, the shot from the foot of the breach giving good assistance, after an hour's assault and defence with some loss on both sides, we gained the top of the vault and all the castle upwards, and placed our colours on the height thereof: the whole remainder of the ward, being three score and seventeen men, were constrained to retire into the cellars, into which we having no descent but by a strait winding stony stair, they defended the same against us, and thereafter upon promise of their lives they offered to come forth, but not to stand to mercy." The English commander placed strong guards upon the entrance to the cellars during the night, and drew off the main body of his men to give them repose after the fatigues of this long day.

On the morning of the 18th, the remainder of the brave garrison of Dunboy, with the exception of twenty-three who laid down their arms and surrendered, remained still firm in their resolution to defend the vault and the cellars of the castle to the last. The constable of the castle, Richard mac Geoghegan, lay on the floor mortally wounded, and his men chose for their commander a kinsman of captain Tyrrell, named Thomas

Taylor, who had distinguished himself by his courage during the siege. Taylor seems to have been a fit man for the trying position in which they were now placed; he seated himself calmly by the side of nine barrels of gunpowder, which he had conveyed into the vault, and, with a lighted candle in his hand, threatened to set fire to the whole, and blow up the castle, with the besieged and the besiegers, unless the lord president would hold out a promise of their lives. This Carew refused; and he ordered a new battery to be directed against the vault, with the resolution of burying Taylor and his men in the ruins. But after a few discharges, Taylor's soldiers compelled him to surrender, and a party of English, under sir George Thornton and captain Power, entered the vault to receive them. At this moment Richard mac Geoghegan made a desperate effort to raise himself, and, snatching the lighted candle which Taylor had laid aside, was on the point of throwing it into one of the barrels of powder which was uncovered, when captain Power rushed forward and seized him in his arms, and held him, till some of his soldiers came up and despatched him with their swords. Taylor and his men, forty-eight in number, then surrendered, and were carried prisoners to the camp.

Thus was taken the castle of Dunboy, in a much shorter time and with less loss, than was anticipated. Its brave garrison, consisting originally of a hundred and forty-three men, the picked soldiers of the rebel forces, perished to a man; the few who were not slain in the siege being hanged immediately afterwards. After a short deliberation, the powder found in the fortress was placed in the vaults and ignited, and all that remained of Dunboy castle was blown up and utterly dismantled. It was considered that its peculiar position rendered it useless as an English garrison, and that, if left standing, it would only serve as a harbour for rebels and Spaniards.

The influence which the capture of Dunboy had upon subsequent events fully justified Carew's resolution to undertake so difficult an enterprise. When the intelligence reached Spain, it was received there as that of the greatest disaster which had yet fallen upon the Irish cause. O'Donnell, Redmond Burke, captain Mostian, father O'Malcoory (an Irish Franciscan Friar), and some other faithful adherents who accompanied him from Ireland, had reached Corunna, in Spain, on the 14th of January. It was looked upon as

a fortunate omen that the Irish fugitives should have landed at this spot, because, according to their national traditions, it was there that the Milesian colonists embarked on their way to the Irish shores. On the day after his arrival, O'Donnell was received with great marks of respect by the count of Caracena, who held the office of governor of Galicia, and who invited the Irish chieftain to take up his lodgings in his own palace. He remained there till the 27th of January, when he set out on his way to the Spanish court, escorted as far as Santa Lucia, where he rested the first night, by the count and his captains. The count showed so much attention to his visitor, that, we are told, "he evermore gave O'Donnell the right hand, which, within his government, he would not have done to the greatest duke in Spain;" and, on leaving him, he gave him a present of a thousand ducats.

Philip III. was at this time on a progress through his kingdom, and O'Donnell took his course from Santa Lucia to the city of Compostella, where he was received with every mark of honour by the archbishop and clergy, and at his departure again received a present of a thousand ducats. He then continued his journey, and found the king at Zamora. The Spanish monarch had already written to the count of Caracena concerning the reception of the Irish chieftain and the affairs of Ireland, "which," says the author of the *Pacata Hibernia*, "was one of the most gracious letters that ever king directed; for by it it plainly appeared that he would endanger his kingdom to succour the Catholics of Ireland to their content, and not fail therein, for the perfecting whereof great preparations were in hand." Red Hugh and his companions were received at court in the most distinguished manner, and in a personal interview granted by Philip, at which O'Donnell is said to have acknowledged him as king of Ireland, that monarch, we are told by the Irish annalist, "granted him his three requests; the first of which was, to send an army with him to Ireland, with the necessary supplies and arms for the expedition as soon as prepared; the second was, that none of the nobles of his blood, of the free-born class, might be appointed to sway or power over himself or his successors should the king's majesty assume authority and power over Ireland; and the third request was, that the rights of his ancestors might not at any time be reduced or diminished, on himself or on his successors, in any place where his ancestors

had strength and power before that time in Ireland."

That the king was earnest in his intention to fulfil the promises he had made to O'Donnell was soon shown by the extensive preparations made to assemble a formidable army at Corunna, with the express object of transporting it to Ireland. Immediately after his audience of the king, Red Hugh returned to that city to witness and urge forward the armament. A constant communication was kept up with the Irish insurgents who still remained in arms, by means of frequent interchange of messengers, and the latter were thus encouraged to persevere. They were assured that O'Donnell, who was the chieftain in whom they placed most confidence (although O'Neill was still considered as the head of the insurgents), was personally watching over their interests, and that they might soon expect an army of sufficient force to effect their deliverance from English rule. In order to give an appearance of due formality and justice to the cause which the Spanish monarch had thus espoused, two questions were solemnly propounded on the seventh of March to the learned scholars of the university of Salamanca, in order that the deliberate opinion of a body which stood high in reputation at that time throughout Catholic Europe might be made public. The two questions were, first, if it were lawful for the Irish Catholics to support O'Neill with arms and all other means in their power in making war against the heretical queen of England; and, secondly, if any of the said Catholics could fight on the side of the said queen against O'Neill, and favour the English by any means whatever, even though they incurred the loss of their lives and of their temporal goods by refusing to do so, without committing deadly sin?

The judgment of the Spanish university deserves to be repeated in full, as showing the spirit which the agents of Spain and Italy were now introducing into Ireland, and to which in no small degree that unfortunate island owed much of its subsequent suffering. "That both these questions may be decided," said the learned men of Salamanca, "we must hold it as for certain, that the Romish bishop hath power to bridle and suppress such as forsake the faith, and those which oppose themselves with arms against the Catholic faith, when other means are not ministered to overthrow so great an evil. And further it must be concluded for infallible, that the queen of England doth im-

pugn the Catholic religion, neither doth permit the Irish publicly to embrace the Catholic faith, and that for the same cause the aforesaid prince (O'Neill) and others before him, of whom the letters apostolical of Clement the eighth make mention, did make war against her. These being thus set down, the first question is easily resolved, for it is questionless, that any Catholics whatsoever may favour the said prince Hugh O'Neill in the foresaid war, and the same with great merit and hope of most great and eternal reward; for seeing that the aforesaid prince doth make war by the authority of the high bishop for the defence of the Catholic religion, and that the pope doth exhort all the faithful by his letters thereto (as by his letters is manifest), and that he will extend his graces upon the favourers of the prince in that war, in as ample a manner as if they did make war against the Turks, no man will in equity doubt, but that both the present war is just, and that to fight for the defence of catholic religion (which is the greatest thing of all), is a matter of great merit. And concerning the second question, it is most certain that all those Catholics do sin mortally which do follow the English standard against the aforesaid prince, neither can they obtain eternal salvation, nor be absolved of their sins by any priest, except they first repent and forsake the English army. And the same is to be censured (judged) of those which in this war favour the English, either with arms or victuals, or give them anything of like condition, besides those accustomed tributes which it is lawful for them by virtue of the pope's indulgence and permission to pay unto the kings of England or their officers, so long as Catholic religion shall flourish in the same. This assertion is confirmed by this more manifest reason, because it is sufficiently proved by the letters of the high bishop, that the English make unjust war against the said O'Neill and those that favour him. For seeing that the pope doth declare that the English do fight against the Catholic religion, and that they should be resisted as much as if they were Turks, and that he doth bestow the same graces upon those which do resist them; who doubteth the war which the English make against the Catholic army to be altogether unjust? But it is not lawful for any to favour an unjust war, or to be present thereat, under the pain of eternal damnation. The Catholics do therefore most grievously offend, which

do bear arms in the camps of heretics, against the aforesaid prince, in a war so apparently impious and unjust, and all those which do assist the said war with arms, vic-tuals, or by any other means, which of themselves do further the proceedings of the war, and cannot give account of their indifferent obedience, neither doth it any-thing avail them to scandal the apostolical letters of surreption, for surreption cannot happen where no petition of them is de-clared in whose favour they were despatched. But the high bishop doth openly teach in those letters, that he and his predecessors had exhorted the Irish princes and all faith-ful men to make that war; and to provoke them the more thereto, he doth enrich them with great favours and indulgences. How may it then be that those letters were sur-reptive, which only contain in them an ex-hortation, strengthened with many great favours, for such as did fulfil them? Neither, therefore, can the Catholics which assist the English defend themselves by the reasons alleged in the second question; for no mor-tal sin is to be committed, although either life or goods stand thereupon; but those things which further and help to execute an unjust war, are manifestly deadly sins. It is permitted, likewise, to the Catholics to per-form such kind of obedience to the queen, as doth not oppugn Catholic religion; nei-ther ever was or could it be the meaning of the pope to allow them to use that obe-dience towards the queen, which doth mani-festly disagree with the end and scope which he had to spread the Catholic faith and religion in Ireland; but that it was his meaning and scope, his letters do manifestly declare. By all which it remaineth suffi-ciently apparent, that the most famous prince Hugh O'Neill and other Catholics of Ireland, making war against a heretical queen who opposeth herself against the true faith, are no rebels at all, neither do deny due obedience, nor usurp unjustly the queen's dominions, but rather that they do revenge themselves and their country from impious and wicked tyranny by a most just war, and defend and maintain the holy and right faith with all their power, as becometh Catholics and Christians.*

Specious arguments and exhortations like

* This judgment of the university of Salamanca is here given as translated, very literally, in the *Pacata Hibernia*. The term, "the high bishop," no doubt represents the Latin *summus episcopus*, an epithet commonly applied to the pope.

these seemed to keep alive the sparks of rebellion in Ireland, and to hold them ready to be blown into a flame by the first favour-able breath from abroad. The treasure, stores, and promises, brought over by the popish bishop Owen mac Egan, before the capture of Dunboy, had given new courage to the insurgents in the south, and they watched with eager eyes every ship that ap-proached their shores, in the hope that it was the forerunner of the promised armament. O'Donnell himself remained at Corunna, ready to accompany the army which was assembled there, and which was ready for embarkation in the month of August. But when the news of the fall of Dunboy castle reached Spain, a change suddenly took place in the counsels of the Spanish monarch, and letters were sent to the count of Caracena, ordering him to stop the progress of the Irish armament until he should receive fur-ther orders from court. O'Donnell, mortified that his hopes should thus be blighted at the very moment when their fulfilment appeared certain, immediately left Corunna, to try again the effect of a personal appeal to king Phillip, but he had proceeded no further than Simancas, when he was attacked by a fatal disease, which carried him off, after he had lingered seventeen days. O'Don-nell died on the 10th of September, 1602; his body was conveyed to Valladolid, where it was buried in the monastery of the Fran-ciscans. With him expired the last hopes of Spanish interference; his countrymen were for some time unwilling to believe in his death, and when at last conviction was forced upon them, they seemed to have abandoned themselves to despair. The effects of this melancholy intelligence is well described by the contemporary annalist of the O'Donnells, the writer of this portion of the *Annals of the Four Masters*. "Mournful," he says, "was the condition of the men of Ireland, after the death of O'Donnell, for their energy and spirit were broken down; they exchanged their courage for cowardice, their magnanimity for weakness of mind, and their pride for servility; their success, bravery, valour, chivalry, triumph, and battle sway, forsook them after his death; they gave up all hopes of relief, so that the greater part of them were obliged to seek refuge amongst enemies and strangers, while others of them were scattered and dispersed, not only throughout Ireland, but through foreign countries in general, as poor, indig-ent, wretched wanderers; and other parties

of them sold their military services to foreigners, so that immense numbers of the freeborn, noble sons of the men of Ireland, were slain and destroyed in various distant foreign countries; and strange places and unhereditary grave-yards became their burial grounds, in consequence of the death of that one man who departed from them. In short, it would be too tedious and impossible to enumerate or relate all the great evils that sprung and became permanently established in the island of Erin, through the death of Red Hugh O'Donnell at that time."

O'Sullivan Beare, whose head quarters were now established in the wilds of Glengarriff, still held out, and he contrived to instil courage into his followers until the end of the year. In spite of new reinforcements from England which poured into Munster, the English troops met with an obstinate resistance, although the insurgents were gradually deprived of their castles and strongholds, and the havoc and destruction committed by the queen's army compelled O'Sullivan's allies and adherents one by one to desert his standard. Cormac mac Carthy, lord of Muskerry, who possessed the formidable castle of Blarney (of legendary celebrity), submitted in the course of the summer, and Blarney castle was occupied by an English garrison under the command of captain Taafe. About the end of October, Tyrrell, at the head of the main body of the insurgent forces, was surprised in his quarters in the fastnesses of Muskerry, by sir Samuel Bagnall, and narrowly escaped capture. He was thus obliged to lie close in the wild mountains, and soon afterwards made his retreat to the north. Nearly at the same time sir Charles Wilmott in his government of Kerry, obliged the knight of Kerry and some other chiefs of that district to desert O'Sullivan and make their submission to the queen. The latter chief, thus gradually surrounded by his enemies, was now left entirely to the care of sir Charles Wilmott, while Carew prepared to obey the call of the lord deputy to join him

in the north. A severe defeat sustained by the insurgents on the last day of October, followed by the desertion of William Burke and his bonaghts from Connaught, determined O'Sullivan to give up the struggle and if possible make his escape to the north.

It was near christmas, when O'Sullivan, with as many of his men as remained faithful to him, left Glengarriff by night unobserved by his enemies, and making hurried night marches through Cork, Limerick, and Tipperary, reached on the ninth night the forest of Brosnac, in the barony of Lower Ormond, where he reposed during two nights. The very septs who would have joined the Irish leader, had he come as a conqueror, were ready to turn against him when he appeared in the character of a fugitive, and O'Sullivan's numbers were diminished in daily skirmishes with the Irish as well as the English through whose territory he passed. They were reduced to the extremity of killing their horses before they could cross the Shannon, and when they reached the barony of Longford on the other side, they were obliged to fight a desperate engagement with the English and Irish of Connaught, in which the English commander, a son of captain Malby, was slain. From thence, accompanied with O'Connor Kerry and William Burke, O'Sullivan at length reached Ulster in safety.

The English now overran almost without opposition the districts of Beare and Bantry, and, with the same cruel policy which had been generally followed in the suppression of these rebellions, they deliberately reduced the whole country to a desert. The last remnant of the rebels, led on by the pope's vicar apostolic, Owen mac Egan, "with his sword drawn in one hand, and his portius and beads in the other," was defeated by captain Taafe on the banks of the Bandon, at the beginning of January, 1603, when Mac Egan himself was among the slain. From this moment the rebellion in Desmond may be considered to have been at an end.

CHAPTER XVII.



RETREAT OF THE EARL OF TYRONE FROM KINSALE; THE LORD DEPUTY'S CAMPAIGN IN ULSTER; SUBMISSION OF O'NEILL; DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

IN his arrival at Dublin, though suffering from a severe attack of illness, lord Mountjoy had begun immediately to prepare for active hostilities against the insurgents of the north; and we may now take a retrospective view of the war in Ulster, which, since the disaster of Kinsale, had been carried on totally independent of the insurrection in the south.

When Red Hugh quitted Ireland after the battle of Kinsale, he left the command of his people to his brother Rory O'Donnell, with directions to act in everything in concert with the earl of Tyrone. The native annalists tell us that O'Donnell's last advice to the Irish chiefs was, that they should remain together in the south, and wait till he returned with reinforcements from Spain; and that he warned them that if they made a retreat under the present circumstances, they would find their way beset with enemies, even where in coming they had found friends. If this advice was given, it was not followed; for no sooner was the O'Donnell departed, than a general feeling of consternation seized the Irish army, and, instead of following the banner of one leader, the fugitives (for fugitives now they were) separated into a number of bands under their various chiefs and lords. "Alas!" exclaims the annalist of Tirconnell, "it was not the same cheerfulness, courage, valour, vaunting, threatening, or prowess, that the Irish had on their return at that time, which they had on their first going on that expedition." One part of O'Donnell's prophecy was strictly fulfilled; for as the northerners made their way back through the mountains and wilds of Munster, they found every pass and defile occupied against them, and they were plundered and slaughtered at every step by the very septs who but a few weeks before had made them the strongest professions of friendship and alliance. After having undergone hardships of every description, and braved innumerable dangers, Rory O'Donnell, at the head of his shattered forces, reached Sligo,

and O'Neill arrived safe in Tyrone, and most of the other confederate chieftains regained their homes with the loss only of many of their warriors.

The necessary absence of the lord deputy in the south, and his subsequent illness, gave time to the northern chieftains, and more especially to the earl of Tyrone, to recover their courage, and to make some preparations for self-defence, although they seem to have reckoned chiefly on the promised assistance of the king of Spain, and as the fulfilment of this promise appeared daily more and more distant, their courage again gave way to despair. The only enemies with which Tyrone had to contend were the strong garrisons of Lough Foyle and Carrickfergus, under Docwra and Chichester, who were restricted from undertaking any enterprise of importance without the directions of the lord deputy. O'Donnell was harassed with more serious embarrassments; the government had set up against him his kinsman, Niall Garv O'Donnell, who aspired to the chieftainship of Tirconnell, and, having a large party among the Irish, especially of the northern septs of Donegal, he made war upon Rory, and with the assistance of the English from the neighbouring garrisons, succeeded in making himself master of many of his castles and of much of his territory, and, among others, destroyed the strong fortresses of Ballyshannon and Enniskillen. Meanwhile Rory O'Donnell was retained in Sligo, where he had collected his most valuable property, which he was obliged to defend against his enemies of Connaught, under their president, sir Oliver Lambert; and when hard pressed by these, he was mortified by the refusal of O'Rourke, the old ally of the O'Donnells, to give him assistance.

Mountjoy began his march into Ulster in the month of May, and having collected together his forces, he reached the banks of the Blackwater at the beginning of June, and encamped on the south side of the river, at a spot a few miles to the east of the old fort of the Blackwater, which he had marked on the preceding year as the most convenient

passage of the river for the invasion of Tyrone. The English army, under Mountjoy's immediate command, at this time amounted to about three thousand horse and foot. Having sent the regiment of sir Richard Moryson to occupy the north side of the river, Mountjoy proceeded to erect a bridge, and a new fort, to which latter, from his own name of Charles, he gave the name of Charlemont. While engaged on this work, the English soldiers beheld in the distance the flames of the town and castle of Dungannon, which O'Neill had fired, that it might not fall into the hands of the English, a sure intimation that he had relinquished all hope of resisting the English in the field. While sir Richard Moryson was sent forward to take possession of Dungannon for the queen, the northern chieftain retired to Castle Roe, on the banks of the river Bann, in O'Kane's country, and he subsequently took refuge in the wild district of Glenconkein, the exact locality of which appears to be now uncertain, but it is described as a deep glen surrounded by woods, bogs, and waters, and seems to have lain in the south of Derry, on the borders of Lough Neagh.

In the meanwhile, sir Henry Docwra, who gradually occupying the country around him with his garrisons, had at length established himself at Omagh, prepared to join with the lord deputy, and they now met at Dungannon, from whence, with their united forces, they plundered and wasted the country along Lough Erne, as far as Enniskillen. They also captured some of O'Neill's fortified islands, especially that of Magherloney, described as his principal place of abode after Dungannon, and the chief deposit of his military stores. Among the spoils were three cannons, which had been captured from the English.

Sir Arthur Chichester, the governor of Carrickfergus, had also received orders to meet the lord-deputy, with his forces, which he was to transport across Lough Neagh to the neighbourhood of Dungannon. Sir Richard Moryson was now sent at the head of five hundred men, to meet Chichester at his landing, and he was soon followed by the lord-deputy and the rest of the army, and they encamped on the shore of the Lough, and erected a strong garrison, to which was given the name of Mountjoy. This fort, which was garrisoned with nearly a thousand men, became an important post to keep in check the plains of Tyrone, and

it possessed the advantage of being easily victualled and relieved by water from Carrickfergus.

There could be little doubt now as to the ultimate fate of the rebellion of the north, and letters received from the queen and her ministers, while Mountjoy was occupied in building the fort last mentioned, spoke chiefly of the treatment to be shown to those who made their submissions. Elizabeth stated, "that the reducing the arch-traitor by her sword, being the only agreeable satisfaction she could receive for the mischiefs fallen upon her loving subjects by his iniquities, she conceived the most ready means for effecting the same was, to draw from him the chief captains of countries; to which purpose her pleasure was, that the lord-deputy should receive to her mercy such of them as truly and humbly sought it, wherein, without prescribing him any particular course, who best knew all circumstances, only she gave this caution to provide against former mischiefs, that whereas commonly the rebels, fearing to be spoiled, were wont to contract underhand with the arch-traitor to submit themselves, thereby for the present to save their country and to give succours to the rebels' creaghts underhand, and after the return of the army to revolt again; now he should consider the inward motives of their craving mercy, and where he could not ruin them without spending more time and charge than the main action would permit, there to deal with them in a more easy manner, otherwise to give more sharp impositions in the conditions of their submissions, and by wasting their goods to make their obedience more durable. That she judged one condition necessary, not to pardon any but upon service done, not only upon those whom particularly they hated, but upon any other as they should be directed. That as an argument of her confidence in him, she gave him power of war and peace, only one thing she professed to see no cause to leave unexcepted, namely, the pardoning of the arch-traitor, a monster of ingratitude to her, and the root of misery to her people, thinking all other mercy than the proscription of him to all manner of prosecution merely incompatible with her justice, and therefore commanding not to receive him upon any conditions, but upon simple submission to mercy for all things (life only excepted), and to make this her pleasure known to all his complices, persuaded by him that he may be par-

doned at his pleasure, and so fearing to leave him, lest after they should be left to his superiority and revenge." These resolutions of the queen, as far as regarded the earl of Tyrone, were considerably qualified in a letter from sir Robert Cecil, who was anxious to bring the O'Neill to submission. "For this purpose," he says, "I must confess I have endeavoured to prepare her majesty's mind to give you the power of compounding with rebels, both because you draw the sword which would best cut out the conditions of submission, and because for a while they shall rather hope for than feel any foreign succours. For the traitor himself, what you have you see, and therefore I know that must be your warrant, yet will I privately say this unto you, that if her majesty had not the prejudice in her own thoughts, that he will insult when it comes to the upshot, and so her opening herself in offer of a pardon would return unto her a double scorn, I am confidently persuaded that when you have made trial, and shall make it appear that there is no other impediment than her majesty's acceptance, you shall receive sufficient warrant for conclusion." "For the way to make an end by peace," Cecil adds a little further on, "I think no man seeks more than myself to enable you, by persuading her majesty to give you that power; wherein when lack of argument happens to work her majesty's mind (which in her princely indignation against that arch-traitor is full of obstruction), I do fall to the binding argument (which of all things is most conclusive), and that is this: that in short time the sword cannot end the war, and long time the state of England cannot well endure it. Although I know that by this warrant you may safely give ear, and can cause him (Tyrone) to be dealt with, yet that which you can do for him by this way will be by him contemned. In which respect, as I know your lordship hath wisdom enough to conceal the latitude of your commission, so believe me (out of my judgment), that if the queen may once perceive that it is only in her that he comes not to reasonable conditions, and if she were sure that she should not be scorned by offering that which he would not accept, then such is her princely judgment, and such is the mind of us all that are sworn to give her majesty true counsel, as I doubt not but by our humble importunity upon your advertisements what you find would be accepted, her majesty

would be readily induced to do that which is so much for her majesty's service, being a matter which if my prayers to God could have otherwise brought to pass in her mind at this time, I know full well how much it had been more advantageous than to have it sent after occasion and fittest opportunity."

These letters, which would lead us to suspect that O'Neill had made some overtures for negotiation, found Mountjoy preparing to retire from Tyrone in order to reprovise his army. He sent Docwra back to Omagh, and left Chichester in command of fort Mountjoy, commanding each to have their forces provisioned and ready in twenty days to make a combined movement upon the district in which the northern chief had taken refuge. At the end of the time specified Docwra was to march to Dungiven in O'Kane's country, and Chichester was to advance to Toome, while the lord deputy himself proposed to proceed against O'Neill by way of Killetero, thus hemming him in from three different sides. Having made these arrangements, Mountjoy returned to Monaghan, wasting the country of the rebels through which he passed; and "finding Mac Mahon, chief of Monaghan, to stand upon proud terms (though otherwise making suit to be received to mercy), his lordship spoiled and ransacked all that country, and by example thereof brought many chiefs of adjoining countries to submit to mercy with as good show of duty and obedience as could be desired, and more strict oaths and pledges than had formerly been required, so as now, from the Bann to the Dartry (including all Tyrone), and from thence to Dublin, the whole country was cleared, and the chief lords more assured than they were ever before." Having left a garrison at Monaghan, Mountjoy led back his army to Newry, to give his soldiers a brief repose from their wearisome service. In a letter written from this place to the lords of the English council the lord deputy gives, in a few words, a picture of the exterminating warfare in which it was now engaged. "Tyrone," he says, "is already beaten out of his country, and lives in a part of O'Kane's, a place of incredible fastness, where, though it be impossible to do him any great hurt so long as he shall be able to keep any force about him, the ways to him being inaccessible with an army, yet by lying about him, as we mean to do, we shall in short time put him to his uttermost extremity, and if not light upon his person yet force him to fly the kingdom. In the meantime we can assure

your lordships thus much, that from O'Kane's country, where now he liveth, which is to the northward of his own country of Tyrone, we have left none to give us opposition, nor of late have seen any but dead carcasses, merely starved for want of meat, of which kind we found many in divers places as we passed."

The 10th of August was the day appointed for taking the field against O'Neill, but it being then reported that an attempt was about to be made by the insurgents to create a diversion in the district of Killultagh, on the borders of Down and Antrim, the moment the English forces entered O'Kane's country, Mountjoy deferred the latter enterprise a few days, in order to proceed against this new scene of disorder, and more especially against the strong fort of Inisloghlin, between Moiry and Lough Neagh, where O'Neill and the chieftains of Tyrone had deposited their plate and other valuable property when he deserted Dungannon. This stronghold stood on an island in the midst of a great bog, accessible only through thick woods which were almost impassable. It was inclosed with two deep ditches, both compassed with strong palisades, a very high and thick rampart of earth and timber, and well flanked with bulwarks. Its garrison, however, consisted only of forty-two musketeers and twenty swordsmen, who, when the English had made their approaches to the first ditch, surrendered at discretion.

After this enterprise had been concluded Mountjoy began his march towards the country of O'Kane, and encamped the first night midway between Newry and Armagh. Intelligence was there brought him that O'Neill had quitted his lurking-place and fled into Fermanagh, a district which was still in a state of insurrection. Upon this the lord deputy "resolved, first, to spoil all the country of Tyrone, and to banish all the inhabitants from thence, enjoining such of them as would become subjects to live on the south side of Blackwater, so that if Tyrone returned he should find nothing in the country but the queen's garrisons." Mountjoy planted a garrison at Augher, Cormac O'Neill's chief residence, in the neighbourhood of Fermanagh and Monaghan, and then, on the 29th of August, crossing the Blackwater by the new bridge of Charlemont, marched to Dungannon, which place he fortified for the reception of an English garrison. He spent five days at Tullaghoge, near Dungannon, the seat of the O'Hagans,

the place where the O'Neills were from time immemorial installed in the chieftainship, and he not only destroyed the corn of the surrounding country, but he still further insulted the national prejudices of the natives by breaking to pieces the ancient stone chair, "planted in the open field," on which for ages the O'Neills had been inaugurated kings of Ulster and princes of Tyrone. Hither, on the 30th of August, Docwra came with a small body of horse to conduct O'Kane to the deputy's presence. This chieftain had made his submission, and he had brought to Omagh a considerable body of horse and foot to serve under the queen. Intelligence arrived at the same time that Chichester was on his march by way of Killetero, and that Randal Mac Sorley, the chief of the Scots of Antrim, had placed himself and his forces at the queen's disposal.

Meanwhile the earl of Tyrone, with Brian O'Neill of Clannaboy, Cormac O'Neill, and Mac Mahon, had retired to a very strong position towards the end of Lough Erne, which could not be approached with an army, and from which there was a passage into the country of O'Rourke. The rebel force was at this time so much reduced, that O'Neill could only collect together six hundred foot and fifty horse; and his allies were deserting him daily. Among those who now offered to submit was Maguire of Fermanagh.

While Mountjoy was thus occupied in pursuing O'Neill, the intelligence was suddenly spread throughout Ireland that a Spanish fleet had arrived on the southern coast, bringing a large army to revive the war. The hopes of the insurgents were immediately raised, to sink deeper than ever when they were convinced that they had been deceived by false news, and especially when they heard of the death of O'Donnell. The intelligence was, however, sufficiently alarming to make the lord deputy turn his attention anxiously towards Dublin; and he resolved to leave the prosecution of hostilities in Ulster during the remainder of the year to his garrisons. He accordingly gave directions to sir Henry Docwra to establish himself with the bulk of his forces at Omagh and Augher; and thence to carry on the war actively against O'Neill and his adherents until the end of August; and he sent sir Arthur Chichester to station himself at the fort of Mountjoy, with orders "to clear the country of Tyrone of all inhabitants, and to spoil all the corn which he could not pre-

serve for the garrisons, and to deface all the islands formerly taken, being ready to draw upon the rebels if they should make any head, yet with advice to be likewise ready to answer any new directions if the Spaniards should arrive." So effective was this ruthless policy of destruction, that Mountjoy, in a letter written on the 12th of September, the day after his return to Newry, acknowledges that not only in Tyrone itself, which had been now reduced to a desert, but in the surrounding countries, he had "found everywhere men dead of famine, inso-much that O'Hagan protested unto us, that between Tullaghoge and Toome there lay a thousand dead, and that since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were above three thousand starved in Tyrone."*

During the lord deputy's progress in the north, there had been in Connaught also what Mountjoy termed "some knocking on both sides." Our information relating to the affairs of this province in 1602 is very scanty and obscure, but it appears that its president or governor, sir Oliver Lambert, had been engaged in hostilities with Rory O'Donnell and O'Rourke, in which the advantage had not always rested with the English. O'Donnell had set at liberty O'Connor Sligo, who had been imprisoned by his brother, and who now joined in alliance with him, so that the whole of the Irish of Lower

Connaught, were united against the English; yet O'Donnell subsequently made a merit of having allowed sir Oliver Lambert's army to pass by him without molestation.

The cruel persecution which had been carried on during the autumn, seemed now to be yielding gradually to a more lenient policy, which was enforced upon the English government by the great expenditure of the war, and by the fear that the obstinate courage shown by the natives might still encourage the Spaniards to come to their assistance. From the letters of lord Mountjoy, after his return to Newry, it appears that O'Neill had made several applications to be received to the queen's mercy, and that it was the dubious character of Elizabeth's instructions which alone hindered her lord deputy from entering into more serious negotiations with him. Thus, on the 12th of September, Mountjoy wrote to sir Robert Cecil, "Tyrone hath many ways made importunate means to be received to mercy; but I did still reject him, and published it, that her majesty had commanded me not to hearken unto him, yet still he continued to urge me to become a suitor to the queen for him. It is true, I have been ever loth to negotiate with him, any otherwise than with my sword, because I find it dangerous for myself, considering the queen's resolution; but upon the receipt of my lord president's

* To give some idea of the horrors of this Irish war, we have only to repeat the facts stated by Moryson, an eye-witness, and our only authority for the particulars of Mountjoy's proceedings in the north. Moryson, describing the conclusion of the war, says, "Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the rebels' corn, and using all means to famish them, let me by two or three examples shew the miserable estate to which the rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other commanders of the forces sent against Brian mac Art (O'Neill) aforesaid, in their return homewards, saw a most horrible spectacle of three children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old), all eating and gnawing with their teeth the entrails of their dead mother, upon whose flesh they had fed twenty days past, and having eaten all from the feet upwards to the bare bones, roasting it continually by a slow fire, were now come to the eating of her entrails in like sort roasted, yet not divided from the body, being as yet raw. Former mention hath been made in the lord deputy's letters, of carcases, scattered in many places, all dead of famine. And no doubt the famine was so great, as the rebel soldiers taking all the common people had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon (so as they besides fed not only on hawkes, kites, and unsavoury birds of prey, but on horse-flesh, and other things unfit for man's feeding), the common sort of the rebels were driven to unspeakable extremities (beyond the record of most his-

tories that ever I did read in that kind), the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I not pass it over without adding some few instances. Captain Trever and many honest gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old women of those parts were used to make a fire in the fields, and divers little children driving out the cattle in the cold mornings and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprised, killed, and eaten, which at last was discovered by a great girl breaking from them by strength of her body, and captain Trever sending out soldiers to know the truth, they found the children's skulls and bones, and apprehended the old women, who were executed for the fact. The captains of Carrickfergus and the adjacent garrisons of the northern parts can witness, that upon the making of peace and receiving the rebels to mercy, it was a common practice among the common sort of them (I mean such as were not sword-men) to thrust long needles into the horses of our English troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's throat for a share of them. And no spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend up above ground. These and very many like lamentable effects followed their rebellion, and no doubt the rebels had been utterly destroyed by famine, had not a general peace shortly followed Tyrone's submission."

letter of a new Spanish invasion, I adventured thus far to entertain his motions, that if he would swear to submit himself absolutely to her majesty's mercy (if it should please her to receive him), whatsoever succour he should receive in the meantime, I would only undertake to become a humble suitor unto her majesty for him, so that, notwithstanding, till I knew her pleasure I would not desist in my prosecution. This day he sent one to me agreeing to so much, but withall propounding certain articles that he desired should be granted; whereupon, misliking that he should in any wise capitulate, I commanded his messenger presently to depart, and forbade him to send any more to me, and to cut off all hope to his party, I have directed all the garrisons anew to proclaim his head."

In the same letter Mountjoy recommends the appointment of a provincial government for Ulster; states his opinion that great advantages would be derived from the removal of the seat of supreme government to Athlone, which was more central with respect to the disaffected provinces, and had a readier communication with them, than Dublin; and complained of his difficulties in obtaining accurate intelligence. He expressed dissatisfaction with the agents hitherto employed in this service, and adds, "If the queen be so confident of my faith, that she will be pleased to make the best interpretations of what I shall do therein, I should be able to do her perchance some good service, and give myself greater light of all things than now I have; but if she mislike it, I will only lay about me with my sword, though it be in the dark." And he concludes, "it is not a letter, nor a reasonable book, that can deliver all such conceits of mine as I think necessary to let you know of this kingdom, wherefore I despair to do it till I may have the happiness to see you."

On the last day of October the lord deputy received at Dublin queen Elizabeth's own reply to the various articles of the letter just alluded to. The queen therein expresses her acceptance and approval of Mountjoy's services, complains of the burthens sustained by her subjects for the carrying on of the Irish war, urges the reform of certain abuses in the subordinate offices of the Irish government, which led to a waste of the public money, gives him a new assurance of the trust she places in him, giving him full authority to use his own agents, and fol-

low his own plans for obtaining information relating to the enemy, and approves of his removing his seat of government to Athlone. "Lastly," she says, "for Tyrone, we do so much dislike to give him any grace, that hath been the only author of so much effusion of blood, and the most ungrateful viper to us that raised him, and one that hath so often deceived us, both when he hath craved his pardon and when he hath received it of us, as when we consider how much the world will impute to us of weakness to show favour to him now, as if without that we could not give an end to this rebellion, we still remain determined not to give him grace in any kind. And seeing it is unsafe in any prince to make all faults appear venial, because every offender will thereby become insolent, and seeing in common reason the cutting off so many associates must needs have left him a body without limbs, and so not worthy of our respecting, we do very well allow of your late rejecting him. For when we look on his manner of seeking mercy at all times we do still certainly conclude that it is done upon some practice to serve some present turn, seeing one day he only desires simple mercy for his life, and another day falls to capitulate. Neither can we see why so much depends upon his reduction, when, for aught we know, no man can advise us, if he should come in and be at liberty hereafter out of our hands, how we could be so assured of him but that still we must be in doubt of him, and at the same charges we are at to contain him and his, notwithstanding their former reduction, which if we must account to be at (whomsoever or whatsoever we recover), we shall take small contentment in that victory whereof the end would be worse than the beginning. And therefore mistake not this our earnestness in this point, as if it proceeded from any opinion that you have demeaned yourself otherwise than became you in the charge committed to you; for we would have you know for your comfort that we approve all the courses you have held since you took the sword in your whole government to have been accompanied with diligence, wisdom, and good successes, and so we accept the same at your hands."

The strength of the rebellion was now entirely broken, and O'Neill's allies were falling off from him on every side. The very day after Mountjoy received this letter from the queen, on the first of November, Rory O'Donnell, who was now assured of the death of his brother in Spain, and who

was anxious to secure the chieftainship of Tirconnell against Nial Garv, despatched a messenger to Dublin, announcing his determinations to make his humble submission, and pleading respectfully for the queen's favour. His plea was, that he had been dragged unwillingly into the rebellion by his brother Hugh, who had even thrown him into prison to restrain him from becoming a dutiful subject; that his grandfather had received distinguished favours from king Henry VIII., for the services he had rendered to the English crown; that his predecessors had long served the crown against the O'Neills; and that now that his brother's death had left him absolute master of his forces, he had abstained from hostilities and taken the earliest opportunity of announcing his wish to make an unreserved submission. The lord deputy at this moment, partly with a view to the pacification of this part of the island, and partly to visit Athlone, to prepare for establishing there the seat of government, had resolved on making an immediate progress into Connaught; and he sent O'Donnell a protection that he might there repair to him in person. Other chiefs followed the example of O'Donnell; and O'Neill appears to have been so much alarmed by these new defections, that, on the 12th of November, he wrote to the lord deputy by sir Garret Moore, one of the Irish officers in the English service, praying that he also might now be received to mercy.* Yet, not more than a few days

after, a letter from O'Neill to O'Connor Sligo, intercepted by the English on Mountjoy's progress to the west, showed the sentiments which had determined him to submit. He was evidently alarmed at the inclination shown by O'Donnell and other chiefs to make their peace with the English government, and feared that he would thus be left alone to shift for himself; and he therefore assumed the right, as the head of the insurgent confederacy, to make terms for them all. "We have remained in Fernanagh well nigh this quarter of a year," he said to O'Connor Sligo, "and have often written unto you and to O'Donnell's son (Rory O'Donnell), and requested you to come and see us near Lough Erne concerning our councils either for peace or war, and neither of you came thither to meet us. We thought that you, and O'Donnell's son, and O'Rourke, and O'Connor Roe, and ourselves, as many of us as are of our faction, would have maintained war for a great time, and to that end we came to these parts, and have forgone so many of our own people as have not risen with us; but seeing that O'Rourke (if it be true) and O'Connor have received protection, and that every one doth make peace for himself, we may all easily be deemed men broken and not substantial in war. But concerning our council and advice which you write for, our advice unto you is neither to make peace nor cessation, but that peace or cessation which shall be made by all our consents and agreements; and if you do

* This letter, preserved in Moryson, deserves insertion as characteristic of its remarkable writer. It was worded as follows:—

"Right honourable lord, your worthy endeavours in her majesty's service, and process of time, have sufficiently taught me how improvidently I have persevered in action, whereas heretofore, upon my submission, I might have hoped her majesty would have received me to her mercy, unto which action I was enforced for safeguard of my life only, which was indirectly sought for by her majesty's officers, as is known to sundry persons of credit here, and her subjects; and that before I was proclaimed traitor I never sent letters into Spain, or received any from thence, though afterwards I was animated to continue in action upon hope of Spanish aid and promise of many confederates, of both which being disappointed, my estate is greatly decreased; and though I might perhaps be able to hold out for a time, yet am I weary of the course I held, and do much repent me of the same, most humbly and with a penitent heart desiring and wishing to be reconciled to my prince, and to be received to her majesty's mercy, whom I am right sorry I have so much offended and provoked; and yet I know that her majesty's mercy is greater than mine offences, the rather that at the first I did not wilfully oppose myself against her ma-

jesty, but for safety of my life was driven into action as aforesaid; and for my continuance therein, I submit myself to her majesty's mercy and grace, acknowledging her majesty alone to be my natural prince, and myself her unworthy subject. But if her highness will vouchsafe, of her accustomed grace, to grant not only pardon to me, my kinsmen, and followers, and unto mine adherents, in their own names, and upon their several submissions, but also to restore me and them to our pristine blood and possession, I will from henceforth both renounce all other princes for her, and serve her highness the residue of my life, humbly requesting, even of your honour, now that you have brought me so low, to remember I am a nobleman, and to take compassion on me, that the overthrow of my house and posterity may be prevented by your good means and honourable care towards her majesty for me, which with all humility I desire and will accept. And for the better doing hereof, if your lordship do mislike any of the articles which I did send unto you, I pray your lordship to appoint either some of the privy council, or some gentlemen of worth, to confer with me; and your lordship shall find me conformable to reform them. The twelfth of November, 1692.

"HUGH TYRONE."

otherwise, stand to the hazard yourselves, for you shall not have my consent thereunto."

Such was the state of things when O'Sullivan, Tyrrel, and other chiefs of the insurrection in the south, found their way to the north; and they appear all to have gone to O'Rourke, who was the only chieftain whose rebellion was at this moment formidable. It was chiefly the confidence he placed in O'Rourke, that made O'Neill retire to the fastnesses of Lough Erne, when driven out of Tyrone; and his firmness, combined with the slight accession of strength brought by O'Sullivan and his companions, appears to have raised the courage of that chieftain to hold out a little longer; at least we hear of no further offers of submission during the winter.

The lord-deputy was now advancing into Connaught. He reached Athlone, which was now the seat of the government of that province, on the 2nd of December, and was there met by sir Oliver Lambert, who had just driven O'Neill's Mac William out of Mayo. At Athlone, on the 14th of December, Rory O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo presented themselves to her majesty's grace. Both of them pleaded that they had been first dragged into rebellion against their will, made solemn promises of future loyalty, and begged that they might be taken into favour and restored to their patrimonies. The prayer of O'Donnell created a difficulty which appears to have given considerable embarrassment to the government. In the heat of the rebellion Nial Garv O'Donnell had remained faithful to the English interests, had rendered considerable service to the crown, and in return had received grants or promises of a considerable portion of O'Donnell's territory. Rory O'Donnell was anxious to obtain from the crown the whole of his brother's patrimony, and he now brought against his kinsman a charge of having secretly conspired with his brother to rise against the government on the arrival of a new army of Spaniards in the north. It appears that Nial Garv had given considerable dissatisfaction to the English, by allowing some of the insurgent chiefs to escape by his collusion, and that they were discontented with his irregular and unmanageable character. In fact the Irish who served the English at this time, by their greediness after the spoils of their countrymen, seem to have given the government more trouble than those who served against them. In a letter to Mountjoy, in which he

professes to give "a little discourse touching Nial Garv and those Irish, whom I must freely confess I am more to seek in what sort to govern and use, to the benefit of her majesty's service and discharge of my own duty, than in any other point of the whole business," Sir Henry Docwra made a plain statement of the difficulties relating to that chieftain, with whom he had, from his peculiar position in the north, been constantly in intimate communication. "Nial's first coming without compulsion," he says, "his bringing us to Lifford, his services many times commendably performed in his own person, the furtherance he gave us for planting at Donegal, the help he gave our men in their greatest want, when O'Donnell besieged them, the loss of his brother in that service, the trial of his fidelity by standing firm in so dangerous a time, and, lastly, the goods he forsook of his own to serve the queen for half-pay, are arguments neither untruly gathered nor unjustly alleged, to make much in his favour. On the other side, his extreme pride, ambition, and insatiable covetousness, his want of any knowledge when he is well dealt withall, his importunity in all things, right or wrong, his continual begging and unprofitable wasting of whatsoever he gets, his aptness to desperate and unspeakable discontent for trifles of no worth, his facility to be disliked by men of best quality, and his underhand juggling (which is too apparent by many indices) with the rebels, he is truly to be charged withall, as the other services are to be acknowledged. And yet to discountenance him and challenge him of those faults, were to raise a new war, and to drive the whole country, in an unseasonable time, to an obdurate alienation of mind from all English government."

The sequel of Docwra's letter is interesting, as showing us the secret feeling between the Irish, who served the English crown, who were in this particular case Nial Garv's followers, and the English who employed them; feelings which must naturally have subsided into settled distrust and hatred. "To discharge his people," he says, "we shall find a singular want for spial of many things which they give us light of, so should we likewise for gathering of preys whensoever we go a journey; and, besides, the arms they have got amongst us, and the charge they have put her majesty unto, the one would hardly be recovered out of their hands, and the other not unworthily thought

to be an ill piece of service to make utterly lost. Again, on the other side, they give continual advertisement, as well from us to the rebels as from them to us. Forts or places of strength alone by themselves they neither will nor dare abide in without help. To make their peace with O'Donnell they shall ever find difficulty. To join with the Spaniards, if any come near to those parts, they may if they will, and will undoubtedly if they be never so little discontented. In these inconveniences on the one side, and necessity on the other, I see not in my judgment any better course to be held than to temporize somewhat, to feed their humours awhile, though it be chargeable to the queen, and to mingle lenity and severity so as some be punished for these notorious abuses when they are apparently (*i.e.* clearly) proved, let him rage and storm while he will, and others winked at whose faults are apparent, and yet more closely carried from direct and manifest proofs by testimony of witnesses, and therewithall to get, what by fair means and by force (as I see but occasion to temper them), the best pledges he (Nial Garv) hath for himself and the best of his people into my hands, and being once possessed of them to keep them till I see greater cause of assurance of his fidelity, or at the least less occasion of suspicion, which course I am already entered into under a good colour, as having taken his second son (the elder was at Dublin), together with two more of the chieftest men about him, with his own consent, in the name of pledges for others, but in truth most of all for myself."

After evading the difficulty thus presented by putting off the consideration of it to a future period, Mountjoy proceeded to Galway, where he kept his Christmas, and at which place he received the submission of O'Connor Roe, the O'Flahertys, the Mac Dermotts, and all the insurgent chiefs of Connaught except O'Rourke. This "proud, insolent, faithless" chief, as Moryson terms him, had petitioned to be received to mercy, but the arrival of Tyrrell and O'Sullivan, the exhortations probably of O'Neill, and the extraordinary strength of O'Rourke's country, had afterwards decided him to continue in arms. O'Rourke had now been joined also by the fugitive Maguire, and the queen's Maguire was established in possession of Fermanagh. It was under the standard of O'Rourke that the remains of the insurrection were thus united, and they occupied the mountainous districts between Lough Allen

and Lough Erne. Before Mountjoy left Connaught, Rory O'Donnell and O'Connor Sligo undertook to march with their forces through Leitrim into O'Rourke's strongholds, while the lord deputy reinforced sir Oliver Lambert, to enable him to march against the rebels from the south. Their combined movements were to be made towards spring, when the lord deputy proposed to march again into Ulster, and hunt the O'Neill out of his hiding place. After remaining some weeks at Dublin to attend to the minor duties of his government, and to mature his plans, Mountjoy proceeded towards the northern province in the middle of March, 1603.

It appears that O'Neill, reduced to a position of great distress, had now become importunate in his applications for terms of submission, and that a constant intercommunication of opinions, counsels, and orders on this subject was kept up between the lord deputy and the English court. To carry on the negotiations with better effect Mountjoy took up his residence at the house of sir Garret Moore, at Mellifont, in Meath. The chief difficulty in the way of O'Neill's submission had hitherto been the strong repugnance of the queen to admit of any suit in his favour; but Elizabeth now lay on her deathbed, and by the continued representations of Mountjoy and Cecil her objections were at length overcome, although she was still desirous that he should be deprived of his old title of earl of Tyrone, and that his power should be considerably circumscribed. She was finally, however, induced to refer the whole matter to the judgment of her lord deputy, who, on the 25th of March, expressed his views as follows in a letter to Cecil:—"I think it best," he says, "if it please her majesty, to receive him to mercy, so that first his submission be made in as humble sort and as much for her majesty's honour as can be devised, and then that she assure him of absolute forgiveness and forgetting of his faults, and as much honour and profits as he had before, provided that we take from him (as much as possibly we may), those locks wherein his chieftest strength lies; otherwise I am persuaded either the queen shall not serve her own turn by him if she keep him prisoner,* or he will serve his turn if he live at liberty and ever have *animum*

* One of the plans proposed by Elizabeth was, to induce O'Neill to come to Dublin under the assurance of pardon for his life, and there to place him under arrest, and keep him a prisoner during her pleasure.

revertendi, an affection to relapse." The queen had proposed that he should lose his title of earl, and receive the subordinate one of baron of Dungannon, to which Mountjoy objected, because, says he, in restoring him to the earldom of Tyrone, "you do but give him a title which he did shake off as a mark of his bondage, and that which he falls from (the O'Neill), to accept this, he did as much prefer before this as the estate of an absolute prince before the condition of a subject, and it is the name of O'Neill, with which he hath done so much mischief, that is fatal and odious, and not the name of Tyrone, which he was fain to leave before he could have power to become a rebel. For, believe me, out of my experience, the titles of our honours do rather weaken than strengthen them in this country, and if you give him the same degree, but with another name, it may be thought a condition rather by him obtained than by us imposed, especially if he enjoyeth his country. And, lastly, if you make him only baron of Dungannon, you leave in him a spur to discontentment, without any greater bridle from doing hurt, for his power will be never the less, and yet he that doth not sit easily will ever think of another seat, and his own title will the more run in his mind the more he is unsatisfied with this new."

As far as Elizabeth was concerned the lord deputy was under no further control, for that great monarch had expired the day before this letter was written. After the letter was dispatched Mountjoy sent sir William Godolphin and sir Garret Moore to confer with O'Neill, and gave them the necessary protections for that chief and his companions, if he agreed to repair to Mellifont. On the night of the 27th Moore had an interview with O'Neill, who was now rendered sufficiently tractable, and who gladly accepted the protections and agreed to repair to the lord deputy.

It was late this same night (the 27th of March), that a private messenger conveyed to the lord deputy the first intelligence of the queen's death. This important news was, by Mountjoy's orders, kept in strict secrecy, for there was a general, though indefinite, anticipation, that that event would be the signal for some extraordinary change, and he was now eager to bring the treaty with the "arch-traitor," as he was called, to a conclusion. Messengers were, therefore, sent to the commissioners with O'Neill to find excuses for hurrying him to a resolu-

tion, and on the afternoon of the 30th of March they brought him to Mellifont, where he made his humble submission to the lord deputy, remaining on his knees upwards of an hour. After acknowledging the greatness of his offences against the queen and her throne, and the low condition to which he had been reduced in consequence of his rebellious conduct, he offered himself as a humble supplicant for the queen's mercy, and prayed that he might be restored to the dignity of a subject, and to the honours and estates which he confessed that he had justly forfeited, promising that in future he would ever serve the crown with zeal and fidelity. He utterly renounced the title of O'Neill, with all its attributes and authority; abjured all foreign power, and all dependency but on the crown of England; resigned all claim to any lands but such as should be conferred upon him by letters patent; and promised to assist with all his influence in abolishing barbarous customs and establishing law and civility among his people. The lord deputy, on the part of the queen, promised a full pardon to him and all his followers, and assured him of the restoration of his blood and honours, with a new patent for his lands, except some portions reserved for certain chieftains received into favour, and for the use of English garrisons. In his present broken fortunes the earl of Tyrone willingly consented to these reservations, and the following day he delivered his submission in writing. On the 3rd of April Tyrone rode with the deputy and council to Drogheda, and they proceeded from thence to Dublin on the 4th.

The day after their arrival in Dublin dispatches arrived for Mountjoy, acquainting him with the death of queen Elizabeth, and the accession of king James, and directing him to proclaim the new monarch. The lord deputy immediately made known the contents of his dispatches to the councillors of state and the noblemen, knights, and chief commanders of the English forces, who had been summoned to meet in Dublin castle for that purpose. Among them appeared the earl of Tyrone, who was now received according to the rank of his restored English title, and upon whom, as was natural in such peculiar circumstances, all eyes were turned. When the announcement of the queen's death was made he was observed to burst suddenly into tears. The Irish chieftain said that he was unable to contain his grief at the loss of a mistress whose moderation and clem-

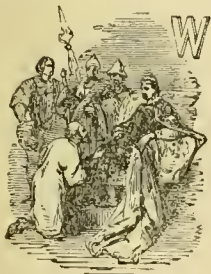
ency had at length caused him to regard as a generous benefactress. But his enemies imputed his tears to a different cause. They said that he was mortified at his own hasty submission, and that he regretted that he had not held out a few days longer, when he might have benefited by the change, at least to make better terms. However, on the 6th of April he renewed his submission to king James in the same terms as he had made it to queen Elizabeth; and at the same time he wrote a letter to the king of Spain, acquainting him with his submission, and requesting him to send back his son Henry O'Neill, who

had been for some time resident at the Spanish court. The lord deputy then gave him a new protection, to serve till he had sued out his pardon, and he was sent back to his own country "to settle the same, and to keep his friends and former confederates in better order upon this change of the state."

Thus was the great rebellion, which, tormenting the latter years of queen Elizabeth, had called for an unexampled expenditure of English money and blood, while it agitated every part of Ireland, and reduced its finest provinces to a desert, brought at length to a close.

CHAPTER XVIII.

REBELLIOUS CONDUCT OF THE CITIES OF MUNSTER; ACT OF OBLIVION AND INDEMNITY; SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER; FLIGHT OF THE EARLS OF TYRONE AND TIRCONNELL.



WHILE the north appeared thus tranquilized, new troubles threatened Munster, where the Roman Catholic agents had been active in stirring up a spirit of religious enthusiasm. They had been especially successful in the cities and large towns, which had during the last two years manifested strong signs of disaffection to Elizabeth's government. A report was widely spread that king James was prejudiced in favour of the Romish faith, and many went so far as to believe that his accession to the English throne would be followed by the restoration of the ancient form of worship. The feeling thus spread abroad in the southern province, where the priests had been busiest, closely resembled that which was shown on the death of Edward VI., and the catholic party, which possessed the chief power in several of the cities of the south, were rendered so imprudent by their zeal that they proclaimed the change before they had received the proper orders, or were aware whether king James was a catholic or a protestant.

Mountjoy considered the rebellion so far at an end that he was demanding the permission to return to England and repose himself after his labours. On the 12th of

April he received letters from Carew, informing him that the last of the rebels of Munster, Mac Maurice, was blocked up in his castle of Ballingarry, and on the point of surrender; and three days afterwards O'Rourke, the last of the insurgent chiefs of the north, made his submission. The lord deputy was already preparing to leave Ireland when, on the 16th of the same month, he received an insidious letter from the mayor or governor of Cork, excusing himself for having deferred the proclamation of the new monarch, alleging as a cause for delay the wish to perform that ceremony with more solemnity, and at the same time complaining of the soldiers of the fort, and praying that it might be delivered up to the custody of himself and the citizens, who, he said, "would keep the same for his majesty at their own peril." This was followed the same day by alarming letters from various parts of Munster. One of these informed Mountjoy that the citizens of Waterford had broken open the doors of the hospital, that they had introduced a popish priest, Dr. White, to officiate at St. Patrick's church, and that, having taken from the sexton the keys of the cathedral, they had "mutinously" set up the celebration of mass, and done "many insolencies in that kind." From another he learnt that, at Kilkenny, a Dominican friar, assisted by some of the town, had proceeded to the Black Friars, then used

as a session house, where they had broken open the doors, pulled down the benches and seats of justice, and built an altar in their place; and that they had taken forcible possession of the abbey in the name of this Dominican and his brothers.

When Mountjoy solicited the permission to return to England he sent for sir George Carew from Munster to govern Ireland during his absence, and he appointed two commissioners, sir Charles Wilmott and sir George Thornton, for the temporary government of the southern province. From them he soon learnt that Cork, which, as the seat of government of the province, ought to have been foremost in loyalty, had not only been first in setting the example of turbulence, but that it had gone farthest in reckless turbulence. The citizens of Cork, it appeared, had not only deferred the proclamation of king James's accession, but they had absolutely refused to proclaim him. They had taken up arms, and placed guards upon their gates; they had, in scornful language, forbidden the commissioners to publish the proclamation, and they had arrested the boats laden with ammunition and provision for the forts, and carried their cargoes into the city storehouses. In this emergency the commissioners, accompanied by the lord Roche and about eight hundred persons of the country, had proceeded to the top of a hill near the city and there published the proclamation, and they had supplied the fort with victuals and munition from Kinsale. Quick on the heels of this intelligence came other letters, stating that the citizens of Limerick, with their priests, had entered into all the churches of that city, and there had erected altars and restored the rites of the Romish church; and that the citizens of Wexford had done the same, and the latter wrote to the lord deputy excusing themselves by the current report that king James was a Roman Catholic.

The lord deputy was astonished and provoked at this mutinous spirit of the cities of the south; but he resolved to give it no time to gather a dangerous head. He wrote to the mayors, announcing his intention of marching with an army to assist them in enforcing the observation of the law—it was those municipal rulers who in most places had taken the lead in sedition; he told them, that he “ marvelled at their simplicity,” in allowing themselves to be so far led astray “ by lying priests;” and charging them all on their utmost peril, to restore the churches to the ministers who had been appointed to

them by the crown, and to abolish the popish observances which they had so contumaciously resumed. Some of the cities were humbled by Mountjoy's rebuke, and gave him no farther provocation; but the citizens of Cork persisted in their violent courses, although they at last proclaimed the king; they took possession of the protestant churches, and defaced the texts of scripture, which, according to protestant usage, were pasted on the walls; a pretended legate of the pope, with a numerous body of priests, went in solemn procession to consecrate the cathedral, and sang mass there publicly, while the townsmen placed guards of armed men at the church doors; and the latter swore on the sacrament, that they would spend their lives and goods in defence of the Romish religion. They then proceeded to annoy and persecute the English protestants, refused to take the new coinage issued by Elizabeth, practised to obtain possession of the fort, and insisted that all English soldiers should be removed out of their liberties. Mountjoy wrote a severe letter to the mayor, enjoining him and the citizens to desist from their “ seditious insolences,” and threatening “ to use his majesty's sword and power to suppress the same.” In reply, the mayor and his brethren excused themselves for hindering the transportation of powder and munition from the king's storehouse in the city to the fort, on the plea “ that in regard they wondered so great a proportion should be carried to the fort where no artillery was yet planted, especially as the quantities formerly issued being not yet spent, or any service being in hand, they, fearing the commissioners purposed to assault the town, or at least to starve them, were enforced thereby to make stay of the said munition till his lordship's pleasure were further known.” They complained “ that they had received rebuke from his lordship concerning certain insolencies, but could not call to mind any particular wherein they had offended the state, except that be an offence, after many abuses and wrongs done them, to keep watch and ward to preserve themselves and keep the city for the king's majesty in those doubtful times (as they termed them).” Finally, they asserted, “ that, touching the point of religion, they only exercised now publicly that which ever before they had been suffered to exercise privately, and as their public prayers gave public testimony of their faithful hearts to the king's royal majesty, so they were

tied to be no less careful to manifest their duties to Almighty God, in which they would never be dissembling temporisers." But a few days after this, when the commissioners of Munster with the forces at their command encamped before the city, the citizens armed and placed their guards and watchers as against an enemy, and acts of hostility were committed, in which several were killed on both sides. Letters from the bishop of Cork at the same time informed the deputy, that a popish priest in Cork had preached a seditious sermon, in which he taught, that no one could be a lawful king who was not appointed by the pope, and sworn to maintain the religion of Rome. He further stated that the citizens, by resolution taken in a public council with their priests, had invited all the towns and cities to assist them in the defence of the catholic faith, and that they had not only stayed the king's munitions, but had laid them up in their own storehouses and imprisoned the clerk who kept them. Thus were the great cities of Munster hurrying blindly into what threatened to be a violent rebellion.

Mountjoy was now, however, advancing rapidly to crush it. Having collected a force of about five thousand men, he marched into Munster at the beginning of May, and on the fourth of that month established his camp in the neighbourhood of Waterford. On his way, he received intelligence that the citizens of Wexford had voluntarily submitted to his directions, and restored their churches to the English ministers. The citizens of Waterford were more contumacious. They expressed their willingness to receive Mountjoy and his retinue into the town, but they refused to admit any of his forces. Their chiefs, however, attended the lord deputy in his camp, and having obtained the lord deputy's protection, they brought with them the jesuit, Dr. White, who had been the chief preacher of sedition, with a young Dominican friar, that these might argue their cause and maintain them in what they had done. The two priests marched into the English camp in their robes, carrying a small crucifix raised before them, which caused so much excitement among the soldiers, that they were compelled to hide the crucifix in one of their pockets, and even their robes made them an object of insult. When they were introduced into the lord deputy's tent, Dr. White "was bold to maintain dangerous and

erroneous positions," which Mountjoy, who was a scholar as well as a soldier, "did most learnedly confute." But the citizens were utterly abashed, when, upon White citing a passage of St. Augustin, the lord deputy, who had the book in his tent, produced it, and convicted the priest of falsifying his author, "for, howsoever his very words were found there, yet they were set down by way of an assertion which St. Augustine confuted in the discourse following." The priests thus defeated, the citizens now came forward and insisted that by king John's charter they were justified in refusing to admit the king's troops; to which Mountjoy replied that their charter was no justification when they were in open rebellion, and "in a word told them that if they did not presently open their ports to him and the forces with him, he would cut king John's charter in pieces with king James's sword, and, if he entered the town by force, he would ruin it, and strew salt upon the ruins."

This energetic threat completely daunted the citizens of Waterford, and they made no further opposition to the entry of the soldiers into the city. Mountjoy immediately suppressed all public exercise of the Romish religion, restored the churches to the English ministers, and took from the chief citizens an oath of allegiance to his majesty and an abjuration of any dependency on foreign potentates. Both here and at Kilkenny he abstained from inflicting any punishment for the seditious conduct of the inhabitants, leaving them to the king's judgment for their charter, lives, and goods. He then placed a garrison of a thousand men in Waterford to hold the citizens in awe, and marched to Cork. Although the citizens of Cork had set at defiance the army of Munster by which their city was now invested, and had proceeded to various acts of hostility, yet no sooner did the lord deputy appear, than, alarmed at his proceedings at Waterford, they threw open their gates and offered no opposition to the entry of his soldiers. Mountjoy proceeded without delay, to make a searching inquiry into the circumstances of the late proceedings of the citizens, he seized upon a few of the ringleaders and caused them to be hanged; some others, including the recorder, he committed to prison, to be tried by course of law;* he then restored the churches to the

* The recorder, Mead, was acquitted by the partiality of the jury which tried him. Moryson observes.

protestants, as at Waterford, exacted the oath of allegiance and the abjuration of foreign powers, and left them to the king's mercy for their charters and liberties. He placed a strong garrison in Cork, and then marched to Limerick, and thence to Cashel, both of which cities he treated in the same manner as Waterford and Cork. The violence of the catholic party at Cashel had been more conspicuous even than in the other towns which had joined in this sedition.* Having thus reduced Munster to a state of tranquillity, Mountjoy returned to Dublin towards the end of May.

This league of the cities of Munster—for it was found that they had confederated together—presented a new feature in the history of Irish politics. It had no direct connexion with that of the Irish chiefs, nor does it appear to have been stirred up or supported by any foreign agency or promise of assistance. It was the work of the priests, and it was the beginning of that agitation to obtain relief from harsh restrictions placed upon a religious creed which was then persecuted by the state, which have continued without interruption to our days. The population of the cities was for the most part of English descent, and had no feeling or interest in common with the Irish sept; and a stand had been made upon municipal privileges and immunities which belonged to the ages of feudalism, and were now becoming obsolete in England as well as in Ireland.

While Mountjoy was in Munster a new disturbance was created in Ulster by the turbulence of Niall Garv O'Donnell, who, alarmed at the favour shown to his rival, Rory, and now apprehensive that he should not obtain from the English rulers the grand object of his ambition, the possession of Tirconnell, had committed several acts of rebellion, and, above all, had caused himself to be elected to the title of The O'Donnell according to the old customs of his countrymen. When summoned to appear at Dublin he seems to have taken no notice of the summons, or to have refused obedience, and the deputy, irritated at this act of contumacy, sent orders to the governor of the garrison of Lough Foyle to make war upon the of-

fender. His lands were plundered, and he was himself defeated by Docwra, and made prisoner; but he seems to have been set at liberty on his promise to repair to Dublin and accompany Mountjoy to the English court.

The latter, while on his way from Cork, received dispatches announcing the gratifying intelligence that the king had appointed him to the higher office, or at least title, of lord lieutenant of Ireland, with two-thirds of the deputy's salary, and permission to reside in England, the actual government of Ireland being placed in the hands of sir George Carew, with the subordinate title of lord deputy. Mountjoy had solicited his recall, but his mind and feelings had become so far identified with the government which he had exercised with so much ability, that he had privately demanded, as a reward for his services, that he should still be its nominal head, and that all official communications between England and Ireland should still pass through his hands. As soon as he learnt that his wishes on this subject had been complied with, he sent messengers to O'Neill and Rory O'Donnell to acquaint them with his desire that they should accompany him to England.

On his return to Dublin Mountjoy established Carew in his office of lord deputy, attended as quickly as possible to his affairs which required arrangement there, and then embarked with O'Neill, and after a stormy passage landed at Beaumaris. A large portion of the recruits generally sent to Ireland were raised in Wales; and the destruction of life in the Irish war had been so great that there were few places through which they passed in which there were not some families who had to mourn the slaughter of sons or husbands. This circumstance, combined with the excitement which the rebellion headed by O'Neill had occasioned in England, spread a feeling of extraordinary hatred of the Irish chief among the lower and middle classes throughout the country, and as Mountjoy and O'Neill proceeded on their journey from Beaumaris to London, Moryson, who was one of the party, tells us that "no respect to the deputy could contain many women in those parts, who had lost husbands and children in the Irish wars, from flinging dirt and stones

"that the deputy might as well have forgiven him; for no man that knew Ireland did imagine that an Irish jury would condemn him."

* There he understood that a priest, commanding all the people, had tied a goldsmith of our religion to a tree, threatening to burn him and his heretical books,

at which time he burnt some of our books which he so termed, but that upon a townsman's admonition the priest set the said goldsmith free, after he had stood so bound to a tree some six hours before all the people of the town, in continual fear to be burnt."—*Moryson*.

at the earl (O'Neill) as he passed, and from reviling him with bitter words; yea, when the earl had been at court, and there obtained his majesty's direction for his pardon and performance of all conditions promised him by the lord Mountjoy, was about September to return, he durst not pass by those parts without direction to the sheriffs to convey him with troops of horse from place to place, till he were safely embarked and put to the sea for Ireland."

There were now at king James's court four of the chief actors in the events which had so violently agitated Ireland during the preceding years. Lord Mountjoy was further rewarded with the title of earl of Devonshire, which he only enjoyed three years, dying in 1606, when the title became extinct with him. O'Neill returned to Ireland with a confirmation of his old title of earl of Tyrone. The two O'Donnells pleaded against each other; but, while Niall Garv had many services to plead in his favour, he had against him his unmanageable character and his late acts of rebellion, and he was appeased with the grant of an extensive territory about Lifford. Rory received the old estates and power of the O'Donnell, while that title was abolished, and he received the English title of earl of Tirconnell. These two chiefs were thus reconciled to each other, and they returned to Ireland in at least outward friendship. Thus the whole of Ireland was delivered over to the care of sir George Carew in a state of peace, after an outlay of English treasure such as had not been witnessed for many years. Moryson estimates the expenditure caused by the Irish war, from the first day of October, 1598, to the last of March, 1603, exclusive of extraordinaries, at no less than £1,198,718.

This peace was in some measure confirmed by an act which Mountjoy caused to be passed before he laid down the burthen of his government. The minds of the Irish in general, after so much disorder and suffering, were more thoroughly prepared and broken to obedience than had ever been the case before; but still so many people had been involved or compromised in some way or other in the late rebellion, that no one knew in what danger he stood from the law, or how soon or how easily he might be pointed out by some one or other as an object of its severity. To restore again a full sense of public security a general "act of oblivion and indemnity" was published by proclamation under the great seal, by which all offences

against the crown, all particular trespasses between subjects, committed at any time before the king's accession, were pardoned and utterly extinguished, never to be revived or called in question; and the whole body of the Irish yeomanry, who were in former times left for the most part under the tyranny of their chieftains, without any power of appeal to the crown, were now placed under the king's immediate protection.

Sir George Carew held the office of lord deputy from the first of June, 1603, to the fourth of February, 1604; and his brief administration was distinguished chiefly by the progress made in establishing English law, and securing public justice. Sheriffs were sent into Tyrone and Tirconnell, and judges itinerant made the circuit of the northern province, "which visitation," sir John Davis, one of these judges, observes, "though it were somewhat distasteful to the Irish lords, was most welcome to the common people, who, albeit they were rude and barbarous, yet did they quickly apprehend the difference between the tyranny and oppression under which they had lived before, and the just government and protection which were promised unto them for the time to come," and this well known lawyer and poet adds, "there is no nation of people under the sun that doth better love equal and impartial justice."

Carew, who for his great services in Ireland, was a few months afterwards created earl of Totness, was succeeded in the office of lord deputy by sir Arthur Chichester, whose profound knowledge of Irish affairs, and especially of those of Ulster, enabled him to carry into full effect the new policy of reform. He at length brought under the law the turbulent sept of the O'Byrnes of Wicklow, which had been so long the terror of the capital; he established sessions of justice in Connaught, and he restored the circuit of Munster, which had experienced a long intermission. The old Irish customs of Tanistry and Gavelkind were now abolished by judgment in the king's bench, and the Irish estates made descendible according to the course of the English common law. The old Brehon law was entirely abrogated, and that which was substituted in its place was gradually made more palatable to the Irish by the fair and impartial manner in which it was executed. English law once established, it became necessary to inquire into the legal position of the people individually, to whom it was to apply, and to settle the

tenures of their rights and possessions. An act had been passed early in Elizabeth's reign to enable the lord deputy, or chief governor under whatever title, to accept the surrender of the estates of the Irish yeomanry, and regrant them under the English legal forms; but this had been taken advantage of only by a few of the great lords, who thus obtained a legal title to their extensive territories, while all the inferior landholders were left at their mercy. Others, who refused to surrender, contrived to be appointed chieftains of their country by letters patent, thus obtaining royal authority for their oppressive rule over their inferiors. A commission of grace, as it was termed, was now issued under the great seal of England, for securing the subjects of Ireland against all claims of the crown. The lord deputy was empowered to accept the surrenders of those Irish lords who held estates by the old precarious tenure, and to regrant them by a more legal title. Many embraced the opportunity of converting their present tenure for life to an estate in fee which descended to their children. Many were still apprehensive that they might be punished for the part they had taken in the late rebellion, and were impatient to be relieved from their fears by a new and formal investiture of their possessions. Thus a general surrender of lands followed immediately upon this commission, the proceedings of which were marked by caution and due deliberation. A careful inquiry was made of the quantity and limits of the land reputed to be in possession of the lord who tendered his estate to the crown, of his own immediate demesne, as well as of the lands possessed by his tenants and followers, and of the Irish duties and customs received from them, which last were reduced by estimation to a certain yearly value. By his new patent, the lord was invested only with the lands found to be in his immediate possession; while his followers were confirmed in their tenures, on condition only of paying him the annual rent at which his duties were rated, in the place of all uncertain Irish exactions. Thus was one of the greatest elements of disorder abolished, and encouragement was given to building, planting, cultivation, and civilization. The Irish municipal corporations, soon following the example of the lords of the soil, were induced to surrender their old charters, and accept new ones, with such regulations and privileges as the altered character of the age seemed to require.

The agitation which had commenced in the cities of the south, still, however, continued to trouble the government amid its efforts to ameliorate the country. The agents of Rome, who seem to have been confident that king James was secretly inclined to their faith, spread this report industriously abroad, and even foretold that he would soon make a public profession of it. The native Irish, who for so many ages had been used to look upon lenity as only another name for feebleness, began to imagine, in spite of all their reverses, that the only cause of the gracious treatment shown to the earl of Tyrone by king James was fear of the power of that chief and of his confederates, and they imagined that he would hardly dare to refuse any of their requests. They accordingly sent a petition to the throne for the free and public toleration of the Romish worship. This act was premature and indiscreet, and it irritated the king, who subsequently behaved with more reserve to the Irish lords, and was less lavish of his professions of grace. Nevertheless, various expressions uttered by James from time to time in the freedom of conversation were eagerly seized upon by the priests as proofs of his secret inclinations, and he seemed to give some authority to the rumours they propagated by his first speech to his English parliament, in which he spoke of popery as the "mother church." Encouraged by these appearances, the popish ecclesiastics laid aside the caution which had previously attended their movements, and they not only practised openly with their votaries, but they denounced the vengeance of their spiritual authority on all who should attend the worship established by the English government, or dissemble the religious principles which they had received from their forefathers. Pushing their audacity still further they began to repair the abbeys and monasteries, to fit and furnish churches for the Romish service, and in several places publicly celebrated mass. Proceeding still further in their daring conduct the popish clergy presumed to arraign the civil administration, to review causes determined in the king's courts, and to enjoin the people, as they valued their salvation, to obey their decisions instead of those of the law.

It soon, however, became apparent that the hopes of the catholics from king James were fallacious, and their proceedings could not fail to give deep offence to a monarch who was peculiarly jealous of any interference with his authority. He had issued a

proclamation in England commanding all jesuits and other priests, having orders from any foreign power, to depart from the kingdom, and this ordinance was now extended to Ireland. The Romish agents represented it as an insupportable act of persecution and tyranny, and they began to agitate the country. This provoked the authorities not only to execute the royal ordinance with less leniency than they might otherwise have done, but to revive the two old penal statutes, the acts of supremacy and uniformity. Orders came from the king that the oath of supremacy should be administered to all Roman Catholic lawyers and justices of the peace, and that all the existing laws against recusants should be strictly enforced. The Irish government, in 1605, began by enjoining the magistrates and chief citizens of Dublin to repair to the protestant churches. Sixteen aldermen and citizens who neglected to obey this injunction were called before the privy council, and six aldermen were there fined a hundred pounds each, and three others fifty pounds each, and all the nine were committed prisoners to the castle during the pleasure of the council.

The old English families of the Pale now took the alarm, and they delivered a bold remonstrance to the Irish privy council, in which they denied the legality of this sentence, urging that by the act of the second of queen Elizabeth a definite punishment was appointed for the crime of recusancy, and that any extension of the penalty enacted by that statute was illegal and unconstitutional. This remonstrance was presented on the very day when the council received intelligence of the famous gunpowder-plot, and the government, surprised by this singular concurrence of circumstances, were led immediately to suspect some concert between the Irish catholics and the English conspirators. The council, under this impression, gave orders for the arrest of the principal petitioners, who were imprisoned in Dublin castle, while their chief agent, sir Patrick Barnwell, was, by the king's command, sent in custody into England. The heat of religious agitation was thus increased, and in the midst of it a new incident occurred to excite still further bitterness and mutual distrust. A popish ecclesiastic named Lalor, who had exercised the office of vicar-general in several dioceses of Leinster by virtue of a commission from Rome, was seized under the authority of the royal proclamation. Lalor appears to have had no ambition of be-

coming a martyr, and he was easily acted upon by fear to make a formal declaration, under his oath, that he considered his office unlawful, and that he renounced all foreign jurisdiction, acknowledging in the amplest manner the king's supremacy. When liberated he pacified his own party by privately denying what he had done. When this came to the ears of the council he defended himself with a mean equivocation. He confessed that he had told his friends that he had never acknowledged the king's supremacy in *spiritual* causes, which he asserted was true, because the word in his written declaration was *ecclesiastical*. The government, enraged at this miserable attempt at evasion, brought Lalor to trial on the statute of præmunire of the sixteenth of Richard II., and he was condemned, but it does not appear that the sentence was put in execution. This occurred in 1606, and the government derived so little advantage from these rigorous measures that shortly afterwards, at the recommendation of James's ministers, they were exchanged for the gentler policy of instruction and exhortation.

However satisfactory may have been the general working of the English law as now established in Ireland, there were men who were uneasy under it, and this was especially the case with some of the great Irish lords, who had been accustomed to take might for right, and who looked with impatience upon the slow and complicated processes of the English law courts. These were naturally ready to throw themselves into any agitation which gave them the opportunity of showing their discontent, and which held out the prospect of retrieving their power among their own people; and they thus joined actively with the Romish party under the irritation of a civil rather than a religious grievance. They met together in private, talked over their grievances, and a few conspired. Among those who felt the change most were the two northern earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell, who, revered by their countrymen, had not ceased to be regarded by the government as objects of suspicion. The whole former life of Tyrone must, in fact, have destroyed all faith in his loyalty, except so long as he was held in obedience by his own absolute helplessness; and his discontent was aggravated by the numerous government spies who continually watched over his actions, and of whose presence he was not even left in ignorance. We are told by sir John Davis that the earl had been heard to

complain that so numerous "were the spies watching over him, that he could not drink a full carouse of sack, but the state was advertized thereof within a few hours after."

In the year 1607, the earl of Tyrone became involved in a lawsuit with a neighbouring chief, Donough O'Kane, relating to lands in possession of O'Kane, but to which the earl laid claim; and this affair appears to have given great annoyance to the latter, whose precarious title to much of his property was thus exposed to the public. The case between the two chiefs was brought before the council, and the result of an examination of their conflicting claims was that neither could establish a right to the territory in question, which had been vested in the actual possession of the crown ever since the eleventh year of queen Elizabeth's reign, and that O'Kane and his followers had been suffered to intrude upon it owing to the lands lying in such remote parts, and through the ignorance and negligence of officers. The earl of Tyrone claimed these lands by a grant from his grandfather, Con Baccagh, but on examination it was found that Con Baccagh himself had only a chiefry of a certain number of cows in them, and that he was not owner in demesne. Thus neither party had any colour of right whatever to the disputed territory. However, the quarrel raised a spirit of hostility between the two chiefs, which was shown in the manner the case was carried on; a variety of charges of encroachments were brought against the earl, and among other things he was accused of having usurped the greatest part of the bishopric of Derry. The earl declared that the lands claimed by the bishop of Derry had always belonged to his ancestors, the chiefs of Tyrone; and when Donough O'Kane produced before the council some written proofs to the contrary, Tyrone became so irritated that he violently tore the paper out of his hand. This was an act of disrespect towards the council which called for a severe rebuke, and the earl was compelled to make his humble submission at the next meeting.

All these circumstances appear to have combined together in arousing the O'Neill's old hatred of the English, and he resolved on making another effort to regain his lost power. He consulted with the earl of Tirconnell, and the two northern chiefs were soon joined by Richard Nugent, the young baron of Delvin. The three chief conspirators met at Maynooth, the seat of the earls

of Kildare, to concert their plans in the greatest privacy, unknown even to the old countess of Kildare, whose guests they were. They are said to have renewed their communications with foreign powers, in order to bring in foreign aid when the favourable moment for action had arrived. From June to September this conspiracy was carried on without any interruption, but suspicions had already been excited among the English ministers by intelligence of the presence of an agent of the earl of Tyrone at the court of Spain; and the earl of Howth, a recent convert to the protestant faith, who appears to have had some communication with the conspirators, gave the lord deputy repeated warnings, which, though not very definite, were sufficient to justify the government in keeping a close watch upon the two earls. Its vigilance was increased shortly afterwards by an anonymous letter, addressed to sir William Usher, clerk of the privy council, which was dropped at the door of the council chamber, and which spoke of a design for seizing the castle of Dublin and putting the lord deputy to death, to be followed by a general revolt, assisted by a Spanish army.

In spite of these sinister warnings, the country presented an appearance of outward calm and tranquillity which had seldom been witnessed in Ireland; and the conspirators themselves continued the same social intercourse with the lord deputy, as though no feeling of discontent existed. But they were well aware that they had become objects of suspicion, and that their safety hung on a very little thread. They were probably deceived in their expectations from Spain, and saw slight prospect of raising an effective rebellion at home. These or some other considerations drove them to a sudden and very unexpected resolution. Tyrone had been summoned, it appears, to England to attend the king, and he perhaps feared that this summons concealed a design against his liberty. On Saturday, the 8th of September, 1607, the earl of Tyrone had an interview with the lord deputy at Slane, where he spoke with Chichester of his journey into England, and promised to be there about the beginning of Michaelmas term, according to his majesty's directions. He took leave of the lord deputy, says sir John Davis, to whom we owe this account, "in a more sad and passionate manner than was usual with him." He then went to sir Garret Moore's house at Mellifont, "where he wept abun-

dantly when he took his leave, giving a solemn farewell to every child and every servant in the house, which made them all marvel, because in general it was not his manner to use such compliments." On Monday, the earl proceeded to Dungannon, where he remained till Wednesday, and then, having collected his family to the number of fifty or sixty persons, men, women, and children, he set off with the greatest secrecy, and travelled all night. In the course of the night, according to the report furnished to sir John Davis, the countess of Tyrone, overcome with fatigue, slipped down from her horse, and exclaimed, weeping, that she could go no farther; upon which the earl drew his sword and swore a great oath, that he would kill her on the spot if she would not pass on with him and put on a more cheerful countenance. The governor of the garrison of Lough-Foyle had received intelligence of their approach, apparently without any knowledge of the cause of their journey or of its object, and he sent to invite the earl and his son to dine with him on Thursday. But Tyrone's haste was so great, that he accepted not the courtesy, nor stopped till he reached Rathmulla, a town on the west side of Lough Swilly. He was here joined by the earl of Tirconnell, who, with his family and a party of his followers, had made a similar hasty journey. Two of their friends, a Maguire and an O'Brien, had prepared a ship, in which they embarked the next day, Friday, the 14th of September, and the two earls the same day left the Irish shores never to see them again, abandoning their vast estates to forfeiture and confiscation.

The sudden flight of the two earls filled Ireland with astonishment, and caused an extraordinary sensation throughout Catholic Europe. The cause, known only to the government, and to that but imperfectly, was a subject for a hundred different conjectures to the public, and a variety of explanations without any foundation in truth, but invented to favour particular views, have been given by historians who were ignorant of the existence of contemporary documents capable of dispelling the mystery.* It was the general belief at first that the fugitives had shaped their course to Spain, there to arrange new plots to embarrass the Anglo-Irish gov-

ernment; but it was soon known that the two earls had landed on the coast of Normandy, and that they had gone through France to Brussels. From thence they proceeded to Rome, where they passed in obscurity the remainder of their days, living upon pensions received from the pope and the king of Spain. O'Donnell died in 1608, soon after he reached Rome, but O'Neill dragged on a painful existence, and died old, blind, and broken with his misfortunes, in 1616. The princes and chiefs of these two families who died at Rome were buried in the Franciscan church of Monte Aureo, on St. Peter's Hill.

The fugitives published no defence of their conduct, and it does not appear that they either denied or excused the conspiracy. Some lesser chiefs of different northern clans who had been compromised in it were placed under arrest, and a few were executed at Dublin, while others were sent over to England in custody. The baron of Delvin, who had been immediately taken into custody, was one of those tried and condemned at Dublin, but by the negligence or corruption of his keepers he was furnished with a long rope, by means of which he scaled the walls of the castle, and a fleet horse, which was in readiness outside, conveyed him to O'Reilly's castle of Clocknacter in Cavan. A reward was proclaimed for his apprehension, but he found refuge among the woods and mountains, and eluded every attempt at pursuit. The next year, when the excitement caused by these events had subsided, lord Delvin surrendered himself voluntarily to the king, and made a confession, upon which he was pardoned and taken into favour, and gave such subsequent proofs of his loyalty, that a few years afterwards he was raised to the title of earl of Westmeath.

The resolution of the northern earls to abandon their country, the effect, as far as we can judge, of sudden fear, appears to have been made known to very few even of their fellow-conspirators, who were equally astonished with their enemies at their disappearance. The violent Romish party were thrown into the utmost consternation; but when they recovered from their surprise, they put a good face on their misfortune, denied that there was any conspiracy, and proclaimed loudly that the greatest and most beloved of

* These papers, the most important of which are some letters of sir John Davis, are preserved in her Majesty's State Paper Office, and have been made use of by Moore, who was the first to clear up the

mystery of these events. Party writers have represented the whole transaction as a trick of the English government to get rid of the two earls, and believe that there was no conspiracy.

the native chiefs had been driven into exile by the threat of persecution for their attachment to the religious faith of their forefathers. The government, which certainly had not compelled the earls to fly by any actual threat, was provoked at this hostile spirit, and the anger of king James was put forth in an energetic proclamation, which appeared on the 15th of November. This proclamation began by intimating the apprehension that foreign powers might show greater personal respect to the fugitives than their real character and rank deserved, an attention, says the proclamation, which would be inconsistent with the friendship which ought to exist between England and the continental princes, and which therefore it was the desire of king James to prevent, by making a public statement of the circumstances connected with their flight. "For which purpose," says the king, "we do hereby first declare, that these persons abovementioned had not their creations or possessions in regard of any lineal or lawful descent from ancestors of blood or virtue, but were only preferred by the late queen, our sister of famous memory, and by ourselves, for some reasons of state, before others who for their quality and birth (in those provinces where they dwell) might better have challenged those honours which were conferred upon them." "Further," he continues, "we do profess, that it is both known to us and our council here, and to our deputy and state there, and so shall it appear to the world as clear as the sun by evident proofs, that the only ground and motive of this high contempt in these men's departure, hath been the private knowledge and inward terror of their own guiltiness." The proclamation then refers to the report that they had fled from persecution on account of religion, and that they had made complaint that they were refused justice in questions relating to their rights and claims (no doubt referring to the disputes with O'Kane and with the church of Derry); but the king declares that their manners were so barbarous and unchristian that he should have considered it unreasonable to trouble them about any particular modes of faith and worship, until he had ascertained if they had any religion at all. "We do hereby profess," says James, "on the word of a king, that there never was so much as any shadow of molestation, nor purpose of proceeding in any degree against them, for matter concerning religion. Such being their condition and profession, to think murder no fault marriage of no use, nor

any man worthy to be esteemed valiant that did not glory in rapine and oppression, as we should have thought it an unreasonable thing to trouble them for any different point in religion, before any man could perceive by their conversation that they made truly conscience of any religion." He then proceeds to declare with equal confidence:—"so do we also for the second part of their excuse affirm, that (notwithstanding all that they can claim must be acknowledged to proceed from mere grace upon their submission after their great and unnatural treasons) there hath never come any question concerning their rights and possessions wherein we have not been more inclinable to do them favour than to any of their competitors, except in those cases wherein we have plainly discerned that their only end was to have made themselves by degrees more able than now they are to resist all lawful authority (when they should return to their vomit again), by usurping a power over other good subjects of ours, that dwell among them, better born than they, and utterly disclaiming from any dependency upon them."

In conclusion, the proclamation declares "that they have (before the running out of our kingdom) not only entered into combination for stirring up sedition and intestine rebellion, but have directed divers instruments, as well priests as others, to make offers to foreign states and princes (if they had been as ready to receive them) of their readiness and resolution to adhere to them whensoever they should seek to invade that kingdom." It is added that according to one part of the conspiracy, "under the condition of being made free from English government, they resolved also to comprehend the utter extirpation of all those subjects that are now remaining alive within that kingdom, formerly descended from the English race." "In which practices and propositions," the proclamation continues, "followed and fomented by priests and Jesuits (of whose function in these times the practice and persuasion of subjects to rebel against their sovereigns is one special and essential part and portion), as they have found no such encouragement as they expected and have boasted of, so we do assure ourselves, that when this declaration shall be seen and duly weighed with all due circumstances, it will be of force sufficient to disperse and to discredit all such untruths as these contemptible creatures, so full of infidelity and ingratitude, shall disgorge against us and our just

and moderate proceeding, and shall procure unto them no better usage than they (the foreign princes) would wish should be afforded to any such pack of rebels, born their subjects, and bound unto them in so many and so great obligations."

This proclamation arose rather from the king's apprehensions, than from any circum-

stances which really called for an energetic declaration of his sentiments. The fugitives against whom it was directed were already sinking into that obscurity which closed the scene of their turbulence on earth; and there was little apparent probability that any foreign prince would now be found to take up their cause.

CHAPTER XIX.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION; KING JAMES'S PLANTATION OF ULSTER;
TURBULENCE OF THE RECUSANTS IN PARLIAMENT.



THE flight of the two northern earls was an event far from disagreeable to the English governors of Ireland, for, in relieving them from the presence of two dangerous subjects who were the constant objects of their suspicions, it removed two of the greatest impediments to the reforms which now began to be contemplated. "As for us that are here," says sir John Davis, in narrating the earl of Tyrone's last movements, "we are glad to see the day wherein the countenance and majesty of the law and civil government hath banished Tyrone out of Ireland, which the best army in Europe, and the expense of two millions of sterling pounds, had not been able to bring to pass." An extraordinary calm was now felt throughout Ireland, which promised a new state of things for that hitherto turbulent island; and even agitation seemed to have for a moment spent itself, when a sudden outburst of peace and senseless rebellion disturbed the peace of Ulster.

The Irish lord of the district of Inishowen, on the coast of Derry, was sir Cahir O'Dogherty, a young chief then in his twenty-first year, who, though he had been knighted, regarded the English with ancestral enmity, and now lay under a strong suspicion of having been at least privy to the late conspiracy. At the beginning of the May of 1608, O'Dogherty's hatred of the English had been excited into fury by a personal quarrel with sir George Pawlett, the governor of Derry, which rose to such high words, that Pawlett so far forgot himself as to inflict on the Irishman the dishonour of a blow. According

to the words of the Irish annalist, O'Dogherty "became so filled with anger and fury, that it was a wonder he did not go distracted and mad." But O'Dogherty's revenge was cool and basely treacherous. Having collected together his friends and a considerable number of his Irish followers, he invited captain Hart, the governor of Culmore fort, on the banks of Lough Foyle, near Derry, with whom he lived on terms of intimacy, to come with his wife to dine with him on the third of May. O'Dogherty received his guests with profuse hospitality, but in the middle of the feast armed men were suddenly introduced, who seized upon Hart, and threatened him with instant death unless he delivered up the fort of Culmore into their hands. This the English officer, firm to his duty, refused. They then took his wife, dragged her to the gate of the fortress, and, between her fears for her husband and the fears of the garrison for themselves, the fort was surrendered. The whole garrison was immediately massacred, Hart and his wife alone being preserved alive; and O'Dogherty and his Irish followers thus became possessed of twelve pieces of ordnance, besides a considerable store of arms and ammunition. All this had been effected in the dead of the night, and no alarm had been given to the country. After O'Dogherty had armed his followers, he left Culmore fort under the command of an Irish chief named Felim Mac Davett, marched against Derry, and attacking that place by surprise before day-break, made himself master both of the city and garrison, for the astonished soldiers and inhabitants appear to have made little resistance. Pawlett and most of his officers

and men were put to death; many of the townspeople were slaughtered; the bishop's wife was carried away a captive; and Derry was then plundered and burnt. The Irish were flushed with this success, and, as O'Dogherty proclaimed his intention of sustaining the war against the English until the return of the earl of Tyrone with an army from abroad, many of the natives and several discontented chiefs joined his standard. He was thus enabled to make head against the government for a short time, not only in the wild fastnesses, but sometimes making his appearance in the open country, putting the small garrisons who opposed him to flight, and ravaging the English settlements in Derry, Donegal, and Tyrone.

But the Anglo-Irish government soon recovered from its surprise, and the marshal, Wingfield, proceeded against the rebels with a considerable force. When he approached Culmore, Mac Davett fired the fortress, threw some of the cannon into the sea, and carried the rest with him in the direction of Derry. Wingfield then marched against Burt Castle, near Lough Swilly, O'Dogherty's chief residence, which had been placed under the command of a monk, who surrendered it at once. A part of the small garrison was put to the sword, and O'Dogherty's wife, a daughter of lord Gormanstown, was taken prisoner, and sent to her brother. A price was now set upon O'Dogherty's head, and the lord deputy Chichester, who had had long experience in this desultory warfare, proceeded to the assistance of Wingfield, when O'Dogherty in an encounter in the neighbourhood of Kilmacrennan was slain, as it is said, by an accidental shot, on the 18th of July, 1608, and the rebellion ended with its chief, after having seriously compromised one or two other of the Irish lords of the north. Among them were Niall Garv O'Donnell, with his brethren and his son Naghtan, who were arrested and carried as prisoners to Dublin, whence Niall Garv and his son were transferred to the Tower of London, where they ended their lives in confinement. Thus the two great families of Ulster became in a few years nearly extinct; and their vast territories, with those of O'Dogherty and others, were forfeited to the crown, which thus came into possession of a tract of land extending through the counties of Donegal, Tyrone, Derry, Fermanagh, Cavan, and Armagh, amounting to no less than eight hundred thousand acres.

Thus it was gradually seen that every new

outbreak of rebellion turned to the advantage of the English government, and, convinced at length of this, the Irish landholders began to settle down into the character of country gentlemen. This circumstance, combined with the extensive depopulation of the island during the late rebellion, and the immense tracts of unoccupied land now vested in the crown, favoured the development of a plan which had for some time engaged the attention of king James. This was the plantation of a new colony in Ulster. James had formerly conceived a similar plan of reform in the wild highlands of Scotland, by planting in them colonies of the orderly and industrious inhabitants of the south; and he had now his own experience, as well as the knowledge of the error committed in the attempts to plant Ulster and Munster, in the preceding reign, to serve to guide him. His first proceedings were marked by caution and deliberation, and he sought the information and opinions of men of experience and judgment. In his first choice he was certainly not fortunate; for lord Bacon being consulted, wrote a treatise on the subject, which showed only that he did not understand it. He found a better adviser in his lord deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, who joined with great abilities and attainments a thorough knowledge of the country to be planted, of the manners and character of its present inhabitants, and of the wishes and exigencies of their chiefs. He caused surveys to be taken of the counties where the new settlements were to be established, drew up particular descriptions of them, pointing out the situations proper for building towns and castles, and made a full report on the character of the Irish chiefs, and the manner in which they should be treated, and pointed out the impediments which were to be expected, and how they might be removed.

According to the scheme of plantation now adopted, the colonists were divided into three classes, first, the new undertakers from England and Scotland (for James hoped to induce many of his countrymen to transport themselves thither from the opposite coast); then the servitors, or those English who had served for some time in Ireland in a military or civil capacity; and, lastly, the old Irish, who were not only admitted to the benefits of the king's plan, but were treated with great indulgence, for their under tenants and servants were allowed to be of their own country and religion, and they were tacitly

exempted from the oath of supremacy, which was imposed upon the others. The servitors were allowed to take Irish or English tenants, recusants only being excepted; the British undertakers were restricted to tenants from England or Scotland. Experience had already shown, in the case of Munster, the impolicy of mixing the English and Irish together, whereby, in case of rebellion, the settlers found their enemies already at their own hearths; and another inconvenience was now also prevented, which arose from securing only the plains, and leaving the forests and mountain fastnesses to the natives. The Irish were placed in the open country, where they might become habituated to agriculture and the mechanical arts, and where they might lie under the constant inspection of their English rulers; while places of greatest strength and command were assigned to the British adventurers, and the Anglo-Irish servitors were placed in stations of danger and in positions where they could do the greatest service to the crown, in return for which they were allowed guards and entertainment until the country should be reduced to a perfect state of security.

Instead of making large grants of land to individuals who were unable to people and protect them, the impolicy of which had been experienced on former occasions, the whole territory to be planted was divided into lots, according to three proportions; the greater, consisting of two thousand English acres, were to be held of the king *in chief*; the second, consisting of fifteen hundred acres, to be held by knight's service; and the last, consisting of a thousand acres, in common socage. One-half of the land in each county was divided in portions of a thousand acres, and the other half in portions of fifteen hundred and two thousand acres; and, to prevent disputes, the settlements of the undertakers in each particular district were to be determined by lot. Their duties and liabilities were distinctly defined. Each individual who held a grant of two thousand acres was, within four years, to build a castle and inclose a strong *bawn* or court-yard; the possessor of fifteen hundred acres was to build a house and bawn within two years; and he who held but a thousand acres was to inclose a bawn for security in case of rebellion. The first class of landholders were, moreover, expected to plant on their lands within three years forty-eight able men of English or Scottish birth, to be reduced to twenty families; they were to keep a demesne of six

hundred acres in their own hands; to have four fee-farmers on a hundred and twenty acres each; six leaseholders, each on one hundred acres; and on the rest, eight families of husbandmen, artificers, and cottagers. The others were bound to similar obligations in different proportions. All were to reside upon their lands for five years after the date of their patents, either in their own person, or by such agents as should be approved by the state; and they were required to keep a sufficient quantity of arms for defence.

The new planters and the Anglo-Irish servitors of the crown were bound not to alienate their lands to mere Irish, or to demise any portions of them to such persons as should refuse to take the oaths to government. They were to let the lands to their tenants at determined rents, and for no less term than twenty-one years; and the houses of the latter were to be built after the English fashion, and to be collected together in towns or villages. The landowners had power to erect manors, to hold courts-baron, and to create tenures; and the old natives, whose estates were granted in fee-simple, to be held in socage, were allowed the same privileges. The latter were bound to let their lands at the same fixed rents as the English undertakers, to take no Irish exactions from their inferior tenants, and to abolish entirely the old custom of *creaghting*, or wandering with their cattle for pasture from place to place. An annual rent was reserved to the crown; but it was remitted during the two first years to the English settlers, who had to undergo the expense and risk of transportation.

Such was king James's scheme for the plantation of Ulster, which was rendered still further remarkable by the lively interest taken in it by the city of London, the corporation of which accepted large grants in the county of Derry, which on this account was subsequently known by the name of London-Derry. They engaged to expend twenty thousand pounds on their plantation in this county, and to build the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine; and the king is said to have been so proud of their co-operation, that he declared publicly that "when his enemies should hear that the famous city of London had a footing therein, they would be terrified from looking into Ireland, the back-door to England and Scotland."

The plantation of Ulster has obtained ce-

lebrity in history from another circumstance. It was necessary to raise a sufficient force to protect the new plantation; and for this purpose, or at least with this pretence (for James had other necessities which called for money), the king founded in 1611, at the suggestion of sir Anthony Shirley, the order of baronets, which was at once to be conferred on a number of gentlemen of family not exceeding two hundred, each of whom, on the passing of his patent, was to pay into the exchequer a sum of money which would maintain thirty men in Ulster at eightpence a day each for three years.

It was soon discovered that in putting the scheme of plantation into practice it had to encounter various impediments which were not expected or provided against. One of the most important of these was a general claim put forward by the church to lands which had been usurped from it by the Irish chiefs, who had been so unscrupulous that they had left scarcely enough to support the bishops, while the lower classes of the clergy were left totally without sustenance. We are told, indeed, that there was not a single parish church throughout Ulster, except in the towns, where religious worship had been performed for many years. An inquisition was appointed to examine into the claims and complaints of the clergy, and its labours led to a restoration of ecclesiastical lands, a reformation in the church establishment in the north, and the restoration of religious service in the country parishes, as well as to the foundation of schools for the instruction of the population. It was also found, as on former occasions, difficult to enforce the due performance of the obligations which the planters had taken upon themselves. Buildings were slowly erected; it was not easy to obtain British tenants in sufficient numbers; and the Irish, being near and offering higher rents, were received into the districts from which they were to have been strictly excluded. The corporation of London, which acted by interested and negligent agents, is said to have been especially notorious for its delinquencies in this respect. Still, the immediate effect of the scheme was to bring a considerable population of industrious inhabitants into the northern province, who improved the country, and built a number of towns, some of which the king raised into representative boroughs.

The country went on improving under the reforms which had been introduced by king James, and under the vigorous and yet con-

ciliatory administration of sir Arthur Chichester, for several years. The king recompensed the services of his lord deputy with a grant of the extensive estates of sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and raised him to the peerage.* During this period the chief ground of discontent was found in the penal laws against recusants. These, it is true, had not been enforced with great severity, but the grievance weighed most heavily on the better classes of the Roman Catholics, those whose rank or talents entitled them to the high offices or employments of the state, which were entirely closed to them by their religious disqualifications. No one, in fact, until he had taken the oath of supremacy, which had become latterly the touchstone of their consciences, could be preferred to any degree of learning in the university, or could sue livery of his lands, or be admitted a privy councillor, or act as magistrate or justice of the peace; nor could recusant lawyers, who were at this time a very formidable body, be regularly admitted to plead at the bar, much less advanced to the station of judges. And although these evils were much less in practice than in name, for the laws on the subject were only strictly enforced in times of great turbulence and danger, yet they kept alive the jealousies between the protestants and the catholics in a manner which was especially galling to the old Anglo-Irish lords of the pale; and the bitterness of religious animosity was now much increased by the circumstance that a large portion of the new planters of Ulster had brought with them the extreme principles and feelings of the English and Scottish puritans, and these were constantly inveighing against the ministers of satan and the pope.

In the midst of these feelings it was determined to call a parliament, the first which had sat in Ireland during a period of seven-and-twenty years. In that long interval, immense changes had taken place in the country, not only in regard to its social and political condition, but even in the form and character of its representation. Formerly the members of the house of commons represented little more than the old English pale; whereas, since the date just mentioned, no less than seventeen additional counties had been formed, as well as a number of new boroughs, which the lord deputy was daily increasing by virtue of a royal commission.

* He was created baron Chichester of Belfast, in 1612. Sir Arthur was the ancestor of the earl of Donegal.

The manner in which this was effected, if impartially viewed, indicated a scheme of general representation, in which the inhabitants of every order, native Irish as well as old English and new, were to meet together to make laws for themselves and their posterity.

But in carrying this supposed scheme into effect, errors were committed which easily excited the suspicions of the opponents of government. Many of the newly created boroughs were little better than villages, consisting only of a few houses, and too poor even to pay the wages which it was then usual to give to their representatives. The recusants looked upon the incorporation of such places as a mere trick to secure a mercenary majority for the government; and the impression was suddenly spread abroad that the object of calling together a parliament at this moment was only to pass new measures of severity against the catholics. The announcement in 1612 of the king's intention to call a parliament in Ireland, thus became a subject of the greatest alarm to the catholics; and six of the principal lords of the pale, the lords Gormanstown, Slane, Killeen, Trimbleston, Dunsany, and Lowth, addressed a very bold letter to the king, in which they expressed their great apprehensions from the design of convening a parliament without first communicating to them and others of the nobility the character of the laws which were to be therein enacted. They then proceeded to express "a fearful suspicion that the project of erecting so many corporations in places that can scantily pass the rank of the poorest villages in the poorest country in Christendom, do tend to naught else at this time, but that by the voices of a few selected for the purpose, under the name of burgesses, extreme penal laws should be imposed upon your subjects here, contrary to the natures, customs, and dispositions of them all in effect." They next protested energetically against the recent enforcement of the penal statutes then in existence. "Your majesty's subjects here in general do likewise very much distaste and exclaim against the deposing of so many magistrates in the cities and boroughs of this kingdom, for not swearing the oath of supremacy in spiritual and ecclesiastical causes, they protesting a firm profession of loyalty, and an acknowledgment of all kingly jurisdiction and authority in your highness; which course, for that it was so sparingly and mildly carried on in the time of your late

sister of famous memory, queen Elizabeth, and but now in your highness's happy reign first extended unto the remote parts of this country, doth so much the more affright and disquiet the minds of your well-affected subjects here, especially they conceiving that by this means those that are most sufficient and fit to exercise and execute those offices and places, are secluded and removed, and they driven to make choice of others, conformable in that point, but otherwise very unfit and incapable to undertake the charges, being generally of the meaner sort."

After representing in rather strong language the tendency of the measures recently pursued by government to spread disaffection in Ireland, and encourage the king's enemies abroad, the six lords make a sort of protest against the new boroughs. "And so," they say, "upon the knees of our loyal hearts, we do humbly pray that your highness will be graciously pleased not to give way to courses, in the general opinion of your subjects here, so hard and exorbitant, as to erect towns and corporations of places consisting of some few poor and beggarly cottages, but that your highness will give directions that there be no more erected, till time, or traffic and commerce, do make places in the remote and unsettled countries here fit to be incorporated, and that your majesty will benignly content yourself with the service of understanding men to come as knights of the shires out of the chief countries to the parliament." "And," they conclude, "to the end to remove from your subjects' hearts those fears and discontents, that your highness farther will be graciously pleased to give orders that the proceedings of this parliament may be with the same moderation and indifference as your most royal predecessors have used in like cases heretofore; wherein, moreover, if your highness shall be pleased out of your gracious clemency to withdraw such laws as may tend to the forcing of your subjects' consciences here in matters concerning religion, you shall settle their minds in a most firm and faithful subjection."

This letter is said to have given great offence to the king, who was unwilling to suffer anything resembling an opposition to his authority, and he became more resolute in his measures. Every exertion was made to secure a strong majority in favour of the crown. The lord deputy continued to create new boroughs, and several of those which returned members to this parliament, were not

incorporated until after the writs for summoning a parliament had been issued. The recusants, on the other hand, were not inactive, or nice in the means they employed to strengthen their party. The agents sent by the recusants of the pale agitated the country from one end to the other. The priests pronounced the excommunications of the church against those who should vote against its friends; the more ignorant of the Irish were told that the O'Neill was coming to their assistance with a foreign army, and that now was the moment for them to exert themselves in sending their friends to parliament; persuasions, and threats, and promises, were lavished on all classes. The knights of the shires thus returned were many of them the most factious and turbulent of the recusant lawyers; and the general result of the struggle was so doubtful, that the party opposed to government reckoned upon a decided majority in the house of commons. They set no bounds to their exultation. The chiefs of the recusant party made their public entry into Dublin, each escorted by troops of one or two hundred armed followers. In order to produce popular sympathy, they affected to consider themselves in personal danger, and objected to the session being held within the castle of Dublin, where they said that the lord deputy's guards would surround the parliament house and control the freedom of debate.

The government, however, was not terrified, but took all necessary measures to secure tranquillity. The members returned were directed to repair to the house alone and without arms, and no others were admitted; and the anger and mortification of the recusant party were equally great, when they found that they had miscalculated their numbers, and that they were really the minority. Of the two hundred and thirty-two members returned, six were absent, one hundred and twenty-five were protestants, or supporters of government, while one hundred and one formed the whole strength of the recusant party. The upper house consisted of sixteen temporal barons, twenty-five protestant prelates, five viscounts, and four earls, among whom the administration had a considerable majority.

The first trial of strength was for the election of a speaker. The king recommended sir John Davis, who now held the office of attorney-general in Ireland; while the opposition proposed sir John Everard, a catholic lawyer of the highest respectability,

who had resigned his office of a justice of the king's bench rather than take the oath of supremacy, but who, on account of his merits, had been indulged with a pension. His party began by protesting against any election until the question of the legality of the parliament, and the means by which it had been elected, should be thoroughly inquired into. They protested against the new boroughs as unconstitutional, and against the members who represented them as not legally entitled to their seats. The ministerial party replied that it was always the custom to elect the speaker first, and that then committees were appointed to examine into contested elections. The debate became very clamorous and disorderly, until sir Oliver St. John, who held the office of master of the ordnance, put an end to it by observing, that controversies were decided by questions, and questions by votes: and recommended an immediate division. It was the usual custom for the yeas to walk out of the house, while the noes retained their seats, and thus the counting of numbers was facilitated. St. John, therefore, called on those who voted for sir John Davis to attend him into the lobby, and he was followed by the majority.

But the recusant members, when left alone, instead of counting their numbers, protested that the majority was an illegal one, declared sir John Everard duly elected, and placed him forcibly in the speaker's chair. When the majority returned they were scandalized at this act of irregularity, and attempted to drag Everard from his seat, but being violently opposed by the other party they declared that Davis was the speaker elected, and seated him in Everard's lap. This tumultuous scene was followed by the secession of the recusants, who refused to accept sir John Davis for their speaker, declared that they were in fear of their lives, and protested against the new corporations and the legality of the present parliament. Their conduct in this respect was imitated in the upper house by the recusant lords, who formed a still smaller minority. The members of the opposition in both houses refused to attend in their places until they had laid their grievances before the throne.

The agitation had now assumed a character which was sufficient to give alarm. The opposition carried their presumption to such a height as to threaten openly an armed resistance to any severe measures against them; and this, joined with their known violence,

and the popular clamour in their favour, gave cause for the gravest apprehensions when it was well known that the whole military force then possessed by the Irish government amounted to no more than seventæen hundred foot and two hundred horse. People, in general, began to look forward to a new and dangerous insurrection.

In this emergency the lord deputy Chichester acted with the greatest prudence and moderation. He issued a proclamation commanding the seceders to return to their posts, while privately he used remonstrance and entreaty with the chiefs of the party, urging them to unite with the other members of each house in furthering the business of the nation, at least so far as to pass an act of recognition of the king's title; and he even promised them that no other bill should for the present be brought forward. He proposed various measures of conciliation, and offered to let the decision of the questions in dispute be referred to an impartial committee. But all his efforts were in vain, and he found the members of the opposition obstinate against persuasion or threats. He then, as a last resource, prorogued the parliament, in order to gain time for practising other conciliatory measures, in the hope of appeasing the clamours which were kept up by the violence of passion, which he hoped might soon be allayed.

Chichester now gave provocation to the puritans by the conciliatory policy with which he attempted to appease the recusants, and they began to cry out against him as a weak ruler, unfitted to contend with the rude opposition now excited against the crown. The recusants, on the other hand, pursued their bold course, and immediately after their secession from parliament, they drew up an address to the king more disrespectful than that which they had sent before the elections, complaining bitterly of their grievances, of the partiality shown to the new English in the distribution of offices of state, and of the violence which, as they pretended, had been done to their speaker, and they concluded with what could be regarded as little less than a threat of open rebellion. "We cannot," they said, "but, out of the consideration of our bounden duty, make known unto your highness the general discontentment which these strange, unlooked-for, and never heard of courses generally have bred, whereof, if the rebellious discontented of this nation abroad, do take advantage, and procure the evil affected at home (which are

numbers, by reason of these already settled and intended plantations), in any hostile fashion to set disorders afoot, and labour some underhand relief from any prince or state abroad, who, peradventure, might be inveigled and drawn to commiserate their pretended oppressions and distresses, howsoever we are assured the prowess and power of your majesty will in the end bring the authors thereof to ruin and confusion, yet will things be brought into greater combustion, to the effusion of much blood, exhausting of masses of treasure, the exposing of us and others, your highness's well affected subjects, to the hazard of poverty, whereof the memory is yet very lively and fresh among us, and finally to the laying open the whole commonwealth to the inundation of all miseries and calamities which garboiles, civil wars, and dissensions do breed and draw with them in a rent and torn estate."

The terms of this remonstrance implied a direct condemnation of all king James's recent policy towards Ireland; and it had been promoted in a manner still more distasteful. In spite of the exertions of the lord deputy to hinder it, a large contribution had been levied throughout the country, the priests exhorting their congregations to subscribe in support of the popular cause, and with this the recusant agents, lords Gormanstown and Fermoy, sir James Gough, Hussey, Luttrell, and Talbot, were sent off to England in triumph. The two latter acted so disrespectfully when brought before the king, that they were committed, one to the Tower and the other to the Fleet; but still, although highly offended, the king acted with moderation. After having been admitted to several audiences, the recusant agents drew up and presented to the king nineteen general articles of grievance in the government of Ireland, and demanded that impartial commissioners should be appointed to make an inquiry into their truth. The king yielded to their request, and in their exultation at this success, the agents boldly presumed on the result of the inquiry, and proclaimed aloud that it was the king's intention to give a full liberty of religion. Sir James Gough, who had followed the commissioners, presented himself before the lord deputy as the authorized bearer of James's orders to that effect; upon which Chichester, to check the extravagance of the expectations of the party, expressed his disbelief of Gough's assertion, and committed him a close prisoner to the castle of Dublin.

A new clamour was now raised, and Chichester being summoned to attend the king in England, the recusants concluded that it was the prelude to his disgrace. In this, however, they had again to support disappointment. The king consulted with the lord deputy, and made himself fully acquainted with the condition of Ireland. He then admitted the recusants to plead their cause before the council, and after a deliberate and impartial discussion of the alleged irregularities in the election of the parliament, two elections, those of Kildare and Cavan, were set aside, and the members returned for boroughs incorporated after the date of the writ for summoning the parliament were pronounced for the present incapable of sitting; but the other grievances were declared to be without foundation, and the king dismissed the complainants with a long and severe verbal censure, and spoke of the lords of the pale who had signed the address as "a few men who had threatened him with rebellion," declaring their remonstrance to be "rash and insolent." As to the manner of calling the parliament, he said that "nothing faulty was to be found in the government; unless they would have the kingdom of Ireland like the kingdom of heaven." "What is it to you," he said, "whether I make many or few boroughs? My council may consider the fitness, if I require it. But, what if I had made forty noblemen and four hundred boroughs? The more, the merrier; the fewer, the better cheer!" "In the matter of parliament," he said in conclusion, "you have carried yourselves tumultuously and undutifully; and your proceedings have been rude, disorderly, and inexcusable, and worthy of severe punishment; which, by reason of your submission, I do forbear, but not remit, till I see your dutiful carriage in this parliament; where, by your obedience to the deputy and state, and your future good behaviour, you may redeem your by-past miscarriage, and then you may deserve, not only pardon, but favour and cherishing."

It was in the midst of this long-protracted contest, that Fynes Moryson, who had returned with lord Mountjoy to England, again visited Ireland, and he has left us a brief note of his impressions. "At this time," he says, "I found the state of Ireland much changed; for by the flight of the earl

of Tyrone and the earl of Tirconnell with some chiefs of countries in the north, and the suppression and death of sir Cahir O'Dogherty, their confederate in making new troubles, all the north was possessed by new colonies of English, but especially of Scots. The mere Irish in the north, and over all Ireland, continued still in absolute subjection, being powerful in no part of the kingdom, excepting only Connaught, where their chief strength was yet little to be feared, if the English-Irish there had sound hearts to the state. But the English-Irish in all parts, and especially in the pale, either by our too much cherishing them since the last rebellion (in which we found many of them false-hearted), or by the king's religious courses to reform them in their obstinate addiction to popery (even in those points which oppugned his majesty's temporal power), or by the fulness of bread in time of peace (whereof no nation sooner surfeits than the Irish), were grown so wanton, so incensed, and so high in the instep, as they had of late mutinously broken off a parliament called for the public good and reformation of the kingdom, and from that time continued to make many clamorous complaints against the English governors (especially those of the pale against the worthy lord deputy and his ministers), through their sides wounding the royal authority; yea, in all parts, the churl was grown rich, and the gentlemen and sword-men needy, and so apt to make a prey of other men's goods. The citizens of Munster had long since obtained the renewing of their old charters with all their exorbitant privileges, and were now grown most refractory to all due obedience, especially for matters of religion. In which parts the very numbers of the priests, swarming among them, and being active men, yea, contrary to their profession, bloody in handling the sword, far exceeding the number of the king's soldiers, reduced to very small or no strength. And many loose men flocked into that province out of the Low Countries, who being trained there in the Irish regiment with the archduke, daily sent over new men to be in like sort trained there, and themselves lay dispersed and hidden in all corners, with hearts, no doubt, apt to embrace mischievous enterprizes."

CHAPTER XX.

SECOND SESSION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT; ULSTER AND THE CLERGY; FURTHER MEASURES FOR THE IMPROVEMENT OF IRELAND; CHARLES I. AND THE GRACES.



BY persisting in a course of moderation like that described in the preceding chapter, sir Arthur Chichester at length succeeded in appeasing the clamorous anger of the recusants, who had been discouraged by the final result of their reference to the king, and the second session of this lord deputy's parliament offered a singular contrast to the first. At first the spirit of the opposition manifested itself a little, especially in the upper house, but it soon disappeared when sir John Everard and other influential recusants seconded the efforts of the lord deputy, by urging on the catholic party the prudence of concurring amicably and peacefully with the government in carrying out the measures which seemed necessary for the interests of the nation and the honour of the crown. After an impartial examination of the elections, the subject which had hitherto raised most heat, it was voluntarily laid aside, and a resolution was passed suspending the examination of all disputed elections for the present session, for the better expedition and furtherance of the public service. The moderation shown by the catholics in parliament merited and received indulgence from the government; and partly from this feeling, and partly no doubt from the fear of exciting new heats, all measures tending to persecution for religious opinions were carefully avoided. The cause, indeed, of lawyers who had been prohibited from pleading on the ground of recusancy, was not only heard favourably, and a petition of the house to the lord deputy to relieve them from their inability voted, but one of the members who spoke intemperately against them was committed to prison. Even the proposal to make the 5th of November, the day of the gunpowder-plot, a religious anniversary, brought forward by sir Oliver St. John, a zealous protestant, was allowed quietly to drop.

The various other bills of the session, which were of far more importance to the rulers of Ireland at this time, were passed almost without opposition. In an act for recognising the king's title to the crown the

two houses joined in lauding James's good government, and his tender concern for the welfare of Ireland; and among other marks of his favour they particularized his plantations in Ulster. The act for the attainder of the earls of Tyrone and Tironnell, sir Cahir O'Dogherty, and others concerned in the late rebellions, was introduced in the house of commons by the recusant, sir John Everard, and the whole catholic party gave their assent to it, with the exception of the titular archbishop of Tuam, who voted against it in the upper house. The old laws proscribing the natives of Irish blood, as well as those against the Scottish settlers, were repealed, thus opening the way for a cordial union among all classes of the inhabitants of the island, who were now acknowledged as all equally the king's subjects, and entitled to the full protection of his laws. After an act of general pardon and oblivion had been passed, the session closed with a subsidy bill, by which the parliament, with unusual alacrity and zeal, gave to the crown two shillings and eight pence in the pound from every personal estate of the value of three pounds and upwards, and twice that sum from aliens; and four shillings in the pound out of every real estate of the value of twenty shillings and upwards; grants which seem to have surprised all parties.

This liberal subsidy entirely turned the heart of king James, and he now could hardly find terms warm enough to express his attachment to his faithful subjects in Ireland. He addressed a letter of thanks to the lord deputy, and begged him to express his feelings to the parliament. His majesty now "clearly perceived" that "the difficult beginnings of our parliament there were occasioned only by ignorance and mistakings, arising through the long disuse of parliaments there; and therefore," he said, "we have cancelled the memory of them." "And we are now," he added, "so well pleased with this dutiful confirmation of their's that we do require you to assure them from us that we hold our subjects of that kingdom in equal favour with those of our other kingdoms, and that we will be as careful to pro-

vide for their prosperous and flourishing estate as we can be for the safety of our own person." Sir John Davis, who, as we have seen, was chosen by the court party as their speaker, and who was somewhat poetically sanguine in his expectations from every show of improvement, was so delighted with the prospect held forth by this appearance of unanimity, that he declared his anticipations of a new era of Irish prosperity, in which Ireland, by consequence of continued good rule, "would be as fruitful as the land of Canaan," and when "the strings of the Irish harp, being thus fingered by the civil magistrate, would make good harmony in the common weal."

The recusants presumed upon these favourable appearances to make a new appeal for relief from the grievances of the penal statutes. They pleaded their good services in the present parliament, the readiness with which they had granted a large subsidy, their subserviency even in sacrificing the two northern earls who had been looked upon as the pillars of Romanism in Ireland; and they even more than hinted at their willingness to vote further grants to the crown provided those obnoxious acts might, if not repealed, be temporarily relaxed. But they soon found that, in spite of the show of moderation and indulgence he had lately assumed, nothing was further from the king's thoughts than to give up any of the points on which he had formerly insisted. James exulted in the cunning with which he had on this occasion weathered the storm of Irish faction; and no sooner had the subsidy bill passed than the Irish parliament was suddenly and unexpectedly dissolved, leaving untouched several measures for the improvement of Ireland which had been recommended to the consideration of government.

In another quarter the feeling displayed by the protestants was much less tolerant. A convocation of the clergy was held in Dublin, for the purpose chiefly of drawing up a public confession of faith for the established church in Ireland, and this work was intrusted to the pen of a man who was now beginning to attract attention by his great learning and abilities, the celebrated Usher. This divine had imbibed largely the extreme religious principles of the Calvinist reformers of France and Switzerland, and these were manifested in several articles of his confession, in which, among other things, the pope was declared to be Antichrist. Nevertheless, Usher's confession was received and agreed to by the convocation, though it

created much dissatisfaction among the court party out of doors, who knew how little some parts of it coincided with the moderate views professed by the king. They even attempted to prejudice the king against its compiler; but James had conceived a high opinion of Usher's attainments, and instead of looking on him with disfavour, he soon afterwards made him bishop of Meath. This ultra-protestant zeal among the Anglo-Irish clergy, only served to embitter the feelings of men who were suffering from heavy, and often unmerited, grievances, and it tended to renew the disaffection which had before spread so widely among the recusant party. The ill-feeling was further kept up, not only by the frequent cases of legal prosecutions for recusancy, but by the severe punishment of jurors, who were often unwilling to give a judgment for the crown; and by the still more grievous exaction of heavy and galling penalties for non-attendance at the public worship as established by law. Among the grievances pointed out in a memorial presented about this time by the catholics, they complained, "that their children were not allowed to study in foreign universities, that all the catholics of noble birth were excluded from offices and honours, and even from the magistracy in their respective counties; that catholic citizens and burgesses were removed from all situations of power or profit in the different corporations; that catholic barristers were not permitted to plead in the courts of law; and that the inferior classes were burdened with fines, distresses, excommunications, and other punishments, which reduced them to the lowest degree of poverty."

The prime cause of this unhappy state of things must be sought in the fact that long agitation nourished by foreign powers, and directed immediately against the protestant crown of England, had made the Romish faith in Ireland to be identified with sedition and rebellion; while it is equally evident that the oppressive measures passed against the catholics were prolonging the duration of this state of things, and that the general disqualification with which all catholics (so large a portion of the population of the island) were struck, was throwing the more respectable men of that community more and more into the ranks of the enemies of the English government.

In addition to the sudden promulgation of this Irish protestant confession of faith, in which Ulster acted upon the declared principle

that, since the Irish were bigoted papists, it was necessary first to lead them into the opposite extreme, in order to bring them, ultimately, right; and to the penalties to which the recusant part of the population was exposed; other causes of discontent continued to exist, especially in the old rivalry between the two races, which nothing could quench. Even the transplantation of the Irish themselves from one locality to another only increased the feeling of turbulence, for the old families, who traced their descent from the chiefs of the sept which had held the same land at an early period, swayed by all the ancient prejudices of their race, looked with contempt upon the new Irish settlers around them, and treated them in a manner which excited new jealousies and enmities. This was especially the case in the extensive plantations in Ulster, where this rivalry of races and families showed itself continually, and we need not feel surprise if it gave rise, from time to time, to plots and conspiracies. One of these, discovered in the year 1615, is said to have had for its aim to obtain possession of the forts in Ulster, and extirpate the British settlers. It led only to the conviction and execution of the chief conspirators; but only a few years later these rivalries showed themselves in one of the most sanguinary tragedies that ever stained the annals of Ireland.

At the moment this petty conspiracy was discovered, king James, vain-glorious of the success of his scheme in Ulster, was dreaming of new plans of confiscation and plantation. During some previous ages, the crown had, at different times, made so many claims and seizures, and the turbulent character of the times had caused people to pay so little regard to legal titles, so long as they were in actual possession, that these latter were in many cases not easy to establish. James, who was aware of this, and who was determined to carry out his projects, in spite of all opposition, now began to put in practice that court method of robbing the landholders of their estates which was carried to so great a length in the following reign, and which created general alarm among all ranks throughout the island. A commission of inquiry was first appointed, to examine the title to the lands in Leinster, and the districts stretching from Dublin to the neighbourhood of Waterford, which had been occupied from time immemorial by the powerful Irish septs who had so often threatened the safety of the capital. The commission

soon brought in a report, by which they declared all the lands between the rivers Arklow and Slane, together with extensive territories in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's counties, amounting in all to upwards of eighty thousand acres, to belong to the crown. The king profited by the title thus accorded to him, to portion out a considerable part of these lands to English settlers, and he let the remainder to the old possessors on the same terms as those exacted in Ulster. By the latter grants, the Irish chiefs were, to a certain degree, reconciled to a change which was thus forced upon them; but the feelings of the lower orders of the population were long embittered by the cruelty and injustice with which they were forced from their old homes, and established in districts which were strange to the family traditions so long cherished among them, and in many cases ruthlessly deprived of all they possessed in the world.

The country thus planted in Leitrim, Longford, Westmeath, and the King's and Queen's counties, formed one of the wildest districts in the island, and one which had frequently served as the cradle of formidable insurrections, or as the safe asylum of the rebels when defeated. It was naturally strong and difficult of access, and its inhabitants had preserved their old rude manners unchanged, crowding into their huts during the winter, and wandering with their cattle over the mountains during summer. From its central situation, it afforded a retreat and shelter to insurgents from all parts of the island, and, while in time of peace it was the receptacle of bands of robbers, who there set at defiance the officers of justice, in periods of turbulence it offered them the facility of acting, in communication with other insurgents, to invade and ravage the cultivated districts on every side. Before the subjugation of Connaught and Ulster, the Irish enemies had been accustomed to march through these wild districts to invade the English pale; and, at a much more recent period, it had given facilities to the march of the earl of Tyrone and his forces into Munster, and had covered his flight from Kinsale. Whatever amount, therefore, of oppression and iniquity we may have to lament, and in spite of the manner in which it was executed, the work of bringing such a district under cultivation and good rule, must have been ultimately a benefit to Ireland.

While the government was occupied in this

work, towards the end of the year 1615, Chichester retired from his office of lord deputy, and resigned his power into the hands of two lords justices; the lord chancellor, archbishop Jones, and the chief justice of the king's bench, sir John Denham. Chichester, who now held the title of baron Belfast, was appointed lord treasurer of Ireland in the following year, but during the rest of his life he was chiefly employed in service foreign to Ireland. In the August of 1616, sir Oliver St. John, who had rendered himself remarkable by his strong protestant feeling in the Irish house of commons, was named lord deputy. This appointment was looked upon by the catholics as a measure of hostility towards their party, and became the signal for new clamours and discontents. St. John's first proceedings seemed to justify the apprehensions of the recusants. He began with a vigorous execution of the penal statutes. The seditious practices of the popish regulars, priests educated generally abroad, and actuated by a determined hostility towards the English government, had given frequent uneasiness to it, and they had been an oppressive weight upon the poorer classes of the Irish catholics: early in the new administration a proclamation appeared, banishing this class of the clergy from Ireland. This was cried up, especially on the continent, as an intolerable act of persecution. But a still greater clamour was raised, when the magistrates of cities, and officers of justice, were called upon to take the oath of supremacy, and when, on their refusal, the penalties ordained by the law in such cases were strictly enforced. Waterford, which was one of the most turbulent cities of the south, incurred the special anger of the lord deputy. The citizens chose a succession of violent recusants for their chief magistrates, who all refused to take the oath, and their obstinacy was carried to so great a length, that at last, in 1617, a commission was issued against them, and their charters and revenues were sequestered.

These rigorous proceedings provoked a cry of fury against St. John, who had provoked enemies of a different character by the impartial zeal which he displayed in inquiring into other irregularities. Some leading members of the state had usurped lands belonging to the church, which the lord deputy compelled them to restore. They immediately joined the popish party in attacking him, and their combined outeries at

length induced the king to appoint a commission to inspect the state of Ireland and the irregularities of its administration; and at the urgent intercession of his enemies, who represented that the commission could have no effect while the person whose conduct was to be inquired into remained at the head of the government, St. John was deprived of his office in 1622, and rewarded with the Irish title of viscount Grandison, and the office of lord-treasurer of that kingdom, and of a privy-counsellor in both.

The commission appears to have been, in its result, little better than a nominal one; but the recusants exulted in the recal of St. John as a signal triumph over the protestant party, and they began to act with greater boldness than ever. In the towns where their power was greatest, they seized upon the churches and celebrated the Romish worship in them, and they even began to restore the abbeys. They were, however, obliged to submit to a signal mortification, when, on Henry Carey lord Falkland being sent over as St. John's successor, Usher, celebrated for his stanch protestantism, was appointed to preach before the new lord deputy, and, taking for the text of his first sermon the words "He beareth not the sword in vain," he urged that it was necessary to place some restraint on the catholics, to deter them from these public outbreaks of insolence and outrage. This raised a new cry among the recusants, who represented Usher as a bloody minister, urging the civil magistrate to persecution and massacre for the sake of religion. The protestant divine was obliged to take the opportunity of a sermon he addressed to some of the non-conforming magistrates, who had been brought into the castle chamber (the Irish star chamber), to explain his meaning, and to expose the misrepresentations of his enemies. Thus were the last years of the reign of king James the First spent in increasing those religious divisions in Ireland which it seemed to have been the policy of the middle of his reign to appease.

Meanwhile the scheme of plantation proceeded, with all its errors and grievances, and these arose more from the way in which it was carried into effect, than from the scheme itself. The means taken to enforce the claims of the crown were of the most arbitrary kind, and were often founded upon oppressive injustice. Men were deprived of lands which their ancestors had held through several generations, on pre-

tence of some old resumption or forfeiture, because they had no written proofs of the regrant. Juries refusing to give a verdict for the crown were committed to the castle chamber, and punished with fine and imprisonment; so that, however weak its claims, the crown was seldom disappointed of its prey. Where titles were forthcoming, the slightest neglect in performing the conditions imposed on the possessors, even amid the turbulence of civil war, when the power of the crown was confined within narrow limits, was construed into a breach of covenant, and was made a plea for forfeiture. A door was thus opened to bands of discoverers and informers, needy and unscrupulous adventurers, who made a profit of hunting over the records of the public offices, and seeking flaws in Irish titles, until nobody could feel secure in the possession of his own lands, and many agreed to pay large compositions for new grants, rather than risk their property to the partial and constrained verdicts of juries.

While these grievances were spreading discontent through the districts threatened with plantation, or already in process, others of a different character weighed upon those which had been planted. Irregularities and abuses were gradually multiplying themselves among the settlers in Ulster. Some of the undertakers, contrary to the conditions of their patents, alienated their allotments by private contract; and thus others, by purchasing, obtained possession of more lands than the planters were allowed by the king's limitations, which were intended to prevent the enormous accumulation of property and power that had been held by the Irish chiefs. In the distribution of the lands, the king's directions were often neglected, as far as they related to provisions for the original proprietors, and the natives were deprived entirely of those possessions which were to have been reserved for them. Thus, in the small county of Longford, twenty-five members of one sept were all deprived of their estates without any compensation, and were actually left without the means of subsistence. Thus exposed to the avarice and rapine of foreign adventurers, the Irish, instead of being conciliated, were hardened in the hatred they bore to their rulers.

While the general feeling of discontent was thus increasing, the king, with singular improvidence, had reduced his army in Ireland to a mere nominal force, and this was

scattered over the island in small companies so as to be useless in case of sudden necessity. Instead of being regularly trained and mustered, they were left to the will of officers who were in many cases irresponsible from their position in the state. Such of these officers as were Irish landholders employed their men in the cultivation of the land, or as menial servants in their houses; while the others, who were left in long arrears of pay, were obliged to connive at the disorders and outrages committed by soldiers who were equally unpaid. The prodigality, and consequent pecuniary necessities, of James forced him thus to neglect the defences of his Irish government, and the apparent humiliation of the old rebellious septs seemed for a moment to justify his negligence.

Another equally imprudent measure led to future evils of a serious character, and showed at the time the necessity of placing a more efficient force at the disposal of the government. Although the Irish were now gradually conforming to the English life, and imbibing a taste for civilization, in the remoter parts of the island the ancient manners still prevailed, and numbers of idle men were harboured, who, unprovided with any regular means of subsistence, yet active and high-spirited, were consequently turbulent and eager for change. The existence of such a class, and the dangers to be anticipated from it, had not escaped the attention of the crown, and king James, desirous of draining the country of them, and at the same time eager at this moment to gratify the court of Spain, gave licence for enlisting them in foreign service. He thus set the dangerous example of allowing that particular class of the population which was most to be dreaded to be trained to the art of war. The officers who were to raise and conduct them to the continent were chiefly the sons or retainers of the old rebel leaders, and had followed them into exile, and they had been educated abroad in extravagant ideas of the ancient power and grandeur of their families, and in inveterate hatred to the English government. These officers passed over into Ireland to make their levies early in the summer of 1623, and soon filled up their companies. But now the government saw the danger of thus placing arms in the hands of its old enemies, and became alarmed. When their levies were completed, the Irish officers paid no further attention to the orders or limits prescribed to them, but ranged tumultuously through the kingdom, to the

great annoyance and terror of the peaceable inhabitants. They traversed those counties in which their old family connexions were most powerful, and practised with the discontented and disaffected, confirming their old sympathies, and carrying away their children to be educated in foreign countries. At the approach of winter, still showing no intention to embark, they advanced with their men in different bodies to the neighbourhood of Dublin, burdening and harassing the country, and causing the greatest alarm to the citizens. An effort was made to collect the English forces from their garrisons; a few companies were sent to secure the new-planted countries, and some troops of horse were drawn to Dublin, to watch the Irish companies quartered near that city. At length, after causing no little anxiety, the Irish recruits were embarked and, to the great satisfaction of the government, set sail from the shores of their native land.

But incidents like this were mortifying to the new lord deputy, and lord Falkland made strong representations to the court in England of the necessity of increasing the Irish military establishment. The unruly behaviour of these recruits had exposed the weakness of the government, and the recusants were daily becoming bolder. The influence of the Romish clergy was increasing amongst the native Irish, and it was now discovered that an ecclesiastical hierarchy, with a regular subordination of orders, offices, and persons, was established throughout the kingdom by the papal power, and that their jurisdiction was exercised with as much regularity, and their decrees executed with as full authority, as if the pope were actually in possession of Ireland.

The king, however willing, was not able to attend to the wishes of his deputy, for his treasury was empty, and the expenses of the Irish government already exceeded considerably the revenue derived from that country. The latter, it is true, had increased considerably within a few years, a proof that Ireland was improving in cultivation and commerce, but the ill-management of the finances, especially as regarded the army, rendered the expenditure disproportionately great. A serious attempt was now made both to increase the Irish revenue and to insure a more strict economy in the expenditure. Commissioners were sent from England to examine into the state of the revenue, but they were not well acquainted with the country and its condition, and

their recommendations were all either impracticable or the carrying them into effect was dangerous. They found that a great item in the expenditure of the Irish government consisted of useless pensions, but when looked into, it appeared that these pensions were all given to men of such influence and power in Ireland, that it would be in the highest degree dangerous to provoke them by their withdrawal. The projects for raising money in Ireland were no less difficult to be carried into effect, for they depended upon acts of spoliation which were calculated to provoke large bodies of the inhabitants. One of these affected the cities and towns whose inhabitants continued to be strongly tainted with the spirit of disaffection. These corporations possessed large landed estates, which were granted to them, with the condition that they were not to be alienated, for the purpose of building, or repairing walls and bridges, strengthening their fortifications, and a variety of municipal and charitable purposes. But the corporations had not always observed the conditions of these grants; in some cases alienations had been made without licence; and in others the prescribed applications had been neglected. It was, therefore, proposed that the crown should, under one pretence or other, resume all these lands into its own possession, and it was calculated that a sum of not less than fifty thousand pounds might be raised on regranting them. It was found, however, on reflection, that it would be too hazardous to attempt to carry this plan into effect, and it was relinquished. In the present temper of most of the cities and towns, it was considered more expedient to treat them with indulgence than to irritate them with a new provocation.

Another project started by these commissioners, flattered the king's taste for colonizing, and therefore received greater attention. It was no less a measure than the resumption of all the lands of the province of Connaught. The landed proprietors of Connaught, on their composition made with sir John Perrott, had surrendered their estates to the crown, in order to receive new grants of them, but they had in most cases neglected to enrol their surrenders or to take out their letters patent. As it was not the wish of the crown to disturb them in their rights, this defect was allowed to pass unnoticed, and it was only in the thirteenth year of king James's reign that it was supplied by that monarch, who issued a new commission

to receive the surrenders of their estates, which were regranted by new letters patent. Here another neglect of forms occurred, for although the surrenders were duly made, and the new patents received the great seal, and although three thousand pounds had been paid for the enrolments, yet, by the neglect of the officers, they had never been enrolled. The omission here was evidently not the fault of the landholders, yet advantage was taken of the informality to pronounce their titles defective, and adjudge the lands to be still vested in the crown. The king now entertained the project of establishing an extensive plantation in Connaught, similar to that of Ulster, and even began to make preparations for putting his design into effect.

The landed proprietors of Connaught were thrown into the utmost alarm, and representations were made in the strongest terms on the cruelty and injustice of depriving peaceful and loyal subjects of their estates, for a mere nicety of law, in derogation of the faith and honour of the king's broad seal; after they had themselves taken every step to make their titles good, and had paid large sums of money into the king's exchequer, for that purpose. It was further represented that to enforce the design of confiscation at this moment was to run the risk of driving the Irish of Connaught, in which province the natives were at this time most formidable, into open rebellion, a dangerous measure at a time when James was breaking with Spain and entering into a foreign war. The persons most interested in the overthrow of James's project, the lords and gentlemen of Connaught, had recourse to an argument which had more force with the king in his present necessities. They offered to purchase a new confirmation of their letters patent, by doubling their present annual composition, and, as their tenure exempted them from suing out their liveries or taking the oath of supremacy, they offered also to pay a fine of ten thousand pounds, which was computed to be a larger sum than the king would obtain from his plantation.

This affair was thus in a state of suspense at the moment when king James died, and left the throne to his son Charles. The accession of this monarch in 1625 was the signal for a new display of turbulent feeling among the recusants in Ireland, who were aware of the pecuniary difficulties in which king James had left the crown, and of the

unfavourable temper of Charles's first parliament. The popish clergy were doubly active in preaching opposition, and a bull of the pope was promulgated, exhorting them to lay down their lives rather than submit to the oath of supremacy, which latter was represented to them as an impious act, that would draw down upon them the vengeance of heaven. The protestant government now took the alarm, and the king was induced by their representations to raise the military force in Ireland to five thousand foot and five hundred horse. The poverty of his treasury led the king to provide for this army by an exercise of his prerogative, and he ordered it to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, who were to maintain them in turn, for three months at a time, with money, clothes, and provisions. The people of Ireland were with difficulty persuaded to submit to this extraordinary burden, and they only remained quiet, because they were told by the lord deputy that their submission should be rewarded ultimately by some substantial acts of grace and indulgence.

These promises gave new courage to the popish party, who hoped to extort from the king's necessities an exemption from the penal statutes, while many were anxious to profit by the opportunity in procuring relief from the apprehensions excited by the recent inquisitions into their titles to their estates. Charles extricated himself from his difficult situation with regard to his two classes of subjects in Ireland, by that habitual duplicity which ended with bringing him to the scaffold.

The catholics now suddenly began to flatter and support the Irish government, and they privately offered to the lord deputy a contribution in support of the king's army, on condition that they should receive some indulgence in the matter of religion. They were joined by a number of the protestant party who had also their grievances to complain of; and the favourable hearing they met with encouraged them to persevere. At a great meeting of the principal nobility and gentry in the castle of Dublin, in which the catholics were in a very great majority, they made an offer to lord Falkland of large contributions for the uses of the state, in exchange for security for their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes. The lord deputy recommended them to send agents to England, to make a tender of their faithful services to the king, lay their grievances

before him, and throw themselves upon his grace. The catholics acted upon this advice; but instead of waiting patiently for the result, they spread abroad the report that a full toleration of their religion was to be granted, and their exultation was exhibited publicly in a form calculated to be most offensive to their opponents.

This conduct alarmed the protestant clergy in general, and excited the utmost indignation of the large body of puritans who were now settled in Ireland. The pulpits of the latter re-echoed with their clamorous declamations against selling the truth and establishing idolatry. The excitement became general; and archbishop Usher (he now ruled the see of Armagh) called a meeting of the prelates, to deliberate on the danger to which the protestant church in Ireland was exposed by the concessions to popery meditated by the civil power. After due consideration and debate, they put their names to a protest, in which they declared that, "The religion of the papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical; their church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give, them, therefore, a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects; for, first, it is to make ourselves accessary not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the catholic apostacy. Secondly, to grant them a toleration, in respect of any money to be given or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people whom Christ hath redeemed with his blood. And as it is a great sin, so it is also a matter of most dangerous consequence: the consideration whereof we commit to the wise and judicious, beseeching the God of truth to make them who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous against all popery, superstition, and idolatry."

This remonstrance made a deep impression in England, and is said to have had a considerable effect in retarding any agreement between the agents of the Irish recusants and the king. The insolence of the papists in Ireland, and the effrontery with which they exercised their rights in public, were

looked upon with intense apprehension, and became subjects of reprehension even in parliament, which complained of the open encouragement given to papistry in the sister island, where, it was stated, monasteries were being newly built, and filled with monks and nuns.

But Charles I. listened favourably to the overtures of the Irish agents, and when they made him the offer of a voluntary contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be paid in three years, by three subsidies of forty thousand pounds each, he consented to grant the graces which they solicited, and he transmitted them by way of instruction to the lord deputy and council in the course of the year 1628. These graces consisted of fifty-one articles, some of which were very favourable to the recusants, but in general the favours and exemptions they granted were just and reasonable. The more important of these articles were those which allowed the recusants to practise in the courts of law, and to sue the livery of their lands out of the court of wards, an oath of civil allegiance being substituted for the oath of supremacy; which allowed undertakers in the several plantations time to fulfil the conditions of their leases; which confined the claims of the crown to the last sixty years, and annulled all claims arising from acts of an earlier period; and which permitted the inhabitants of Connaught to make a new enrolment of their estates. Provision was made for restraining the burden and oppressions of the soldiery; for preventing grants of protection to persons obnoxious to the courts of law, and for resuming or limiting various patents of monopolies: and for doing away with a variety of other grievances. Jurors and witnesses were protected from the tyranny of the castle chamber; a variety of exactions, common in the courts of justice, monopolies injurious to trade, and extortions practised in the name of religion, were abolished; the evidence of convicted felons was no longer to be received against persons accused of crimes; and the clergy of the established church were prohibited from keeping prisons for the confinement of those who were subject to ecclesiastical censures. A parliament was to be held on the third of November, to confirm these graces, and establish every man in the undisturbed possession of his land.

Having obtained these important concessions, which were sent over to Ireland in the

month of May, 1628, the people to whom they were granted naturally looked forward with some anxiety to the parliament which was to confirm them, and thus give them the force of law. Lord Falkland, acting on the spirit of his instructions, lost no time in issuing the writs to call a parliament on the day appointed. By two acts passed in the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, it was necessary, before holding a parliament in Ireland, to obtain the king's licence under the great seal of England, and, by some unaccountable oversight, lord Falkland had omitted this formality. The king might easily have corrected the error, if he had been sincere in his intention that the graces, which he had sold for money, should be binding upon him. But instead of doing so, he allowed his privy council to pronounce the summons illegal and void; the parliament was not called at all; and thus the graces were unconfirmed, and the king, after he had reaped, on his part, the advantages of his concessions, was not legally bound to abide by them any longer than suited his own pleasure. That this was a premeditated design can hardly be doubted: for it is impossible that on a sudden all the state officers in England and Ireland should have forgotten the most essential formalities of calling an Irish parliament. Yet the honourable character which lord Falkland enjoyed among his contemporaries, seems to agree but little with the fact (if it were true) of that nobleman having been a voluntary party to a transaction so mean and disgraceful.

The graces, however, were not withdrawn, but, while the Irish catholics experienced present toleration and indulgence to which they had not lately been accustomed, they were left in the expectation that a parliament would eventually be held to give them the necessary confirmation, and they submitted cheerfully to the contribution by which they had been purchased. In the bitterness of religious and political opposition, each party, as it felt or imagined itself strongest, hurried into excesses which injured its own cause, while they provoked its opponents. The catholic clergy were now rapidly increasing in numbers and violence, and, under immediate directions from Rome, they were gradually forming an extensive and powerful confederacy, and they made an ostentatious show of the open profession of their religion. They were, in fact, almost entirely priests

educated in the foreign seminaries, where the bitterest hatred of English protestants was inculcated, and they were impatient to show that in this respect they had profited by their teaching. They seized upon some of the old churches, and reconsecrated them; began to establish religious houses; exercised a rigorous ecclesiastical authority; and even founded in the city of Dublin a popish school for the education of priests under a catholic ecclesiastic of some celebrity. Lord Falkland's administration was one of extreme caution and hesitation, yet the language and actions of the recusants at length drove him from his apparent supineness; and then, urged by the Irish council and the clamours of the protestant clergy, he put forth a hasty proclamation, stating that "the late intermission of legal proceedings against popish pretended titular archbishops, bishops, abbots, deans, vicars-general, jesuits, friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the see of Rome, in contempt of his majesty's royal power and authority, had bred such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them in his majesty's name to forbear the exercise of their popish rites and ceremonies." This proclamation was powerless, and therefore it was not respected; for the lord deputy, afraid of acting without orders from the English court, did not venture to carry it into effect, and the recusants became more insolent, as the government, whose duty it was to restrain them, showed greater weakness. They not only continued to celebrate their worship openly, and persevered in their courses, but they began to cry out about the grievous weight of the public burdens, blamed their agents, who had unadvisedly involved them in the obligation to pay so large a contribution, and made so much clamour, that the court was at length obliged to agree to a compromise, and accept a quarterly payment of five thousand, instead of ten thousand pounds, until the whole voluntary subsidy should be discharged. King Charles, as was his custom, sacrificed his friends and servants for the expediency of the moment; lord Falkland was recalled; and the government of Ireland was left in the hands of two lords justices, Adam Loftus viscount Ely, the Irish lord chancellor, and Richard earl of Cork, who then held the office of lord high treasurer of Ireland.



CHAPTER XXI.

THE GREAT EARL OF CORK AND HIS GAINS.

IR Richard Boyle, who had now risen to the rank of an earl, and to the high office of lord justice, was one of the most remarkable men who ruled Ireland at this period, and deserves a more lengthened notice as a type of that class of greedy Englishmen who rushed into Ireland to raise their fortunes on the rebellions of the latter years of the reign of queen Elizabeth. To the unscrupulous dealings of such men we must attribute much of the hostile feeling which marked the relations between the native Irish and their English rulers in the succeeding age. The earl of Cork, from a very mean beginning, amassed in the space of a few years an immense fortune, which he would fain attribute to the favour of providence, but we have documentary evidence to prove that his contemporaries in Ireland attributed it to a much less honourable agency.* In the pride of his elevation to a share in the government of Ireland, and probably wishing to leave a written contradiction to the charges which were current against him, lord Cork drew up, in 1632, a brief autobiographical sketch, which is still in existence.

According to his own account, Richard Boyle was born of parents in a respectable station in life, and he studied successively at Cambridge and in the Middle Temple, being destined for the profession of the law, but, he says, "finding my means unable to support me to study the laws in the inns of court, I put myself into the service of sir Richard Manwood, knight, lord chief baron of her majesty's court of Exchequer, whom I served as one of his clerks." Finding, he adds, that he was not likely to make a fortune in this employment, he determined to seek it elsewhere, and with this view left sir Richard Manwood's service and turned his

steps towards Ireland, which was then to English adventurers what our Indian conquests were to our forefathers of the latter part of the last century.

"When first I arrived at Dublin, the 23rd of June, 1588," lord Cork says, "all my wealth was twenty-seven pounds three shillings in money, and two tokens which my mother had given me, viz., a diamond ring, which I have ever since and still do wear, and a bracelet of gold, worth about ten pounds; a taffety doublet cut with and upon taffety, a pair of black velvet breeches laced, a new Milan fustian suit laced and cut upon taffety, two cloaks, competent linen and necessaries, with my rapier and dagger." Such is his own account of the cause of his first repair to Ireland; but a document, written about the year 1599, informs us that he ran away from England "for rasing (erasing) of records;" that he obtained the money with which he began his career "by counterfeiting hands," in which he seems to have been skilful, and that "by forgeries, rasings, and perjuries," he had at that time "thrust many a man out of his land." Among the charges brought against Boyle before the English privy council at the time this document was written, one was that, when he first went over into Ireland, he "counterfeited a letter from sir Thomas Kempe to Mr. Legar, constable of Dublin castle, another from lady Baker to Mrs. Kenny, and another from lady Hales to lady Delves, whereby Boyle procured much friendship at her hands in Ireland;" to which charge he then only gave an equivocal answer, excusing himself upon his youth at the time, and upon the circumstance that "if they had been falsified it was not to the prejudice of the queen's service." By proceedings of a similar questionable character he seems gradually to have collected a little property, until, at the latter end of 1595, he married a daughter of William Apsley, Esq., who brought him land to the

* The exposure of Lord Cork's real character, and of the very equivocal means by which he appears to have built up his fortune, was first made by Mr. T. Crofton Croker, in a paper read before the British Archaeological Association in its congress at Canter-

bury in 1844, and is chiefly based upon original documents then in the possession of W. S. Fitch, Esq. of Ipswich, and now in the collection of sir William Betham. I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Croker for the use of these papers.

amount of five hundred pounds a-year, which, he says, "was the beginning and foundation of my fortune."

Boyle's history becomes at this time confused. He was evidently aggrandising himself by the purchase of lands on advantageous terms, which the course of events obliged the native possessors to relinquish, yet there appear grounds for suspicion that he was at this time in secret league with the disaffected, and aware of the preparations for a Spanish invasion, if not actually in the pay of Spain. From a series of examinations before the English privy council in the February of 1599, it appears that Boyle had then been for several years an object of suspicion and distrust, and he confesses himself that within five years he had been committed to prison in Dublin six or seven times. In two cases it was deposed, he was indicted of capital felonies, from the punishment of which he escaped by buying off his accusers and thus staying the prosecution until he had obtained his pardon. He was charged by his accusers with obtaining lands, under protection of his office of deputy escheator, by the most fraudulent means. Some tracts of escheated land he appropriated to himself, and made no return of it to the queen. Where men came over from England with grants of Irish lands, he threw so many difficulties in their way by power given him by his office, that they were at last glad to sell him their grants for a trifling sum of money. Some of these particular charges are worth quoting, as showing the reckless manner in which the plunder and confiscation of the Irish lands were at this time carried on. One Henry Deane, who was a principal witness against Boyle, deposed that an Englishman named John Rawson came with letters from England, ordering him to be rewarded with a lease of £20 of land for twenty-one years "wherever it might be found in Ireland." When Rawson arrived in Ireland, he soon found himself among a heap of sharpers, and learnt that there was nothing to be done without giving some of them a share in his profits. He accordingly addressed himself to Deane, and gave him one-half of his grant of lands, on condition that he should forward his business, and share equally in the payment of fees. They then applied to Boyle, as deputy escheator, to obtain the fulfilment of their grant, and it remained with him to particularize the lands which were to pass under this nominal rent of £20. Thus left to his discretion, they were not only offered

lands of very small value, but the deputy escheator "asked £160 to make up the offices and return, otherwise he would lay such heavy rent upon survey, as it should not be worth sixpence to them." Rawson and Deane, "finding this extremity," and perceiving that they lay entirely at Boyle's mercy, sold him their lease for a small sum of money. The grant was still blank as to the lands which were to be granted, and Boyle, having now obtained it for his own use, filled it up with a fine estate in Connaught, "inserting in the particular ninety-three ploughlands, three quatrions of land, three parsonages, and ten castles and water-mills, for the same twenty pound rent per annum, and hath gotten a lease in reversion thereof at the same rent for many years." It was further deposed that "one Mr. Tath obtained a letter from her majesty to have a lease of £30 per annum, which letter Boyle bought, as himself hath confessed, and thereupon at very small rates and undervalues hath passed all O'Connor Roe's country, who has since become a rebel. His country thus passed away is about ten miles long and six broad, of the best land in those parts. Boyle hath confessed to this examine and others at sundry times, and namely to one Richard Leman, that he had in Connaught three hundred and sixty ploughlands and thirty-eight parsonages." The same witness said that Boyle had "asked three hundred and twenty pounds for lands he had in Westmeath, whereof he saith the said Boyle is commonly reported to have deceived the nation (sept) of the Daltons, who since are in rebellion." After giving various other instances of Boyle's corrupt practices, Deane stated that "he hath in Dublin a note of much more lands that the said Boyle hath in Ireland, whereof he sold some, other parcels are in his possession;" that "one Chamberlain gave Boyle a horse for a custodiam of lands, and so the queen's title never recorded;" that Boyle had been connected in many other similar transactions; and that he and "one Capstock, now deceased, deputy surveyor, were in linked confederacy, so as no man could pass anything but as they listed."

From the circumstantial form in which these charges were made, and the equivocal manner in which some of them were denied, we can hardly doubt that they were substantially true. They show us how the "new English" who repaired to Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century made their fortunes,

and we cannot be surprised at the hostile feelings between them and the old landholders and their tenants. Boyle's conduct had become so notorious, that in the May of 1597 he was committed to custody in Dublin castle, and he was kept a prisoner with various detainers on the part of the crown till the autumn of 1598, when, taking advantage of the confusion consequent upon the rebellion in Munster, he escaped and went without leave to England. There his accusers followed him, and he was brought for examination before the privy council, as stated above, in the February of 1599, when he replied to the charges brought against him with a general denial or equivocally. Thus, with regard to the horse, he said before the council, "if ever I had, or corruptly received of Henry Chamberlain any horse, let me be hanged, and if ever I compounded to make a benefit by granting of custodiams of any of her majesty's lands or received any rents for these lands, I will be contented to be hanged, drawn, and quartered!" With such general assertions, the council seems to have been satisfied, without requiring further evidence; perhaps the queen was pleased by the boldness with which he faced his accusers; Richard Boyle escaped from his trial, cleared, as far as the law was concerned, of all taint upon his character.

Boyle himself, concealing most of the matters which we discover from the minutes of privy council, such as his repeated imprisonment and the manner of his flying from Dublin, where he was actually a prisoner at large, gives the following partial account of these transactions:—"When God had blessed me with a reasonable fortune and estate," he says, "sir Henry Wallop, of Wares, sir Robert Gardiner, chief justice of the king's bench, sir Robert Dillon, chief justice of the common pleas, and sir Richard Bingham, chief commissioner of Connaught, being displeased for some purchases I had made in that province, they all joined together, by their lies complaining against me to queen Elizabeth, expressing that I came over a young man without any estate or fortune, and that I had made so many purchases as it was not possible to do it without some foreign prince's purse to supply me with money; that I had acquired divers castles and abbeys upon the sea side fit to receive and entertain Spaniards; that I kept in my abbeys fraternities and convents of friars in their habits, who said mass con-

tinually; and that I was suspected in my religion; with divers other malicious suggestions." Nothing of this kind was brought forward against him before the privy council. "Whereof," he continues, "having some secret notice, I resolved to go into Munster, and so into England to justify myself."

This was written in 1632; but if we turn back to the contemporary minutes of the council, we find, on the evidences of witnesses and officers of the crown, a totally different account. It appears that a letter had been addressed by the privy council in England to the council in Dublin, "for examination of his lewd behaviour," and that Henry Deane, the bearer of this letter, had been bribed by Boyle to destroy it—the bribe is said to have been the sum of one hundred pounds. Subsequently, John Rawson, who has been mentioned as having been cheated out of his grant of lands by Boyle, obtained another letter to the same effect, whereupon Boyle agreed with Rawson to give him a pension for life of eightpence a day, on condition that he should suppress this second letter. Then there were four indictments for felony against him, and in May, 1597, having been committed to custody, and kept there by successive detainers during some months, at length, according to the deposition of his keeper, the marshal of the four courts, "Sir Henry Wallop gave commandment that the said Boyle should have liberty of the city of Dublin and two miles compass, as this examinant's deputy and the said Boyle made report unto him; and at divers times after the said Boyle did repair to the house of sir Anthony Saintleger, knight, a mile from Dublin, and went by the strand, which is the way that the council did usually walk, being a mile without the city, without any keeper." Subsequently, "this examine being sergeant-at-arms, he was employed in her majesty's service in Munster, and whilst he was in that service, the said Boyle departed Dublin, and so went home without any leave, or of the privy of this examine or his deputy, after he had remained prisoner and upon commandment for the space of fifteen months."

But, to return to Boyle's account of himself; after mentioning his departure to Munster, he continues:—"But before I could take shipping the general rebellion in Munster broke out; all my lands were wasted, as I could say that I had not one penny of certain revenue left me, to the unspeakable

danger and hazard of my life. Yet God preserved me, as I recovered (*i.e.* reached) Dingle, and got shipping there, which transported me to Bristol, whence I travelled to London, and betook myself to my former chamber in the Middle Temple, intending to renew my studies in the law till the rebellion were past over. Then Robert earl of Essex was designed for the government of this kingdom, into whose service I was recommended by Mr. Anthony Bacon. Whereupon his lordship very nobly received me, and used me with favour and grace, in employing me in the issuing out his patent and commissions for the government of Ireland; whereof sir Henry Wallop, treasurer, having notice, and being conscious in his own heart that I had sundry papers and collections of Michael Kettlewell's, his late under-treasurer, which might discover a great deal of wrong and abuse done to the queen in his late accounts; and suspecting, if I were countenanced by the earl of Essex, that I would bring those things to light which might much prejudice or ruin his reputation or estate, although I vow to God until I was provoked I had no thought of it. Yet he, utterly to suppress me, renewed his former complaints against me to the queen's majesty. Whereupon, by her majesty's special directions, I was suddenly attached and conveyed close prisoner to the Gate-house; all my papers seized and searched; and, although nothing could appear to my prejudice, yet my close restraint was continued till the earl of Essex was gone to Ireland and two months afterwards; at which time, with much suit, I obtained the favour of her sacred majesty to be present at my answers, where I so fully answered and cleared all their objections, and delivered such full and evident justifications for my own acquittal, as it pleased the queen to use these words:—'By God's death! these are but inventions against this young man; and all his sufferings are for being able to do us service, and those complaints urged to forestall him therein. But we find him to be a man fit to be employed by ourselves, and we will employ him in our service; and Wallop and his adherents shall know that it shall not be in the power of any of them to wrong him, neither shall Wallop be our treasurer any longer.' Thereupon she directed her speech to her lords in her council there present, and commanded them presently to give her the names of six men, out of whom she might choose one to be treasurer of Ireland, her election falling

upon sir George Carew of Cockington. And then the queen arose from council, and gave orders not only for my present enlargement, but also discharging all my charges and fees during my restraint, and gave me her royal hand to kiss, which I did heartily, humbly thanking God for that deliverance."

"Being commanded by her majesty to attend at court," Boyle continues, "it was not many days before her highness was pleased to bestow upon me the office of clerk of the council of Munster, and to recommend me over to sir George Carew, after earl of Totness, then lord president of Munster. Whereupon I bought of sir Walter Raleigh his ship called the *Pilgrim*, into which I took a freight of ammunition and victuals, and came in her myself by long seas, and arrived at Carrig-a-foyle, in Kerry, where the lord president and the army were at the siege of that castle; which, when he had taken, I was there sworn clerk of the council of Munster, and presently after made a justice and quorum throughout all that province:—and this was the second rise that God gave to my fortune."

It is somewhat remarkable, and calculated to throw suspicion on the writer's honesty, that whenever we can compare the earl of Cork's statements with dates and documents, we discover that they are either totally untrue, or, at the least, very inaccurate. In the above short paragraph he has leaped from the summer of 1599 to that of 1600, for Carew's operations in Kerry, here alluded to, occurred in the July of the year last-mentioned. But it appears, from records of the most authentic character, not only that Carrig-a-foyle castle was not besieged by the lord president of Munster, for while he remained at Glynn during five days after the capture of the knight of Glynn's castle on the 8th of July, 1600, O'Connor Kerry offered to surrender his castle of Carrig-a-foyle, and, to use the words of the *Pacata Hibernia*, "his proffer the lord president accepted, and a ward of sir Charles Wilmott's company was placed therein;" but that no victuals or stores were brought into Munster by a ship called the *Pilgrim* during that period. This shows us clearly how little trust can be placed in lord Cork's statements relating to himself.

The next step in Richard Boyle's advancement is apparently related with the same disregard for truth as the preceding. "There," he says (that is, in Munster), "as clerk of the council, I attended the lord president in all

his employments, and waited upon him all the whole siege of Kinsale, and was employed by his lordship to her majesty with the news of that happy victory. In which employment I made a speedy expedition to the court; for I left my lord president at Shandon castle, near Cork, on the Monday morning about two of the clock, and the next day, being Tuesday, I delivered my packet and supped with sir Robert Cecil, being then principal secretary of state, at his house in the Strand; who after supper held me in discourse till two of the clock in the morning; and by seven that morning called upon me to attend him to the court, where he presented me to her majesty in her bed-chamber, who remembered me, calling me by my name and giving me her hand to kiss, telling me that she was glad that I was the happy man to bring the first news of that glorious victory. And after her majesty had interrogated with me upon sundry questions very punctually, and that therein I had given her full satisfaction in every particular, she again gave me her hand to kiss, and recommended my dispatch for Ireland, and so dismissed me with grace and favour." It happens, unfortunately for this statement, that the letters themselves, announcing the victory at Kinsale, are still preserved, and these and others connected with the same event, show that it was sir Henry Danvers, an officer who had taken an active part in the engagement, who brought them to court, and that Mr. Boyle had nothing to do with the transaction. The "speedy expedition" with which he professes to have travelled, must have been nearly impossible in the reign of queen Elizabeth.

"At my return into Ireland," lord Cork continues, "I found my lord president ready to march with the army to the siege of Beervhaven (Dunboy) castle, then fortified and possessed by the Spaniards and some Irish rebels; which after battering we had made assaultable, we entered and put all to the sword. His lordship fell then to reducing those western rebels of the province to subjection and obedience to her majesty's laws; and having placed garrisons and wards in all places of importance, made his return to Cork, and in his way homewards acquainted me with his resolution, it being presently to employ me into England to obtain license from her majesty for his repair to her royal presence; at which time he propounded unto me the purchase of all sir Walter Raleigh's lands in Munster, offering me his best assis-

tance for compassing thereof, which he really performed. For upon my departure from England, he wrote by me two effectual letters, one to sir Robert Cecil, wherein he was pleased to magnify my services and abilities, and concluding with a request that he would make intercession with sir Walter Raleigh to sell me all his lands in Ireland, that were then altogether waste and desolate. To sir Walter Raleigh he also wrote, advising him to sell me all his lands in Ireland, then untenanted and of no value to him, mentioning withal that in his lordship's knowledge his estate in Ireland never yielded him any benefit, but contrariwise stood him in two hundred pounds yearly for the maintenance and support of his titles. Whereupon there was a meeting between sir Robert Cecil, sir Walter Raleigh, and myself, where sir Robert mediated and concluded the purchase between us. Accordingly my assurances were perfected; and this was a third addition and rise to my estate."

This transaction between Boyle and Raleigh is enveloped in mystery, but it seems not improbable that it is another instance of the clever though unscrupulous means employed by the fortunate adventurer to increase his landed possessions in Ireland. It is well known that lord Cork supplied Raleigh from time to time with sums of money subsequent to the date of this pretended purchase; and he perhaps took advantage of his necessities to secure for himself his grants of confiscated Irish lands. After Raleigh's death, his lady and children petitioned, though in vain, against the manner in which lord Cork had (to use the words of the petition) "juggled away" the Irish grants of land which had been made to sir Walter for his services. So notorious, indeed had Richard Boyle's character become for his equivocal purchases, that the corporation of Cork passed a bye-law, forbidding any dealing or transaction with him, fearing to be cheated out of their lands.

We shall, perhaps, be pardoned for what may appear to be an unnecessary digression, on account of the important part which lord Cork and his descendants acted in the subsequent events of Irish history. The foregoing details have their interest, as showing the manner in which Ireland was treated when the repeated insurrection of its chiefs had led to its being at last a conquered country. It is evident that lord Cork felt the necessity of throwing a veil over the manner in which he had amassed his great

riches. It is evident that, when he was as yet but young in Ireland, his extensive purchases of landed property, and the suspicious circumstances connected with them, attracted so much attention that the government was obliged to interfere, and that he fled from Ireland to escape the state prosecutions. He appears to have been saved from the further pursuits of justice through the protection of the court favourite of the day, the earl of Essex, to whose notice he had succeeded in recommending himself. Having thus obtained impunity, he returned to Ireland, courted the favour of sir George Carew, took every opportunity of adding to his already extensive landed possessions, until, his first wife having died in 1599, he secured the path to further promotion, in 1603, by marrying the only daughter of the principal secretary of state, sir Geoffrey Fenton. Richard Boyle was knighted by sir George Carew, on the day of his second marriage, and his rise was now rapid. In 1616 he was created baron Boyle, of Youghal (the estate he had obtained from sir Walter Raleigh); and in 1620 he was further advanced to the titles of viscount Dungarvan and earl of Cork. He had at this time gained the character, among those who, like the historian Coxe (whose words we are quoting), were unacquainted with the secret of his advancement, of being "one of the most extraordinary persons either that or any other age hath produced, with respect to the great and just acquisitions of estate that he made, and the public works that he began and finished for the advancement of the English interest and the pro-

testant religion in Ireland; as churches, almshouses, free-schools, bridges, castles, and towns, viz., Lismore, Tallow, Clognakilty, Iniskeen, Castletown, and Bandon (which last place cost him fourteen thousand pounds); insomuch that when Cromwell saw these prodigious improvements, which he little expected to find in Ireland, he declared that if there had been an earl of Cork in every province, it would have been impossible for the Irish to have raised a rebellion. And whilst he was carrying on these solid works, he lived in his family at a rate of plenty, that exceeded those who consumed great estates in the lavish ways of ill-ordered excess.* His motto, 'God's providence is my inheritance,' shews from whence he derived all his blessings; the greatest of which was the numerous and noble posterity he had to leave his estate unto."

Although we can hardly doubt, from the manner in which this case was carried through, that much of that with which Richard Boyle was charged was substantially true, yet some of the charges may have been exaggerated, for it is evident that his sudden and extraordinary prosperity had excited jealousy, and raised him many enemies. He was, after all, but one of a class, and the very men who were his accusers appear to have been only less fortunate adventurers in the same line. The earl of Cork was certainly an extraordinary man, and he exerted a great influence in the south of Ireland. His whole energies seemed to be directed to the establishment and extension of the reformed church, and he was therefore popular

* The following paper relating to the ordering of the earl's household in England, and curiously illustrative of the domestic manners of the nobility at this period, has been kindly communicated by Mr. Crofton Croker, from sir Wm. Betham's collection of Boyle MSS. in the autograph of Mr. Lodge:—

"A form for the government of the earl of Corks family at Stalbridge.

- "1. Firste. All the servants, excepte such as are officers or are otherwise employed, shall meete everye Mornning before dnyner, and everye night after supper at Prayers.
- "2. That there be lodgeings fittinge for all the earle of Corks servants to lye in the house.
- "3. That it shall be lawful for the steward to examine any subordinate servant of the whole Familie concerninge any complainte or Misdemeanor committed, and to dismisse and put awaye any inferior servant that shall live dissolutelie and disorderlie either in the howse or abroad without the espetial command of the earle of Cork to the contrarie.
- "4. That there be a certen number of the gent

apoynted to sitt at the stewards table, the lyke at the wayters table, and the reste to sitt in the hall att the longe table.

- "5. That there be a clarke of the kytchin, to take care of such provicion as is brought into the howse, and to have an espetial eie to the severall tables that are kepte either above staires or in the kytchin and other places.
- "6. That all the women servants under the degree of chamber maydes be certenlie knowne by theire names to the steward, and not altered and changed uppon everye occation without the consent of the steward, and no schorers to be admitted in the house.
- "7. That the officers everye Frydaye might bringe in their bills unto the steward, whereby he maye collecte what hath bene spent, and what remaynes weeklie in the howse.
- "8." (*Sic Orig.*)

Indorsed, "Tho^r. Cross, his orders for the keeping of the howse.

"The writing is the earles hand."

among the protestant party. His colleague, the lord chancellor Ely, was actuated by the same principles; and the two lords justices had no sooner assumed the reins of government than they proceeded to put in force many of the old laws against the recusants, especially that statute of Elizabeth which compelled attendance at divine service in the established church. The recusants were highly irritated by these measures, and their exultation was great when their rulers received a check in their course of persecution from the English court.

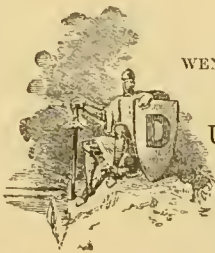
One event, however, which happened under their government led to a sudden and rather extensive act of confiscation. The lords justices were attending divine service at Christ Church when intelligence reached them that a fraternity of Carmelites were publicly celebrating their religious rites, in the habits of their order, in a part of Dublin called Cook-street. Nothing had given greater offence to the English protestants than the reappearance of the monastic orders, and the behaviour of these friars was looked upon as an act of presumptuous contumacy. The archbishop of Dublin, with the chief magistrate of the city, proceeded to Cook-street at the head of a file of musketeers, entered the chapel, seized the priest in his vestments, and carried away all the

sacred utensils and ornaments. In the first moment of alarm the congregation sought their safety in flight, but some of them returned, and pursuing the assailants they succeeded in rescuing their priest. A strong representation of the conduct of the catholics on this occasion was sent over to the privy council in London, and the more zealous protestants seized the occasion to protest against what they conceived to be the mistaken lenity which had encouraged such bold displays. It was, therefore, resolved to punish the religious orders in general; and, by the council's order, sixteen monastic houses were seized to the king's use, and the popish college in Dublin, which from its first establishment had been looked upon with a jealous eye, was granted to the university of Dublin, and converted into a protestant seminary.

The government of the lords justices thus presented a continued contest between the catholics and protestants, and tended not a little to embitter their mutual feelings of animosity. But the time now approached when the king's necessities and his designs called for a more resolute and arbitrary policy, and after having held the government from 1629 to 1633, they gave it up in the latter year to one of the most remarkable men to whom it had ever been entrusted.

CHAPTER XXII.

WENTWORTH, LORD DEPUTY; A NEW PARLIAMENT; BEHAVIOUR OF THE NOBILITY AND OF THE CLERGY; THE CONVOCATION.



URING the events we have been relating in Ireland, others of a still greater importance for the state had been following each other rapidly in England. There Charles I., inheriting all the difficulties and embarrassments in which his father's misrule had involved the crown, had entered upon a still bolder course of arbitrary rule, and had provoked a firmer spirit of resistance. Two parliaments had been dissolved for the courage with which they opposed the encroachments of the crown, without passing a law or granting a subsidy, and the

king had recourse to unconstitutional measures to supply his necessities. A third parliament had forced from him the petition of rights, but it also was subsequently dissolved for its want of subserviency, and the king announced his intention of governing by his prerogative, and not embarrassing himself with parliaments any more. The spirit of resistance was now spread over the whole island, and the agitation which manifested itself so violently in England could not fail to be re-echoed in Ireland.

Among the foremost and loudest of the English patriots stood sir Thomas Wentworth, a Yorkshire baronet of large pro-

party, who was therefore marked out as especially obnoxious to the crown. He had on one occasion been named high sheriff of the county of York, in order to prevent his being chosen to represent that county in parliament, and he had been made an object of persecution for refusing the forced loan. He subsequently took an active part in obtaining the petition of right. The king then adopted another line of policy, and made a successful attempt to detach some of the more violent patriots from the popular party by the prospect of court favour and promotion. Among these deserters was sir Thomas Wentworth, who, in the July of 1628, was raised to the peerage as baron Wentworth, and shortly afterwards he was created viscount Wentworth, made a privy councillor, and appointed to the high office of president of York.

The temper of lord Wentworth was violent and overbearing, and, having once quitted the popular party, he threw himself recklessly into the opposite extreme, and became the fearless supporter of his new master in the most arbitrary stretches of his prerogative, in whose favour and confidence he made proportionate progress. The position of Ireland was at this time an object of deep consideration in Charles's council. The struggle of parties had made that island difficult to govern, and the state of its revenue had long made it a burthen on England. Its population had only by a system of cajolery been prevailed upon latterly to contribute towards the expenditure necessary to support the government of the country, and the time now approached when the voluntary subsidy was to determine, which would not only leave the state without the funds necessary to support its army and civil establishment, but would bring forward the question of the graces at a time when the recusant party was in its very worst humour. The king had made up his mind that some of the graces interfered with the free exercise of his prerogative, and he was resolved that they should not be confirmed. He was determined, moreover, not only to discard the graces, but to extort the continuation of the subsidy, and to reduce Ireland to a more close conformity with England. Various circumstances encouraged him in the design of trying the experiment in Ireland of carrying the exercise of the prerogative to a greater extent than he could hope at first to succeed in doing in this country, but for that purpose he required an agent of that stern

and unhesitating character which would not be discouraged at any difficulties that might present themselves.

It was under the pressure of these various circumstances that king Charles fixed upon lord Wentworth to fill the office of lord deputy of Ireland. The appointment took place at the beginning of the year 1632, but different causes retained Wentworth in England, and the preparations for his departure went on slowly. The embarrassments in which the king had involved himself by his dispute with the commons had already spread disorder throughout the country, which was infested with robbers and banditti; and the pirates on the high sea had become so bold and powerful that they plundered and insulted the coasts of the Irish channel, and rendered the passage one of great danger. When the time approached for his departure it was necessary that the new governor of Ireland should have a man-of-war to escort him to Dublin, and there was much delay in carrying the ship round to the port from which he was to embark. At length, on the 16th of July, we find the lord deputy at Chester, on his way to Ireland, where he landed a few days afterwards, and the sword of state was immediately delivered to him.

Lord Wentworth was sent to Ireland with a stern mission. He was to pursue what were considered as measures of reform with a high hand, and to allow of no opposition to the king's will. It had long been the curse of Ireland that a numerous body of interested individuals stood between the crown and the true interests of the country, who had grown into power merely because the seat of the supreme power was at a distance; Wentworth was to reduce this class to its proper position in the state, a task rendered more difficult by the circumstance that in performing it the lord deputy must necessarily convert the greater number of the individuals who composed the class into bitter personal enemies, and more dangerous from the political agitation which was now abroad, and the unscrupulous character of the means which were to be employed. The new ruler of Ireland was to be guided by the principles of government of Charles I., and by the ecclesiastical maxims of archbishop Laud, who were his directors and advisers. He went over with unusually extensive powers, and with an express stipulation that no appeal should be admitted from his judgments to the English court. He was finally to make Ireland do,

what it had never yet done, give pecuniary assistance to the English crown.

During upwards of a year that the two lords justices exercised the government after the new lord deputy had been appointed, they had followed a temporising and indecisive course, probably under some apprehensions of the plans which were to be put in force by their successor, and certainly regarded by him with no feeling of respect. He paid them the compliment of demanding their opinion and council on the state of Ireland, its evils and their remedy: and in their reply they told him as "some particulars which are, in our judgments, very considerable and conducing to the advantage of his majesty's service here, and to the quiet of your succeeding government," that the king's stores wanted attending to; that they had received intelligence that the Irish coasts were threatened with an attack by the Turks, who were now carrying their piratical depredations into the Atlantic;* that the lodgings of the lord deputy in Dublin castle were in need of repair; that he would require new stabling; that he would want new seals for the various departments of government; that the impost wines, granted by James I. to the deputy and council, and to the nobility and bishops, had been discontinued; and that the transplanting of the Irish septs of Leinster, the most important work of their government, had not yet been completed. The importance thus given to trivial matters shows only that the lords justices were afraid to give any opinion on the greater grievances under which Ireland laboured, and on the difficulties which beset the government. It is true that, in a letter to the lord treasurer, they had spoken more fully of their pecuniary embarrassments, intimating that the small sum which yet remained to be paid of the voluntary subscription which had been given in exchange for the graces, would not be enough to pay the present arrears of the army, and suggesting that, as they assured him that the recusants and the people in general were at that moment in no temper to grant more, the king should raise an accession of revenue by suddenly enforcing all the penalties against the catholics, which, as they had been allowed to remain unenforced for some time, would, with arrears, produce a large sum of money.

The letter which Charles wrote to the

* It is stated that in the preceding summer the Turks had landed on the coast of Cork, attacked

lords justices, in reply to their communications, opened their eyes in some degree to the spirit in which Ireland was now to be governed. The council had informed the lord treasurer, "that all sorts of men, as well British as natives, had so far declared averseness and impatience in the payment of the contributions toward the payment of the army, and resolution to withstand the continuance thereof without respect to any consequence, or opening ear to any persuasions, that they conceived it a work impossible and beyond any industry to continue those levies longer than the three subsidies are in paying, without much hazard and danger to the state and peace of the king's affairs there." The king described this statement as appearing to him, "very strange," adding, "nevertheless we may and do still justly hope for better endeavours and affections, as well from you our ministers, as from our subjects there in general, especially considering that our army is, as you write, not at all as formerly burdensome unto them, that they enjoy in a large manner the protection and care of our just and peaceable government, and that they have largely tasted of our acts of grace and bounty when the agents last attended us about the affairs of that kingdom, and ever since." This was the first direct intimation that the king now determined to look upon the graces as mere temporary concessions, and it is coupled with the threat of treating them as such. "But seeing you conceive there is so much difficulty in the settlement of the payments, and considering the small hopes you mention in your letters of further improvement there, we must be constrained, if they be not freely and thankfully continued, *to streighten* our former graces vouchsafed during those contributions, and make use more strictly of our legal rights and profits." And further to inspire terror into the catholic party, from whom naturally he expected most opposition, Charles announced his determination to adopt that part of the suggestion of the lords justices relating to the rigorous enforcement of the obnoxious fine for not regularly attending the protestant worship. The preparations for this measure were to be made in secret, until the last instalment of the voluntary contributions had been paid into the king's treasury, and then the threat of religious persecution was to be held over the heads of the Baltimore, and carried away about a hundred of the inhabitants into slavery.

contributors. "We approve," the king said, "that this business may be presently put into such a state, as that the monies which shall by that means grow due unto us may be ready to be levied by Michaelmas next, albeit we are purposed for the present in this also to follow your counsel, and not to levy or seize any man's goods for the duty before the said subsidies be determined. And as the best and surest way to bring this business to effect, we do hereby authorize and require you forthwith to assemble our council there, and with their privity to cause presentments to be duly made through the whole kingdom, according as the law you maintain doth appoint, which we expect shall be finished by the going over of our deputy, who shall be fully instructed to make use and proceed therein, according as we shall by that time resolve upon."

The part which Wentworth acted in this business shows us fully his abilities for intrigue, and the crooked courses he was ever ready to follow when the straight path was beset with any extraordinary difficulties. He disapproved of the project suggested by the lords justices, because he believed that the levying of the fines against recusants would cause greater discontent than a compulsory contribution, but he determined to make use of the threat of the one as an instrument of compulsion with regard to the other. The protestant party in Ireland were strongly in favour of the enforcing the penalties, and the lords justices, who were leaders of that party, had increased their own popularity by having suggested the measure. The new lord deputy used cajolery only where he was afraid to use intimidation, and he treated the protestant party with a degree of haughty reserve, which was the more dangerous, from the agitation which was then spreading itself through both islands. He was jealous of the influence of the Irish lords, and more especially of the earl of Cork, whom he represented as the grand anti-catholic agitator, and he affected to treat the lords justices with scorn and contempt. Yet he outwardly pushed on the measures of persecution they had recommended, while he secretly employed agents to communicate with the chiefs of the recusant party, who were to inform them that the king was driven to the adoption of severe measures merely by necessity, and that he, the lord deputy, was at heart their friend, and would favour their cause if they would consent to relieve the

king's needs by continuing the contribution. "The instrument I employed," says Wentworth, in a letter to lord Cottington, on the first of October, 1632, "was himself a papist, and knows no other than that the resolution of the state here is set upon that course, and that I do this privately, in favour and well-wishing, to divert the present storm, which else would fall heavy upon them all, being a thing framed and prosecuted by the earl of Cork; which makes the man labour it in good earnest, taking it to be a cause *pro aris et focis*." Thus did lord Wentworth begin by losing the confidence of the protestants.

The catholics were equally distrustful, and, desirous as they were to avoid the rigorous persecution which hung over them, they were no longer willing to trust to the hollow promises of the king, or his agents. On which Wentworth, unwilling still to change the certain revenue furnished by the contributions for the precarious produce of fines and penalties, recommended that the nobility and principal gentry should be called together at Dublin, and that, by strong representations of its necessity, they should be persuaded to grant another half-year's subsidy, in order that the question might be left open until he went in person to assume the government, when he promised to settle it to the king's satisfaction. "I," he said, "do conceive, what difficulty, nay what impossibility soever the council of Ireland hath pretended, that it is a very easy work to continue the contribution upon the country for a year longer, which will be of infinite advantage to his majesty's affairs. For we look very ill about us, if in that time we find not the means either to establish that revenue in the crown, or raise some other equivalent thereunto. And this we gain too, without hazarding the public peace of the subject by any new apprehensions, which commonly accompany such fresh undertakings, especially being so general as is the twelve pence (every Sunday) upon the absentees." The Irish catholics were eventually induced to agree to a further voluntary contribution of twenty thousand pounds, by four quarterly payments of five thousand pounds each.

Lord Wentworth now proceeded to Ireland with the resolution to treat and govern it on the principle that it was a conquered country, and that there at least the power of the crown was absolute, and dependent on no rights or liberties of the subject. He

looked upon the population of the island as men who had forfeited their civil rights, and those who had hitherto been in power there as persons who stood between the king and his own rights, and he was prepared to treat them all with rigorous severity. Besides this general feeling of contempt, a number of the principal men in Ireland had fallen under his especial displeasure, either because they were not sufficiently obsequious in their bearing towards him, or because he anticipated their opposition to his arbitrary policy, and these he spoke of publicly as popular incendiaries. This feeling was too often exhibited in the course of his attempt to break down the power of the Irish aristocracy, a policy which was in itself calculated to produce the most beneficial results in the future condition of the island. Thus, the earl of Cork, and sir William Parsons, a man who had collected great property by similar means, and was now possessed of great influence, were treated with the rancour of an inveterate enemy. The same feeling was extended to nearly all who had been the friends of lord Falkland, or had supported his administration; and Wentworth disliked the whole body of the puritans, whom he looked upon as the natural opponents of the prerogative. His feelings were not much more favourable towards the primate, archbishop Usher, and Bedel bishop of Kilmore, prelates who were universally reputed for their learning and piety, but who were opposed to the extreme principles of Laud, which lord Wentworth was prepared to enforce to the utmost of his power. With this view he had brought over with him an ecclesiastic named Bramhall, one of archbishop's Laud's most devoted followers, who was destined to be placed in high authority in the Irish church as a balance to Usher and Bedel.*

With these feelings lord Wentworth

* The scornful feelings of lord Wentworth towards the people he was sent to govern are apparent throughout his correspondence. The following is the postscript of a letter to secretary Coke, written at the beginning of the June of 1633, just before his departure for Ireland: "I have sent here likewise unto you a letter from the lords justices, together with all the examinations taken of the lord Balfour and the rest, which refused the contribution in the county of Fermanagh, by all which you will find plainly how busy the sheriff and sir William Cole have been in mutinying the country against the king's service; and I beseech you acquaint his majesty therewithal, and for the rest leave it to me when I come on the other side, and, believe me, I will teach both them and others

landed in Ireland, and he immediately exhibited them in the marked tone of insolent haughtiness with which he treated all with whom his official duties brought him in contact. Soon after his arrival in Dublin, with an affectation of humility ("being as then," he says, "but a private person,") he visited the two lords justices at their own residences; and then, in the afternoon of the same day, he received the sword, and formally assumed the government. He then summoned a council; but, instead of following the Irish usage, he adopted the practice which then prevailed at the English court, by summoning only such members of the council as he pleased, thus giving great offence to all who were excluded. When the council met at the appointed hour, the lord deputy kept them waiting, it is said, some hours, and his absence was reported to have had no other cause than an engagement with a lady whom he had met in Dublin, and had just declared to be his wife. When at length he arrived, he treated carelessly of some matters of no great importance, and charged the judges, who had been specially summoned, to exert themselves throughout their circuits in reconciling the people to the king's demand for a new contribution, and to his commission for examining into defective titles, "publicly recommending unto them," to use his own words, "the special care they were to have that so good, just, and gracious a king might be rightly understood by his good people;" "nor shall I forget," he adds, "to take an account from them thereof upon their return." He then gave them a week to consider of the most convenient way of raising the revenue demanded by the crown for the support of the army, and declared his intention of calling them together again at the end of that period.

The insolent contempt with which the members of the council had been treated

better grounds of duty and obedience to his majesty than they have shown in this wanton and saucy boldness of theirs; and so much the more careful must we be to correct this peccant humour in the first beginnings, in regard this is a great revenue, which his majesty's affairs cannot subsist without; so that we must either continue that to the crown, or get something from that people of as much value another way, wherein I conceive it most necessary to proceed most severely in the punishment of this offence, which will still all men else for a many years after; and, therefore, if the king or yourself conceive otherwise, help me in time, or else I shall be sure to lay it on them soundly."—*Strafford Papers*, vol. i., p. 88.

at the first meeting was not conciliating, and they reassembled in no good humour. At first they sat, silent and hesitating, until, after a long pause, the chancellor suggested the continuation of the contribution for another year, on the implied condition that a parliament should be immediately called, as well for the purpose of settling the means of supporting the army in future, as for redressing the grievances of the subjects, and securing them in their estates against those vexatious litigations with respect to their titles to which they were still exposed, which meant in truth a confirmation of the graces. When the chancellor had concluded, there followed again what the lord deputy calls "a great silence," which was broken by Wentworth himself, who made a pointed appeal to sir William Parsons, the master of the wards, acquainting him with the "great belief both in his affection and in his judgment," entertained by the king. The reply of Parsons was evasive, and amounted to little more than an expression of unwillingness to consider of the matter except in parliament. Then the deputy's anger was moved, and he addressed to them an insulting lecture on their pretended duties to the crown. "I was then," he says, "put to my last refuge, which was plainly to declare that there was no necessity which induced me to take them to counsel in this business, for rather than fail in so necessary a duty to my master, I would undertake upon the peril of my head to make the king's army able to subsist and provide for itself amongst them without their help. Howbeit, forth of my respect to themselves, I had been persuaded to put this fair occasion into their hands, not only to express their ready affections and duties to his majesty, and so to have in their own particular a share in the honour and thanks of so noble a work; but also that the proportion of this next contribution might move from the protestants, as it did this year from the papists, and so these no more in show than substance to go before those in their cheerfulness and readiness to serve his majesty, both in this particular and all other services of the crown, which when they did rightly consider, I was most confident they would very much thank me, and contend who should be most forward and useful to his majesty on this occasion; so as my advice should be unto them, to make an offer under their hands to his majesty at this next year's contribution, with the desire of a parliament." "They

are so terribly afraid," lord Wentworth adds, "that the contribution money should be set as an annual charge upon their inheritances, as they would redeem it at any rate, so as, upon the name of a parliament thus proposed, it was something strange to see how instantly they gave consent to this proposition, with all the cheerfulness possible, and agreed to have the letter drawn, which you have here signed with all their hands."

Some of the council appear, indeed, to have been already cowed by the lord deputy's tone, but the implied promise of a parliament conciliated them all, and the first great difficulty was surmounted which had lain in the way of Wentworth's scheme. The earl of Cork acted with reserve, and only spoke when the promise of a parliament overcame his scruples. Sir William Parsons alone stood out;—"first and last," says Wentworth, "I found him the driest of all the company." It now remained only to draw the chiefs of the recusant party to follow the example of submission set by the privy council, and in this he had every prospect of success. In his exultation at this promising commencement of his government, lord Wentworth exclaimed in his dispatch to secretary Coke,—“Thus when I call to mind how the lords justices and this council in their letter to the lord treasurer of the six and twentieth of February, 1631 (1632), do write, that all sorts of persons declared such aversions to those quarterly payments, without respect of any consequence or opening ear to any persuasions (a letter penned every word by sir William Parsons), as they conceived it a work impossible and beyond any industry to continue them without much danger to the state and peace of this kingdom, and yet now see with how much quiet and safety they will be continued for two years longer;—I cannot choose but observe the condition of his majesty's affairs, when his deputy is upon the place, and when there is none here, and that those here are not so wise but that sometimes they may chance to be mistaken, as well as other men, or that else they consider their own interest more than the king's service.”

Little did Wentworth at this moment foresee the fatal catastrophe which was one day to be brought upon himself and his sovereign by the bold course into which they had both so recklessly thrown themselves.

Wentworth had resolved on the expedi-

ency of calling a parliament at once, and he transmitted to the king a full statement of his reasons. He saw how necessary it was at this moment to give way so far to popular clamour, and he was confident in his own power of intimidating or cajoling the assembled representatives as easily as he had already done the privy council. He knew also that by Poynings' Act, and the various enactments which had been passed in support or explanation of it, intended originally to free the Irish parliament from the factious influence of the aristocracy, that parliament was far more under the absolute power of the crown than the English house of commons. "And this subordination," he observes in his letter to king Charles, "whereunto they have been led by the wisdom of former times, is ever to be held as a sacred prerogative, not to be departed from, in no piece to be broken or infringed." He knew also that, from the number of small boroughs then existing, and from the direct influence which the crown exercised in consequence of the extensive confiscations of recent years, it was not difficult to pack a parliament, and he was resolved to use every exertion to obtain such a house of commons as would be devoted to his will. In his private letters to the king the lord deputy described the mode in which he intended to influence the elections, and intimated his design of causing officers of the army to be returned for most of the new boroughs. The king objected to the latter part of his scheme, because he wished the officers to be kept at their posts, but he approved his deputy's conduct in general, and urged him to take the most effectual steps to hinder the election of all who were not faithful to the cause of his prerogative.

There were many reasons in favour of calling a parliament at this moment. But the one which weighed the most with Wentworth was the prospect of obtaining an equivalent for the voluntary contribution and an increase in the revenue. He had secured the contribution until the end of the year 1634 (which was now commencing), and he calculated that, by calling the parliament in Easter or Trinity term, now approaching, the crown had its Irish revenue secured for some months, in case the legislative body should be unruly, and that thus he would have the time to consider of expedients for future necessities. As it was no part of his plan to allow an unconditional confirmation of the graces, many of which were now con-

sidered not sufficiently advantageous to the prerogative, he proposed to the king that the parliament should be divided into two sessions, one of which, held immediately on its assembling, to be occupied only with the question of supplies, and the second, to be held in the following winter, for considering the other business of the state. This was Charles's favourite plan with his English parliaments, and he therefore fully approved of it as applied to Ireland, but with more craft and caution than was shown by his deputy. He urged that this plan ought to be kept secret until the supplies were obtained, in order that the parliament might be induced more readily to hasten over them that they might proceed to their grievances.

The king yielded to Wentworth's arguments and solicitations, and agreed that the parliament should be called; but his apprehensions of parliaments in general were not quite allayed, and in a private letter to Wentworth, written on the 17th of April, 1634, speaking of this parliament, Charles says, "as for that hydra, take good heed; for you know, that here I have found it as well cunning as malicious. It is true that your grounds are well laid, and I assure you that I have a great trust in your care and judgment; yet my opinion is, that it *will not be the worse for my service, though their obstinacy make you break them*, for I fear that they have some ground to demand more than it is fit for me to give. This I would not say, if I had not confidence in your courage and dexterity; that, in that case, you would set me down there an example what to do here." There is little doubt, in fact, that besides obtaining pecuniary assistance for the king, Wentworth had another object secretly in view for his master's service, and that he at least was anxious to proceed to work without delay. It was to establish firmly and absolutely the king's prerogative in Ireland, where the attempt was attended with greater promise of success, in order that that country, by its entire submission to his will, might not only serve as an example to England, but perhaps that it might in the sequel render him some more substantial assistance in reducing his unmanageable commons at home. This plan was soon seen by the English patriots, who left no stone unturned to embarrass Wentworth's government; and in his rash and headstrong advance in the bold path he had now entered upon the lord deputy paid little attention, unless it were with the look

of scorn, to the hostility which he was provoking on every side, and by which he was eventually overwhelmed.

Hitherto the preparations for a parliament had been carried on in the deepest secrecy; but towards the end of April it began to be talked abroad in Ireland that the question of calling a parliament had been decided. Parties began immediately to agitate, and to conjecture at designs which were so carefully concealed from their knowledge. Wentworth's first obstacle was raised by the privy council, who began to discuss freely the question of supplies and subsidies, and who evidently wished to know, as on former occasions the privy councils had always been allowed to know, the nature of the bills which were to be brought forward. The lord deputy interfered with another act of insolent imperiousness, and as we have only his own statement of his behaviour,* it is probable that he behaved with greater rudeness than here described. The scene will be best pictured in Wentworth's own words. After mentioning the manner in which the question of the subsidies was discussed, he proceeds to say,—“I, not knowing what this might grow to, went instantly unto them where they were in council, told them plainly I feared they begun at the wrong end, thus consulting what might please the people in a parliament, when it would better become a privy council to consider what might please the king, and induce him to call one. That albeit I had not in particular as yet to resolve them what it was his majesty would propound, yet I knew, as all other great and wise princes, his majesty expected to be trusted, nor did ever any deserve it better from a people; that he would not in any case admit of conditions, or be proceeded with as by way of bargain or contract; that he would be provided for as the head, and care for his people as members, through all the expressions of a gracious and good king, but still according to the order of reason, nature, and conscience, himself first, his people afterwards. whereas I durst engage my life, children, and honour, if they went the way wise men should, they might have whatever was fit and reasonable for the good and contentment of the people.” And then, in the apprehension that they might mix the question of grievances with that of subsidy, he added as a threat,—“However,

it was far below my great master, to feed the people with shadows and empty pretences, if these other noble and real favours of a gracious and wise king would not carry it; he could be well without their money, and expect with patience the honour that should attend him, the repentance that would fall upon themselves in the conclusion.” “The king therefore desires this great work may be set on its right foot, settled by parliament, as the more beaten path he covets to walk in, yet not more legal than if done by his prerogative royal, where the ordinary way fails him. If this people, then, can be so unwise as to cast off his gracious proposals and their own safety, it must be done without them; and for myself, as their true friend, must let them know, that I cannot doubt that they will altogether save me the trouble, hasten in their advice, and afford their best means for the fulfilling these his so good intentions, that as a faithful servant to my master, I shall counsel his majesty to attempt it first by the ordinary means; disappointed there, where he may with so much right expect it, I could not in a cause so just and necessary deny to appear for him in the head of this army, and there either persuade them fully his majesty had reason on his side, or else think it as great honour to die in the pursuit of that wherein both justice and piety had so far convinced my judgment, as not left me wherewithal to make one argument for denying myself unto command so justly called for and laid upon me. Nay, I did not altogether hold it impossible to effect his desires with the general consent of the kingdom, by only taking the supply from such as were best able to answer it, and that all this while have paid little or nothing.”

After proceeding some time in this strain, Wentworth continues, “In conclusion I did assume unto them upon the peril of my life and the life of my children, that it was absolutely in their power to have the happiest parliament that ever was in this kingdom; that their way was most easy, no more than to put an absolute trust in the king, without offering any condition or restraint at all upon his will; and then let them assure themselves to receive back unasked all that reasonably and fittingly they could expect, and if this confidence misled them I would be content they esteemed me neither a person of discretion, trust, or honour, as after. Again I did beseech them to look well about, and be wise by other's harms.

* In a dispatch to secretary Coke, April 29, 1634.
—*Strafford Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 237.

They were not ignorant of the misfortunes these meetings had run in England of late years, that therefore they were not to strike their foot upon the same stone of distrust which had so often broken them. For I could tell them, as one that had, it may be, held my eyes as open upon those proceedings as another man, that whatever other accident this mischief might be ascribed unto, there was nothing else that brought it upon us, but the king's standing justly to have the honour of trust from his people, and an ill-grounded narrow suspicion of their's, which would not be ever intreated, albeit it stood with all the reason and wisdom in the world. This was that spirit of the air that walked in darkness, betwixt them, abusing both, whereas if once one beam of light and truth had happily reflected, it had vanished like smoke from betwixt them, and left the king much better satisfied and contented with his people, and them much more happy, albeit, thanks be to God and his majesty, as they are the happiest of the whole world."

Thus brow-beaten and menaced the council gave up the point, and quietly suffered the lord deputy to follow his own course. They cannot have been ignorant that the man who was using this language towards them had been one of the foremost leaders in "those proceedings" which he now held up to their abhorrence; while the party which he had left, which was hunting upon his steps with the keenness of a blood-hound, seized upon these intemperate expressions, and treasured them up against the day of retribution. On the other hand, every reckless display of his hostility to the popular cause seemed to endear him more and more to the king; and a letter from archbishop Laud to the lord deputy informed him of the great satisfaction which this sally against English parliaments had given to Charles's court.

Only a few days had passed since this corrective lecture to the council, when a new opportunity was offered to display the lord deputy's imperious temper. It had been customary in former times, before summoning a parliament, to call the lords of the pale together, in order to make them acquainted with the lord deputy's intentions and with the nature of the measures to be brought forward. This had degenerated into a mere formality, yet the lords were jealous of their privilege, and, when Wentworth exhibited no intention of conforming

to it, the lord chancellor ventured to remind him of the oversight. Upon this, says Wentworth in another despatch to secretary Coke, "I presently silenced it by a direct and round answer, that should we do so, I feared his majesty might judge we had exceeded our direction, opening his council to any but ourselves, without his special warrant." This subject, however, did not stop here, for it was taken up by the lords themselves, and four days after the rebuke thus given to the lord chancellor, the earl of Fingal, in the character of spokesman for the rest, obtained an interview, in which, to use the lord deputy's words again, "very gravely, and in a kind of electorate way, he told me, the report went there would be a parliament, and that their lordships of the pale had been accustomed to be consulted with, before those meetings, to assemble and take advice together, what to propound for the good of the people, and therefore desired to be ascertained therein, to the intent they might prepare themselves accordingly." "This nobleman," Wentworth observes, "being a person, as I conceive, not of the best affections, that would be esteemed to be the advocate of the public, more popular with the generality than either his parts or generous carriage (being passing sparing and penurious) will be able to persuade with any man of judgment or of the common sort, and, which was as observable as any of the rest, coming as it were the mouth to open for them all, I thought fit to close it as soon and surely as I could. Therefore my answer was quick; I told him that the calling of parliaments was the peculiar of kings, and so locked up in the sacred breast of his majesty, as it were want of good manners in me his servant to pry into or impart his counsels further, or by other degrees, than should in his own good time be revealed unto me. That I must tell him, I conceived his majesty might judge it, with some more reason, a high presumption in him or any other private man to elect themselves inquisitors over his gracious purposes towards his subjects, which were set with so much love and justice, in so much height and perfection, as could not by them all put together be so well disposed or guided as they were already by those clearer lights of his own goodness and wisdom. That assuredly his majesty would reject with scorn and disdain all such foreign instructors or moderators betwixt him and his people; neither must his lord-

ship or any other expect his majesty would consult in the calling of his people any, or in other manner, than he should judge fit and convenient; that therefore in silence himself and the rest were to wait the times and the seasons, and not think of applying anything in the calling of parliaments to themselves, as not belonging them, nor indeed the appointing of any other meetings, or other conferences to be had by any subjects in those public affairs, but in their open assemblies of parliaments, which his majesty would graciously vouchsafe to hear, containing their discourse within the bounds of sobriety and moderation, and to give them such answers as were fit; for the rest, his own counsels were sufficient to govern his own affairs and people, without borrowing from any private man whatsoever, whose duty it was not *altum sapere*, or to touch upon those deep mysteries of state before thereunto called by his majesty."

The earl of Fingal appears to have been astonished at these doctrines of coercion, and "a little out of countenance," as Wentworth describes him, he took refuge in the excuse that he merely came to put him in mind of the former practice in such circumstances, and that lord Falkland had summoned the lords of the pale in like case. "My answer," continues the lord deputy, "was, my lord of Falkland should be no rule in this for me, much less then for my great master, to follow; that I advised his lordship, therefore, not to busy his thoughts with matters of this nature, but leaving them to the king and such as he should please to entrust therewith, to rest assured he should in convenient time be acquainted with as much of his majesty's resolutions as should be fit for him to know, wherewithal he either ought or must rest satisfied; so we parted."

Such was the spirit in which the Irish government was now to be conducted, and the language addressed to men of all classes who ventured to show the slightest discontent. After describing it in the words just quoted, the lord deputy concludes, "yet if I may from you gather it was too much, I will put some water in my wine, and express it more mildly to his majesty's contentment,

* "The priests and jesuits here are very busy in the election of knights and burgesses for this parliament, call the people to their masses, and there charge them, on pain of excommunication, to give their voice with no protestant. I purpose hereafter to question some of them, being indeed a very insufferable thing for them thus to interpose in causes which are purely

as well in the manner as the matter." We cannot find that king Charles was otherwise than well contented with the rude manner in which his deputy treated his Irish subjects.

Wentworth now issued his writ, and proceeded to recommend individuals for election to the various constituencies in the same imperious manner in which he had overruled the council and the lords, and in his despatches he repeatedly boasts of his success in effecting the return of what he terms "quiet and governable men." The chier struggle in the contested elections appears to have been between the recusants and the protestants, of which the lord deputy spoke with indifference, for he expected a firmer opposition from the latter than from the catholics, except that he took steps to repress the undue interference of the priests, which gave him sufficient cause for alarm.* When the elections were ended it was found that Wentworth's exertions had not been in vain, and that a house of commons was returned in which the king had a considerable majority devoted to his will.

The Irish parliament met on Monday the 14th of July, "undoubtedly," says Wentworth, "with the greatest civility and splendour Ireland ever saw." The lord deputy, the officers of state, and the two houses, proceeded that morning in imposing pomp to St. Patrick's church, where a sermon was preached by archbishop Usher. On Tuesday morning the two houses were called together, and Wentworth made a long speech to them, in which he told them that the king expected from this parliament a hundred thousand pounds' debt to be discharged, and twenty thousand pounds a-year constant and standing revenue for the payment of the army; and informed them, "that his majesty intended to have two sessions of this parliament, the one for himself, the other for them; so as, if they without condition supplied the king this, they might be sure his majesty would go along with them in the next meeting, through all the expressions of a gracious and good king, which I fortified with the best reasons I could, according as in my former despatches I have discoursed, and in civil, and of passing ill consequence, to warm and inflame the subjects one against another, and in the last resort, to bring it to a direct party of protestant and papist, which surely is to be avoided as much as may be, unless our numbers were the greater." Lord Wentworth to secretary Coke, June 21, 1634.—*Stratford Papers*, vol. i. p. 270.

the mildest manner I could, not departing from the dignity of the person I had the honour to represent. Which done, I called the lord chancellor unto me, and understanding that there was a muttering amongst them of rejecting the recorder of this town for their speaker, and choosing some other of themselves, I directed the chancellor to require them forthwith to assemble themselves in their house to choose their speaker, who was to be presented before me the next morning by nine of the clock, asking them to beware of falling into the same inconvenience the last parliament here did, in the first act of a house of commons, telling them it was not worth their contention, considering the power of allowance was undeniably in the king, and that if he rejected, they were still to choose another and another, till his majesty approved thereof; and that it would be taken as an ill presage of some waywardness or frowardness of mind reigning in them, if they should go about to deny such for their speaker as should be recommended by his majesty's privy council, which England never did, or to struggle in a business wherein the conclusion must needs be according to his majesty's good will and pleasure, whether they would or no."

After being schooled in this most unconstitutional and unjustifiable manner, the commons became docile enough, and, without opposition, they went through the form of electing the speaker intruded upon them by the government, who was presented next day, and on Thursday, the 17th, the house of commons proceeded to business. The question of disputed elections was then brought forward, and the recusant party moved for what they termed the purging of the house, by which they hoped to unseat a number of the protestant members, and so obtain a majority of Roman catholics. In the motion for a committee of privileges, which resulted from this debate, and in which the catholics went to a man on one side, and the protestants on the other, it was found that the latter were in a majority of eight. "Having very happily," writes Wentworth, "in this trivial question discovered the strength of both parties, and being very glad to find them so even weighed, I confess I now grew very confident (upon the former judgment I had made of this meeting) to carry the business, and so resolved to move the king's supply the next day."

It was in the council that the lord deputy

again met with opposition to his plans. The master of the wards, Borlase, had shown on several occasions his repugnance to the policy of lord Wentworth and the manner in which it was enforced, and he was now strengthened by the arrival of the lords presidents of Connaught and Munster, who also seemed inclined to join in opposition to the present government. They urged that the question of supplies should be delayed for a few days, and the council appears to have been not unwilling to accede to the proposal, when Wentworth had recourse to his old system of promises and threats, urging upon them that the king had restricted the duration of the session to three weeks, that a week was already passed in the formalities of opening it, and that they would incur the king's displeasure by retarding his affairs. The president of Connaught, who by his conduct on this occasion seems to have given great offence to the lord deputy, ventured to hazard a remark on the influence exerted over the determination of the council by Wentworth's strong appeal to them; on which the latter broke out again into one of his passionate addresses—"understanding well enough," he says, "whither that speech of the president tended, to wit if the success had not answered expectation, the fault must have dwelt with me, I roundly and earnestly told them, I was very indifferent what resolution the house should fall upon, serving too just and gracious a master ever to fear to be answerable for the success of affairs in contingency, so long as I did sincerely and faithfully endeavour that which I conceived to be for the best; that there were two ends I had my eye on, the one I would infallibly attain unto, either a submission of the people to his majesty's just demands, or a just occasion of breach, and either would content the king: the first was undeniably and evidently best for them; but could my master in his goodness consider himself apart from his subjects, or these become so ingrate, I spake it confidently upon the peril of my head, a breach shall be better for him than any supply they could give him in parliament. And therefore I did desire that no man should deceive himself; my master was not to seek in his councils, nor was he a prince that either could or would be denied just things."

The council was brow-beaten again, and next day the question was brought regularly before the house of commons, which, as

Wentworth expected, granted all that was asked of them without the slightest reluctance. The whole business was settled before twelve o'clock at noon, and Wentworth sums up what followed in the statement that, "the rest of this session we have entertained and spun them out in discourses, but kept them nevertheless from concluding anything, yet have finished within the first limited time." "And thus, sir," he says to secretary Coke, "have we already, God be praised! attained more than ever I durst put you in hope of on that side, which I can, next to his majesty's wisdom, ascribe to nothing so much as the secrecy wherewith this business hath been carried on all sides, which I crave leave still instantly and humbly to recommend to his majesty to be observed in the course of his affairs here, as being indeed of far more consequence and assurance than you can, I persuade myself, possibly believe on that side; and, in good faith, I am infinitely comforted to serve so secret a master, and in being assisted with so secret a secretary as yourself."

The subserviency of lord deputy Wentworth's house of commons was complete, and it was exhibited in several tyrannical infractions of the freedom of debate. Sir Robert Talbot, one of the few members of the popular party who had obtained seats, was betrayed, in the warmth of debate, into some unguarded reflections upon Wentworth's conduct, upon which he was immediately expelled from the house, and committed to close custody until he should demand his pardon of the lord deputy on his knees.

The opposition was much stronger in the upper house, where several of the great Anglo-Irish lords shewed an inclination to resist the scornful treatment they received from their governor. This feeling was exhibited somewhat openly at the commencement of the session, and the example was set by a young nobleman, not only influential by his wealth and power, but respected for the faithful and eminent services which his family had rendered to the crown. This was the earl of Ormond, who had only lately come of age, and whom Wentworth had made several attempts to conciliate. Wentworth had revived an old order of the lord deputy Chichester, which prohibited the members from entering their respective houses of parliament with their swords, and which seems to have been intended to provide against the dangerous disputes to which the sensitive

feelings of the natives of the Emerald Isle were prone. We are not informed that any reluctance had been shown on the preceding occasion to yielding obedience to this order; but the lords appear to have been more tenacious of their privileges, now that they were confronted with the imperiousness of lord Wentworth, and they felt humiliated when the usher of the black rod, stationed at the entrance of the house of lords, demanded their swords. The young earl of Ormond refused to deliver up the necessary ensign of his dignity, and, when the demand was repeated in a rude and peremptory manner, he told the officer that, if he received his sword, it would be through his body, and then walked indignantly to his seat. Wentworth was highly incensed at this act of resistance to his will, and he summoned the earl of Ormond before the council to answer for his disobedience. The young lord appeared without hesitation, boldly avowed the fact with which he was charged, unaccompanied with any expressions of regret, for he said that he had received the investiture of his earldom *per cincturam gladii*, by the girding on of the sword, and he was not only entitled, but bound by the king's command, to attend his duty in parliament *gladio cinctus*. The lord deputy was embarrassed by the spirited conduct of the young nobleman; his own inclination was to crush him, but he consulted with his intimate friends, and by their advice he endeavoured to conciliate the earl of Ormond, who was immediately afterwards named a member of the privy council. Other noblemen were treated with less indulgence. The earl of Kildare, who had married into the family of the earl of Cork, and was even on that ground obnoxious to the lord deputy, was selected as a special example of ministerial severity. Provoked at some neglect shown to him by lord Wentworth he sent his proxy, and absented himself from parliament, upon which the king by letter commanded his personal attendance. In obedience to the royal commands he appeared in his place in the upper house, and there distinguished himself by his opposition to all Wentworth's measures. The lord deputy, in his resentment, treated the earl of Kildare with so much insolence that the latter hurried over to England, without licence, with the intention, as it was supposed, of laying his complaints before the throne. But Wentworth's dispatches had closed the royal

ears, and the earl was obliged to obtain the king's favour by a humble submission, and a promise of supporting the policy of the crown.

The scornful tone in which Wentworth spoke to the Irish lords, increased the opposition in the upper house, where his measures were criticised with severity. The peers complained loudly of public grievances; pressed for the fulfilment of the royal promise for the confirmation of the graces in a manner which was particularly offensive to Wentworth; and were especially urgent for the establishment of the article which limited the king's claims on their lands to a retrospect of sixty years. This question was very embarrassing to the deputy and the king, who were secretly contemplating new and extensive schemes of confiscation. Going further than this, the lords drew up several laws, which they conceived necessary for the public good, and, after warmly debating upon them, they ordered the attorney-general to draw them up into formal acts, that they might be transmitted to England. This of course was contrary to Poynings' act, which was now found to be an extraordinary instrument of power in the hands of the crown, and Wentworth therefore was not inclined to allow any breach of it. But following his usual path of astuteness and secrecy, he quietly allowed them to go on debating and making laws, till the last day of the session, and then, when he met the two houses to put an end to it, he deliberately informed the lords that all their labours had been in vain, and entered a formal protest against the acts they had passed, as being annulled by the non-observance of the statute of Poynings. "There cannot be anything invaded," says Wentworth to secretary Coke, "which in reason of state ought to be by his majesty's deputy preserved with a more hallowed care than Poynings' act, and which I shall never willingly suffer to be touched or blemished, more than my right eye."

In the commons also there were a few bold and troublesome members, led on by the lords of Fingal and Ranelagh, who seized every opportunity of reminding the ministry of the king's graces, and were especially urgent for that which made sixty years' possession a sufficient title to their estates. Wentworth allowed this to pass until the supplies were secured, and then he assumed a higher and more arbitrary tone on the subject of the graces. But he again effected

his object by a mixture of violence and cunning. The privy council had been raised by the present lord deputy into a power under his own control, which stood as a barrier between the king and the parliament; and now, after having first consulted with one or two of its members, he suddenly called the council together, and compelled it to a resolution that a number of the graces, and particularly that of sixty years' possession, were inconsistent with the interests of the crown, and they not only determined against confirming them in parliament, but they drew up a petition to the king, dictated of course by Wentworth, expressing their general and particular scruples, and praying that a great number of the graces might be annulled. "And so," says Wentworth, "putting in ourselves mean betwixt them (the parliament) and his majesty's pretended engagement, we take the hard part wholly from his majesty and bear it ourselves, as well as we may, and yet no way conclude his majesty to apply all the grace to himself, which yet I trust he will not enlarge further than stands with wisdom, reason, and the prosperity of his own affairs."

The dexterity with which the lord deputy had relieved the king of his difficulties with regard to the graces, had given the most lively satisfaction at court. Archbishop Laud, who had written jokingly against the Irish lords in opposition, under the figurative title of Irish Salmon, and had received for answer that the salmon of that country was the worst in the whole world, rejoined with good reason, if with somewhat of levity, in a letter written to Wentworth after the end of the first session of his parliament,— "Now, fie upon it, if the salmon of that river be bad, yet your loss is the less, since you have so many trouts that may be tickled into anything, or anything out of them." The king could not conceal his joy, and he began the first dispatch he addressed personally to the lord deputy after receiving information of his proceedings with the privy council on the subject of the graces, with a strong declaration of his approval. "Wentworth," the king writes, "before I answer any of your particular letters to me, I must tell you that your last public dispatch has given me a great deal of contentment, and especially for keeping of the envy of a necessary negative from me, of those unreasonable graces that that people expected of me." Thus was completed an

act of political fraud and treachery which casts equal disgrace upon the memories of the king and his minister. Whatever might have been the character or utility of the graces themselves, Charles had deliberately sold them to the Irish in consideration for a certain sum of money; he had deceitfully put off the necessary confirmation until the time had arrived for receiving the last instalment of the price for which he sold them; he led the Irish on in the just expectation of their speedy confirmation to give him other money; and then, when he could no longer temporise, he deliberately broke all his own engagements.

After being thus relieved from all apprehensions as to the chief results to which the king and Wentworth looked from an Irish parliament, the lord deputy pursued with more boldness his design of breaking and humbling the great Irish lords and landholders who offered any opposition to his schemes of aggrandizing the crown. Sir William Parsons and the earl of Cork stood foremost among the salmon which were the object of archbishop Laud's scornful mirth. From his first coming Wentworth had conceived a deep jealousy of the "great" earl, and determined, in his own words, "to bring him down," and he added that, if he could humble this powerful nobleman, he had nothing to fear from any one else in Ireland. With regard to Lord Cork, Wentworth soon found opportunities of indulging his enmity. Among the numerous and extensive estates of which that nobleman had obtained possession, were some which had originally belonged to the church. Laud, who had impressed Wentworth with his own high notions in ecclesiastical matters, had urged him with great earnestness to effect a general restoration of church property; and immediately after his arrival in Ireland, he directed proceedings to be instituted against the earl of Cork, to ascertain his title to the lands in question. Another circumstance was soon afterwards made a subject of hostile proceedings, which was the more vexatious, as it touched lord Cork's private vanity. The earl had erected an ostentatious family monument in the cathedral of St. Patrick's, in Dublin, which covered the remains of his second wife, and of some distinguished members of her family. According to the new high church doctrines of Laud, the spot occupied by this monument belonged to what he affected to call the great altar, and information of this circumstance was carried

to "the pope of Canterbury," as the arbitrary primate of England was popularly called. Laud had, through the lord deputy, who seems to have partaken in the prelate's leaning towards the old forms and ceremonies of catholic worship, caused the old communion table or great altar to be restored in name and position in the chapel of Dublin castle, and he was determined to effect the same change in the cathedral, for which purpose it was necessary to demolish lord Cork's family monument. The earl resisted; and archbishop Usher and bishop Bedel interfered in his favour. But the lord deputy was resolved to carry out Laud's views in a case which offered him the additional gratification of humbling his powerful enemy; he listened to no persuasions or expostulations, and the dispute arising from that measure remained long a source of bitter rancour between them.

The subsequent session of this parliament exhibited more turbulence, for the declaration made by Wentworth, at its commencement, that he and the council had resolved the graces should not be confirmed, with which therefore they were directed not to meddle, had irritated the recusants, who took every opportunity of exhibiting their ill-humour. In consequence of their opposition some few provisions intended by Wentworth for the public good were defeated, on which the lord deputy declared his intention of enforcing them by virtue of the royal prerogative. It was but a petty fulfilment of the threat that the king would do without the parliament if it were not subservient to his will. Yet a number of acts of considerable importance for the reform of the civil government and condition of the country were passed, and the more valuable laws of the English statute-book were adopted in Ireland. On the whole, Wentworth was so well satisfied with this parliament that it was his wish to continue it by prorogation. The king, however, who had now taken an unconquerable dislike to parliaments, was decidedly averse to this measure. "My reasons," said Charles, "are grounded upon my experience of them here. They are of the nature of cats; they ever grow curst with age, so that if ye will have good of them put them off handsomely when they come to any age, for young ones are ever most tractable. And in earnest you will find that nothing can more conduce to the beginning of a new than the well-ending of the former parliament; wherefore, now

that we are well, let us content ourselves therewith."

Among the Irish protestant clergy, who had taken a strong shade of puritanism, Wentworth's measures met with more real obstruction than among the laity. The confession of the Anglo-Irish church, as drawn up by Usher, was more anti-catholic than that established in England; and it was one of the objects of Wentworth's mission to establish a uniformity between the two churches in form and doctrine. With this object, as well as to grant their share of the subsidies to the crown, a convocation of the clergy was called to sit at the same time with the second session of the parliament. They willingly granted the subsidies, and then entered upon the consideration of ecclesiastical reforms, which were rendered necessary by the disorders that had crept into the protestant church in that island—sectarian differences, alienation of church property, ignorance and negligence in the clergy. The convocation entered upon all these subjects with zeal, and the lord deputy reckoned fully upon the same subserviency among the clergy which he had found elsewhere.

At length the house of convocation came to the grand measure of imposing the articles of the church of England upon the Irish church, and abolishing the Irish articles. The primate, Usher, who presided over the clergy, had given Wentworth reason to believe that he would be able to pass this measure without difficulty; and the lord deputy, whose attention had been absorbed in some bitter discussions raised by the recusants in parliament, allowed the clergy to run their own course, until he was suddenly alarmed by intimations that that course had taken an unexpected direction. On inquiry he learnt that, instead of accepting entire the articles of the English church, the convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the book of canons, and they had not only regularly gone through it and marked which were to be omitted and which retained, but they had tacked to the fifth article the obnoxious articles of the church of Ireland, which were to be allowed and received under pain of excommunication. The report of the select committee was already drawn up, and on the point of being presented to the convocation, when the lord deputy sent, in an angry temper, for the chairman of the committee, dean Andrews, ordering him to bring the book of canons, as marked by them, and the report.

A new occasion was afforded for the display of Wentworth's temper. "When I came to open the book," he says, "and run over their deliberandums in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into Ireland. I told him, certainly not a dean of Limerick, but an Ananias, had sat in the chair of that committee; however, sure I was, Ananias had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the fraternities and conventicles of Amsterdam; that I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure. I therefore said he should leave the book and draught with me, and that I did command him, upon his allegiance, he should report nothing to the house from that committee till he had heard again from me. Being thus nettled I gave present direction for a meeting, and warned the primate, the bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Rapho, and Derry, together with dean Lesley the prolocutor, and all those who had been of the committee, to be with me the next morning. Then I publicly told them how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of state or bishop; what a spirit of Brownism and contradiction I observed in their deliberandums, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the church, and leave every man to choose his own high place, where liked him best. But these heady and arrogant courses they must know I was not to endure; nor, if they were disposed to be frantic in this dead and cold season of the year (the middle of December), would I suffer them either to be mad in the convocation or in their pulpits. First, then, I required dean Andrews, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the committee to the house. Secondly, I enjoined dean Lesley, their prolocutor, that in case any of the committee should propound any question herein, yet that he should not put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and acquaint me withal. Thirdly, that he should put no question at all touching the receiving or not of the articles of the church of Ireland. Fourthly, that he should put the question for allowing and receiving the articles of England, wherein he was by name and in counting to take their votes, barely, content, or not content, without admitting any other discourse at all, for I would not endure that

the articles of the church of England should be disputed. And, finally, because there should be no question in the canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my lord primate would be pleased to frame it, and after I had perused it I would send the prolocutor a draught of the canons to be propounded inclosed in a letter of my own. This meeting thus broke off, there were some hot spirits, sons of thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free synod; but, in fine, they could not agree amongst themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished."

After intimating some doubts that Usher was not altogether disapproving of these independent proceedings, Wentworth continues:—"The primate accordingly framed a canon, which I not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the canon in England, which I held best for me to keep as close to as I could, and then sent it to my lord. His grace came instantly unto me, and told me he feared the canon would never pass in such form as I had made it, but he was hopeful, as he had drawn it, it might; and besought me, therefore, to think a little better of it. But I confess, having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those views I had my eye upon, it was too late now either to persuade or affright me. I told his lordship I was resolved to put it to them in

those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the houses that would refuse him, telling him by the sequel we should see whether his lordship or myself better understood their minds on that point, and by that I would be content to be judged."

The lord deputy then had recourse to his ordinary system of overawing individuals, and the convocation passed the canon as he had worded it. "I am not ignorant," he says exultingly, in his letter to archbishop Laud describing this transaction, "that my stirring therein will be strangely reported and censured on that side; and how I shall be able to sustain myself against your Prynnes, Pymms, and Bens, with the rest of that generation of odd names and natures, the Lord knows!" And then he concludes, "Now I can say the king is as absolute here as any prince in the whole world can be, and may be still, if it be not spoiled on that side. For so long as his majesty shall have here a deputy of faith and understanding, and that he be preserved in credit and independent upon any but the king himself, let it be laid as a ground, it is the deputy's fault if the king be denied any reasonable desire."

The articles originally drawn up by Usher were in the sequel retained by the Irish church, in spite of Wentworth's repugnance.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE INQUISITIONS AND PLANTATIONS IN CONNAUGHT; THE PERSECUTION OF LORD MOUNTNORRIS AND OTHERS; WENTWORTH'S REFORMS.



SOON as the close of the second session of Wentworth's parliament had released him, he turned his attention to the grand scheme which had hitherto been kept in the background. The landholders of Connaught had, by their share in giving the voluntary contribution, the privilege of being no longer molested in their

just titles to their estates, which had been threatened by the late king's rage for plantations. The plunder (for in the manner the inquiry was conducted it deserves no better name), was too tempting to be foregone, and the equitable law, established in England, which made sixty years' possession a title, was refused, because it stood in the way of the royal designs of confiscation. In the correspondence between the king and his ministers and the lord deputy, the existence of this scheme of inquisition into the

titles of the estates of the lords and gentlemen of Connaught, as one of the grand objects of Wentworth's mission, is not denied. But it was an act of bold rapacity at which the lord deputy at first shrunk, and in some of his letters he confesses his inability to discover any pretext for laying claim to them. By the graces, as originally granted, the king had virtually pledged his own word that the Irish landholders should not be molested in their titles. Of these graces, however, the king had now been relieved by a discreditable stratagem, and in the summer of 1635 Wentworth proceeded to find what he calls the king's "just and honourable title" to the estates in Connaught.

The lord deputy began with the district in which he expected to find the readiest submission to his will, that their willingness might serve as an example to the others; and he selected as the first scene of his labours the county of Roscommon. He began by giving order that none should be returned on the jury but men of "the best estates and understandings;" not in order to secure a wise verdict, but because, he says in his letter to court, "I resolved to have persons of such means as might answer the king a round fine in the castle chamber, in case they should prevaricate;" and although he adds, "who, in all seeming, even out of that reason would be more fearful to tread shamefully and imprudently aside from the truth, than such as had less or nothing to lose," he evidently means by "the truth" simply the king's title. Hearing that some apprehension still existed, he called a few of the principal gentry before the commissioners, and desired them to acquaint the rest of the country with the object of their inquiry, namely, to "find a clear and undoubted title in the crown to the province of Connaught;" declaring that it was his majesty's "gracious pleasure" that the landholders whom he sought to dispossess should be allowed counsel in their defence, "being," he says, "a favour never before afforded to any upon taking of these kind of inquisitions." He adds, "With this I left them marvellously much satisfied, for a few good words please them more than you can imagine."

The first step of the victims of Charles and Wentworth's policy was to present a petition, demanding a longer time, on the plea that they were unprepared. To this the lord deputy refused to listen, telling them they had had sufficient notice of his intentions, and he proceeded at once to

work. According to his custom, he made use of a mixture of persuasions and threats, telling them that the king's intentions were solely for their own good, his aim being "to effect them a civil and rich people;" that it was his condescension to come before them in this way and submit that they should judge of his rights; and that if they denied them he had a more direct way of enforcing them, while they by their opposition would have ceased to merit his indulgence. "So then, if they would be inclined to truth and do best for themselves, they were undoubtedly to find the title for the king. If they were passionately resolved to go over all bounds to their own will, and without respect at all to their own good, to do that which were simply best for his majesty, then I should advise them roughly and pertinaciously to deny to find any title at all. And there," continues the lord deputy, "I left them to chant together, as they call it, over their evidence." But the language used by Wentworth had produced its full effect, and next day the jury of Roscommon found the king's title "without scruple or hesitation."

The example of Roscommon produced an equally ready acquiescence in Sligo and Mayo, which had been hastened by the promise that the landholders should be allowed to purchase new titles at a low composition. The facility with which the plans of spoliation were carried through in these counties is understood without difficulty, when we consider that the juries were all packed, and that bribes were not spared with the judges. In his confidential letters to the king, Wentworth speaks without restraint of such transactions. "Your majesty," he says on one occasion, "was graciously pleased, upon my humble advice, to bestow four shillings in the pound upon your lord chief justice and lord chief baron in this kingdom, out of the first yearly rent raised upon the commission of defective titles, which, upon observation, I find to be the best given money that ever was; for now they attend to it with a care and diligence, such as it were their own privates; and most certain the gaining to themselves every four shillings, once paid, shall better your revenue for ever after at least five pounds."

The only county that now remained to be visited was Galway, where the commissioners anticipated a different reception to that they had hitherto met with. The earl of Clanrickard, who was the chief landed proprietor in this district, was resolute in his

determination to resist the attempt to deprive him of his estates; and the population in general, being Irish and catholics, were not so well affected to the English government. The lord deputy had received private information of the resistance he was to encounter, and in his usual haughty language he exclaims in one of his letters, "I could wish that county would stand out, for I am well assured it shall turn to his majesty's advantage if they do." He proceeded into Galway about the middle of August, and, as if resolved to hear the great earl of Clanrickard, and in his usual haughty language he took up his residence in that nobleman's home at Portumna, and there held the commission which was to question his title to his estates. Yet the jury stood firm in spite of the pressing manner in which Wentworth charged them, and, to use the deputy's own language, "most obstinately and perversely refused to find for his majesty, though we endeavoured to satisfy them several ways beyond any we had taken in any of the other three counties."

Wentworth was enraged at this resistance to his will, and declared that he would make such an example of the people of Connaught that no subsequent Irish jury would dare to give a verdict against the king. He began by fining the sheriff a thousand pounds for returning what he designated as a packed jury; and the latter he cited into the castle chamber, fined them four thousand pounds each, and threw them and the sheriff into prison until they should pay their fines, and acknowledge their offence in the court on their knees. The sheriff died in prison. We may quote, as an instance of the severity with which Wentworth treated the jurors, that when one of them pulled by the sleeve his companion while he was undergoing examination, the lord deputy chose to interpret this act as an attempt to influence the person on whom it was performed to give his verdict against the king, and he fined him five hundred pounds. The earl himself, and his nephew, lord Clanmorris, were selected as special objects of persecution, and the former dying shortly afterwards his death was generally believed to have been hastened by the manner in which he had been treated. In a letter addressed to the king, Wentworth justifies his severity on this occasion by the advantages which must result from it to the king's service. "If it be followed with just severity," he observes, "this opposition will prove of as great use to the crown as any one thing that

hath happened since this plantation fell in a proposition. It shall not only, with a considerable addition of revenue, bring security to this county, which of the whole kingdom most requires it, but make all the succeeding plantations pass with the greatest quietness that can be desired. Whereas if this froward humour be negligently or loosely handled, it will not only blemish the honour and comeliness of that which is effected already, but cut off all hope of any future plantation. For if the contrivers herein escape undisciplined, it will so encourage the natives in their natural averseness to these services, as they will never in these cases find any title for the crown hereafter."

Thus did Wentworth pursue his object with unrelenting resolution. He was determined, come what would, that the king should have a title to the lands in Galway. "Nay," he says in one of his letters, "in case there be no title to be made good to these countries for the crown, yet should I not despair forth of reason of state, and for the strength and security of the kingdom, to have them passed to the king by immediate act of parliament." On the other hand, enraged at the opposition which he had encountered, he was earnest in the pursuit of all who dared to wrestle with his power, and he was led by this earnestness into many acts of oppressive injustice. To punish the catholic lawyers who had presumed to plead against the king's title in Galway, he proceeded to enforce against them individually the law which required the oath of supremacy, which was at once to disqualify them for their profession; and, when the landholders of Galway offered to lay their griefs before the throne, he wrote to the king, entreating him to send their agents back to Ireland as prisoners, that they might be rigorously proceeded against for having dared to appeal against his deputy.

The landholders, finding at last that it was useless to struggle against Wentworth's authority, came to the resolution of surrendering their estates to the crown, and throwing themselves upon the king's mercy. They employed as their mediator with the lord deputy, the young earl of Clanrickard, a nobleman of spirit, whom Wentworth had accused of being at the head of what he designated as the plot of the landholders of Galway to cheat the king, and who now wrote an impressive appeal to the lord deputy in their behalf. But the latter refused

to be appeased, until he had taken vengeance in some form or other on those who had offended him, and now he required, as the condition upon which he would accept the submission of the landholders, that the jurors should acknowledge that they had given a false verdict. To this arbitrary proposal, the earl of Clanrickard answered with spirit, that "assuredly so many persons of their quality would never acknowledge a wilful opposition or perjury."

Among those who fell under Wentworth's wrath were men of all ranks, and many who had served the crown honourably and zealously under previous governments. The earl of Clanrickard, whose death was generally reported to have been hastened by the deputy's rigour, was the same who had fought so bravely at the battle of Kinsale. Lord Wilmot, who had commanded with so much distinction under Mountjoy, in the wars of the rebellion, was brought to account for lands which he was accused of having usurped from the crown. The earl of Cork, in addition to other humiliations, had been compelled to make similar restitution to the church. Opposition to the deputy's will in council or parliament, drew down the same persecutions on the heads of the offenders. A remarkable instance was furnished in the person of a distinguished English officer, sir Piers Crosby, who had been the principal means of saving the English army in its retreat from the attack on the isle of Re, and who now commanded a regiment in Ireland, and was a member of Wentworth's privy council. In the second session of the Irish parliament Crosby had ventured to oppose some measures of the government, for which he was severely reprimanded by the lord deputy, and charged with violating his oath in voting in parliament against bills which as a member of the privy council he was supposed to have assented to. For this alleged offence, he was sequestered from the council board; and when he petitioned against this severity, and asked leave to repair to England, he not only met with a refusal, but Wentworth procured an order from the king to erase his name from the list of privy councillors.

Nor did the persecution of sir Piers Crosby end here. A libel containing severe animadversions on the lord deputy's conduct having appeared soon afterwards, Crosby was accused, upon bare suspicion, of being the author, and he was committed to prison, and his study having been forcibly entered, his

papers were ransacked in the hope of finding some evidence against him. No copy of the libel in question could, however, be found there, nor anything which could fix upon him the slightest share in the composition; he was, nevertheless, proceeded against in the castle chamber with the utmost severity, on the charge of having at least approved and repeated the libellous publication. He was in the end condemned to so heavy a fine, that he only saved himself from ruin by making an humble submission to his persecutor.

A still more flagrant instance of Wentworth's excessive severity was exhibited in the case of lord Mountnorris. This nobleman, one of the English adventurers who had made their fortunes in Ireland during the preceding reign, had enjoyed the royal favour under James and Charles, and was represented by lord Wentworth at the beginning of his deputyship as one particularly attached to the interests of the crown. He had subsequently, however, given offence, apparently by some acts of opposition, and in the April of 1635 the lord deputy speaks of him as "an officer of no great nor quick endeavours in his majesty's service, a person held by us all that hear him to be most impertinent and troublesome in the debate of all business; and, indeed, so weary are we of him, that, I dare say, there is not one of us willing to join with him in any private council." He adds, "his course of life is very scandalous, indeed, a dishonour to the place, being extremely given to good fellowship; and it seems in that humour is so full of talk, that it is the recreation of some to draw him into those distempers as often as they can, to make themselves the more sport and mirth with it." It appears that the rancour between Mountnorris and Wentworth had been at this time increased by two causes of discontent. In his office of vice-treasurer, the former had lately been abridged of certain fees which the vice-treasurer had been accustomed to receive, and which were now adjudged to be irregular. He was also accused of having received, or connived at the reception of, a gratuity to expedite the payment of a sum granted by warrant from the treasury; but, as he proved that this was taken by a subordinate officer, and without his privity, the deputy, though he publicly expressed his suspicions of the vice-treasurer's dishonesty, was unable to make this a ground for depriving him of his office. He looked forward, however,

eagerly for an occasion which might enable him to wreak his full vengeance on the obnoxious nobleman; and, at length, he treated him with a cruel severity, which excited indignation through both islands.

It appears that two of lord Mountnorris's kinsmen, brothers, served in the army in Ireland, one as a lieutenant in the foot company of which lord Mountnorris was captain, and the other in the lord deputy's troop of horse. The latter was one of the lord deputy's gentlemen ushers, and on the day of the dissolving the parliament (in the middle of April), he had excited Wentworth's anger in the presence chamber by his awkwardness in moving a foot stool against his foot, which was suffering from a severe attack of the gout. One or two days afterwards the circumstance was mentioned at the lord chancellor's table, in the presence of lord Mountnorris and other members of the privy council, and some one observed to that nobleman that it was Annesley, his lordship's kinsman, that had done it. Mountnorris answered slightly and flippantly, or, as it was afterwards interpreted, "in a scornful contemptuous manner," "Perhaps it was done in revenge of that public affront which my lord deputy had done him formerly; but he has a brother that would not take such a revenge." The affront alluded to is described by Wentworth as being, "that his said kinsman, being one of the horse troop commanded by us, the lord deputy, in the time of exercising the said troop was out of order on horseback, to the disturbance of the rest then in exercising, which we, the lord deputy, in a mild manner reproving him, as soon as we turned aside from him, we observed him to laugh and jeer us for our just reproof of him, and, laying a small cane which we then carried, on his shoulder, yet without any blow or stroke then given therewith, told him that if he did serve us so any more, we would lay him over the pate."

The observation made by lord Mountnorris at the lord chancellor's table passed without further notice till the end of July, when it was repeated to Wentworth, who resolved at once to take a severe revenge by making it the ground of a charge against him, as an

officer of the army, for inciting to insubordination against the general. Having obtained other evidence as to lord Mountnorris's words, and procured an order from the king, he caused him to be dragged before a court martial on the 12th of December, 1635, and there placed upon his trial. His defence was, that the words were spoken in levity, and were not intended to bear the interpretation put upon them; nor, indeed, if we consider the place and circumstances under which they were spoken, can we take them as anything more than a peevish expression of discontent against the deputy. But the court martial, over which Wentworth in his quality of general presided, would admit of no explanation of lord Mountnorris's words, but that they were spoken to disgrace the general; and, on the allegation that they contained a deliberate incitement to vengeance, he was unanimously adjudged "to be imprisoned, to be from thenceforth deprived of all the places he held in the army, to be disarmed, to be banished, and lastly, to be shot to death, or to lose his head, at the pleasure of the general." This sentence struck every body with astonishment and indignation; and the lord deputy attempted, subsequently, to avert, in some degree, the popular odium, by declaring, that he used no influence over the court, and that it was never his intention to permit the sentence of death to be carried into execution. But his personal dislike of lord Mountnorris was well known; and if he did join in a petition to the king for a remission of that part of the sentence, he long concealed the circumstance from his victim, who was kept under the terror of death for some months, in the midst of sickness and sorrow, to humiliate him, and compel him to acknowledge that the sentence was just.*

Another victim of his severity at a late period was the lord chancellor Loftus, whose daughter had married Sir John Gifford. Loftus had been one of the lords justices who ruled Ireland between the government of lord Falkland and that of Wentworth, and although he had shown sufficient subservience to the crown and to its present deputy, the latter had always affected to regard him with

* Lord Mountnorris has left us the following memoranda relating to the long persecution which he suffered on this occasion: "I was first committed the 12th of December (1635); let go the 18th to my house; committed again the 11th of April; put out the 2nd of May; I was then in great extremity, and

admitted to my house again, where I lay in a long continuing sickness, and under the hands of physicians. And the 30th of January afterwards, because I sued not out the pardon, was imprisoned again, and there continued till March, 1637."

some contempt. Sir John Gifford now claimed some settlement of fortune on his wife, which her father was not disposed to grant. Letters from Wentworth to the lady are said to have been subsequently divulged, which raised strong suspicions that a criminal intercourse had been carried on between them. When, therefore, a petition from Gifford was laid before the privy council, it was heard with favour, and the lord chancellor was condemned to make the settlement he required. It was now generally understood, even in Ireland, that such proceedings were illegal, and Loftus refused obedience to the order of council. He was immediately sequestered from that board, ordered to deliver the great seal into the hands of the lord deputy, and committed to prison. The chancellor declared his conviction, that the sentence of the council had been dictated by the lord deputy, whom he accused as the real author of his disgrace, and he made his appeal to the throne. But the king was steeled against all complaints of this kind; and the chancellor was only restored to liberty and his office after an abject submission to Wentworth, and a public profession of repentance for having offered any resistance to his will.

By rigorous proceedings like these, Wentworth's personal enemies were daily increased, and they willingly joined the popular party in England in conspiring his ruin. His friends at court gave him from time to time intimations of the dangers which threatened him, and Laud more than once impressed upon him the necessity of caution and moderation. Wentworth himself began to feel alarm at the storm he saw rising, and fearful of the advantage which his continued absence might give to his enemies in England, he obtained the king's leave in the summer of 1636, to repair to court. He there, both privately to the king alone, and publicly in presence of a full council, gave an account of his administration, and defended himself against various charges which had been circulated against him. An account of this interview is given in a very long letter from Wentworth to the Master of the Rolls in Ireland, who had been left as one of the lords justices during his absence. He there informs us that he commenced his defence by stating how the Irish church was improved in patrimony, and had been made conformable to that of England in doctrine and government. He showed how the Irish revenue

had been increased in all its departments, and how, by being allowed the temporary use of it for the carrying out of necessary reforms, he had been enabled to place every branch of the Irish establishment on a better and safer foundation. This was more especially to be seen in the army; "I informed them," says Wentworth, "that the army was well clad, reasonably well-armed, (but should be yet better), well exercised, and well paid, which they had never been before; that I had visited the whole army, seen every single man myself, as well in person as in his exercising, where other generals, that had continued the charge longer than myself, had not taken a view so much as of one company; that in the removes and marches of the army they paid justly for what they took, and past along with civility and modesty, as other subjects, without burthens to the country through which they went, but formerly they took the victuals and paid nothing, as if it had been an enemy's country. Whence it was that the soldier is now welcome in every place, where before they were an abomination to the inhabitants. That by this means the army in true account might be said to be of double the strength it had been apprehended, so much as there is neither courage nor hope left for opposition; the good secured, the bad kept in humility and fear by it, to be judged worthy the king's entertainment, and when they shall be seen, will appear with a company of gallant gentlemen, their officers, fit to serve a great and wise king, whereas not much of all this before, but rather the quite contrary." He adds, "I concluded this point with delivering my most humble advice, that the army, as of absolute necessity to that government, was rather to be reinforced than at all diminished, as an excellent minister and assistant in the execution of all the king's writs, the great peace-maker betwixt the British and the natives, betwixt the protestant and the papist, and the chief securer under God and his majesty of the future and past plantations."

The lord deputy next spoke of the public justice of the kingdom, representing how "it was dispensed without acceptance of persons; that the poor knew where to seek and to have his relief, without being afraid to appeal his majesty's catholic justice against the greatest subject; the great men contented with reason, because they knew not how to help themselves, or fill their

greedy appetites, when otherwise they are as sharp set upon their own wills as any people in the world; that that was a blessing the poorer sort, this a restraint the richer had not formerly been acquainted with in that kingdom." Thus, he exclaimed, "by the laws enacted this last parliament I might truly say, that Ireland was totally become English, all the flower and good laws passed since Henry the Seventh's time gathered, without leaving one out which might be of advantage to the crown."

With regard to trade, he showed that under his government the Irish coast had been cleared of pirates, and defended from the attacks of the Algerine corsairs; that trade had been protected and much increased, with a proportional increase of the king's revenue. He showed, moreover, that in his care for the commercial prosperity of Ireland, he had followed a wise policy with respect to the relations between that country and the English crown. Thus he stated, that "there was little or no manufacture amongst them, but some small beginnings towards a clothing trade, which I did, and so should still, discourage all I could, unless otherwise directed by his majesty and their lordships, in regard it would trench not only upon the clothings of England, being our staple commodity, so as if they should manufacture their own wools, which grew to very great quantities, we should not only lose the profit we made now by indrapping their wools, but his majesty lose extremely by his customs; and, in conclusion, it might be feared they would beat us out of the trade itself by underselling us, which they were well able to do. Besides, in reason of state, so long as they did not indrape their own wools, they must of necessity fetch their clothing from us, and consequently, in a sort, depend upon us for their livelihood, and thereby become so dependent upon this crown, as they could not depart from us without nakedness to themselves and children. Yet have we endeavoured another way to set them on work, and that is by bringing in the making and trade of linen cloth, the rather in regard the women are all naturally bred to spinning, that the Irish earth is apt for bearing of flax, and that this manufacture would be in the conclusion rather a benefit than other to this kingdom. I have, therefore, sent for the flax seed into Holland, being of a better sort than we have any, sown this year a thousand pounds' worth of it (finding by some I sowed last

year that it takes there very well); I have sent for workmen out of the Low Countries and forth of France, and set up already six or seven looms, which, if it please God to bless us this year, I trust so to invite them to follow it, when they see the great profit arising thereby, as that they shall generally take to it, and employ themselves that way, which, if they do, I am confident it will prove a mighty business, considering that in all probability we shall be able to undersell the linen cloths of Holland and France at least twenty in the hundred."

Thus Ireland owes to the government of lord Wentworth the establishment of one of its most important manufactures.

In conclusion, the lord deputy proceeded to offer his defence in various particulars wherein he had been, he said, "very undeservedly and bloodily traduced;" for, he said, in consequence of his transactions with regard to lords Clanrickard, Wilmot, Mountnorris, and others, his enemies had represented that he was "a severe and austere hard-conditioned man, rather, indeed, a basha of Buda, than the minister of a pious and christian king;" whereas it was but the necessity of the king's service which forced him to "a seeming strictness outwardly." "For," said he, "where I found a crown, a church, and a people spoiled, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks, it would cost warmer water than so. True it was, that where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels; but where a sovereignty (he it spoken with reverence) was going down the hill, the nature of a man did so easily slide into the paths of an uncontrolled liberty, as it would not be brought back without strength, not to be forced up the hill again but by vigour and force. And true it was indeed, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment, and I must profess that where I found a person well and entirely set for the service of my master, I should lay my hand under his foot, and add to his respect and power all I might; and that where I found the contrary, I should not handle him in my arms, or sooth him in his untoward humour, but if he came in my reach, so far as honour and justice would warrant me, I must knock him soundly over the knuckles; but no sooner he became a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change

my temper, and express myself to him, 'as unto that other, by all the good offices I could do him.' When Wentworth proceeded to expatiate further on the necessity of his severity, the king interrupted him by declaring that it was no severity, and wishing him to go on in the same way, "for, if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me." This discourse, Wentworth adds, "was not kept within doors, but filled all the town, much spoken thereon to my advantage, and leaving my ill-willers no words or face to speak against it, condemned them to a silence, much contrary to what they desired; so as now I am very popular, and held far more considerable than I take myself to be."

Yet Wentworth's apprehensions were not set at rest, and as he proceeded to visit his English residence at Wentworth-Woodhouse, in Yorkshire, previous to his return to Ireland, his mind appears to have been filled with gloomy forebodings. His ambition led him to grasp eagerly at titles and honours, which seem to have been the bait that first caught him from the popular party; and in the first exultation at his success in obtaining the large subsidies from the Irish parliament, he had privately solicited the king for a higher rank in the peerage, and the king's acquiescence seemed only delayed. His fears now joined with his ambition in renewing the demand, and in a letter to the king from his house at Wentworth, written on the 23rd of August, 1636, in which he speaks of "the storm which set so dark upon him," he represented the necessity under which he lay of carrying back with him to Ireland some more public mark of the royal favour, at the same time that he demanded another interview with the king before his departure, no doubt for the purpose of pressing his prayer. Yet his request met with a cold denial, written from Lindhurst on the 3rd of September, and expressed in an epistle full of hollow words. "Certainly," says the king, "I should be much to blame not to admit so good a servant as you are to speak with me, since I deny it to none that there is not a just exception against; yet I must freely tell you, that the cause of this desire of yours, if it be known, will rather hearten than discourage your enemies: for, if they can once find that you apprehend the dark setting of a storm, when I say no, they will make you leave to care for anything in a short while but your fears. And believe it,

the mark of my favours that stop malicious tongues are neither places nor titles, but the little welcome I give to accusers, and the willing ear I give to my servants. This is, not to disparage those favours (for envy flies most at the fairest mark), but to show their use; to wit, not to quell envy, but to reward service; it being truly so, when the master without the servant's importunity does it, otherwise men judge it more to proceed from the servant's wit, than the master's favour. I will end with a rule that may serve for a statesman, a courtier, or a lover, never make a defence or apology before you be accused."

Mortified at this cruel rebuff, but still unchanged in his devotion to the service of the crown, Wentworth returned to his post in Ireland in the middle of November. There the same subserviency to his orders still prevailed, and he proceeded with his plantations, his various plans for the improvement of trade and commerce, and his other measures of reform. When we look at these, we find them in general characterised by wisdom and foresight, and none but the unflinching and rigorous hand of a Wentworth could have broken down in so short a period the misrule under which that island had suffered so long. The earnestness with which he carried out the arbitrary principles of his master in civil, and of his friend Laud in ecclesiastical government, and the scorn and rancour with which he followed all who resisted him, drew down in the sequel their own punishment. He hated the puritans in the mass, because he knew they were opposed to those principles more resolutely than any other party; but he was more indulgent to the catholics, whom he looked upon as men to be gained over by gentleness rather than severity. At least he knew the strength of the catholic party, the activity and influence of their "priests and friars," and the danger of provoking them too far, until prepared to contend with them successfully. Impressed with these feelings, immediately after his return to Ireland in 1636, Wentworth wrote to secretary Coke in the following terms, caused by some intolerant proceedings of the Irish prelates:—

"It will be ever far forth of my heart," he says, "to conceive that a conformity in religion is not above all other things principally to be intended. For, undoubtedly, till we be brought all under one form of divine service, the crown is never safe on

this side, but yet the time and circumstances may very well be discoursed, and sure I do not hold this a fit season to disquiet or sting them in this kind, and my reasons are divers. This course alone will never bring them to church, being rather an engine to drain money out of their pockets, than to raise a right belief and faith in their hearts, and so doth not indeed tend to that end it sets forth. The subsidies are now in paying, which were given with an universal alacrity, and very graceful it will be in the king to indulge them otherwise as much as may be till they be paid. It were too much at once to distemper them by bringing plantations upon them, and disturbing them in the exercise of their religion, so long as it be without scandal; and so indeed, very inconsiderate, as I conceive, to move in this latter, till that former be fully settled, and by that means the protestant party become

by much the stronger, which, in truth, as yet I do not conceive it to be. Lastly, the great work of reformation ought not, in my opinion, to be fallen upon, till all incidents be fully provided for, the army rightly furnished, the forts repaired, money in the coffers, and such a preparation in view, as might deter any malevolent licentious spirit to stir up ill humour in opposition to his majesty's pious intendments therein, nor ought the execution of this to proceed by steps or degrees, but all rightly disposed to be undertaken and gone through withal at once. And certainly, in the mean time, since the less you call the conceit of it into their memory the better will it be for us, and themselves the quieter; so as if there were no wiser than I, the bishops should be privately required to forbear these ecclesiastical censures till they understood further of his majesty's pleasure therein."

CHAPTER XXIV.

EFFECT OF THE SCOTTISH COMMOTIONS ON IRELAND; THE EARL OF ANTRIM; WENTWORTH CREATED EARL OF STRAFFORD; A NEW PARLIAMENT



DURING two years Ireland enjoyed unusual tranquillity. The severity shown towards the men of Galway had produced its effect in other quarters, and the king met with no further opposition to his titles whenever he chose to lay claim to the lands of his Irish subjects. In addition to the province of Connaught, he had seized upon Londonderry in the north, as a punishment for the opposition he experienced from the citizens of his English capital, and now the title of the crown was established in Ormond and the county of Clare. Over these extensive territories the work of plantation proceeded rapidly, and the only complaint of the lord deputy was that, in spite of the apparent security of the government and the advantages offered to English settlers, they could not be procured in sufficient numbers to satisfy the wants of the plantations.

All Wentworth's other plans went on with the same success. By the obstruction he gave to the woollen manufacture, which had formerly been the great staple of Ireland, he put an entire check upon it, and established the linen manufacture in its stead. We have seen, by his own statement, the motives which dictated this policy; it was one of his political maxims, that the Irish ought to be rendered so wholly dependent on the English crown as "to be unable to subsist without its good pleasure." Following up the same system, he now introduced, in imitation of the French *gabelle*, a royal monopoly of salt, which added considerably to the revenue, while it placed the population of Ireland still further at the mercy of its governors. "Salt," he says, in one of his letters, "is of so absolute necessity, as it cannot stay upon his majesty's hand, but must be had, whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price." And in contemplating the success of these measures, Wentworth exclaimed on another occasion, "How shall they be

able to depart from us without nakedness and beggary."

In the fulness of his satisfaction at the flourishing condition of the island committed to his charge, he expressed his opinion to sir Harry Vane, in the summer of 1637, that, "Methinks something begins to appear amongst us, as if this nation might in time become a strength, a safety, and without charge to that crown, a purpose the English have long had, but hitherto never effected. Their trades, their rents, their civility increase daily, and together with them the king's revenue doth in some measure grow upon use." A year later he was enabled to state that the Irish revenue would exceed the expenditure by the large sum of sixty thousand pounds. Most of all, however, he boasted of the condition of the Irish army, which was now numerous, well paid, well armed, and well disciplined, and he did not conceal his expectation that it might some day be of service in England as well as in Ireland; for the king's affairs at home were becoming daily more embarrassed, and wise men, who said little openly, foresaw that a great political convulsion was at hand.

As for Ireland, Wentworth was always urgent that the army should be kept in good condition, for he knew that it was the chief instrument in keeping the natives in awe, and he saw that secret discontent was nourished from one end of Ireland to the other. The plantations had exasperated the landholders, even where the king's title was found without any show of reluctance, and they had excited the old jealousy of the natives against English settlers who were intruded upon their patrimonies. The Romish clergy and the papal emissaries took advantage of these feelings, and kept people—especially the lower ranks—in a constant state of agitation on the subject of religion; while the more respectable of the catholics were not conciliated by Wentworth's government, for they saw that his indulgence tended only to abstract money from their pockets, and they suspected that he only waited the opportunity to compel them to a conformity with the English church. Charles's crafty policy towards his catholic subjects in all parts of his dominions (many of whom were rich and capable of administering to his necessities), was fatal to the interests of his crown, for it exasperated the puritans, damped the zeal of the moderate protestants, and produced no attachment to

his person or zeal in his service in the catholics.

Thus, underneath the fair surface which the rigour of Wentworth's government had created, the elements of great disorder existed, and it required but a little cause to stir up a flame. The descendants of the old native chiefs, now men of broken fortunes and ready to follow any desperate courses that gave hopes of recovering them, conspired together, and held communication with their kinsmen who served in the armies of Spain and other foreign crowns. Wentworth had from his first appointment to the government of Ireland looked with alarm at the policy of the preceding reign in allowing foreign princes to recruit in Ireland, a policy which had not been discontinued until his assumption of the lord deputyship; and he more than once expressed his apprehensions that the men who thus, in foreign warfare, became experienced soldiers, would one day return to be dangerous enemies at home. The events which were now approaching showed that Wentworth's apprehensions were not unfounded. In his letters to the English ministers in the autumn of 1637, the lord deputy urged upon them the necessity of making any sacrifice to keep up an efficient military establishment in Ireland, and represented the advantage to be derived from frequent musters and reviews; by which the force of the army was placed constantly before the eyes of the disaffected. "This drawing them together," said he, "gives a mighty assurance to the well, and equal apprehension to the ill, affected subjects, nay, I hear, hath some operation upon those Irish that nest themselves in Flanders, and, as I have discovered of late (howbeit not brought to that ripeness to be as yet advertized over to you), hold intelligence and correspondence with their countrymen in Ulster, and continually practise and plot their return by arms. In truth, I observe the countenance this manner of assembling and exercising of them gives to all his majesty's affairs on this side to be such, that I have it in my purpose, if not otherwise directed by his majesty, once every year to bring the whole army for a month together to Dublin, there with my own eye to take account and inform myself what understanding and affection each officer hath to discharge himself as he ought to his majesty's service, and how far the common soldier is enabled to the duties of their profession. And surely in regard this discourse may perchance be

looked upon amongst the papers of state, when you and I are both at rest, admit me forth of my public duty to represent this humble advice, as well to the future as present time. Let not the crown of England, out of any narrow aspect to profit or otherwise, be at all counselled, however not persuaded, to lessen the army here, until God shall bring this nation to a total conformity with the church of England, effecting us one people in religion towards God, as we are already in allegiance towards the king. For if ever it chanced to be resolved on sooner, it will occasion mighty disorders and insolences in this state, consequently great uneasiness and changes to England. Secondly, let it be given in special command to the chief governor to see that the army be diligently exercised, and visited by himself every year, that they be fully armed, decently clad, able-bodied, all of them British, or at least protestants." We see indeed, throughout, that Wentworth's was a government of coercion, the model which the king had desired him to form for his imitation at home.

Soon after this period we find Wentworth speaking to a private correspondent of the practices of the Irish who were plotting sedition in foreign lands. After alluding to the indulgence which had been shown to the catholics of late years, he adds:—"Nevertheless, there is a nation of the Irish the whilst, that wander abroad, most of them criminous, all lowdly affected people, that forth of an unjust yet habitual hatred to the English government, delight to have it believed, and themselves pitied, as persecuted forth of their country, and ravished of their means, for their religion only; stirring and inciting all they can to blood and rebellion, and keeping themselves in countenance, by taking upon them to be grand seignors, and

boasting and entitling themselves to great dignities and territories, whose very names were scarcely heard of by their indigent parents. These impostors I should not once vouchsafe to mention, knowing full well there is no other power left them, save to draw and hasten upon themselves, and as many as can be vitiated by their allurements, a certain and speedy ruin, were it not for their sakes amongst us, who in repose and with thankfulness bow under the power and goodness of his majesty, whom those other refuse prejudice extremely, awakening thus the eye of the state with apprehensions and jealousies, which otherwise might and would possess itself in safety and rest."

The first attempts towards enforcing a uniformity in religious doctrines were directed against the presbyterians, who were at that time the most obnoxious party in the church. The troubles to which these attempts gave rise in Scotland affected Wentworth in more ways than one. He still held the office of lord president of the north, and therefore had under his government the districts threatened by the Scots, who were arming in support of their religious belief. While in Ireland, where the older plantations in Ulster contained a large proportion of Scots, the commotions of their mother country produced a very sensible agitation. It was commonly reported in England that the Scots in Ulster amounted to forty thousand, and that as early as the summer of 1638 they were in close communication with their brethren in Scotland, and prepared to support them in their resistance to Charles's favourite plan of forcing the English church government on his northern subjects.*

The lord deputy could not fail to be alarmed at the agitation in Ulster, and he was embarrassed by the appearance of a personage on the stage who gave him some will strike a terror in the rest of the faction. Since his majesty hath been pleased to condescend so far unto them in Scotland by his last proclamation, against which, notwithstanding, they have protested, there is such insulting amongst them here, that they make me weary of my life. And (as I am informed) they are now drawing a petition to his majesty, that they may have the like favour in Ireland, as is granted to their fellows in Scotland, which I hope your lordship in your deep wisdom will prevent. My officers have been lately beaten in open court. I have sent a warrant for apprehending of the parties, by virtue of a writ of assistance from your lordship (whereof I never made use before), and if I apprehend them, I will keep them in restraint till your lordship's pleasure be known. They do threaten me for my life; but, by the grace of God, all their brags shall never make me faint in doing service to God and the king."

* The spirit which was spreading among the Scots in Ulster may be understood from the following statement made by Lesley, bishop of Down, to the lord deputy, on the 18th of October, 1638 (*Strafford Papers*, vol. ii. p. 227):—

"As for those who condemn my process, and oppose my jurisdiction, they are more in number than would fill all the gaols in Ireland; but the churchwardens are the deepest in that guilt, who will present none who are disobedient to the government, and to that purpose they are chosen. As in Scotland they are entered into a bond to defend one another by arms, so it seems that in my diocese they have joined in a bond to defend one another by their oaths. I have therefore, in obedience to your lordship's commands, sent a list of these churchwardens extracted out of my registry. If it may so please your good lordship to make all or some of them examples, it

uneasiness. In the last rebellion in the north the Hiberno-Scottish clan of the MacDonnells had rendered considerable service to the crown, in return for which their chieftain received a large tract of forfeited lands, was created by James I. viscount Dunluce, and by Charles I. was raised to the title of earl of Antrim. His son, who had now succeeded to the earldom, and who by his mother was grandson of the turbulent earl of Tyrone, had been bred in England, and had married the widow of the celebrated favourite, the duke of Buckingham. Through this circumstance partly he stood high at court, and by his attachment to the catholic faith, and other qualities, had become a particular favourite with Charles's queen. This young earl was suddenly seized with the ambition of playing a prominent part in the troubles which seemed to threaten the north and he offered the king to raise at his own risk an army in Ulster, and to grapple with the earl of Argyle, who commanded the western districts of Scotland for the Covenanters. The earl of Antrim was so possessed with the notion of his own hereditary power, and of the readiness with which the remains of the Irish clans of the north would join his standard, that he hesitated not to make magnificent promises which he was in reality totally unable to fulfil. The king, however, was seduced by his fair promises, and snatched at the idea of setting an Irish nobleman against a Scottish covenanter. Antrim thus repaired to Ireland, carrying

in one hand a recommendation from the king to the lord deputy of himself and his schemes, and in the other a letter from the queen, requesting Wentworth to re-establish the superstitious pilgrimage to St. Patrick's Purgatory.

With both of these requests Wentworth was equally unwilling to comply. The seat of Irish superstition lay now in the midst of the Scottish settlements, and the lord deputy represented to the queen that to re-establish the pilgrimage would be little less than to raise a rebellion in Ulster.* With regard to the earl of Antrim's expedition, the lord deputy liked neither the design nor the undertaker. The latter he knew to be a zealous catholic, allied by blood with most of the old rebellious clans, and, as his army was to be composed of those clans, he foresaw that it must be the cause of serious disturbances in the north of Ireland, and feared that when once armed the earl's vanity might lead him into more dangerous courses. At all events, it was impolitic at the present moment to take into the king's service an army of papists, commanded by a popish general; it would at least furnish the Scots of Ulster with a plausible pretext for arming to defend themselves against outrage, and they, once armed, might join Argyle's forces, should he defeat the Earl of Antrim, and pursue him into Ireland. The latter, moreover, seemed not an improbable contingency; for, in a private conference with Antrim, the lord

* The following is the somewhat singular letter, in the highest degree impolitic, of the queen to the lord deputy:—

"Monsieur Wentworth,

"Je vous ay escrit cy devant pour des recommendations; où je vous ay reconnue sy prompt à m'obliger, que cela m'a fait vous escrire moy même pour vous en remercier; et aussi pour prier d'une chose, en quoy vous pouvés continuer à m'obliger plus qu'en aucune chose, qui est, que vous vouliez souffrir qu'une devotion que le peuple de ce pais a toujours eu à une place à saint Patrick ne soit point abolie. Ils en useront sy modestement que vous n'aurez point de raison de vous en repentir; et vous me ferés un grand plaisir. Je donne charge à Mr. Antrim de solliciter l'affaire auprès de vous. C'est pourquoy je finiray, en vous assurant, que vous ne trouverez point en moy une personne ingrate, mais une qui vous fera paroistre en toutes occasions le desir qu'elle a de vous obliger, et qui sera toujours.

"Votre bien bonne amie,

"HENRIETTE MARIE, R."

Wentworth's evasive reply, as far as regarded the immediate subject of the queen's solicitude, ran thus:—"The gracious lines I received from your majesty's own hand concerning St. Patrick's Purgatory, I shall convey over to my posterity, as one of

the greatest honours of my past life. For the thing itself, it was by act of state decry'd, under the government of the late lords justices, before my coming into this kingdom; and since I read your majesty's letter, I can in truth say, I am glad none of my counsel was in the matter. Yet being now absolutely taken away, there will be a greater difficulty to restore it, than would be barely to continue and tolerate such a devotion, prohibited by a smaller power, or discontinued for a shorter time, than this hath been. Besides the place is in the midst of the great Scottish plantations; and I fear at this time, when some men's zeal hath run them already not only beyond their wits, but almost forth of their allegiance too, it might furnish them with something to say in prejudice and scandal to his majesty's government; which, for the present indeed, is by all means to be avoided. Yet, considering we often observe, that may be had in due season with ease, which, mistimed, may prove unsafe and very difficult to obtain; my most humble opinion is, your majesty might do passing wisely to let this devotion rest a-while, till there may be a fitter opportunity apprehended, by which to effect your majesty's satisfaction therein; which gracious temper and forbearance shall also (in my judgment) dispose and bow all nearer your majesty's desires than any other way that can for the present be taken."

deputy soon found that, beyond talking largely of calling up his allies the O'Neills, O'Haras, O'Lurgans, Magennises, Maguires, Mac Mahons, Mac Donnells, and "as many O's and Macs as would startle a whole council-board on this side to hear of," had made no preparation for war, and that he was absolutely ignorant and incapable in everything necessary for conducting warlike operations with any chance of success. It further appeared that the earl, whose vanity had been flattered by the king's ready approval of his services, had vain-gloriously boasted of his vast designs, until they reached the ears of the Earl of Argyle, who immediately placed the Scottish coasts in such a state of defence as to be able to set all his threats at defiance.

While, therefore, he temporized with Antrim, sounded him as to his strength and capacity, and did what he could to disgust him with his undertaking, Wentworth communicated his fears and suspicions to the king and to the ministers of the crown, and he urged that the earl might not even be gratified with a command in the army, on account of the jealousy which the employment of papists was calculated at this moment to produce. But such was the influence which the queen and her partizans had gained over king Charles, that he was persuaded to persist in directing that her protegee should be employed. Preparations were made for his expedition, and officers were appointed to assist him; and a ship was sent with a freight of arms for a thousand men, for the use of his friends and kinsmen the Macdonalds of the isles. But it was soon found that his influence, like his capacity, was far less than his boasts had made it; and the whole design was put an end to by the temporary pacification with the Scots in 1639.

During the progress of the earl of Antrim's preparations, Wentworth had been drawn more and more into the bustle of the war which threatened Charles in the north. He had collected the army in Ireland towards the coasts from which it could be most readily transported to the king's assistance in case of need; he had sent five hundred men to strengthen the garrison at Carlisle; and he was preparing in a similar manner to assist the garrison at Dunbarton, when he received intelligence that that important fortress had fallen into the hands of the Scots. Alarmed at the success of the covenanters, and anxious at this time to

prevent a war which might throw the whole kingdom into confusion, it was the lord deputy of Ireland who advised the king most earnestly to temporize with his enemies, merely strengthening the English frontier, and waiting for a while the effects of time and reflection on the Scottish insurgents. He said in support of this recommendation, that "it was a tender point to draw blood from subjects, even when rebellious." But Wentworth's measures for the protection of Ireland in this time of danger had been as wise as they were energetic. The earl of Argyle had sent agents to incite the Scots of Ulster to rise in the cause of the covenant, but the ships which carried them over were taken; and a plot to betray the castle of Carrickfergus into the hands of the Scots was discovered in time, and the principal agent in the plot executed. The main body of Wentworth's army was drawn round Carrickfergus, and stores and garrisons were placed at every point threatened with danger. Lastly, in the May of 1639, an engagement was prescribed to the Scots of Ulster, whereby they were made to promise allegiance to the king, and submission to his commands, not to enter into any covenant, oath, or bond of mutual defence and assistance without the king's authority; and to renounce and abjure all covenants, oaths, and bonds contrary to this engagement. It was imposed on all persons of Scottish blood, of whatever age, sex, or condition, and those who refused it were thrown into prison, and were said in some cases to have been treated with barbarous severity.

The short-sighted pacification with the Scots in the June of 1639 was evidently but a pause in the great struggle which had now commenced, and few looked forward to anything else but a renewal of hostilities. Wentworth, and probably the king also, foresaw that if not stopped the storm which had broke out in Scotland would soon spread over the rest of the kingdom, and in a letter to his royal master, dated on the 22nd of July, the former expressed himself on this subject in remarkable terms. Referring to directions resulting from the new turn in the Scottish affairs, the lord deputy said:—"Your majesty's commands will not fail to find a perfect obedience amongst us on this side, nor can, by God's help, any powers stir here to the disservice of the crown but to their own ruin. This is the universal condition of this subject, as well those in the north as in other parts, whereof your ma-

jesty may rest assured; nay, if the distempers of Scotland had either continued, or shall kindle again, I am most confident we might and shall propound a way to make this kingdom considerably active to inforce those gainsayers to due obedience, and settle the public peace of all your kingdoms. Yet this belief shall not close my eyes towards those of that nation here amongst us, or induce me to neglect any means which shall be thought apt and reasonable to secure the crown, and keep them in the life of their obedience. They are a stirring and forward people, not to be left to themselves, lest the subtle presence and insinuation of religion might produce the same sad events here it hath done in other places; and therefore your majesty's caution therein acknowledged to be most wise and necessary. Of your majesty's resolution to go in person into Scotland I shall not presume to deliver any opinion; yet, I humbly crave leave to beseech your majesty to apply your own excellent rule there also, which is, neither to believe or expect farther than you see; and against all events not only to secure your return, but by your providence to foresee and prevent the being constrained upon the place to comply with anything which may in the least press too hard upon your honour, or embolden either those or other your subjects in the future; these three principles being, in my weak judgment, to be granted: that it was the knowledge the covenanters had of their own weakness, not their better affections, that inclined them to seek an accommodation; that nothing is to be yielded there which, by way of precedent, may encourage those of England to protest or contest your royal commands, or the laws already established; that England and Ireland ministering to your sovereignty, as I am most confident if rightly handled they will, there is abundantly in your power suddenly and safely to conform the other to your will in all just things." He adds, "I should humbly crave this letter were burnt, not out of any aspect toward myself, but much rather in regard I know not what consequences it might produce in case the faction find that any such considerations have been humbly presented to your majesty's wisdom."

At the time this letter was written, the king, embarrassed between conflicting counsels of others, and wavering and hesitating in his own, had determined on calling over his lord deputy of Ireland, as his last and safest refuge. The letter, written from Ber-

wick on the 23rd of July (where Charles still remained), deserves to be given in full, as showing the extent of the king's apprehensions:—

"Wentworth,

"Hen. Bruce hath delivered yours of the 3rd of July, and likewise had full discourse with me of all those affairs; and though I esteem him a better soldier than a statesman, yet he has made me some propositions in the politic way, somewhat mixed with the martial, not to be despised, yet not to be hastily embraced without such a good commentaire as you are able to make on them.

"This cause only, I confess, were too slight to draw you, though but for a time, from your weighty charge; but I have much more, and indeed too much, to desire your counsel and attendance for some time, which I think not fit to express by letter, more than this, *The Scots covenant begins to spread too far*. Yet, for all this, I will not have you take notice that I have sent for you, but pretend some other occasion of business, as to be present at the hearing of the chancellor's (lord Loftus's) appeal, or what you will else; whom, since I have named, I must tell you freely, I would wish ye would send him over without delay, if he have performed most, though not all (his friends pretend all) which I enjoined him to do before his departure; if yet he stood not in some high contempt, which, if it he, were most fit to be made clearly appear. It is very well done to go on with the Scotsmen's oaths. So I rest,

"Your most assured friend,

"CHARLES R."

Two days afterwards, the king wrote another letter to Wentworth, in which he told him that he "need not make very great haste, though I would have you come before winter, my meaning being that my commands at this time should not discommode your particular affairs, yet be assured that, come when you will, ye shall be welcome." This latter intimation was not unnecessary, for there was much that required arrangement in Ireland before the lord deputy could leave his post with safety. In spite of his repeated declarations of the willing obedience of the population in all parts of the island, it is evident from a variety of facts which exhibit themselves, that there was a general feeling of dissatisfaction, and that it was daily increasing. A government of coercion may produce a temporary quiet, but it is not security, and this was shown in a remarkable degree in the history of Ireland during the period of which we are now speaking. Wentworth, however, took the best precautions in his power, and in the month of September he committed his government to the care of two lords justices, lord Dillon and sir Christopher Wandesford, master of the rolls, two members of the Irish privy council in whom he placed

especial confidence, and then embarked for England.

The lord deputy found affairs in England in a worse condition than he imagined; for the king was paralyzed at once by weak counsels and an empty treasury. As he had now exhausted every other means of raising money, Wentworth joined with Laud in recommending him to try the last resource, a parliament; and the king consented, though not without reluctance, to this obnoxious alternative. To meet immediate exigencies, a voluntary contribution was at the same time set on foot, and Wentworth set the example by subscribing twenty thousand pounds, and the queen, by her agents, obtained considerable sums from the Roman catholics in England. He further recommended that a new parliament should be immediately called in Ireland, confident in his belief in the power he possessed there, that he should be able to obtain considerable supplies for the king's present necessities. Having thus prepared the sinews of war, he gave his advice that the king should break off all further negotiations with the Scottish covenanters, and proceed vigorously to hostilities.

Wentworth had now attained to that object of his ambition at which he had so often clasped in vain. Charles might have forgotten past services, but he had now thrown himself into Wentworth's arms, and he could not refuse, under such circumstances as those in which he was now placed, the honours which were to seal his devotion, and perhaps purchase his own safety. On the 12th of January, 1640, lord Wentworth was raised to the rank and titles of baron Raby, of Raby castle, in the county of Durham, and earl of Strafford. He was shortly afterwards elected a knight of the garter, and was invested with the more elevated title of lord lieutenant of Ireland, which had not been given since the death of Elizabeth's favourite, the earl of Essex. This title gave the earl of Strafford greater liberty of absenting himself from his government, and he forthwith named sir Christopher Wandesford as his lord deputy.

Armed with these new honours, Strafford hastened back to Ireland to meet the parliament which had already been assembled by his directions, in the trust that his presence would secure such a grant as must be of great assistance to the king's affairs. He was arrested at Beaumaris by contrary winds, and by a violent attack of the gout,

the complaint under which he had been suffering long and severely, and which had so shattered his frame that he was frequently under the necessity of being carried about in a litter. In his hurry to reach Ireland, and, as he expresses it, "to make shift to be there and back again hither in good time," the moment he felt the attack approaching, he ordered that he should be carried on board immediately, fearing that if his removal were delayed, the attack might become so severe as to render it altogether impossible. He thus reached Dublin soon after the middle of March, 1640, just two days after the Irish parliament had assembled.

The lord lieutenant found the Irish parliament even more subservient than he expected. The Irish catholics were, indeed, not inclined to assist the covenanters, who were their declared enemies, and the puritans in Ireland had not yet assumed the courage to act in an avowed opposition to the government. Lord Strafford's designs, therefore, of making Ireland set an example for England, was carried out without difficulty. He made a personal address to the house of commons, told them of the violence and ingratitude of the Scots, and of the necessity under which his royal master stood of throwing himself upon the generosity of his people, and he ended by demanding six subsidies. When he had concluded, the principal speakers in the Irish house of commons entered into a sort of rivalry with each other as to who should be most eager in his subserviency to the crown; and this was shown chiefly among those of native blood. Some of them declared, "that as six subsidies were granted the last parliament towards enabling the king to pay the debts contracted for the occasions of his crown, and for the better settlement of the revenues, so at this time six or more are fit to be given, it being apparent that the peace and safety of the kingdom are become so nearly concerned." Others, "showing divers precedents in ancient times, and among those some whereby the king, by a mandate from himself alone, without a parliament, caused money and goods to be taken in Ireland from merchants and others towards defraying the charges of his expeditions against the Scots for the defence of his kingdom; and those, having enlarged themselves in that point, mentioned the abundant clemency and piety of his majesty, in being so indulgent to his subjects as to decline that example of his progeni-

tors, and to require aid of his subjects in a parliamentary way. Some of them said that his majesty should have a fee-simple of subsidies in their estates upon like occasions. Others of them, with great cheerfulness, declared that to answer his majesty's occasions, for the honour of his person and safety of his kingdoms, it was fit to be done, though it were with leaving themselves nothing besides hose and doublet. Some of them, with much earnestness, after forward expressions of readiness towards advancing the business, concluded that as his majesty is the best of kings so his people should strive to be ranked amongst the best of subjects."

Such was the character of this debate, as it is reported by the Irish privy council, in a statement sent to court by order of the house; and they add:—"Thus every of them seeming in a manner to contend one with another who should show most affection and forwardness to comply with his majesty's occasions; and all of them expressing, even with passion, how much they abhor and detest the Scotch covenanters, and how readily every man's hand ought to be laid to his sword, to assist the king in the reducing of them by force to the obedience and loyalty of subjects, they desired, that themselves and others of this nation might have the honour to be employed in this expedition, and declared, with very great demonstrations of cheerful affections, that *their hearts contained mines of subsidies for his majesty*, that twenty subsidies, if their abilities were equal with their desires, were *too little to be given to so sacred a majesty*, from whose princely clemency, by the ministration of the lord lieutenant, so many and so gracious favours are continually derived unto them." They protested further, "that the promises made unto them by his lordship the last parliament on his majesty's behalf, have been fully and effectually performed in all things to their comfort and contentment; that the subjects of this kingdom are infinitely bound to his majesty, for his gracious favour, in giving them the first opportunity *thus early before others of his subjects, to manifest their faith and loyalty to him*; and in the end, considering the present condition of the kingdom, and how unable they are, without too much pressure to them, to advance more at this time, they humbly besought that, by the lord lieutenant's interposition to his majesty, four subsidies might be accepted from them at this time; yet

with this declaration made by them, with as much demonstration of loyalty as ever nation or people expressed towards a king, that if more than these four shall be requisite, and the occasions of the war continue, they will be ready to grant more, and to lay down their persons, lives, and estates, at his majesty's feet, to further his royal designs for correction of the disordered factions in Scotland, and reducing them to a right understanding of themselves, and for the defence and safety of his majesty's kingdoms and people. And they earnestly desired us of the council then present, that immediately after the rising of the house, we would represent this from the house to the lord lieutenant, which they did with general acclamations and signs of joy and contentment, even to the throwing up of their hats and lifting up their hands."

Strafford appears, at this moment, to have been totally unconscious of the frail ground on which he stood, and with a fatal want of foresight, he seems to have believed himself that these extravagant professions of the Irish House of Commons represented the feelings of the Irish people. Hence he exulted over a solemn declaration of the sentiments of the Irish parliament, which seemed to belie so signally the dark representations of his enemies, and the representations which they had poured even into the royal ears. "Two considerations," he said in his letter to the English minister upon the proceedings in the Irish house of commons, "I humbly offer thereon. The first concerns myself, and it is my desire his majesty will judge betwixt those that have scandalized this government to have proceeded with so much severity as had rendered me a most hated person, indeed a visier basha, or anything else that might be worse, and the humble assurances given by me to his majesty that this people were infinitely satisfied, and joyed under the shadow of his protection and justice, and that they did not distaste me so much as willingly to change me, or to desire any new deputy in my stead." These latter words referred to a paragraph in the declaration of the House of Commons, in which they expressed their gratitude to the king for having given them Strafford as a governor, and their full approbation of the acts of his government. The lord lieutenant was, at this moment, equally short-sighted with regard to England, and he underrated the spirit which then pervaded the land, in

supposing that it would be checked by a bare declaration of a parliament of Irishmen. "The second consideration," he said, "is, whether it were not fit to read the letter of this council openly at the board there, and otherwise to publish as much as possible the forwardness of this people to serve his majesty in this great strait of his affairs, which with words you cannot express to such a height as really it was by them assented, and will, I am confident, by these be performed; for it may perchance kindle an emulation in those there, and, sure I am, make the covenanters in Scotland, and the ill-affected in your English parliament, *if any such there be*, less petulant and peevish than you might otherwise find them."

The lords showed the same spirit of loyalty as the commons, and, at the motion of the earl of Ormond, they passed a resolution to congratulate the lower house on the temper it had shown in this pressing emergency, and to signify the desire that both houses should join in the intended declaration. They proposed to appoint a conference for agreeing to some common form to be made the joint act of the two branches of the Irish legislature. The commons, however, became suddenly jealous of their privileges; it was their sole right to grant money; and they refused their concurrence in any common form which would seem to imply the acknowledgment that the upper house had shared in the merit of the grant. But the lords determined not to be behind them in professions of zeal and attachment, and they published a separate declaration of their devotion to the royal cause, similar in substance to that of the house of commons. The hostility they professed towards the puritans was exhibited in other acts, and especially in their proceedings against the bishop of Killala. This prelate was a Scottish puritan, who had been tempted to conformity by the prospect of promotion, and had in consequence obtained an Irish bishopric. His principles, however, seem to have been unchanged, and he was provoked by the writings of a clergyman of his diocese to defend publicly the conduct of the covenanters. The lords resolved that no writ of summons should be issued to this spiritual peer, and they proposed to pass the censure of the house upon him for his disloyalty; but the government had interfered, and he was arrested, subjected to a fine, and formally deprived.

Strafford had now little left but to congratulate himself on the success of his endeavours to serve the crown. He proceeded to raise an Irish army of eight thousand foot and a thousand horse, which were to assemble at Carrickfergus, ready to be transported into England; and then leaving his deputy and friend, sir Christopher Wandesford, to collect the subsidies, and continue the levies of soldiers, which were made without difficulty, he hastened over to England, still exulting in what he believed, or pretended to believe, to be the temper of the whole people of Ireland. "In few words," he wrote from ship-board to secretary Windesbank, "I have left that people as fully satisfied, and as well affected to his majesty's person and service, as can possibly be wished for, notwithstanding the philosophy of some amongst you there in the court, who must needs have it believed, true or false, that that people are infinitely distasted with the present government, and hating of me, which error I can very easily remit unto them, considering, that thereby the truth will be more clearly understood unto all, and in conclusion the shame fall upon themselves." He adds, "and this I am able to assure his majesty, that I find the people as forward to venture their persons, as they have been to open their purses, and enlarge their engagements towards the instant occasion, infinitely disdaining his majesty should be so insolently proceeded with, and unworthily provoked by those covenanters: to which only I will add thus much (if truth may be spoken without offence to such as would have it thought to be otherwise), that not only the standing officers and soldiers of that army, but the Irishry themselves also, will go (to speak modestly) as willingly and gladly under my command, as of any other English subject whatsoever."

After encountering a violent storm at sea, Strafford reached Chester on the 5th of April, where he was detained some days by a severe attack of the gout. He, however, reached London about the middle of that month, to present himself before the English parliament, which had met on the 13th, and he acquainted them with the zeal which the Irish parliament had shown in the king's cause, and the readiness with which they had granted their money, confident as before that this statement would have a powerful effect on the English commons. But here he was signally mistaken; the English commons looked only to their own precedents,

and they proceeded in such an alarming spirit to rip open the misdeeds of their rulers during the interval since a parliament had met, that after a session of about three weeks the king dissolved his parliament in an ill-humour, without having obtained supplies or any assistance in his necessities.

The example of the English parliament had far greater effect in Ireland than Irish subserviency had produced in this country, and the spirit of the English popular party seems to have been immediately communicated to the neighbouring island. When the Irish parliament met again in the month of June, its temper was entirely changed. This may be attributed in some measure to the absence of the numerous military officers, who had obtained seats by the government influence, and who were now called to their duty by the threatened hostilities in the north; but a better reason is found in the fact that the popular parties in the two countries had been in close communication, and the boldness of the English leaders had communicated itself to their friends on the other side of the channel. The puritans and recusants had suddenly joined in a resolute opposition to Strafford's government. People universally complained of the burthen of the subsidies, and of the manner in which they were levied, and a combination was formed throughout Ireland to prevent their collection, until parliament should settle a new manner of taxation. This subject, and another equally popular, the income of the clergy, were brought before the house of commons, which proceeded to a measure for diminishing the latter; and they passed a resolution that the late grant of four subsidies had been enormous and oppressive, and they virtually declared Strafford's mode of assessing the subsidies to be unjust and unconstitutional. In consideration of the king's great necessities, with many professions of loyalty and attachment, they consented that the first of the four subsidies should be levied according to the instructions issued by the lord deputy under

Strafford's direction; but they declared that this was not to be construed into a precedent, and they ordered that the other three should be collected in "a moderate, equal, and parliamentary manner."*

Sir Christopher Wandesford appears to have been paralyzed by this sudden outburst of popular spirit, and to have yielded to all that was demanded. But when the intelligence reached the ears of the king, who had reckoned so confidently on the submissive obedience of his Irish subjects, he could not conceal his mortification and rage at being thus stinted in his supplies. He gave vent to a strong expression of his displeasure at the conduct of the Irish parliament, and sent orders to tear out from the journals the leaf which contained the resolution of the house of commons relating to the subsidies, and these orders were executed by the lord deputy. But the commons had now gone too far to retrace their steps, and, unintimidated by this peevish exhibition of royal displeasure, their leaders entered into communication with the discontented party, and united with them in their hatred of the earl of Strafford as the great agent and supporter of the arbitrary principles of government which they were exerting themselves to overthrow. The Irish commons now began to deliberate more freely, and they drew up a bold statement of the grievances and oppressions under which they had suffered during Wentworth's administration. The upper house joined in this act, and a select committee of sixteen was appointed to lay this remonstrance before the king. The representatives of the upper house in this committee (though it does not appear that they acted in it by direct order of the house) were lords Gormanstown, Kilmallock, Costello, and Baltinglass. Thus were dissipated in a moment all lord Strafford's assertions of the attachment of the Irish to his own government.

* We may judge of the exorbitance and oppressive character of these levies, from the statement that one year's assessment on the earl of Cork amounted to three thousand six hundred pounds.

CHAPTER XXV.

TRIUMPH OF THE SCOTS; FURTHER PROCEEDINGS IN THE IRISH PARLIAMENT; IMPEACHMENT AND EXECUTION OF LORD STRAFFORD.



LORD STRAFFORD

was meanwhile arrested at York by the combined sufferings of the gout and the stone, and the king, satisfied that he alone knew how to manage

an Irish parliament, and alarmed beyond measure at the threatening aspect which the affairs of that country had taken, waited for his recovery with impatience, that he might return to Dublin to curb the unquiet spirits who were there in the ascendant. But the die of Charles's fortunes was now thrown, and his embarrassments followed each other with such unexpected rapidity, that for a moment the affairs of Ireland sunk into comparative insignificance. The sudden and ill-tempered dissolution of the English parliament was an act of fatal rashness, which increased the general discontent to an extraordinary degree, and in his progress to the north the king was beset with petitions to call another. He had made the earl of Northumberland general of his army of the north, with lord Strafford as lieutenant-general, and at the last moment, sickness, as it was said, but combined with distaste for the service, left Northumberland unable to take the field, and the chief command devolved upon Strafford. It was thus impossible for him to return to Ireland until the conclusion of hostilities, and he had reached Darlington on his way to assume the command, on the 29th of August, when he met the intelligence of the disaster at Newbourne, and the occupation of Newcastle by the Scots. He hastened back to the king at York, and he found Charles in the greatest distress, surrounded by perils, and with an army which was itself disaffected to his person. Strafford still recommended bold councils, and, as there had yet taken place no cessation of arms, he renewed hostilities with success in an action of little importance. He would, at the last moment, have brought over the army of Ireland; but it was now too late. The treasury was already exhausted; the English

soldiers, who had no inclination to this unpopular war, were unpaid and mutinous; and even the nobility were dissatisfied. Every step the king took gave rise to new clamours, and then all fell with double weight on the hated name of the earl of Strafford, who was looked upon as the king's chief adviser and ruler in his arbitrary acts, and who was commonly spoken of as the grand incendiary. The Irish army was composed chiefly of catholics, though the officers were protestants; and it was loudly proclaimed that the lord lieutenant designed to bring over an army of papists to cut the throats of the king's good subjects; Irish officers had served in the battle of Newbourne, and it was a catholic officer who had commanded the English in the last act of hostility against the Scots. Awed by the storm which seemed ready to break over his head, Strafford at last bowed before the popular feeling; the treaty of Ripon followed, and the king found himself at last obliged to call that memorable parliament which gave him no rest till it had torn the sceptre from his hands. The petitions for a parliament were combined with such strong expressions of apprehension of the popish army which had been raised in Ireland, that it was found necessary to send orders for disbanding it; but, as money had not yet been brought into the treasury to discharge the arrears of the soldiers' pay, this could not immediately be done.

Meanwhile the Irish house of commons became more violent in its spirit, as the agitation increased in England. The celebrated remonstrance of grievances had been passed tumultuously and hastily, without discussion. It consisted of sixteen articles, and began by speaking of the recent flourishing state of Ireland, reminding the king of the liberal grants which he had received from his Irish subjects, and appealing to magna charta and other statutes, which consecrated their rights equally with those of Englishmen. It then proceeded to enumerate the grievances which they had undergone during the present government. A general decay of trade was represented to have taken place, in con-

sequence of the new and illegal raising of the book of rates and impositions. It was complained that civil causes and controversies had, contrary to law and magna charta, been decided arbitrarily by the chief governor at the council table, and that in the courts, law had been perverted by the judges in order to gratify the court. Another subject of complaint was the denial of the graces, and especially of the statute of limitation. Among other grievances were the cruel punishments employed to repress the freedom of speech and writing; the great powers of the high court of commission, which had been established at Dublin, in imitation of the similar court, established in England by Laud, and of other tyrannical tribunals; the want of security for persons and property, arising from the unconstitutional proceedings of such courts; the vast increase of monopolies; and the exorbitance of the clergy.

This remonstrance, which was a general and severe condemnation of lord Strafford's Irish administration, was to be presented to the lord deputy, Wandesford, and it concluded with the request that, if he were unwilling to give a satisfactory answer, he would allow their committee to proceed to England, in order to lay it before the king. The lord deputy was confounded and intimidated at these bold proceedings of the commons, and he attempted to satisfy them with evasive answers, in order to gain time for further communication with the lord lieutenant. He was suspected of having secretly employed persons to erase from the journal-book of the house of commons, instructions that had been agreed upon preparatory to a formal impeachment of the earl of Strafford. He now pursued indirect steps to hinder the agents of parliament from passing over to England, and when he found that he was not successful, and that they were determined to go through with their work, he prohibited them on their allegiance from leaving Ireland. Undeterred, however, by the lord deputy's commands, they all succeeded in putting to sea, and landed at different English ports; and Wandesford was left to use the only means in his power of preventing further mischief, by proroguing the parliament.

When the Irish agents reached London, instead of laying their remonstrance before the king, according to their public directions, they immediately placed themselves in close communication with the leaders of the po-

pular party there. The long parliament, which met on the 3rd of November, 1640, had entered upon its deliberations, and the whole country was in an indescribable state of agitation.

The earl of Strafford must now have had his eyes fully opened to the danger which menaced him. Throughout his bold course he seems to have laboured under an involuntary apprehension of the fate to which it was leading him, and in his moments of passionate violence, when his plans met with any opposition, he had been in the habit of taking the personal responsibility of his conduct on "the peril of his head," or "the peril of his life," and in presence of that peril he now stood. Conscious of this, and of the load of popular hatred under which he laboured, the earl would willingly have absented himself from the present parliament, and he begged of the king to allow him to withdraw to his government of Ireland, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire. But Charles had less real regard to the earl's safety than to his own necessities; and he was anxious at this critical moment to profit by the counsels of one who had proved his abilities and his attachment to the throne. He refused to listen to his fears, and urged him to hasten to London, where he claimed his assistance, promising him under his hand that parliament should not touch a hair of his head.

The earl obeyed the king's call, but he had no sooner reached London than he saw that his fears had been well grounded. The moment he was known to have taken his seat in the house of lords the threatened attack was announced. On the 11th of November the house of commons sat with closed doors, and Pym rose to move a formal impeachment of the earl of Strafford, and went through all the heads of accusation, which embodied the hatred of three kingdoms; Ireland, for his harsh government; Scotland, for his hostility; and England, for his support of arbitrary power. Pym was ably seconded by sir John Clotworthy, an Irish knight whose hatred of Strafford had procured him a seat in the English parliament, and sir John Hotham; and a formal resolution was passed to present articles of impeachment against the obnoxious minister at the bar of the house of lords.

Nearly the whole house of commons followed Pym to the lords, to present their

impeachment, and demand that the earl of Strafford should be immediately brought to trial. It appears, that even among the peers, his friends were not numerous, for his proud and haughty manners had given disgust to many of the old nobility, and when the deputation of the commons had departed, the lords closed their doors, and proceeded to deliberate on this unexpected motion with no kindly feelings towards the accused. Strafford was in consultation with the king, when a friend carried him intelligence of what was going on in the house of lords. He hastened thither, and finding the doors closed, called rudely for admission, upon which it was opened by Maxwell, the keeper of the black rod. The earl, "with a proud gloomy countenance," was making for the place which he usually occupied as the king's principal minister and adviser, when the lords bid him "void the house," and he returned in confusion to the door, to wait there the orders of his peers. The lords then consulted, and he was formally called in, and, as he continued to show a proud bearing, he was ordered to kneel, and in that humble position received the decision of the house. He was then informed of the charges which had been brought against him by the house of commons, and delivered as a prisoner to the keeper of the black rod. When he offered to speak, he was peremptorily commanded to leave the house without saying a word.

In the outer room he found Maxwell, the keeper of the black rod, who required him as his prisoner to deliver up his sword, and then cried with a loud voice for his man to "carry my lord lieutenant's sword." The rest of this strange scene may be told in the words of the eye-witness (apparently) who has left us the only notes of it, and who tells us, that after Strafford had given up his sword, "he makes through a number of people towards his coach; all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom, that morning, the greatest of England would have stood discovered (uncovered), all crying, 'what is the matter?' He said, 'a small matter, I warrant you.' They replied, 'yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter!' Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behaved to return that same way, through a world of gazing people. When, at last, he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach.'" And the earl

was thus carried as a state prisoner to the tower of London.

Sir George Radcliffe, Strafford's intimate friend, was also accused of high treason, and conveyed a prisoner from Ireland; and archbishop Laud, who was Strafford's chief support in the ministry, soon followed him to the Tower. These astonishing events produced an extraordinary effect in Ireland, and they were said to have contributed to the death of the lord deputy, Sir Christopher Wandesford, who expired suddenly towards the end of the year. Ireland was now absolutely without a governor, and the Irish committee, which was resident in London, and had now assumed considerable importance in the political movements of the day, seized upon the occasion for trying their power. The king was strongly advised by the earl of Strafford, whom he still consulted, to give the government of Ireland to the earl of Ormond, as a protestant nobleman who was devoted to the king's person and opposed to the two violent parties, catholic as well as puritan; but this advice, through the intrigues of the Irish committee, which the king now thought it his interest to conciliate, was overruled; and, instead of a lord deputy, who would be impartial between them, Charles imagined that he should flatter both parties by appointing two lords justices; lord Dillon, a zealous royalist, and sir William Parsons, who was equally distinguished for his attachment to the faction of the puritans. The Irish committee immediately protested against the appointment of lord Dillon, and the king soon wearied by their clamour, agreed to appoint two violent puritans, but otherwise men of no great abilities, sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, to govern Ireland with the title of lords justices.

The compliance of the king in this case gave encouragement to the Irish committee to make further demands, which were equally successful. The king consented to send orders to Ireland that the members of the committee should not be molested for quitting the island without licence; and that the leaf which had been torn from the journals of the Irish commons, should be replaced. He agreed that the subsidies should be assessed in the manner prescribed by their house; that all the king's correspondence with his ministers in Ireland should be entered in the signet office, open to be inspected or copied by every subject; and that all who had any complaint to make

against an order or decree, should have copies of records, certificates, orders of council, public letters, or other entries necessary for the due declaration of their grievances.

In the meanwhile the Irish parliament had again assembled, and the spirit of resistance had been increased by the success of the Irish committees in London, and by the example of the English parliament. They proceeded to inquire into and lay open grievances, and to seek their redress; and they petitioned the crown for new privileges and securities. The committees in London were more openly acknowledged by both houses, and a public assessment was voted to support them there. Among the new laws for which they were instructed to apply, was a bill for the further explanation of Poyning's law, which they had begun to look upon with some jealousy, as an instrument of arbitrary power in the hands of their governors. The Irish house of lords had now imbibed the spirit of the commons, with whom they joined cordially in their various petitions and protests. One of the latter was directed especially against the earl of Strafford, now a close prisoner in the Tower. This nobleman had exulted in the magnificent encomium passed upon him in the bill of subsidies, as a proof of the general satisfaction of the Irish under his government, and this still remained a written testimony in his favour. The house of commons now affected to look upon this clause as the work of a mere cabal, and they proceeded to inquire after the secret contrivers of it. They drew up a protest to be sent over to their committee in London, in which they declared that it had been surreptitiously inserted in their bill, either by the lord lieutenant, or by his agent; that, under the influence of strong representations of the king's pressing necessities, they had not opposed the fraud, lest the service of the crown might suffer by the rejection of the bill; and that the matter of this preamble was entirely false, inasmuch as the Irish nation had, in truth, been oppressed and impoverished by Strafford's administration. The committee were instructed to petition the king for a bill to erase this preamble from their records; and this was coupled with the request that, in future, neither Strafford, nor any of his agents or ministers, should be employed in Irish affairs. In spite of a warm opposition on the part of the earl of Ormond, lord Digby, and other

peers who were devoted to the crown, the upper house determined to join in this protest.

This step was followed by another no less decisive as to the temper of the Irish parliament. The commons drew up a catalogue of their grievances, which was to be presented to the king through their agents in London, and which consisted of eighteen articles. The lords complained that the nobility were overrated in the subsidies, that some of them were detained in prison, although not impeached of any capital offence, and that none were allowed to be absent from the house without leaving his proxy with some lord named by the chief governor. They further complained, that peers voted in their house in consequence of new titles of honour, without possessing any lands or property in the kingdom; and that they were not allowed without special licence, to repair to England, to lay their petitions before the throne. The complaints of the commons were directed against the grievous discouragement of trade by heavy impositions, against monopolies, and against the decision of civil causes, and the creating letters patent, by extra-judicial opinions at the council-board. They protested against the denial of the benefits of the act of limitation to the Irish subjects, and the unconstitutional influence of ministers in parliament. And they petitioned that sundry of the graces which they had bought of the king at the beginning of his reign, and of which they had been defrauded under the earl of Strafford's administration, might pass into acts of parliament; that a general pardon might be granted, free from captious provisos, which destroyed its efficiency; and, that in future, the nobility of Ireland might be preferred in all promotions to offices of trust and honour.

The commons displayed much more unanimity in these proceedings than was exhibited in the house of lords, where the earl of Ormond and other zealous royalists opposed the popular measures with warmth, and they were not adopted without violent discussion. This struggle of parties was relieved from time to time with a personal question or a dispute about privileges. When the Irish house of lords had agreed to the declaration of grievances, the bishop of Meath moved that the names of the spiritual lords, who, it appears, had all voted against it, should be omitted in the signatures to be attached to it. The question was referred to the

judges, who decided that the act of the majority must be considered as the act of all the orders which composed the house of peers; and the declaration of grievances, having duly passed the houses, was sent to the committee of the house of lords in London, to be by them laid before the king.

Questions of privilege also arose between the parliaments of the two kingdoms. Persons in Ireland, who had been, or thought they had been the objects of individual acts of injustice under Strafford's government, imagined that they would obtain a more speedy and certain remedy by laying their complaints before the English house of commons. In one of these cases a complaint was made of a prescribed illegal sentence given in favour of the bishop of Ardagh. The English commons summoned the Irish prelate to attend before them; but the Irish peers resented this infringement of their privileges, and made a spirited remonstrance to the English legislature, which appears to have met with a better reception than could otherwise have been expected, from the desire of the English commons to conciliate their Irish brethren.

The Irish commons were in the meantime occupied with a searching inquiry into the abuses and illegal practices during lord Strafford's administration, and they visited with severe censures the numerous deviations of that governor from the direct line of constitutional liberty. At last the house drew up the results of their inquiries in the shape of a series of questions to be proposed for the consideration and decision of the judges; they related to the power and authority of the chief governor and privy council in hearing and determining civil causes; to the legality of monopolies, and the punishments inflicted on those who infringed them; to the legal force of proclamations or acts of state; to the legality of establishing martial law in time of peace; to the jurisdiction of the exchequer, castle chamber (star chamber), and other courts; to the collation and powers of deans and other dignitaries; to the censures and severe punishments which had been passed upon jurors; and to the legality of *quo warranto* proceedings; and to some other grievances. When these questions were presented for the approval of the upper house, a declaration was attached to them, stating that, "Inasmuch as the subjects of this kingdom are free, loyal, and dutiful subjects to his most excellent majesty, their natural liege lord and king, and to be gov-

erned only by the common laws of England and statutes in force in this kingdom, in the same manner and form as his majesty's subjects of the kingdom of England are, and ought to be governed by the same common laws and statutes of force in that kingdom, which of right the subjects of this kingdom do challenge and make their protestation to be their birthright and best inheritance; yet inasmuch as the unlawful actions and proceedings of some of his majesty's officers and ministers of justice, of late years introduced and practised in this kingdom, did lead to the infringing and violation of the laws, liberties, and freedom of the said subjects of this kingdom, contrary to his majesty's royal and pious intentions: therefore the knights, citizens, and burgesses in parliament assembled, not for any doubt or ambiguity which may be conceived or thought of, for, or concerning the premises, nor of the ensuing questions, but for manifestation and declaration of a clear truth, and of the said laws and statutes already planted, and for many ages past settled in this kingdom, the said knights, citizens, and burgesses do therefore pray that the house of lords may be pleased to command the judges of this kingdom forthwith to declare in writing their resolutions of and unto the ensuing questions, and subscribe the same." The lords had, however, now slackened a little in their zeal, and the earl of Ormond stood forth unflinchingly in defence of the royal prerogative. A question of privilege gave him the opportunity of delaying the consideration of the queries; and, when the judges asked for time to prepare their answers, he supported their demand. He further prevailed upon the lords to resolve that the judges should not be compelled to answer such of the queries as concerned the king's prerogative or were contrary to their oath of office, and that, with regard to the rest, they should be allowed till Easter term to prepare their answer. The commons, who expected that the parliament would soon be prorogued, were dissatisfied with the tardiness of the other house, and, instead of waiting for the slow decision of the judges, they sent over their queries to their committee in London, with directions to lay them before the English parliament. They then imitated this latter body in impeaching of high treason four of lord Strafford's creatures, the lord chancellor (sir Richard Bolton), Bramhall, bishop of Derry, the chief justice of the common pleas (sir Gerrard Lowther),

and sir George Radcliffe; which led to another dispute with the house of lords. This and the impeachments were for a moment put an end to by a prorogation. The charges brought against the four individuals included in the impeachment were, that they had traitorously contrived and exercised an illegal and tyrannical government in Ireland, by the countenance and assistance of Thomas earl of Strafford; that they had assumed a royal power over the properties, persons, and liberties of the subjects, pronounced unjust decrees and extra-judicial opinions, and illegally and traitorously ruined his majesty's liege people by infamous and cruel punishments; and that they had subverted the rights of parliament and the ancient course of parliamentary proceedings.

The career of the earl of Strafford was now advancing rapidly towards an end, and he at length found the emptiness of the promises of kings. On the 22nd of March this remarkable man was brought to his trial in Westminster hall, where, alone against a multitude of enemies, he defended himself with remarkable ability. The conduct of his administration in Ireland formed a very important part of the charges brought against him, and the committee of the Irish parliament, which had been flattered and caressed by the popular leaders in England, lent its aid powerfully to overwhelm him. Among these charges he was accused of having publicly asserted that the Irish were a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased. He had, it was said, treated the charters of corporate bodies as mere discretionary grants from the crown. His various acts of tyranny against the earl of Cork, lords Mountnorris and Loftus, and other personages, were set out in detail. He was accused of having delegated to the bishop of Down, the same whom we have seen acting so zealously against the Scottish covenanters, powers to attach and imprison the poorer sort who refused obedience to his decrees. He was charged with establishing monopolies and commercial prohibitions for his own profit; and with enforcing his own

will by every kind of tyranny and oppression. And among the most serious charges was that of having raised an army of eight thousand Irish papists to assist the king in trampling upon his faithful subjects. The favour Strafford was said to have shown towards papists, raised a strong prejudice against him among the puritans; but the uniform practice of religious toleration may now be looked upon as one of the brightest characteristics of his government.

The rest of Strafford's eventful story belongs to English history, and is well known to every reader. His offences were construed into high treason, and a bill of attainder passed the English house of commons on the 21st of April. Two days afterwards the king wrote to him with his own hand, assuring him of his protection. "The misfortune that is fallen upon you," the king said, "by the strange mistaking and conjuncture of these times being such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs, yet I cannot satisfy myself in honour or conscience without assuring you (now in the midst of your troubles) that, upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour, or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you have showed yourself to be; yet it is as much as I conceive the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being your constant faithful friend." The king did make a faint attempt to save Strafford in the house of lords, where the bill of attainder was passed on the eighth of May; and then on the tenth of May, yielding to his own selfish apprehensions, Charles signed the bill by commission. It was on being informed that he was thus abandoned by the master he had served but too faithfully, that the earl of Strafford uttered that memorable quotation from the language of Scripture, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men; for in them there is no salvation." He was beheaded on Tower Hill on the 12th of May, 1641.

BOOK V.

IRELAND UNDER THE COMMONWEALTH AND THE PROTECTORATE.

CHAPTER I.

FURTHER CONCESSIONS FROM THE CROWN; NEW SESSION OF THE IRISH PARLIAMENT; THE IRISH ARMY DISBANDED.



AFTER Strafford's death, which had given new confidence to the Irish committees in London, those agents became still bolder in their demands upon the king, who seems to have exhibited greater pliancy towards his Irish subjects, because he still clung to the hope, that he might eventually derive assistance from them in controlling his unruly parliament at home. In reply to their repeated solicitations for an answer to the remonstrance of the Irish parliament, and the statement of grievances, Charles, at length, consented to their being brought before the privy council, and most of them were viewed with favour. The king agreed to moderate the assessment of the nobility, to confirm their rights and privileges by act of parliament, and to deprive those peers of their votes who should not purchase estates in Ireland within a limited period. He further consented that all Irish subjects should be allowed to proceed to any part of his dominions without restraint; and he prohibited the chief governor and council from deciding causes or avoiding letters patent; revoked monopolies; suspended the high commission-court; and referred the demands of the clergy to the Irish council, that an act might be drawn up for the equitable regulation of their claims and courts. He promised that the graces should be referred to the consideration of the lords justices and council, who were to prepare a bill for the establishment of such of them as appeared most conducive to the interests of the kingdom. Among other concessions to popular clamour, the king condescended even to promise an act for the repeal of the

preamble of the bill of subsidies, in which the Irish parliament had been compromised by its encomium on lord Strafford. Under cover of these great concessions, the king ventured to reject a few of their demands; and he stood firm on the subject of Poynings' act, which he could not be prevailed upon to alter.

All these concessions, however, were as yet no more than royal promises, and the petitioners, who were well aware of the little faith that could be put in king Charles's word, were earnestly desirous that he should render them secure by giving them the strict formalities of laws. They were not satisfied with the king's promise that he would not exercise obnoxious or unconstitutional powers, but they required that the powers themselves should be abolished. They contended, moreover, that the law of Poynings did not preclude the two houses of the Irish parliament from preparing and transacting bills with the concurrence of the council. In the midst of the discussion on these points, the period for which the parliament had been prorogued was allowed to expire, and a new session was opened. The king, taken somewhat by surprise, and anxious to conciliate the Irish legislative body, wrote a letter to the lords justices, by which he declared his pleasure, that his subjects in Ireland should enjoy the benefit of all his graces, directing that a bill should be transmitted for establishing some more material articles, especially for securing the estates of the old landholders, for limiting the title of the crown to sixty years, for annulling all the proceedings against the landed proprietors of Connaught, and for securing the estates of that province from the claims of the crown.

The parliament now assembled showed,

by the way in which these royal favours were received, how closely they were imitating the example of the parliament in England. A vote of thanks to the king was accompanied with a petition, that all the graces should be *established by law*, and that the present parliament should not be dissolved or prorogued until all grievances had been searched out and redressed. The Irish parliament then proceeded to consider a constitutional question of some importance, which had been raised by the impeachments of the preceding session, when the chancellor, in replying to the charge brought against him, expressed a doubt whether, since the enacting of Poynings' law, the house of lords had a judicatory power in capital cases. This declaration had produced a great heat at the moment it was uttered, and the two houses now joined in a protest, that the court of parliament ever was and is the supreme judicature of the realm, and always had, and ought to have, full authority to determine in cases of treason and other offences. This protest was laid before the king, in order to be established by his authority, and it was communicated to the English house of lords, where, as well as in the privy council, the question was debated with some warmth and considerable difference of opinion. The king was even induced to suspend his acts of grace and favour to his Irish subjects, until it should be set at rest; but the troubles which soon followed seem to have prevented the final decision.

After having drawn up this protest, the house of commons proceeded zealously to inquire into the national grievances, and they placed under this head most of the acts of Strafford's government. They drew up a solemn declaration, whereby they asserted their ancient right of repairing at all times to the king's presence, by their agents, without the licence or intervention of the chief governor. They condemned Strafford's proclamation for regulating linen yarn. They pronounced the high commission court to be a great and universal grievance, tending to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. They passed resolutions for the restriction of martial law, whereby that law was limited even in times of war and rebellion; and among other grievances they fell upon the present church establishment, which was obnoxious equally to the catholics and to the puritans. Many decrees of the late administration relating to

the clergy were rescinded, and at last the parliament threw itself upon the university of Dublin, and especially upon the regulations which had been established in it by archbishop Laud. They next resumed the queries of the preceding session, which were to fix the constitutional rights of the Irish subjects, and pressed the judges for explicit answers to them. The latter explained the difficult position in which they stood, and the danger to them of giving premature judgment on questions which had been laid before the king, before his sentence were known. They were then commanded to answer the queries so far as might be consistent with the duties of their station, and a just attention to the royal prerogative. They obeyed, but their answers being cautious and temperate, the commons voted them unsatisfactory; and an eminent lawyer, named Patrick Darcy, who had been persecuted by lord Strafford for his opposition to government, and had, consequently, become a violent partizan of the popular cause, was appointed prolocutor at a conference with the lords, to explain the reasons of the several questions proposed, and the insufficiency of the answers returned by the judges. The question was finally settled by a solemn determination of the house of commons on every separate article, in which the rights of Irish subjects were stated and affirmed with strength and precision, and all the powers assumed by the late administration were severely condemned. Thus did the Irish parliament advance in its work of reformation, proscribing by their votes all Strafford's maxims of government, prosecuting the ministers and agents of his arbitrary measures, and taking advantage of the king's embarrassment to circumscribe the exercise of the royal prerogative, and establish on a firm footing the rights and privileges of the subject. The impeachments of the preceding session were also resumed, but they were carried on with less violence, for the execution of the chief offender appears to have satisfied the vengeance of Strafford's enemies, and the charges against them were prosecuted chiefly as a matter of form. A series of charges were drawn up, to which they were called upon for their defence, and this was referred to a committee of the house. The only result appears to have been in the appointment of a new speaker in the house of lords; and the impeachments themselves were neglected and finally relinquished.

Although on these and some other points the catholic and puritan parties in the parliament acted with unity, such was not always the case, and the violence of the former, who were most powerful in numbers, began to alarm the government. The solicitude shown by the popular leaders to obtain an indefinite prolongation of the session, and the increasing heat and violence of the debates, made the lords justices anxious for an adjournment, which was only delayed till the return of the committees from London, because they were to bring back the bills which, according to Poynings' act, could only be introduced into the Irish parliament after having received the king's approval. At length, towards the end of August, the committees arrived, bringing with them bills to ensure all those popular reforms, for which the parliament had, through their agents in London, so zealously petitioned. The parliament was prorogued until the month of November, while the lords justices and privy council busied themselves in preparing the bills which were to be brought forward in the ensuing session. During the period of which we have just given the history, the king had performed another act which is supposed to have been intended to conciliate his Irish subjects. At the latter end of May he appointed Robert, earl of Leicester, the grandson of sir Henry Sydney, who had displayed such great abilities in the government of that kingdom, lord lieutenant of Ireland; and it was generally understood that the king's choice had fallen on this nobleman on account of his known gentleness of disposition, and of the conciliatory policy which it was expected he would show towards the Irish people. But in consequence of the troubles which soon broke out in both countries, the earl of Leicester never took possession of his government.

The government of the two lords justices had, indeed, been sufficiently conciliating, and they had shown a degree of indulgence towards all parties, amounting to weakness and want of foresight. Under these puritan governors, the Roman catholics themselves enjoyed in private the free exercise of their religion. "They had," says a contemporary writer, "their titular archbishops, bishops, vicars-general, provincial consistories, deans, abbots, priors, nuns, who all lived freely, though somewhat covertly, among them, and without control exercised a voluntary jurisdiction over them; they had their priests,

jesuits, and friars, who were of late years exceedingly multiplied, and in great numbers returned out of Spain, Italy, and other foreign parts, where the children of the natives of Ireland that way devoted, were sent usually to receive their education. And these, without any manner of restraint, had quietly settled themselves in all the chief towns, villages, and noblemen's and private gentlemen's houses throughout the kingdom, so as the private exercise of all their religious rites and ceremonies was fully enjoyed by them, without any manner of disturbance, and not any of the laws put in execution, whereby heavy penalties were to be inflicted upon transgressors in that kind."

In general, indeed, the outward aspect of affairs in Ireland gave promises of peace and prosperity. An unusual calm had for some time spread over the whole island. Its population was increasing in number, and becoming accustomed to the comforts of life, and the parties were relieved from the tyranny of the old chiefs of septs. Law and justice were administered impartially, and executed with vigour. Civilization had made a rapid advance, and in many parts of the island the face of society had undergone a complete change. In other parts, however, the native population remained unaltered, and retained their old manners and prejudices. In these parts, in spite of the frequent intercourse between the two races, the hatred of the Irish towards the English, and especially the new settlers, remained unabated, and continued to be cherished, though covertly, even where they stood in the social relations of members of the same household. This enmity was kept up by the practices of those who had been deprived of their property by the confiscations in Connaught and Ulster, and by the descendants of the old chiefs, needy adventurers, who were ready to run any hazards which promised them a chance of gratifying the ambition excited by listening to the popular legends of their ancestors. The rivalry between the two races was increased by the superior industry, and consequent prosperity, of the English settlers. Even the landlords of the old Irish race, such as the O'Neills, Maguires, and others, found it more profitable to take for tenants English or Scottish settlers, than Irish. The latter, who thus felt themselves depreciated and despised, even in the eyes of their own countrymen, nourished projects of vengeance, and became ready instruments of the ambition of others. They looked

with envy on the well cultivated fields, the full granaries, and, above all, the handsome dwelling-houses, which now covered large tracts of country that half a century before had been little better than wilds, where every attempt at cultivation was cut short by the continual outbursts of civil strife. These sentiments of envy and revenge, as we may gather from the general tone of contemporary writers, gave rise to frequent acts of savage outrage, attended often with plunder; and through these acts the terms Irish cruelty and Irish treachery had already become proverbial in England.

At the time of Strafford's execution, an impression was spreading abroad that the native Irish meditated some wider scheme of vengeance than that furnished by a few cases of private murder; and people talked darkly and vaguely of mysterious plots and conspiracies for the extirpation of the English settled in Ireland, and for the overthrow of the English government. In most cases these reports were of such a character as neither deserved or received any credit; and they were often so absurd and conflicting in the pretended details, that we can hardly doubt they were invented with further designs than were outwardly apparent. The English talked of plots among the Irish, while the latter pretended to be apprehensive of the English, and both, when it served their purpose, spread rumours of sinister designs, supposed to be harboured by the friends of the earl of Strafford. One of these latter was to have been a repetition of the famous gunpowder plot. It was reported that some servants or dependents of the earl had conspired to revenge his death by destroying at one blow the whole Irish parliament, which had shown so much hostility towards him, and this was to be effected by means of a large quantity of gunpowder, which it was pretended they had lodged for this purpose under the parliament house. The story was ridiculous enough; yet some of the violent leaders in both houses affected an extraordinary alarm, and procured an order for a committee to inspect the chambers of Dublin castle, and search for powder and ammunition. After a very diligent search in the neighbourhood of the apartments occupied by the parliament, no traces of danger were discovered, and the committee was inclined to drop the subject. But the lord Maguire, who was at the head of this committee, an ambitious nobleman who exercised considerable influence over

the native Irish, and was already the object of suspicious, pretended that he was not yet satisfied, and showed an extraordinary solicitude to be made acquainted with the situation and circumstances of the stores. He attempted in vain to bribe the officers and servants who had the charge of them; and, when he found he had no chance of obtaining his object in this way, he addressed himself directly to the master of the ordnance, sir John Borlase, who was one of the lords justices, and presented a demand, by virtue of an order of parliament, to be admitted to the royal magazines, and to be allowed to inspect the stores. It does not appear that any one suspected then that Maguire's request had any connection with a conspiracy to seize the stores; but Borlase was surprised with such a demand founded on so trifling a pretext, and he gave Maguire a peremptory denial, observing that "the stores were his majesty's precious jewels, not to be exposed without special cause." The lord Maguire was compelled to submit in silence to this rebuff; and the events which followed in a few months showed clearly the treacherous object which the Irish nobleman had in view, and the wise foresight of the king's officer, which perhaps saved the English power in Ireland.

Amid the fears and suspicions which haunted men's minds in both countries, no one thing excited greater apprehensions than the Irish army, which had been raised by the earl of Strafford for the service of Scotland. The Scots looked upon it as a hateful army of papists, intended to overthrow the covenant. The English dreaded it as force which might be employed against their own liberties, and the king was still suspected of looking to it as a resource against his disobedient commons. The people of the three kingdoms were therefore clamorous to have it disbanded, for it was a grievous, and to all appearance useless, burthen to the Irish government. This measure, however, was one not unattended with difficulties. The pay of the soldiers was now a long time in arrear, without any prospect of obtaining money to discharge it, and it would be dangerous to turn loose eight thousand men, bred to arms, dissatisfied and unprovided for. The king, embarrassed by the urgent and repeated remonstrances of the English parliament, resolved to adopt the no less dangerous alternative of sending these troops into foreign service; and as the designs of France were at this moment

regarded with suspicion, it was determined that they should be transported into Spain. A treaty for this purpose had been immediately entered into with the ambassador of the latter country, while the Irish parliament was still sitting. By the exertions of the king's friends, a sum of money was raised, not indeed sufficient to discharge the arrears of pay, but which satisfied the soldiery for the moment; and the measures had been taken with so much foresight and judgment, that the whole force was dissolved without any immediate disorder or inconvenience, and their arms and munitions were safely deposited in the king's arsenal at Dublin. Preparations were then made for sending the men over to Spain; for which purpose a considerable sum of money had been expended by the Spanish ambassador.

But in the midst of these preparations a new clamour arose, excited, it would appear, by some members in the Irish parliament, who harboured ulterior designs, in which these disbanded soldiers might be made useful. The commons raised an absolute outcry against sending them abroad, and their fears were communicated to the Irish committee in London, to be laid before the king. They urged, with an affected zeal for the interests of the crown, that these forces, after becoming veterans in the Spanish service, might be sent back to raise an insurrection in Ireland. It was represented that, although the Spanish monarch was at present in close alliance with king Charles, the principles which had guided the policy of Spain during more than one generation, were sufficiently well known, to convince them that he would seize any favourable occasion of imitating the example of his grandfather, who had publicly professed his design to conquer Ireland from the English crown, and in the attempt had stirred up a formidable rebellion. They represented further, that the chiefs of several families which had been attainted in consequence of that rebellion, were still entertained at the Spanish court, and that they had there been encouraged to assume titles derived from the lands in Ireland once possessed by their forefathers. These would readily take the command of forces calculated to re-establish them in their ancient inheritances; and their appearance in Ireland at the head of a powerful body of Irish soldiers, would inevitably draw a large part of the natives into rebellion.

In times of popular agitation, a first and

sudden impulse often decides the character of events. The members of the English house of commons were suddenly seized with the fears which their brethren in Ireland professed to entertain; and they talked against the secret designs of the king of Spain, and the imminent danger of a Spanish invasion. They proceeded at once to act upon these sentiments, and they displayed their own power while they mortified the king, by a declaration, that they held it unfit to allow any levies in Ireland for the service of the king of Spain, and by stopping the transports provided by the Spanish ambassador. The latter complained of their conduct, and represented that he had expended a considerable sum of money in consequence of his reliance on the royal word. The king now addressed himself to the house of lords, but the parliament united in persisting in its resolution, and merchants were compelled to give security that they would not transport forces from any part of the king's dominions. The disbanded Irish soldiers were kept in Ireland, to add to its embarrassments; and thus all parties were in turn contributing by their want of foresight, to the catastrophe which was approaching.

There were people who suspected, and perhaps not without reason, that king Charles himself encouraged this clamour; and that he secretly rejoiced at the resolution of the parliament, to keep the disbanded soldiers at home. The confused state of Ireland at this moment offered a fair field to exercise that love of underhand intrigue, which formed so remarkable a portion of the character of this unfortunate monarch, and the repeated discovery of which lost him the sympathy of his subjects. He began to foresee that a war with his English parliament was inevitable, and he still hoped to derive substantial assistance from his Irish subjects. Charles, under the influence of his queen, still clung to the earl of Antrim, in spite of the proofs he had already given of his incapacity, and the warnings of the earl of Strafford. It was this nobleman, a zealous catholic, whom the king now employed secretly to sound the intentions and sentiments of the Irish officers, commissioned to raise soldiers for the king of Spain, in order to secure them in his own interests. Other agents were secretly at work in different parts, applying for aid to the catholics of the Pale, and to the Ulster chiefs, and, as it was said, with great success. It is said that a

part of the project encouraged by the king, was to seize upon the castle of Dublin, and the other strong fortresses in Ireland, and place them in the hands of the catholic party, on whom the king depended for assistance. The earl of Antrim is represented as acting as the king's agent and adviser in all these wild designs; but the king was only unwittingly promoting a conspiracy more extensive and formidable than his own. The Irish chiefs were at this moment following two masters, and it was not king Charles who prevailed. But the king's intrigues became so far known, as to raise a suspicion of his intentions, and when the horrors of the Irish rebellion were told in England, an outcry was raised that he in-

tended to bring over the Irish papists to massacre and plunder his protestant subjects; while the rebels themselves took advantage of his secret negotiations with their chiefs, to declare that they acted with the king's authority.

It was during the short recess which followed the prorogation of the Irish parliament in August, that this conspiracy was brought to a head, and burst upon the unhappy island. Before we proceed to describe the progress of this rebellion, it will be necessary to enter into the details of the plot which preceded it, with which we are made acquainted through the subsequent confessions of some of the rebel chiefs, and more especially of the lord Maguire.

CHAPTER II.

THE CONSPIRACY TO OVERTHROW THE ENGLISH GOVERNMENT.



ANY years had now passed since the final overthrow of the great rebellion of the earl of Tyrone, and hundreds who listened to the wild and spirit-stirring adventures of its leaders, forgot, in their admiration, the misery it had entailed upon them and upon their country. The descendants of those who had risen on the former occasion were beginning to emulate their deeds; and the numerous agents of Rome, who were found busy in every corner of the land, had not yet given up the hope of rescuing the island of saints from the government of heretics. Slight intimations of insurrectionary plots are met with during the few years preceding the period of which we are now speaking. As far ago as the year 1634, a Scottish ecclesiastic, named Heber mac Mahon, had given information to lord Wentworth, then deputy, of a conspiracy, encouraged by the promise of assistance from abroad, to raise a general insurrection throughout Ireland; and Mac Mahon stated that he had himself been long employed in foreign courts soliciting supplies for such an undertaking. Wentworth, with his characteristic wisdom, took sufficient precautions to prevent any outbreak, without giving

alarm; and feeling how easily this had been effected, and how baseless were most of the rumours of plots and treasons of this kind, the Irish government became overconfident in its own security, and was thus unprepared to face the danger when it presented itself; while the rebellious feeling, stifled outwardly, but not extinct, continued to smoulder beneath, and was rendered more violent and more acrimonious by the difficulties which it had to overcome.

The disaffected natives were eager now, as formerly, to rally round the favourite name of O'Neill, and it was the son of the rebel earl of Tyrone, now caressed at the court of Spain, where he commanded a regiment, and had assumed his father's title, who is said to have first urged an Irish gentleman, named Roger Moore, to conspire in the cause of his countrymen. This Roger Moore was the representative of the ancient sept of the O'Moores of Leinster, which had been driven from its territory, and almost extirpated in the reign of queen Mary; and the wrongs of his ancestors are said to have weighed upon his mind, and urged him on to plans of vengeance, as well as to the hope of regaining possession of their inheritance, in case of a successful attempt to shake off the English yoke. With a handsome person, winning manners, and the bold chivalrous

spirit which was so well calculated to gain upon the hearts of his countrymen, Moore possessed those more solid and useful qualities of judgment, penetration, and caution, which fitted him to be a leader in difficult enterprises. His popularity among the native Irish was so great, that they celebrated him in their songs, and placed such extravagant hopes in the blessings which he was to procure for them, that it became a common saying that they placed their dependence on God, our Lady, and Roger Moore.

This man was actively engaged during the summer of 1641, in maturing his plans of rebellion, and in gaining over some of the most influential, first, among his own friends and kinsmen, and then among the Irish chiefs and nobility. Among the former, one of his first adherents was Richard Plunkett, a younger son of sir Christopher Plunkett, who had been a violent leader of the opposition in the Irish house of commons under the government of sir Arthur Chichester. He was a man who had learnt some experience abroad, having been educated in England, and having exercised a military command in Flanders; but he was vain and bigoted in the Romish faith, and being without fortune, these qualities easily led him into violent courses. The first of the northern chiefs who joined Moore was the lord Maguire (baron of Inniskillen), a man who, by his irregular life, had involved himself in difficulties, and was thus an equally fit instrument for the enterprise in which Moore had engaged him. Maguire exercised considerable influence over the Irish from the circumstance of his being the chief of that great sept of Fermanagh, which had shown so much courage in the course of Tyrone's rebellion. These three consulted together with a few of their friends, talked of their grievances, religious and civil, and of the oppressions of the English government when directed by the earl of Strafford; they spoke especially of the disabilities under which they laboured on account of their religious faith, and of the persecutions to which the Roman catholics were exposed in England and Scotland, and they set up for their example the courage of the inhabitants of the latter country, who had successfully risen in defence of their religion and liberties, while their own countrymen, instead of doing the same at a moment which was peculiarly favourable to such an enterprise, waited submissively until the puri-

tanical party in England and Scotland should gain the upper hand, and utterly extirpate the Roman catholic religion from every quarter of the king's dominions. Plunkett, who was of the old English race, in his vanity, answered rather rashly for the co-operation of the lords of the Pale; lord Maguire, with more reason, encouraged them to hope for the assistance of the Irish of Ulster. In fact, they were soon afterwards joined by three of the northern chiefs, Hugh mac Mahon, Philip O'Reilly, and Turlough O'Neill.

It was soon evident, indeed, that the Irish of Ulster were almost the only allies on whom the conspirators could rely with any certainty. The hope that the lords of the Pale would rise against the English government was merely conjectural; and Moore himself was evidently too sanguine in his expectations of co-operation in other quarters. When pressed to name any person of influence on whom he could reckon, he could only name lord Mayo, the representative of one branch of the Burkes of Connaught, whose example, he said, would draw to their standard a large body of the population of that province. The northern chiefs now showed more coldness; they recollected former misfortunes, and they refused to compromise themselves without some assurance of powerful assistance from abroad. Roger Moore was impatient of delay, and he flattered the conspirators with the high prospects which success would open to them, and urged them to enter upon their great enterprise with vigour. While thus wavering between their hopes and fears, an agent suddenly arrived from Spain, with a message from the titular earl of Tyrone, addressed to all of his name and kindred, instructing them to hold themselves in readiness for an insurrection, and informing them that cardinal Richelieu had promised them, on the part of the French king, a supply of arms, money, and ammunition, and encouraging them to hope for further assistance from the catholic princes on the continent.

The conspirators received this intelligence with joy, and they immediately dispatched a confidential messenger to the earl of Tyrone, informing him of their plans, and that they had fixed upon the month of October for the commencement of the insurrection, and requesting that all their foreign succours might then be in readiness. While this dispatch was in preparation, they were suddenly disconcerted with intelligence,

apparently of a somewhat vague character, that the young earl of Tyrone was dead. They, however, sent the messenger, giving him new instructions that, if he found the report of the earl of Tyrone's death to be true, he should immediately proceed to the Netherlands, and address himself to another member of the great family of the north, Owen O'Neill, who held the rank of colonel in the armies serving in that country. To this man, who enjoyed the reputation of being a man of great political talent, as well as an able military commander, they addressed a letter, giving him an account of their plans of insurrection, requesting his assistance and advice in the service of his country, and urging him above all to make sure of the succours promised by cardinal Richelieu. It was at this moment that the determination was taken by king Charles to disband the earl of Strafford's Irish army; and with the knowledge of the designs of these conspirators, we can, without difficulty, understand the sudden clamour for the retention of the disbanded soldiers in Ireland.

The number of conspirators was now increasing daily, and they prepared to take a double advantage of the refusal of parliament to allow the soldiers levied for the service of the king of Spain, to depart the country. Several military officers who had joined the conspiracy, among whom were Plunkett (who held the rank of a colonel), Hugh Byrne, one of the old sept of the Byrnes of Wicklow, and also a colonel, whose father had been deprived of his property, one of the O'Neills, and sir James Dillon, proceeded to levy men for the king of Spain, from whom they pretended to hold commissions for that purpose; and, although the parliamentary order against the transportation of troops was strictly enforced, the government, either from oversight or negligence allowed this recruiting to continue. These officers, who were all zealous catholics, and most of them men of broken fortunes and desperate spirit, entered with warmth into the scheme of insurrection which promised to bring them riches and honours. The private meetings and consultations became more frequent, and their designs took a more distinct character. The outcries against papists, which were now so loud in England and Scotland, were favourable to their plots, and they made full use of them to terrify the Irish catholics with prospects of persecution and massacre.

With representations of this kind they animated their associates, and they were powerfully aided by the Romish clergy. They now ventured to speak of taking up arms, and proclaiming a general crusade against English government; and some of the conspirators undertook to surprise the castle of Dublin, and seize the stores and ammunition, while the Irish of Ulster, in whose assistance they appear from the first to have placed most confidence, should rise to co-operate with them.

The confidence of the conspirators had now become so great, that the confirmation of the death of the young O'Neill, who assumed in Spain the title of earl of Tyrone, was received without much regret; in fact that circumstance, by making sir Phelim O'Neill of Kinnard the chief of the great northern sept, only exchanged a distant ally for one nearer home. This man had experienced favourable treatment from the English government. Their estates in Ulster had been secured to his family in return for their loyalty, and had been confirmed to him by a new patent. In his youth he had professed the protestant faith, and had been educated in England; but he was of a coarse and sensual character, and after he had entered upon his estates, he threw aside the little of polite manners he had learnt, adopted the rude manners of his countrymen, indulged in brutal sensuality, and involved himself in pecuniary difficulties by his dissipation. The death of the titular earl of Tyrone excited his ambition, and he plunged eagerly into the conspiracy against the English government, in the hope that he might exchange the comparatively small and now embarrassed estate of his fathers for the princely domains and power of the ancient rulers of Ulster. He undertook to be the leader of the northern Irish; entered into correspondence with Owen O'Neill, who still remained in the Low countries; and, under the same pretence of raising forces for the king of Spain, he collected together the profligate and discontented portion of the population of Ulster, and held them ready for action on the first signal.

We learn from the narrative of lord Maguire, that the accession of Phelim O'Neill gave new life to the conspiracy, and that now the attempt upon Dublin castle was prepared with more confidence and deliberation. The cautious spirit of Roger Moore still pervaded their discussions. It was evident that the success of their rising, which

none of them seemed to doubt, would entail a civil war of some length; and that it would require considerable resources. The conspirators discussed the means of raising money, and, as they might be cut off from the expected supplies from the pope, it was resolved to seize all the rents of the kingdom without distinction of persons. Some doubts began to be entertained as to the extent of the assistance which they could expect from abroad, but these were expelled by the assertions of Byrne, who declared that Owen O'Neill had received the most solemn promises of aid from cardinal Richelieu, who was to furnish them instantly with a considerable supply of arms; and he stated that he had himself had a conference with the Spanish ambassador, and that he had no doubt of their being well supported by that court. Their cause, he said, was that of the catholic faith, the cause of every catholic prince in Europe, and, under the influence of the pope himself, they would all naturally espouse the cause of the church in Ireland.

Plunkett was no less bold in his assertions of the readiness of the gentlemen of the pale to join in their attempt; he said that he had already sounded several of them, and that they were willing to engage themselves, so that he felt certain of their success in that quarter. He assured his colleagues that he had laid open their plan of insurrection to lord Gormanstown and others of the Irish committees in London, and that they had fully expressed their approbation of it.

The conspirators were thus confirmed in their enterprize, and they fixed on the fifth of October for the day of rising. Plunkett and Byrne undertook, with a hundred men, to make themselves masters of the castle of Dublin, while the Ulster leaders were employed in seizing Londonderry, and all the forts of the north. On the first breaking out of the rebellion, sir James Dillon with a thousand men was to march to Dublin to support Plunkett and Byrne, and he was to be followed with a thousand more to be detached from Ulster, as soon as the insurgents there had effected their part of the undertaking. It was expected that this demonstration would be followed immediately by a spontaneous rising in the other provinces of the island.

The conspirators had no sooner arranged their plans, than their sudden confidence was exchanged for despondency. Sir Phelim O'Neill, since he had engaged in the enterprize, assumed a degree of importance and

superiority which appears not to have been always agreeable to his comrades. He now alone opposed the resolution on which the whole plot then turned, that of beginning the insurrection on the 5th of October, which he said was too early for him, as he could not be ready to commence operations. This objection had no sooner been stated, than the other conspirators began to be doubtful of Plunkett's great promises of assistance from the gentlemen of the Pale, and it appears certain that this officer had not only deceived his own colleagues, but that in his sanguineness, he had deceived himself as to his influence in that quarter. The gentry of the Pale were in general civilians; they were influenced by the lawyers; and they were too well satisfied with their late successes in parliamentary opposition, to wish to mar all by what might prove an unsuccessful attempt at violence. The more desperate adventurers were offended at the coldness of those who were to have raised the Pale, and they began themselves to see difficulties which they had overlooked before. They complained bitterly against Plunkett; and he, self-convicted of too much rashness in his former assurances now made the best excuses he could, and confessed that his friends were not prepared to join at the commencement of the enterprise, though they were well disposed to second it. His associates still more mortified at this avowal, reminded Plunkett that they had engaged to attempt Dublin castle only on condition of a general concurrence; that without this, they would be exposed to inevitable danger, without any prospect of success, for the sake of those who were to look on while they were sacrificed, in order to reap the advantage of their bravery; and they declared their resolution of abandoning the enterprize, unless they had better assurance of the sympathy of the rest of their countrymen.

Roger Moore, although watching with the utmost anxiety the progress of the conspiracy, had lately kept himself out of sight, and had employed lord Maguire as his agent to take the active part in it. The alarming symptoms of disagreement, however, which now presented themselves, dragged him from his retreat. He again presented himself among the conspirators, and used every means of reviving their drooping courage. He flattered sir Phelim O'Neill with the magnificent prospect of his house restored in him to its ancient grandeur and influence, and

urged him to proceed fearlessly in his enterprize, undeterred by the levity of Plunkett, or by the timidity of Dillon, who had shown some disinclination to come forward with his thousand men. He then addressed himself to Byrne, reproached him for his cautious reluctance, and inflamed him with remembrance of the wrongs of his family and sept. He artfully represented that their friends on the continent were only waiting the intelligence of their taking up arms to pour in reinforcements from all quarters, and that they would be mortified and offended at their delay; and he prevailed upon these two leading conspirators and lord Maguire to lay aside all apprehensions, and to resume the courage and vigour which they had previously displayed.

The grand plot now assumed a still more decisive character; his part in the rising was finally allotted to each individual; and the day was fixed to the twenty-third of October. The whole management of the insurrection in the north was entrusted to sir Phelim O'Neill. The capture of the castle of Dublin, a bold and hazardous enterprize, was undertaken by Moore himself, assisted by colonel Byrne, lord Maguire, and captain Brian O'Neill. They were to have at their command two hundred men, one hundred from Leinster, and the other from Ulster, and the latter was to be formed of parties detached from the several forces of sir Phelim and Brian O'Neill, Mac Mahon, O'Reilly, and Maguire, each under an able and faithful leader. In order to destroy all suspicions of their intentions, these parties of men were to march across the country, under the character of recruits for the king of Spain; and they were to enter Dublin on the day of the weekly market, when less attention would be paid to the appearance of so many groups of strangers. On the day fixed for the rising in the country, the hundred men from Ulster were to be employed in attacking the great gate of the castle, while those from Leinster were forcing the smaller. The conspirators knew that the castle of Dublin was almost without defenders, and they expected very little resistance, if their designs were not betrayed.

While this was going on in the capital, it was arranged that a general insurrection should take place on the same day, throughout the country. All forts and garrisons were to be seized first, and the gentry were to be made prisoners, that they might serve

as hostages for the persons of the insurgent leaders in case of defeat. It was further agreed among the conspirators that the enterprize should be carried on with as little bloodshed as possible, that the cause might appear an honourable and manly one. In the north, where the arrangements had been made best, sir Phelim O'Neill undertook to seize upon Londonderry, while Carriekfergus was to be surprised by his kinsman sir Henry O'Neill, and Newry by his brother-in-law sir Conn Magennis. After these important posts had been secured, the Ulster chieftains were to march with their forces to Dublin, to secure the advantages expected to be gained by the surprise of the castle. It was further agreed to conciliate the Scottish population of Ulster by showing them favours and indulgence, and treating them as the old allies and kinsmen of the native Irish.

Such were the plans finally arranged by Roger Moore and his associates, which ended in one of the longest and most disastrous civil wars that had ever devastated the island. It seems pretty certain that the earl of Antrim was aware of the intended rising and of the preparations of the conspirators, but that he imagined it was his own doing, and that it was a movement in favour of king Charles.

The conspirators themselves, who agreed in the execution of this enterprize, differed much in their views of its ultimate object. Some of the more moderate are said to have limited their desires to a thorough reform of the government, without any intention of renouncing their allegiance to the English crown. They proposed to confine the king's revenue within certain limits; to insist that the government of Ireland should always be intrusted to two lords justices, both to be catholics, and one to be of the ancient Irish, the other of the old English race; that Poynings' law should be repealed, and every penal statute against popery abolished; that the Romish prelates should be admitted to their seats in parliament, and the Romish creed be the established religion throughout the island. Some proposed to expel all the the English and Scottish settlers, and restore the lands planted during the late and present reigns to their original proprietors; while others insisted not only on expelling all the new created lords, but even as many of the old nobility as refused to conform to the Romish faith. There were others who went much further; they imagined they could raise in

Ireland two hundred thousand men devoted to their cause; thirty thousand of these they proposed to arm with the supplies promised by foreign catholic powers, for the purpose of transporting them into England, where they were to be assisted by France and Spain in reducing the whole of Great Britain to obedience to the pope; after which they were to assist the Spaniards in reducing the protestant Netherlands to the same obedience. This wild plan found its advocates chiefly among the popish clergy.

It must not indeed be supposed that this great conspiracy had been carried on so long without the knowledge and concurrence of the priests. Heber Mac Mahon, the Jesuit already mentioned, and probably other ecclesiastics, were admitted to some of the secret meetings; and it was the clergy who assisted in preparing the minds of the vulgar for this desperate enterprise, and whose preaching perhaps contributed towards that exasperation against English heretics which gave such a horrible character to the commencement of the war. A Franciscan monk, who assures us that he was present, has left an account of a meeting of the principal clergy and some of the laymen involved in the plot, held at the abbey of Multifernam in Westmeath, early in the month of October. According to his account, they consulted in the full confidence of victors, as though they were already masters of the kingdom, and as the sole directors of the projected war. It was debated, among other matters, we are told, what course should be taken with the English and other protestants when they should be at the mercy of the insurgents, and a variety of opinions were expressed. The position of parties was compared to that in Spain at the time of the expulsion of the Moors. The more moderate were in favour of simple banishment, as the Spanish monarch had given the Moors time to depart unmolested, and had even allowed them to carry with them some of their effects. They said that less exasperation would be created in England and Scotland by this temperate course. But the more violent Romanists would listen to no compromise. They declared that the indulgence granted to the Moors, which was contrary to the opinion of the Spanish council, was in the highest degree detrimental, not only to Spain, but to all Christendom. They said, that if the English were allowed to go home, it was only sparing so many inveterate enemies, who would return immediately, with hosts of their countrymen, to

recover their superiority, and take a cruel vengeance, not only upon those who had driven them away, but on the whole Irish race; and they declared that a general and indiscriminate massacre would be the only safeguard of the kingdom. Others steered a mean course, and proposed measures of security without the leniency of the most moderate, or the cruel alternatives of the violent. The clergy were, from the first, by far the most sanguine in their expectations of success.

The time now approached for carrying this great plot into execution, and an agent was despatched to Owen O'Neill, who returned with the assurance that a fortnight after the outbreak of the insurrection, he would come to the assistance of his countrymen. In the middle of October the principal conspirators gradually drew towards Dublin, and they met together on the evening preceding the day fixed for the outbreak, to arrange their plans for the morrow. They were then disconcerted to find that not more than eighty of the two hundred men destined for the attack on the castle had yet arrived, and they were alarmed at the absence of the others without any known cause. None of the followers of sir Phelim O'Neill, or of Mac Mahon, had made their appearance; and still greater uneasiness was occasioned by the absence of sir Morgan Cavenagh, who was to have brought some of the descendants of the old septs of Leinster. The fear that they had been betrayed seems for a moment to have been gaining ground upon them, but their position was now desperate if they hesitated to proceed with their enterprise, and they encouraged each other with the assurance that every hour would increase their numbers. In this belief, and to give time for the arrival of the expected reinforcements, they agreed to make no open demonstration before the evening of the following day, when the attack upon the castle was to take place.

We can only look upon it as a mark of incapacity and want of vigilance on the part of the Irish government, that so formidable a conspiracy should have been carried on during several months, without even exciting its suspicions. In the summer of this eventful year, the English ministers in foreign countries had observed an unusual activity among the Irish exiles, and they had received dark intimations that some conspiracy was in formation. They immediately communicated their suspicions to

their court. The elder sir Harry Vane, who then held the office of secretary of state, sent a timely warning to the lords justices in Dublin; he told them "that there had passed from Spain and other parts an unspeakable number of Irish churchmen for England and Ireland, and some good old soldiers, under the pretext of raising levies for the king of Spain; and that it was whispered by the Irish friars in that kingdom, that rebellion was shortly expected in Ireland, particularly in Connaught." The lords justices neglected this advice, and seem to have taken no measures of precaution. As the time of action fixed by the insurgents drew near, the lords justices received new intimations of danger; for on the 11th of October, sir William Cole, an English gentleman residing at Enniskillen, sent an express to inform them that there was an unusual and suspicious resort of various Irish to the house of sir Phelim O'Neill; that lord Maguire had lately made many private journeys, and that he had been much occupied in writing letters and dispatching them over the country; and that these and their friends had lately shown an extraordinary solicitude for levying men for the service of the king of Spain. The warning was again neglected, and the lords justices remained still insensible to their danger. At length, on the 21st of October, Cole sent them a full account of the conspiracy, which had then been revealed to him by two of the accomplices; but his letter was either intercepted or suppressed; at the very moment when the chief conspirators were assembled in Dublin, making their arrangements for the attack upon the castle, the Irish government was still without the slightest suspicion of the blow with which they were threatened. The small English army at this time in Ireland, amounting on the whole to about three thousand foot and nine hundred horse, was billeted in small parties over the country, far from the capital, where there were at this moment no soldiers, and the whole garrison of Dublin castle, where all the king's stores were locked, consisted of eight infirm warders, and forty halberdiers, the usual guard of parade of the chief governors.

It was in the evening of the 22nd of October that the leaders of the plot for the surprise of Dublin castle closed their last secret meeting before putting the design in execution, by falling on their knees and drinking to the success of their enterprise. An Irishman named Owen O'Connellly, who

had been bred up in the protestant religion, and was at this time a servant of sir John Clotworthy, was acquainted with Mac Mahon, and appears to have been thought by that chief a proper person to be introduced to the conspirators. He was at this time residing at Monimore, in the county of Londonderry, and he there received a letter from Mac Mahon, begging that he would repair to him at Conaght in the county of Monaghan, to consult on matters of importance. On arriving there, O'Connellly found that Mac Mahon had left for Dublin, whither he followed him, and found him at his lodgings at six o'clock of the same evening of which we are speaking. Mac Mahon took O'Connellly into the town to the lord Maguire's lodging, but not finding that nobleman at home, they returned to Mac Mahon's residence. It was during the short stay they made at Maguire's lodgings, that Mac Mahon disclosed to O'Connellly the particulars of the conspiracy, and the advantages they were all to derive from it, and he urged him to join with them. He informed him that the conspiracy had its ramifications through the kingdom, and that all the protestants would be cut off in the course of the next day; that great numbers of noblemen and gentlemen of the catholic party would be in Dublin during that night, and that the next morning was fixed for surprising the castle, and taking possession of the king's stores and ammunition. O'Connellly expostulated with his friend on the rashness of their enterprise, and urged him to secure his own estates and person by making a declaration of it to the government. Mac Mahon then endeavoured to overcome his scruples, represented to him that it was not their intention to deprive the king of any of his rights, but that they intended to imitate the Scots in rising against a tyrannical government in defence of their religion and freedom. When they had returned to Mac Mahon's lodgings, that conspirator, alarmed at O'Connellly's obstinacy, and fearful that he might disclose the plot, assumed another tone, threatened him with death if any discovery were made through his means, and announced his intention of detaining him as a prisoner until they proceeded together to the attack on the castle in the morning.

They then sat down and drank freely; but the disclosures which he had just heard weighed heavy on O'Connellly's mind, and, at length, he made an excuse for descending

into the yard, leaving his sword behind him as a sign that he had no intention of leaving the house, and accompanied by a servant employed to watch over him. However, he contrived to escape over the wall, and made the best of his way to the house of sir William Parsons, one of the lords justices, to whom he gave an account of what had passed between him and Mac Mahon. Parsons was prejudiced against a statement so extraordinary, made, perhaps, in a rather incoherent manner by a man who was then nearly intoxicated with his potations at Mac Mahon's; and he treated the matter lightly, dismissing O'Connolly with a simple recommendation, that he should return to Mac Mahon's lodging and endeavour to obtain further information relating to the alleged treason.

When O'Connolly was gone, sir William Parsons suddenly changed, and he was seized with alarm. He gave hasty orders for closing the gates and guarding the castle and city, and then hurried to the house of his colleague, sir John Borlase. The latter, an old soldier, whose suspicions were more easily excited, was in the utmost consternation at Parsons' information; he blamed him much for dismissing O'Connolly; and, after a brief consultation, messengers were dispatched to seek for him, and bring him back. After some search, O'Connolly was found in the hands of the watch. When he left the house of the lord justice he had wandered about the streets, not daring to return to Mac Mahon, and, having all the appearance of a stranger, he was arrested as a suspicious personage. When brought before the two lords justices, after being allowed a short repose, he repeated his information in a more distinct and intelligible manner. The lords justices were now in great alarm, and sat up in consultation all night with several others of the privy council. A little before daybreak Mac Mahon was arrested in his house; lord Maguire was also discovered and taken into custody; but Moore, Plunkett, Byrne, and others, having received timely intelligence of their danger, made their escape from Dublin. The prisoners were immediately carried to Borlase's house, where they were examined by the privy council. It is said that the reckless Mac Mahon, while waiting in the hall to be called into the council chamber for examination, amused himself with chalking on the floor the figures of men hanging on gibbets, or grovelling in agonies on the floor; and the puritans af-

terwards stated with horror, that he did this as a mark of heartless exultation on the tortures to which the protestants were to be exposed next day, by the ferocity of his colleagues in the north. When brought before the council he confessed the plot; told them exultingly, that, in the course of that day, all the strong places in Ireland would be in the hands of the insurgents; and boasted, that if he were sacrificed, his death would be amply revenged.

It happened fortunately that this same night sir Francis Willoughby, governor of the fort of Galway, a brave and able soldier, arrived at Dublin, who, finding the gates closed, and more agitation than usual in the suburbs, inquired the cause, and learnt that there was an extraordinary meeting of the lords justices and council. He hastened to Borlase's house, and encouraged the council with the information that during the whole of his way from Galway he had observed no signs of disturbance. But as he had seen many strange horsemen crowding from the country into the suburbs of Dublin, who, being refused admittance into the city, still hovered around, he urged the lords justices and council to leave their present insecure place of meeting, and continue their deliberations in the castle. They at once followed his advice, and their first measure, on re-assembling in the council chamber, was to entrust Willoughby with the custody of the castle and city of Dublin. They then drew up a proclamation, announcing the discovery of a dangerous conspiracy against the English, recommending all good subjects to display their loyalty by arming in defence of the government, and prohibiting any levies for foreign service. Through the negligence of the citizens, the greater part of those engaged in the plot to seize the castle made their escape. But that important fortress, in which were deposited fifteen hundred barrels of gunpowder, a proportionate quantity of matches and bullets, arms for ten thousand men, and thirty-five pieces of ordnance, was placed in a state of defence. Two hundred of Willoughby's disbanded regiment, which had arrived from Carlisle, were armed, and joined by numbers of the alarmed citizens, and by some troops of soldiers called in from the posts nearest to Dublin, were soon formed into an efficient garrison. Thus one part of the plot which had been matured with so much cautious deliberation, was overthrown at the very moment of being carried into execution.

CHAPTER III.

THE INSURRECTION IN ULSTER, AND THE MASSACRES.



THOUGH the conspiracy had thus failed in Dublin, it met at first with little resistance in the north, where it soon assumed a formidable character. Sir Phelim O'Neill, indeed, eager to distinguish himself as the head of the catholic league in the north, had anticipated the day appointed for the outbreak. In contempt of every feeling of honour and generosity, the Ulster chieftain commenced his barbarous career with a base and treacherous breach of hospitality. Lord Caulfield, a brave and hospitable nobleman, resided in the castle of Charlemont, as governor of that fort, and lived in the most unsuspecting confidence with his Irish neighbours. On the 22nd of October, the eve of the day fixed for the insurrection, Sir Phelim O'Neill invited himself to sup with lord Caulfield, and was received with every mark of friendship. Under different pretences, a considerable number of O'Neill's followers had accompanied him to Charlemont; and in the midst of their hospitable entertainment, at a preconcerted signal from their chief, they seized and bound lord Caulfield and his family, made the garrison prisoners, and plundered the castle. The same night O'Neill hastened to Dungannon, which was taken by surprise, while a party of his followers captured the town and castle of Mountjoy.

Simultaneous outbreaks occurred in other parts, and the insurrection spread over the northern province with extraordinary rapidity. In each district the old septs, whose names had for some years almost disappeared from history, suddenly stepped forward. The O'Hanlons surprised Tanderagee in the county of Armagh; and Newry was betrayed into the hands of sir Conn Magennis. The latter place supplied the insurgents with a large quantity of arms and ammunition, which had been placed in store there. Rory Maguire, the brother of lord Maguire, took the command of his sept during his brother's absence, and made himself master of the greater part of Fermanagh. The Mac

Mahons seized upon all the English forts in the county of Monaghan, their ancient territory. The O'Reillys proceeded still more formally to take possession of Cavan. The chief of this old sept represented the county in parliament, and his brother exercised the office of sheriff. The latter, as by virtue of his office, summoned the popish inhabitants to arms, and used his authority in enforcing the surrender of castles and towns. Such was the case also with the O'Fergals, one of whom was sheriff of Longford, and with the Irish of Leitrim. Thus within a week, the rebels were absolute masters of the counties of Tyrone, Monaghan, Longford, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Donegal, and Londonderry, with a part of Armagh and Down. A few forts, with the important towns of Londonderry, Coleraine, Enniskillen, Lisnagarvey, or Lisburn, and Carrickfergus, were bravely defended by the English settlers, and afforded places of refuge for a part of the protestant population of the surrounding country.

The rebel leaders so far acted in concert, though they still appear to have been guided by various and conflicting views, while the mass appear to have been urged on chiefly by the love of plunder and the hatred of everything English. There was indeed through the whole movement, and especially among the lower classes, an unusual spirit of nationality; the old septs, as has just been observed, rose up with their ancient pride of independence, and appeared to think they were only fighting for their old leaders, and their old name. They seemed to imagine that they were going to retrograde at once to the days of Brian Boru, and that each province was to have its kings, as of old. The people of Fermanagh proclaimed the capture of Dublin castle by their own chief, and declared that lord Maguire was to be their king. When, a little later, the septs of Leinster rose, they proclaimed that Murtagh Oge Cavenagh, of Castletown, was to be king of Leinster; and the O'Connors declared that Charles O'Connor Don was to be king of Connaught. O'Neill, still more ambitious, was not satisfied with Ulster,

but he aspired to the sovereignty which had once been possessed by his great ancestor, Nial of the Hostages.

Such prospects as these were only held out to the mob; the chiefs themselves endeavoured to cover their own ambitious views, and to allure the gentry to their standard, by the false pretences of acting under authority of a less objectionable character. When O'Neill took possession of Charlemont, he declared that he acted by authority of the English parliament. But, as he confessed before his death, having found among lord Caulfield's archives a patent with the great seal attached, a new idea presented itself to him; he tore off the great seal, attached it to a forged document, and exhibited it next day to the protestants, as well as to his own followers, as a commission from the king, for all his proceedings. In this instrument, which has been printed, the king was made to declare to his catholic subjects of Ireland, that for the preservation of his person, he had been obliged to take up his residence in Scotland; that the English parliament had deprived him of his royal power and prerogative, and assumed the government and administration of the realm; that as these "storms blew aloft," and were likely to be carried into Ireland by the vehemency of the protestant party, he had given full power to his catholic subjects to assemble and consult, to seize all places of strength, except those belonging to the Scots, and to arrest the goods and persons of all English protestants within the kingdom of Ireland. The effect produced by the report of this pretended commission on the puritans of Ulster, as well as on the Irish was so great, that it was found necessary to issue a proclamation of the lords justices, warning the Irish subjects against false and seditious rumours, and declaring that they had authority from the king to pursue the rebels to the uttermost extremities.

It is probable that the idea of this pretext was furnished by the king's previous intrigues through the agency of the earl of Antrim. In other parts the queen, as a Roman catholic, was more popular among the rebels; she appears to have exerted herself frequently in favour of the Irish catholics, and we have seen her in one instance indiscreetly attempting to restore one of their darkest superstitions. In many places the rebels plundered and murdered in the queen's name, and called themselves the

queen's soldiers. This was more especially the case in Leinster and Munster. The commander of the insurgents in Wicklow declared that he had the queen's commission for destroying the protestants; and in the Queen's county and other parts it was confidently reported that the queen not only approved of their proceedings, but that she had actually landed in Ulster with the intention of placing herself at their head. We are told that at the beginning of the rebellion, in the county of Londonderry, a strong body of rebels passing some of the soldiers of the garrison of Coleraine, some of the Irish demanded in derision, "if the rogue the king were not yet dead, and said that they were the queen's soldiers." We can easily see how reports of this kind prejudiced the royal cause in England and Scotland.

In some parts, particularly where men of education had taken the lead, the insurgents acted with more prudence and moderation. This was especially the case in Cavan, where their councils were directed by the two O'Reillys, the sheriff and the member of parliament. They took advantage of rumours that the puritan party, now in power in England, meditated the total extirpation of the Irish race, to pretend that they were urged into rebellion by fears for their personal safety; and they induced or compelled Bedell, the protestant bishop of Kilmore, to draw up what was called "the remonstrance of the gentry and commonalty of the county of Cavan." This important document was worded as follows: "Whereas, we," they say, "his majesty's loyal subjects of his highness's kingdom of Ireland, have of long time groaned under many grievances and pressures, occasioned by the rigorous government of such placed over us as respected more the advancement of their own private fortunes than the honour of his majesty, or the welfare of his subjects; whereof we, in humble manner, declared ourselves to his highness by our own agents, sent from the parliament, the representative body of the kingdom; notwithstanding which, we find ourselves of late threatened with far greater and more grievous vexations, either with captivity or utter expulsion from our native seats, without any just ground given on our parts to alter his majesty's goodness, so long continued to us. Of all which we find great cause of fears in the proceedings of our neighbour nations; and do see it already attempted by certain petitioners, for the like

course to be taken in this kingdom, for the effecting thereof in a compulsory way; so as rumours have caused fears of invasion from other parts, to the dissolving of the bond of mutual agreement which hitherto hath been held inviolable between the several subjects of this kingdom, and whereby all his majesty's other dominions have been linked in one. For the preventing, therefore, of such evils growing upon us in this kingdom, we have, for the preservation of his majesty's honour and our own liberties, thought fit to take into our hands for his highness's use and service, such forts and other places of strength as, coming into the possession of others, might prove disadvantageous, and tend to the utter undoing of the kingdom. And we do hereby declare that herein we harbour not the least thought of hostility towards his majesty, or purpose any hurt to his highness's subjects, in their possessions, goods, or liberty, only we desire that your lordships will be pleased to make remonstrances to his majesty for us of all our grievances and just fears, that they may be removed, and such a course settled by the advice of the parliament of Ireland, whereby the liberty of our consciences may be secured unto us, and we eased of other burdens in civil government. As for the mischiefs and inconveniences that have already happened, through the disorder of the common sort of people, against the English inhabitants, or any other, we, with the nobility and gentlemen, and such others of the several counties of this kingdom, are most willing and ready to use our and their best endeavours in causing restitution and satisfaction to be made, as, in part, we have already done." The remonstrants concluded: "An answer hereunto is most humbly desired, with such present expedition as may by your lordships be thought most convenient for avoiding the inconvenience of the barbarousness and incivility of the commonalty, who have committed many outrages without any order, consenting, or privy of ours."

This was written when the first impulse of the insurrection was over, and when the more moderate of their leaders began to look

back with some alarm at the excesses of which their followers had already been guilty. At first, indeed, they seem to have done their best to keep to one article of their original intentions, by restraining from absolute bloodshed the enraged natives whom they had let loose upon the planters of the north, to plunder them and expel them from their habitations. The position of the latter was peculiarly unfortunate. They were everywhere mixed with the Irish, who stood in the position towards them of landlords, partners, tenants, or servants, or with whom they lived on terms of confidence and familiarity. The readiness with which these ties were broken, and the instantaneous and general character of the rising, showed how extensively and zealously the missionaries of rebellion must have worked. In an instant the hand of the servant was raised against his master, and the tenant ceased to be protected by his landlord. The English planters, thus taken by surprise were confounded with the disasters which suddenly fell upon them, and instead of joining together and making head against the common enemy, they allowed themselves to be destroyed in detail, and in their bewilderment threw themselves for protection on those who were the first to plunder and betray them. In most instances where a few collected together for self-protection, and posted themselves in some little castle or church, they were not strong enough to hold out long, and their defence only exasperated the insurgents, and excited their appetite for blood. They rushed upon the English protestants on every side, plundered their dwellings and then burnt or destroyed them, and stripping man, woman, and child, they turned them adrift in perfect nakedness at an inclement season of the year, to find their way across the country to Dublin, or the large towns of the north still in possession of the English, exposed on the way to every insult and outrage which the hatred of the insurgents could heap upon them. Multitudes perished through privation and ill-usage before they reached a place of safety.*

* It has been the fashion of modern historians to suppress the details of the Irish massacres; and it is true that the repetition of these horrible stories is calculated only to excite our disgust. Yet there is a wrong done to history itself by such suppressions, and however desirable it may be that for themselves they were forgotten, yet, as they excited feelings on all sides which not only gave their character to events immediately succeeding, but which exerted an in-

fluence on the fate of Ireland in subsequent times, by concealing them we leave those feelings without an adequate explanation. The impression created by the massacres was kept alive by two commissions issued some months afterwards to inquire into the losses sustained by the English, and into the cruelties to which they were subjected, and the depositions taken before them formed thirty-two folio volumes, which are still extant among the MSS. in the library

Sir Phelim O'Neill, and the insurgents who acted under his more immediate direction, distinguished themselves over all the others by the savage cruelties which they exercised over the county of Armagh and the surrounding districts. In the space of a week, this chief found himself at the head of a large, though undisciplined force, and in the pride of success he marched through the northern districts plundering and destroying without opposition. This tide of success, however, was not of long continuance. In Carrickfergus, Londonderry, Enniskillen, and other towns where the naked refugees collected in considerable numbers, they took up arms and formed themselves into bodies which, if not well disciplined, were animated with vengeance for the sufferings inflicted on themselves and their families. These sometimes issued from their strongholds, and encountered and defeated wandering detachments of their enemies; while at others they opposed a resolute and effectual resistance, when they were attacked by more formidable forces. A thousand English protestants were thus collected at Lisburn, and they occupied the town of Dromore, and defeated the insurgents in several skirmishes there, though they were eventually obliged to abandon it. Colonel Chichester and sir Arthur Tyringham were appointed by the lords justices to command in the county of Antrim, where the insurrection had made little impression; and they garrisoned Belfast, stationed a party at Lisburn, provisioned the castle and town of Lurgan in the county of Armagh, strengthened Londonderry, and placed a garrison in the castle of Augher, by which the rebels who attempted to storm this latter place were driven off with considerable loss. The king, who was in Scotland, had contrived to raise fifteen hundred men of the disbanded Scottish army, who were landed in the north of Ulster, and encouraged the gentry of those parts, who were strengthened with commissions from the king, to act still more energetically, and the insurgents sustained several severe checks. They were driven with loss from Enniskillen, to which they had laid siege; and the English took Maguire's own castle by storm. In Tyrone, sir Phelim O'Neill was driven from the siege of Castle

Derrick with disgrace, and he received another defeat in Donegal. Other checks obliged him to return with feelings of mortification to Newry, where he had established his principal camp. But here the restless leader, whose confidence was raised by the multitudes of followers which the love of plunder drew to his camp, began again to form ambitious plans, and he determined to strike a great blow by attacking the town of Carrickfergus. It was necessary first to reduce the town of Lisburn (then, as we have stated before, called Lisnagarvey), a flourishing settlement of the Scots, who at first had been spared, according to the original plan of insurrection, but who were now attacked indiscriminately with the English. A body of four thousand of O'Neill's best disciplined troops was sent against Lisburn, and the chief was more sure of success because he had secret intelligence with the Irish inhabitants. But a reinforcement had been thrown into the place by sir Arthur Tyringham, and under that officer and sir George Rawdon, the garrison made a brave defence. After several desperate assaults, the besiegers were put to flight with such terrible slaughter, that the English boasted that the number of the slain was three times that of the whole garrison. Even the camp at Newry was hardly safe for O'Neill's head-quarters.

These checks enraged the northern chief to a pitch of indescribable fury, and his vengeance was wreaked in new atrocities upon the unfortunate protestants who were within his power. The county of Armagh, which was entirely in the possession of the insurgents, was the scene of great outrages at the commencement of the rebellion. Many of the protestant preachers and the officers of government were brutally slaughtered. Above three hundred protestants were murdered at Dungannon; about two hundred were drowned in the Blackwater on the borders of Armagh and Tyrone; the same number were thrown into a lough near Loughgall in Armagh; and three hundred were at one time drowned in a mill-pond in the parish of Killarnen in Tyrone. These and many other atrocities of the same kind, rest on the testimony of one of the officers of the garrison of Charlemont, who was kept a prisoner by O'Neill, and who obtained

of Trinity College, Dublin. A large number of these depositions, appended to a history of the rebellion which appears to have been compiled by order of the Irish privy council, before which it was read on the 10th of November, 1643, is preserved among the

Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 5999. It was from these original depositions that sir John Temple, the Irish master of the rolls, compiled his history of the Irish rebellion and massacres, published in 1646.

his information from the rebels themselves. Another sufferer declared that he had witnessed the slaughter of a hundred men, women, and children, who were driven like dogs a distance of six miles, the rebels goading them on with pikes and swords, and then they were all drowned in the river Bann in the county of Armagh. In the parish of Kilmore, in Armagh, all the inhabitants were stripped naked, and many of them killed before the rest were turned adrift; many of them were placed naked in the public stocks, and there kept till they confessed where they had concealed their money. Others, to the number of two-and-twenty, who appear to have been chiefly women and children, were driven into a thatched house, and there burnt. This latter circumstance was deposed to by more than one witness, one of whom, a woman whose husband had been killed, said that the murderers "most boldly made brags thereof, and took pride and glory in imitating their cries, and in telling the deponent and others how the children gaped when the fire began to burn them." She added that, to her knowledge, "the rebels within the county of Armagh, did act and commit divers other bloody barbarous cruelties, by burning, drawing, hanging, the sword, starving, and other fearful deaths; and that they did drown at one time, betwixt Timon and Kinnard, sixty British women and children, their respective husbands and fathers and all their male friends that were men, being murdered before." The widow of the protestant parson of Loughgall declared that she heard an Irish cow-boy in that parish boast that his hands were so weary with killing and knocking down protestants into a bog-pit, that he could hardly lift his arms to his head. Similar massacres took place in Antrim and Down, many of which were deposed to by the archdeacon of Down, Dr. Maxwell, and other persons of respectability who had escaped. At Down, by sir Phelim O'Neill's express orders, they dragged Dr. Maxwell's brother, lieutenant James Maxwell, from his bed, when in the height of a burning fever, and carried him to a distance of two miles from the town, where they killed him; and they took his wife, who was in an advanced state of pregnancy, stripped her naked, and drove her to the Blackwater, and then, while she was in the agonies of child-birth, the child half-born, they threw her into the river, where she was drowned, amid the jeers of her

persecutors. Great numbers of the tender sex underwent similar barbarous treatment. In the neighbourhood of Dungannon, two men boasted that between them they had killed thirty-six women and children in one day. Every check, however trifling, which O'Neill experienced, was the signal for new atrocities, and he hesitated at no treachery to obtain victims on whom to exercise his vengeance. Sir William Brownlow was induced to surrender Lurgan on the promise of security to its inhabitants, but the town was immediately given up to plunder. At the siege of Augher, the insurgents showed their hatred to everything English by torturing even the English cattle; and when they were compelled to raise the siege, O'Neill ordered the whole protestant population of three adjacent parishes to be massacred. The defeat at Lisburn drove him to a sort of madness of ferocity. Lord Caulfield and a number of other prisoners were brought out and murdered. In some places, the English were driven, twenty or thirty together, into a house, and burnt; in others they were slain with pikes and spears, or hanged. The women, especially those with child, were ripped up, and torn to pieces. They were tantalized with the promise of being conducted in safety to Dublin, and under this pretence sent out in troops, naked, to be outraged and slaughtered by the insurgents on their way. Multitudes were thrown into the rivers and bogs, and drowned. One of O'Neill's most savage agents was an officer named Manus O'Kane, who, after the defeat at Lisburn, collected numbers of the protestants and drove them to the bridge of Portadown in Armagh, whence they were all precipitated into the river Bann, and those who attempted to escape drowning were piked or shot as they came to the shore. This bridge of Portadown was notorious for the multitudes who were there thrown into the river.

The atrocities of Rory Maguire and his followers in Fermanagh nearly equalled those of sir Phelim O'Neill. On the 24th of October, this chief surprised the castle of Lisnaskea, where the insurgents put to death about a hundred Scots by the halter and the sword. At the castle of Moneah about ninety protestants were basely murdered; and marching thence to Tullah, the insurgents, having obtained possession of the castle on promise that all who were in it should be saved, had no sooner entered, than they brought their prisoners

into the castle bawn, and first stripped them and then put them to the sword. The insurgents were at this time marching to Enniskillen, and their whole route was marked by a continued repetition of similar outrages. Above a hundred and fifty men, women, and children, had taken refuge in the castle of Lisgoole, apparently a mansion of no great magnitude or strength. The insurgents appear to have made no attempt to enter, but they collected waggon loads of straw, piled them up against the walls, and thus set fire to the building, and as the inmates attempted to make their escape, they thrust them back into the fire with their pikes and swords. They are said to have been in this instance encouraged in their work of slaughter by their priests; and they pursued it with so little remorse, that when they saw the whole in a blaze they were heard to shout joyfully, "oh! how sweetly do they fry!" One woman in despair leaped from a window to the ground, where she was immediately stripped and killed; next morning the insurgents found her dead body with a child clinging to her breast, upon which one of the murderers seized it and dashed out its brains. At Clones on the borders of Fermanagh and Monaghan they buried seventeen persons alive. In some places they introduced unusual refinements in their cruelty. In the county of Mayo, they compelled a woman to kill her husband, they then obliged her son to kill his mother, after which they hanged the son for matricide. In the same manner at Sligo, they made a son kill his father, and then hanged the son. In Cavan there was at first less blood shed than in the neighbouring counties, but the English population were driven naked from their homes to starve in the woods, and they were treated with every insult and cruelty on the way. The bridge of Belturbet, however, in this county, obtained the same notoriety for the numbers of persons drowned in its river as that of Portadown; and the massacre here was said to have been instigated by a woman, Rose O'Reilly, the wife of one of the insurgent leaders. The rebel women too often forgot the tenderness of their sex, and they then became more cruel and ferocious than the men.

As the insurrection spread into the west and south, the increasing rigour of winter added to the sufferings of the unfortunate protestants. In Connaught some of the

Burkes and the O'Connors took the lead, and their enmity to the English was embittered by the recent injustice of the confiscations and plantations. The first outrages in Sligo occurred about the beginning of December; the protestants, men, women and children, were thrown into prison, and kept there till the beginning of January, when they were brought out, stripped naked, and massacred with circumstances of revolting barbarity. Similar scenes were acted at Shruel in Mayo; and the neighbourhood of this place was the scene of one of those acts of treachery which were too common at this time, and which is thus told by the parson of Brashoule, who was one of the party. "The lord of Mayo," the Burke who headed the rebellion in this county, "being to convoy all those of Castle Burre to Galway, viz., sir Henry Bingham with all his company, and the bishop of Killaloe with all his company, with many of the neighbouring English, being about three score in number, whereof there were some fifteen ministers, covenanted with one Edmund Burke for the safe convoy of the same parties upon a certain day, and the said lord of Mayo appointed them all to meet him at Balcharah, having first separated this deponent from them to attend his lady in the work of the ministry. At which day, the titular archbishop and the lord of Mayo meeting with their whole number, went on their journey to Shruel; at which place the lord of Mayo left them in the custody of the said last-named Edmund Burke. But, as one master Bringhurst told the deponent, the lord of Mayo was not gone far from them, but the said Edmund Burke drew out his sword, directing the rest what they should do, and began to massacre those protestants, and accordingly some were shot to death, some stabbed with skeines, some run through with pikes, some cast into the water and drowned, and the women that were stripped naked, lying upon their husbands to save them, were run through with pikes, and very few of those English then and there escaped alive, but the most part were murdered in the place. Amongst the rest, the bishop of Killaloe escaped with his life, but was then and there wounded in the head; and one master Crewd, a minister, was then and there so beaten with cudgels, on the feet, that he died shortly after." Many other great cruelties were committed in various parts of this county and in Galway. At Tyrawley, men, women, and children, were stripped

and driven in troops into the sea. Some of the rebel soldiers in Galway were heard to boast of the sport they had in tormenting women and children, and especially in setting fire to the straw which a woman, stripped naked, had twisted round her loins, laughing as they describe "how bravely the fire then made the English jade to dance."

The insurrection spread into Leinster towards December, and the English government had at this time so little force at its disposal, that the Irish of this province scarcely met with more opposition to their outrages, than in the remote districts of the island. Even in Wicklow, close at the gates of Dublin, the sept of the Byrnes rose upon the protestant inhabitants, and drove them from the open country with every kind of outrage. Near Kildare they buried a parish clerk up to the neck, and left him with his head only out of the ground to die; and here, as elsewhere, the English were driven naked in troops across the country like cattle, and great numbers of them perished by the way. At Castle-Comer, in Kilkenny, they hung children alive on their father's tenter-hooks, and they ripped up women and little girls. Similar outrages were perpetrated in the neighbouring county of Carlow, where an Irish catholic "gentlewoman," according to her own statement, having been obliged to turn away her servant, who was an English woman and had a child, the poor woman had not gone half a mile from her door before she was set upon by a number of Irish women, who slew her and her child with stones. The leaders of the rebellion in this part of Leinster were the lord Mountgarret and some of the Butlers and Cavenaghs. In King's and Queen's counties the principal leader was Florence Fitzpatrick, a chief of the ancient sept of Mac Gillpatrick's, who encouraged his barbarous followers in the

bitterest enmity against the English and protestants.* It was the lord Mountgarret who was chiefly instrumental in carrying the insurrection into Munster, where the Kennedys and other septs of northern Munster, took up arms, and on the first of January the rebels gained possession of Cashel, and committed many outrages there and in the neighbourhood.

Such were the scenes which at this moment presented themselves in every part of Ireland. According to the reckoning of some, not less than two hundred thousand persons of all ages and both sexes were sacrificed to the rage of their persecutors, but this number is no doubt much exaggerated, although the destruction of human life must have been very great. The work of slaughter was carried on everywhere, in the towns and villages, on the high-roads and in the fields, and among the wild woods and bogs. The open country was covered with the mangled remains of those who had been slain, with the wounded struggling amid agonies which were increased by the cruelty of every insurgent who passed by, and with troops of naked fugitives who were subjected to new insults by every party of rebels who met with them. The fury of these savages seemed to be most implacable against that sex whose tenderness should have excited their compassion, and which was subjected everywhere to the most fiend-like outrage, even the innocence of childhood offering no protection. Where English women and children in their flight sunk by the road-side, exhausted with hunger and fatigue, or, as often happened, in the pangs of child-birth, they were seized by the insurgents, often by the women, and torn and otherwise mangled till they expired. Even the Irish children were trained to mangle the carcasses of the slaughtered protestants, or to bathe their little hands in their blood.

* "Magdalen Redman, late of the Dowres in the King's County, widow, being sworn and examined, deposeth and saith, That she, this deponent, and divers other protestants her neighbours, and amongst the rest twenty-two widows, after they were all robbed, were all stripped stark naked, and then they, covering themselves in a house with straw, the rebels then and there lighted the straw with fire, and threw amongst them, of purpose to burn them, where they had been burnt or smothered, but that some of the rebels more pitiful than the rest, commanded these cruel rebels to forbear, so as they escaped. Yet the rebels kept and drove them naked into the wild woods, from Tuesday until Saturday, in frost and snow, so as the snow unmelted long lay upon some of their skins, and some of their children died in

their arms. And when, as the deponent and the rest endeavoured to have gone away for refuge to the Burre, the cruel rebels turned them again, saying they should go towards Dublin; and when they endeavoured to go towards Dublin, they hindered them again, and said they should go to the Burre; and so tossed them to and fro. Yet at length such of those poor stripped people as died not before they got away out of the hands of the rebels, escaped to the Burre, where they were harboured and relieved by one William Parsons, esq. And yet there died at the Burre of those stript persons about forty men, women, and children. And this deponent, and those other stript people that survived, lived miserably at the Burre aforesaid, until with the rest she had quarter to come from thence to Dublin."

In one instance fifteen men were stripped and placed in the stocks, and after they had been kept so for a short time, an Irish boy only fourteen years of age, was made to kill them all with his skeine as they lay in this helpless posture.

Such scenes naturally excited feelings of the utmost horror among the protestant population of Ireland, and, with the superstitious feelings of the age, they believed that they saw signs of God's anger in a multitude of prodigious apparitions. In the midst of the massacre in Tipperary, which occurred on a Sunday evening, a violent and unexpected thunder-storm broke over their heads, which was interpreted by the victims as a manifest declaration of the indignation of heaven. Many of the rebel leaders who had distinguished themselves most by their cruelty, were reported to have been subsequently struck with madness, or with fearful diseases. Apparitions were seen crying out for vengeance. Above all, the bridge of Portadown was believed to be haunted by the ghosts of the innumerable sufferers who had been plunged into its waters, to such a degree that the people of the neighbourhood could not be persuaded to inhabit the houses near it. These stories gained ground even among the insurgents, and the archdeacon of Down, who had been kept a prisoner among them, deposed before the commissioners, "that it was common table-talk amongst the rebels, that the ghost of Master William Fullerton, Timothy Jephes, and the most of those who were thrown over Portadown-bridge, were daily and nightly seen to walk upon the river, sometimes singing psalms, sometimes brandishing of naked swords, sometimes screeching in a most hideous and fearful manner. The deponent did not believe the same at first, neither doth he yet know whether to believe it or no; but saith that divers of the rebels assured him that they themselves did dwell near the same river, and being daily affrighted with those apparitions, were especially with their horrible screeching, were in conclusion enforced to remove further into the country. Their own priests and friars could not deny the truth thereof; but as it was by the deponent objected to them, said it was but a cunning slight of the devil to hinder this great work of propagating the catholic faith and killing of heretics, or that it was wrought by witchcraft. The deponent himself lived within thirteen miles of the bridge, and never heard any man so

much as doubt the truth thereof. Howsoever, he obligeth no man's faith, in regard he saw it not with his own eyes; otherwise he had as much certainty as morally could be required of such a matter." The heated imaginations of many, carried them much farther than the worthy archdeacon, and there were witnesses, especially women, who swore to having seen the apparitions themselves. Among the rest, "Elizabeth, the wife of captain Rice Price, of Armagh, deposed and said, that she and other women, whose husbands were murdered, hearing of divers apparitions and visions which were seen near Portadown-bridge, since the drowning of her children and the rest of the protestants there, went unto the bridge aforesaid, about twilight in the evening; and then and there upon a sudden there appeared unto them a vision or spirit, assuming the shape of a woman, waist-high upright in the water, naked, with elevated and closed hands, her hair hanging down, very white, her eyes seemed to twinkle, and her skin as white as snow; which spirit seemed to stand straight up in the water, often repeating the word, 'revenge! revenge! revenge!' whereat this deponent and the rest being put into a strong amazement and affright, walked from the place."

Some writers have taken advantage of credulous stories like this to throw discredit on the assertions of the various witnesses brought before the English commissioners, but no one can read them through impartially without feeling satisfied that they are the *bona fide* statements of persons who spoke in general from their own knowledge and without any intention to mis-state. That they contain many exaggerations, we have no reason to doubt, and, in fact, we ought not to expect otherwise from people in the state of excitement and exasperation to which their losses and sufferings had driven them. This exaggeration was probably the greatest in regard to the part which the Irish catholic clergy acted in the horrible scenes we have been describing. By some witnesses, they are represented as encouraging the rebels in the midst of the carnage, as gloating over the torments of their victims, as declaring publicly that to kill protestants was no more criminal than to kill dogs, and as absolving and blessing the murderers, and promising them paradise as a reward for their meritorious labours. In the violent religious animosity which reigned at this time, with recent examples of popish

clergy urging on to bloodshed in the religious wars and massacres on the continent, stories of this kind naturally met with a ready belief. That there were men who professed to exercise Christ's priesthood, agents of Rome, who approved of the massacres and took a part in them, can hardly be doubted, and it happens unfortunately in such cases that the ignorant and the base exercise most influence over the furious mob. But it would be a libel to charge the body of the Irish clergy with the crime of a small and unworthy portion of its body; and we may, on the contrary, turn from the revolting side of the picture, to point out with satisfaction instances in which the catholic clergy were swayed by the purest feelings of christianity. Several such instances were met with, more especially in Munster, where a jesuit named James Saul saved and concealed from the fury of the insurgents Dr. Samuel Pullen, chancellor of Cashel and dean of Clonfert, and his wife and family: and two Franciscan friars, Joseph Everard and Redmond English, concealed the protestant fugitives in their chapel and even under the altar. In the north sir Phelim O'Neill's mother distinguished herself in this work of charity; she sheltered four-and-twenty English and Scots under her own roof, and preserved them uninjured throughout that calamitous period. Her son by another husband, captain Alexander Hoveden, imitated the noble example of his parent, and conveyed many of the English protestants in safety from Armagh to Newry and Drogheda. But their bright examples were overlooked by the English amid the atrocities of this frightful rebellion, which, as the intelligence of them came crowding in from all sides, drove them to a pitch of revengeful excitement which gave a horrible character to the ensuing war.

Acts of cruel retaliation were thus committed, some of which were afterwards taken advantage of by the rebel leaders to palliate the excesses of their own followers. It has been already observed that at first the northern insurgents affected to spare the Scots, in the hope of drawing them to join with

them in their rebellion. It was but a momentary forbearance, and when the Irish leaders found not only that the Irish Scots held back, but that Scottish soldiers were brought over to fight against them, their resentment against the Scots exceeded, if possible, their hatred of the English, and the Ulster Scots were subjected to the most diabolical cruelty.* In return, whenever any of the insurgents fell into their power, the Scots showed them little mercy. A small peninsula called Island Magee, near the town of Carrickfergus, was inhabited by some Irish families who had taken part in the rebellion at its commencement. A body of Scottish soldiers had been placed in garrison in Carrickfergus, and these, in their implacable hatred of popery, sallied out one dark night in the beginning of January, fell unawares upon the Irish inhabitants of Island Magee, and put the greater part, if not the whole of them, to the sword. This cruel and, as it is stated, unprovoked act of vengeance, excited great, and as far as we can judge, deserved indignation, and some violent writers of a later period, anxious to palliate and excuse the atrocities committed by the Irish insurgents, have so far misrepresented this massacre, as to conceal the date, and assert that it preceded the Ulster massacres, and to exaggerate the number of its victims to the absurdly improbable number of three thousand persons. According to the confession of the perpetrators, thirty families were surprised in their beds and deliberately put to death.

The suddenness of the outbreak in Ulster, and the peculiar circumstances under which the English and Scottish population was placed, rendered all resistance impossible except in a few large and strongly garrisoned fortresses. But in other parts, in Connaught, Leinster, and Munster, the English had had more time to prepare, and although there also the inhabitants of the open country and the towns in general were exposed to the fury of the rebels, many of them threw themselves into the small castles with which the country was covered, and there held out for weeks and months, until they

* The following horrible statement was made on oath by a very respectable witness, who remained some time among the insurgents in the north; it shows the feeling which existed between the insurgents and the Scottish puritans. "This deponent was credibly informed by the said sergeant and others of this deponent's servants (who kept company with the rebels, and saw the same), that many young children were cut into quarters and gobbets by the rebels,

and that eighteen Scottish infants were hanged on a clothier's tenter-hook; and that they murdered a young fat Scottish man, and made candles of his grease; they took another Scottish man and ripped up his belly, that they might come to his small guts, the one end whereof they tied to a tree, and made him go round until he had drawn them all out of his body, they then saying that they would try whether a dog's or a Scotchman's were the longer."

were relieved, or the rage of the first outbreak was so far spent that they might surrender on composition without the risk of being slaughtered. Thus in the county of Clare there were no less than thirty such castles which made a stand against the rebels. Among these was the castle of Ballyaly, originally built by the Mac Namaras, concerning the exact site of which there is some uncertainty, but it appears to have stood at a little distance to the north of Ennis, on a small lake formed by the river Fergus. It was at this time occupied by Maurice Cuffe, a merchant of Ennis, and sustained two sieges, of the first of which we possess a narrative written by Cuffe himself.* It furnishes us with one of those insulated but remarkable pictures of manners which give us the best of all insights into the history and condition of the country.

It appears that the first intelligence of the rebellion in the north was brought from Limerick to Clare on the first of November, at the same time with the news of the discovery of the plot to surprise Dublin castle and the arrest of lord Maguire. New intelligence of the progress and excesses of the rebels of Ulster now poured in daily, and towards the end of November the Irish of Clare began to exhibit some uneasiness, and the neighbouring county of Tipperary was announced to be in full insurrection. The earl of Thomond now raised the fighting-men of the county of Clare, urged them to remain loyal, and placed arms in their hands for the defence of the government. By the middle of December Turlough O'Brien of Tullaghmore, and several others of the old Irish chiefs, had collected their adherents, and began partially to plunder the lands of the protestants, and most of them found means to escape punishment. About the tenth of January, the O'Gradys rose in rebellion, and now the protestants of Clare were filled with sorrowful apprehensions; and soon after the soldiers who had been billeted by the earl of Thomond in various parts of the country began to take part with the rebels, and imitate them in oppressing the people in whose houses they were residing, and even threatening them with personal violence. When the latter complained to the captains of this usage, and announced their intention of leaving

their houses and carrying their goods away into the castles for protection, unless they obtained redress, the captains went to the earl, complained that the protestants were leaving their houses out of spite to the soldiers, and obtained an order to arrest their goods, which hereupon were plundered without mercy, and in many cases the protestants were deprived of their arms. Regular warrants for seizing arms had been issued early in December, and on the twenty-seventh of that month the chief commander of the earl of Thomond's forces, Dermot O'Brien, presented himself at Ballyaly castle and required the delivery of all the arms there; but Maurice Cuffe's mother, who resided in the castle, and appears to have been a high-spirited woman, refused in the name of herself and her sons either to deliver the arms or to admit into the castle Dermot O'Brien and his company, who thereupon departed, uttering threats of severe punishment. From this time the country became daily more unquiet, the protestants were plundered and stripped, and many of them found refuge with the Cuffes at Ballyaly, and increased the number of mouths which they had to feed. Their castle was therefore looked upon with no favourable eye by their Irish neighbours, who were now all joining openly in the insurrection, and who began to distress them by cutting off their supply of provisions, so that they were driven to the necessity of issuing forth and carrying off the cattle of the Irish for their own necessities. In January the Irish commanders proclaimed aloud their intention of reducing all the English castles by force, and, hearing of the great power of sir Phelim O'Neill, one of the Mac Namaras was sent to the north to communicate with him and to obtain, if possible, some pieces of ordnance to carry on their sieges, but in this application he was not successful. Still Dermot O'Brien professed to be acting for the government, and affected to be anxious to obtain possession of Ballyaly castle, that it might be better secured for the king. Having however received on the fourth of February a resolute reply from the Cuffes, that they would defend their castle to the last extremity, he made preparations for a siege, and placed a force of a thousand men, under the command of captain Turlough O'Brien, who is described as "the first noted rebel in Thomond," for that purpose. They now crowded round this little fortress, and began by cutting it off from fuel and water, and

* It is printed in "Narratives Illustrative of the Contests in Ireland in 1641 and 1690: edited by Thomas Crofton Croker;" a publication of the Camden Society, issued in 1841.

when the siege was begun, the Irishry of the surrounding country soon rose up to take part in it. As the capture of this castle seems to have been considered a matter of great importance by the rebels, and the season of the year made it an arduous undertaking, it was arranged that each barony in the county should furnish its soldiers to do duty by turns; and "now," says the narrative of the brave defender, "they began to build and make cabins under the hedge-rows and bushes for their men to lie dry in, and daily presuming to come nearer and nearer with their building, which we observing would venture sometimes forth and procure some of their housing, and bring in for firing, so that they were often troubled to build new ones." With the profound belief in the manifestations of divine interference which was so especially characteristic of this age, Maurice Cuffe assures us that, "it was likewise generally observed, during the first siege, that whenever the enemy had any practise to come against us, it pleased God to send extreme storms of wind and rain or hail. This observation was so generally observed to us to prove true, that whether it happened by day or night, the ward would presently to their arms, every one to his place, which observation did constantly prove so true that the enemy did likewise observe it."

The siege of Ballyaly castle was now regularly formed. The leaders of the forces assembled against it were the chiefs of the O'Briens, the Mac Namaras, the old Anglo-Irish family of the Delahides, the O'Nelans, the O'Hogans, the O'Gradys, and other septs. And thus, throughout the whole island, after having been acquainted for some years only with names of English origin, we suddenly find springing again into historical fame the old Irish names with which we have been so long familiar in the earlier periods of Irish history. It is at least a proof of the national character of the struggle which was now commencing.

On the 6th of February, Dermot O'Brien and John mac Teige mac Namara came to the castle to offer to its little garrison security for their lives and goods, and a safe conveyance to Bunratty or any other place they would name, on condition of the surrender of the castle; but, having probably heard of the treacherous manner in which the protestants had been deceived in other parts, and "conceiving it not safe to fall into their hands," they determined to resist, in the expectation that they would be able to

hold out till relief came from England. Then the besieged were threatened with the utmost vengeance of their enemies, and were told that three "instruments," two sows (engines for battering), and a great gun, were in the course of construction by Turlough O'Brien, which would soon enable the Irish to force their way into the castle. "After this the enemy would daily in our sight draw forth their skeins and swords, flourishing them, swearing many dangerous oaths that ere long they would draw us forth and hack us to pieces, terming us puritan rogues and all the base names that might be invented; vowing that shortly sir Phelim O'Neill, and at least forty thousand soldiers would come into Thomond and not leave a protestant living, praying heartily for him, pretending that they then fought for him; but within a short time after they pretended that they were wholly the queen's army, and that she and her mother were in the north aiding them, but no protestant admitted to look upon her. This note suddenly altered, and then they were all for the king, vowing deeply that they had his majesty's commission for what they did, and that they were his majesty's catholic forces."

About the 21st of February, the besiegers, having finished their two sows and their great piece of ordnance (which was made of leather), brought them within sight of the castle, and then captain Henry O'Grady, of Knockany in the county of Limerick, was sent to give a formal summons to the castle. The ward upon the battlements demanded, by what authority he summoned the castle, or what right or claim he could lay to it; to which he replied that he had commission from his majesty to banish all the protestants from the kingdom of Ireland. "Hereupon," to use the quaint language of our original narrative, "without further examination, there was a bullet sent from the castle by one of the warders to examine his commission, which went through his thigh, but he made shift to rumble to the bushes and there fell down, but only lay by it sixteen weeks, in which time unhappily he was cured." This shot, we are afterwards informed, was fired by a protestant minister, named Andrew Chaplin.

The besiegers now brought their "sows"*

* It may be well to observe that the *sow* was a medieval instrument of war, used for covering the men while breaching the walls, before the invention of cannon, and that the Irish must have preserved a traditionary knowledge of its use.

up to the wall, and the narrator gives us a curious description of these primitive engines of war, which show how ill the rebels were at first supplied. "The great sow," he says, "was thirty-five feet long and nine feet broad; it was made upon four wheels made of whole timber, bound about with hoops of iron; their axletrees whereon she run were great round bars of iron, the beams she was built of being of timber. They had cross beams within to work with their levers, to force her along as they pleased to guide her. The hinder part of the sow was left open for their men to go in and out at. The fore part of the sow had four doors, two on the roof and two on the lower part, which did hang upon great iron hooks, but were not to open till they came close to the wall of the castle, where they intended to work through the castle with their tools they had provided. The roof of the sow was built like the roof of a house, with a very sharp ridge; the lower part as the walls of a house. She was double planked with many thick oaken planks, and driven very thick with five-stroke nails, which nails cost five pounds, being intended for a house of correction which should have been built at Ennis. This sow was likewise covered over with two rows of hides and two rows of sheepskins, so that no musket bullet or steel arrow could pierce it, of which trial was often made. The lesser sow was made only to go before to clear the way, being but six feet long and three feet broad, built strong, as above, only run but upon one wheel like a wheelbarrow, and chiefly employed to go for victual for the great sow to the camp, and for any to come to the big sow when they desired." With respect to the great gun which was to produce such formidable effects, we are told that "the said piece was about five feet in length, not built upon carriage, but fastened in a stock of timber. This gun they planted in the great trench near the castle, to be ready when they found occasion to discharge her, the diameter being about five inches; the leather they made her with was little better than half tanned." This rude weapon, as we shall see immediately, proved of very little utility.

The siege now commenced in earnest, and the same night "Sir Donal O'Brien gives advice, being dark, to make divers fires about our sight, whereby we might gaze upon them and neglect our charge, and in the mean for forty or more musketeers to steal beyond the castle, and to get into the haggard, and there to make shelters of the corn

and store, both to defend shots and shelter themselves, by which means they might bar us from water and liberty of going out, which plot, in regard of the dark night, took effect. This night they likewise entrenched themselves on the north side of the castle, within petronel shot of the castle, where they planted the foresaid piece, so that now we were so compassed in, that we were not able to step forth of door nor recover any water. The next morning they made trial of their leathern gun at us, but she only gave a great report, having three pound of powder in her, but let fly backward, the bullet remaining within. They likewise let fly divers musket-shot at all our spick holes, but, God be praised, did no hurt. Now upon this we took great care in ordering strong and careful watch, every one knowing his own place, and suffer very little relief to go to the men in the haggard, but would commonly let half a dozen musket shot fly together at whomsoever we spied going with relief, by which means few escaped to them but were fain to lie by it. We continued exchanging shots very hot till the Sunday morning, and had the killing of divers, and lost not one within the castle. Now the enemies seeing that we aimed not so much at boys as men, they appointed two boys to come with meat to the sow, the pigs within being in want, which boys being discovered, one was killed and the other wounded. All this while the men in the haggard had been disappointed of their victuals, in regard of our good watch, which caused them to rub out the ears of corn and feed upon it. But their fellows abroad, considering their great want, appointed three men to venture to them with a pair of quernes and a sieve, that they might make bread of the corn, and relieve themselves therewith; but these three men could not escape to them, but lost their lives by the way, and there lay, so that they were prevented of that plot. Now hereupon their commanders sent for a 'cott' to relieve them by water; but the men being hungerly set, they ventured the Saturday night to escape away, but divers of them lost their lives by it, and part remained in the haggard. Whereupon their commanders commanded six to venture in with provision, not knowing that so many of them escaped and were slain, for them that scaped being aware of the service, went clear away, and four of the six were by us slain."

"Now the men that were within the sow," continues the quaint narrator, "being

got near the castle, began to rail and threaten that by Monday night they would draw us out of the castle by the necks, to whom answer was returned, that we would make them wish that they had kept further off; upon that, one of them in a presumptuous way stept out, but one of the castle, being provided for any of them, let fly and killed him. This night Turlough O'Brien and Abraham Baker came into the fort, the night being dark, and the said O'Brien caused Baker and another to go with him and make a hovel of boards against the bawn gate, and to bore holes through the gate, whereby they might shoot at any that came out of the castle into the bawn.* But of that we had prevented them, having formerly rammed the door within up with earth, whereupon the said Turlough returned that night up to their camp. Water was now grown extreme and scarce among all that were within the castle, so that they were fain to boil their salt meat two or three times in one water, and saved all the rain water with sheets and vessels that possibly they could, but all was too little to quench the thirst of all that were within, so that many that had not beer were like to perish, and would have given sixpence a quart for water to any that would venture for it, but, being compassed in the manner as they were, none would venture."

It was now Saturday, the 26th of February, and the only hope of safety lay in some desperate attempt against their enemies. Accordingly, as Maurice Duffe tells us, "on the Sunday morning my brothers and the rest of the men resolved to venture forth for water, which most desperately they performed, first venturing upon the men that were gone into the haggard, leaving men sufficient within the castle to keep the enemy off from relieving the sow or the haggard; which company in the haggard lost their lives, only one that swam over the lough. Having had good success here, they then fell upon the sows, recovering (*i. e.* gaining possession of) both, and killing and mortally wounding all the men that were therein, only Abraham Baker, whom they took prisoner; and they gained in the sows one great fowling-piece, one halbert, one sword, four skeins, four pikes, three half-pikes, two great iron sledges, two great iron bars, two pickaxes, four spades, five shovels, one great

hammer, one borer, and one pair of quernes. Notwithstanding, the enemy kept their camps, not removing from us till the twelfth day of March, only leaving some ambush in most villages nearest us, expecting to cut our guard off whenever they sallied forth for any fresh relief, the which, however, we ventured forth for, and finding their plots in lying in our neighbour housing, we endeavoured and did perform hereupon to make the ways a little clearer in burning all the housing that was within a mile or better of us; by which means we were able to venture forth much the more safe, and usually afterwards, till our second siege, ventured forth and gained many preys."

From the middle of March, 1642, the time when the first siege of Ballyaly castle was raised, the English were left in possession some weeks unmolested, during which period they and their Irish neighbours continued to make frequent reprisals on each other, and the English provisioned themselves with preys which they carried off from the surrounding country. They soon gained so much the upper hand as to endeavour to open a way to the other castles held by the English protestants, and especially, "having cleared and terrified the Irish between Clare and Ballyaly reasonably well," they established a communication with the English in Clare. The little garrisons of Clare and Ballyaly now made frequent excursions upon the country, and, although left entirely to themselves, the English government being apparently almost ignorant of their existence, they did considerable mischief to the insurgents. On one occasion, "about the 15th of June," as Maurice Cuffe informs us, "the ward of Clare castle came to us, and desired my brother to join with them and some of our ward to go for a prey, the which they granted, Clare men being twenty-eight. They had gone but two miles, and there my brother Thomas meeting with one colonel O'Herr, being a noted rebel, he shot him as he was running away, and killed him. They marched this day at least ten miles compass, and gained divers cattle and sheep, all which they drove with them away to Clare, where captain Norton and Mr. Brickdall prevailed with my brother, in regard of many poor people they had, to leave that prey there, and the next they should have wholly to Ballyaly, which they granted. Now, after a very good dinner, they returned to Ballyaly, and expecting that the country lay wait to cut Ballyaly ward

* The *bawn* was the inclosed yard attached to the castle, walled round for the protection of the cattle, &c., of the besieged; a sort of outer court to the castle.

off on their return, they desired the ward of Clare to go home with them, which they did accordingly. And accordingly the enemy were gathered some three hundred, and lay in the wood and hedges of Knockerow, near the castle, where they must of necessity go through, or else not recover home. Being come within shot, the enemy was discovered. Whereupon they exchanged many a shot, and at last some of the enemies dropping, the rest began to run; not any of ours being slain, only one hurt. Upon this the ward of Ballyaly pursued the enemy, and kept them in some place, and Clare ward in the

mean returned to Clare in safety, and Ballyaly men got safe home. God be praised!"

Thus concludes Maurice Duffe's narrative of the first siege of Ballyaly castle. We know nothing of the second siege, except that it is said to have been conducted by the earl of Inchiquin's brother, Christopher O'Brien, to whom, we are informed, it eventually surrendered, having lost all hopes of relief. With this sample of Irish warfare, we can feel no surprise that the first violence of the insurrection was soon checked wherever regular troops were brought into the field against it.

CHAPTER IV.

ALARM IN DUBLIN; PROCEEDINGS OF THE IRISH GOVERNMENT AND THE ENGLISH PARLIAMENT; DEFECTION OF THE LORDS OF THE PALE.



N Dublin the alarm was great. The first rumours of the discovery of a treasonable conspiracy, spread abroad on the night of the 22nd of October, had thrown the city into the greatest agitation. Ignorant as yet of the extent of the danger, every rumour was magnified by their fears, and these were worked up almost to despair by the more definite intelligence which gradually came in on the morrow. During the first memorable night, lord Blaney arrived with the distressing news that his own house, with his wife and children, had been surprised by the rebels of Monaghan; next day a messenger from sir Arthur Tyringham gave information of the capture of Newry; and then from day to day every hour brought new fugitives who had escaped from the fury of the insurgents in different parts, each bringing new tales of atrocity, which spread immediately among the citizens, who, conscious of their own defenceless condition, expected hourly that the rebels of the north would join with the papists of the Pale to plunder and destroy the protestant inhabitants of the capital. The streets were crowded with their anxious population, especially women, listening eagerly to every rumour, however absurd. At one moment a cry was raised throughout

the city that the rebel army was already in the suburbs, and that the massacre had commenced. Then it was stated that the Irish were seen in immense numbers marching down the mountains upon the devoted city, and this information was given with so much confidence that the very officers of state were drawn out to the platform of the castle to watch the approach of the enemy. Next it was confidently stated that the rebels, to the number of ten thousand, had assembled at the hill of Tara, ready to march against Dublin. All these rumours were caught by the excited crowd, and produced sudden demonstrations of terror or anger. One evening, as the multitude continued waving up and down the streets, a sudden impulse induced a few individuals to draw their swords, and flourish them over their heads; others followed the example; and the glittering weapons and contending shouts produced the impression to those who were not concerned in it that a ferocious struggle was going on in the streets. A gentleman of good quality, who chanced to pass near this scene of confusion, hurried to the castle, caused the warders to draw up the bridge, and presented himself in a state of the greatest agitation before the council, which happened then (it was seven o'clock in the evening) to be sitting in the council chamber. He assured them that the rebels were gathered in great numbers, that

they had already made themselves masters of a good part of the town, and that they were marching furiously down the street which led directly to the castle gate. The council itself caught the alarm, until sir Francis Willoughby, who was now governor of the castle, with a soldier's coolness ordered the bridge to be let down, and proceeding into the streets, soon discovered the origin of this false rumour.

As soon as the council had recovered a little from the consternation which was the consequence of these sudden occurrences, they began to examine into the resources at their disposal to resist the attack to which the government was exposed; and their first alarm was not appeased by discovering that they had no money in the exchequer, that they were ill provided with provisions, and that their little army was scattered over the island in such small bodies, that it was unavailable in a case of emergency. They were, however, well supplied with arms and ammunition, which had been deposited in the magazines of Dublin castle under the lord lieutenantcy of the earl of Strafford.

The next step of the council was to provide against the entrances of suspected persons into Dublin; and a proclamation was issued by the lords justices, commanding all strangers to depart from the city immediately, on pain of death. These first measures of the Irish government rather increased than allayed the fears which had seized upon people's minds, and many of the English inhabitants abandoned all hopes of defence, and made hasty preparations to escape to their native country. Those who embarked were detained by contrary winds and tempestuous weather, but they chose rather to remain on ship-board, than to venture on shore at the risk, as they imagined, of falling into the hands of the sanguinary rebels. A fleet of Scottish fishermen, who happened to be on the coast, offered to detach five hundred of their crews to the service of the state, and their offer was willingly accepted, but a false alarm drove them away. The government itself was so far ruled by its fears, that four hundred soldiers, embarked for the service of the king of Spain, but detained in the harbour by order of the English parliament, were prohibited from landing, until they were on the point of perishing by famine; and then, when they were at last permitted to disembark, they were imprudently suffered to disperse through the

country, where they were soon enlisted by the rebel leaders.

In a few days, however, both the Irish council and the citizens of Dublin recovered from their first alarm. Sir John Temple, the master of the rolls, to whom we owe the first printed history of this rebellion, called together the chief protestant merchants of the city, and advised them for their better security in this time of danger to deposit their effects within the castle, engaging to answer for the value of whatever should be applied to the public service, by which a seasonable supply of provisions was secured. The lords justices now began to take some more decided steps for the security of the capital and the country. Although no intelligence had yet arrived of the occurrence of troubles anywhere but in the north, there could be no doubt of their spreading eventually through the other provinces of the island. Dispatches were accordingly sent to the lords-president of Munster and Connaught, and to several of the principal gentlemen in those provinces, as well as in Leinster, giving them information of the discovery of the plot and of the insurrection in Ulster, and urging them to be on their guard and provide for defence. The earl of Ormond, then at his house at Carrick, was required to repair to Dublin with his troop of horse, to assist in defending the capital. Commissions were sent to the lords Claneboy and Ardes in the north, as well as to sir William and sir Robert Stewart and other gentlemen in Ulster, giving them authority to raise and arm the Scots, and pursue the rebels with fire and sword, and to receive those who should submit to the king's mercy.

The prudence of the next measure of the lords justices was more doubtful. The parliament had been prorogued to the beginning of November, and, with the professed design of avoiding any pretext for a dangerous concourse in the city, it was now further prorogued to the month of February, and at the same time the courts of law were adjourned, except that of the Exchequer, which was left open for receiving the king's rents. The session of parliament had been looked forward to as one in which many important popular acts, and especially the confirmation of the king's graces, were to be passed, and the delay thus occasioned furnished a new subject of discontent, in addition to too many which already existed. The catholic lords and gentry of the English Pale, who

knew that they were regarded by the government with suspicion, were the first to take offence at the new prorogation of parliament, but they were also alarmed at different indications of suspicion of their motives, and the lords Gormanston, Netterville, Fitzwilliam, Howth, Kildare, Fingal, Dunsany, and Slane, came before the council to declare personally their ignorance and abhorrence of the insurrection. They and the other landholders of the Pale gave assurance of their loyalty and of their willingness to assist in defence of the crown; but, as they were without arms, they requested to be supplied by the government, for their own defence and for the annoyance of the rebels. This was a new cause of embarrassment to the government; for the lords justices were actuated by a puritanical hatred of papists, and they were on one hand unwilling to entrust the noblemen and gentry of that faith with arms, while on the other hand they feared that a refusal would be taken as a proof of ulterior designs against the whole catholic party, which might provoke them to take part in the insurrection. They, therefore, adopted a middle course; and, under pretence that they had not yet assured themselves of having more than sufficient arms for the defence of Dublin castle, they delivered out a small quantity of arms and ammunition to those who were more exposed to danger, with the determination not to arm the Pale effectually, until they were driven to it by absolute necessity.

The privy council had, perhaps, cause for distrusting the loyalty of some of the lords of the Pale, and the latter no doubt perceived that they were distrusted; whatever may have been hitherto their sentiments, from this time forwards the two parties looked upon each other with no feelings but those of suspicion. That the lords of the Pale were conscious of harbouring other motives, seems evident by the unusual sensitiveness they exhibited at every expression applied to those in actual insurrection, which could be tortured into an application to themselves. On the 23rd of October, the day on which the insurrection broke out, the lords justices and council had issued a proclamation announcing the discovery "of a most disloyal and detestable conspiracy intended by *some evil affected Irish papists*," and calling upon all loyal subjects to support the crown and stand upon their defence. A few days afterwards, subsequently to the demand made for arms, the lords of the Pale came again before the council-board with a

petition against the late proclamation, or at least against that expression in it of "*Irish papists*," which they said might be construed so as to include themselves. The lords justices, whose general policy towards the lords of the Pale was at this time one of provocation, condescended so far on this occasion as to issue a new proclamation, qualifying the expression complained of. "Whereas," says this new proclamation, "a petition hath been preferred unto us by divers lords and gentlemen of the English Pale, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Pale, and other the old English of this kingdom, showing that, whereas a late conspiracy of treason is discovered of ill-affected persons of the old Irish, and that thereupon a proclamation was published by us, wherein among other things it is declared that the said conspiracy was perpetrated by *Irish Papists*, without distinction of any; and they doubting that by these general words of Irish papists they might seem to be involved, though they declare themselves confident that we did not intend to include them therein, in regard they are none of the old Irish, nor of their faction or confederacy, but are altogether averse and opposite to all their designs and all others of like condition, we do, therefore, to give them full satisfaction, hereby declare and publish to all his majesty's good subjects in this kingdom, that by the words, *Irish papists*, we intended only such of the old mere Irish in the province of Ulster as have plotted, contrived, and been actors in this treason, and others who adhere to them, and that we did not any way intend or mean thereby any of the old English of the Pale, nor of any other parts of this kingdom, we being well assured of their fidelity to the crown, and having experience of the good affections and services of their ancestors in former times of danger and rebellion." In conclusion, the lords justices enforced a sentiment in which they certainly did not partake: "And we further require all his majesty's loving subjects, whether protestants or papists, to forbear upbraiding matter of religion one against the other, and that upon pain of his majesty's indignation." The council, however, now made some show of greater confidence in the catholics of the Pale, by granting them commissions of martial law in their several counties, and giving them other offices of trust.

Meanwhile the agitation in Dublin was daily increased, as the messengers of evil tidings crowded in from various parts of the

country. On the day after the discovery of the plot, most of the protestant gentlemen of the neighbourhood deserted their country residences, and brought their families into the city for safety. As soon as the first intelligence of the insurrection in the north was spread abroad, the protestants crowded in from more distant parts, and they were soon followed by those who had escaped from the cruelties of the rebels. Sir John Temple, an eye-witness, has left us an affecting picture of the appearance of Dublin some days after the outbreak of the rebellion. "That," he says, "which made the condition of the citizens appear much more formidable unto them, was the daily repair of multitudes of English that came up in troops, stripped and miserably despoiled, out of the north. Many persons of good rank and quality, covered over with old rags, and some without any other covering than a little twisted straw to hide their nakedness; some reverend ministers and others, who had escaped with their lives, sorely wounded. Wives came bitterly lamenting the murders of their husbands, mothers of their children barbarously destroyed before their faces, poor infants ready to perish and pour out their souls in their mother's bosoms; some over-wearied with long travel, and so surbated, as they came creeping on their knees; others frozen up with cold, ready to give up the ghost in the streets; others overwhelmed with grief, distracted with their losses, lost all their senses. Thus was the town within the compass of a few days after the breaking out of this rebellion filled with these most lamentable spectacles of sorrow, which in great numbers wandered up and down in all parts of the city, desolate, forsaken, having no place to lay their heads on, no clothing to cover their nakedness, no food to fill their hungry bellies. And to add to their miseries, they found all manner of relief very disproportionate to their wants, so as those sad creatures appeared like living ghosts in every street. Many empty houses in the city were by special direction taken up for them; barns, stables, and outhouses filled with them; yet many lay in the open streets, and others under stalls, and there most miserably perished. The churches were the common receptacles of the meaner sort of them, who stood there in a most doleful posture, as objects of charity, in so great multitudes as there was scarce any passage into them. But those of better quality, who could not frame themselves to be common beggars,

crept into private places, and some of them, that had not private friends to relieve them, even wasted silently away, and so died without noise. And so bitter was the remembrance of their former condition, and so insupportable the burden of their present calamity to many of them, as they even refused to be comforted. I have known of some that lay almost naked, and having clothes sent, laid them by, refusing to put them on; others that would not stir to fetch themselves food, though they knew where it stood ready for them; but they continued to lie nastily in their filthy rags, and their dirt, not taking care to have anything clean, handsome, or comfortable about them, and so even worn out with the misery of their journey and cruel usage, having their spirits spent, their bodies wasted, and their senses failing, lay here pitifully languishing; and soon after they had recovered this town, very many of them died, leaving their bodies as monuments of the most inhuman cruelties used towards them. The greatest part of the women and children thus barbarously expelled out of their habitations, perished in the city of Dublin; and so great numbers of them were brought to their graves, as all the churchyards within the whole town were of too narrow a compass to contain them. So as the lords took order to have two large pieces of new ground, one on each side of the river, taken in upon the out-greens, and set apart for burying-places."

These fugitives brought with them the most heart-rending details of the cruelties of the insurgents, while messengers every day came with news of their progress and successes. At the end of October the lord Moore, who was residing at his house at Mellifont, on the borders of Meath, raised his tenantry and made head against the rebels, but he was soon obliged to retire into Drogheda, and the capture of Dundalk at the beginning of November exposed Drogheda itself to a siege, and laid open the road to Dublin. At the same moment the insurrection extended itself through the south of Ulster and into Westmeath, and on the 12th of November it broke out with great fury in Wicklow, where the rebels committed the utmost havoc, and laid siege to the important post of Fort Carew, in which was a foot company of the old army. Wexford, Carlow, and Kildare followed in a few days; and the catholic lords and gentlemen of the Pale began now to give more signs of disaffection. The lords justices, embarrassed with the dangers that threat-

ened on all sides, were unable even to detach from Dublin a sufficient number of forces to check the progress of the insurgents in Wicklow; and thus the alarm of the citizens was increased by the knowledge that on the south the rebellion was actually at their very gates, while the rebels of the north had already advanced within twenty miles of the city. They seemed so paralyzed with terror, that they had no courage to take measures for their own defence. "It is easy to conjecture," says sir John Temple, "what a sad confused countenance the city then had; what fears, terror, and astonishment, the miserable spectacles within, and the approaches of the rebels without, raised in the minds of an affrighted, distracted people. The English inhabitants looked upon all the horrid cruelties exercised abroad, all the calamities and desolations fallen upon their countrymen in other parts of the kingdom, as arrived at their gates, and now ready to enter; the avenues all open, neither hope nor means, neither ramparts nor trenches to keep them out. Notwithstanding the careful labours and endeavours used by the lords justices and council to make provision for the common safety, no money could be raised, few men gotten together; the papists [believed to be] well furnished with arms, closely concealed, and desperately animated by their priests to all manner of mischief; no fortifications about the suburbs, nor any manner of defence for the city, but an old ruinous wall, part whereof fell down in the very height of these distractions. And so careless were the citizens, and so slowly went they about the making up that breach, as, under pretence of want of money, they let it lie open till the lords sent unto them forty pounds towards the reparation. All things tended to a sudden confusion; the very face of the city was now changed, and had such a ghastly aspect, as seemed to portend her near approaching ruin, the means of safety appearing very slender and inconsiderable. Every man began to consider himself and his own private preservation. Those that lived in the suburbs removed with their families into the city; the privy councillors and persons of quality into the castle, which became a common repository of all things of value. The rolls were by special order removed thither; the records of several other offices were likewise brought in. But upon the rebels advance somewhat nearer, and their frequent alarms, many of those who had there taken sanctuary began to suspect

the strength of those old crazy walls, and resolved to quit the kingdom."

In the midst of this alarm and confusion in the capital, the government found it necessary to make some attempt to relieve its officers in other parts. The preservation of Drogheda was a matter of the utmost importance, as the northern insurgents had declared it to be their intention, after the capture of that town, to march directly to Dublin. Dispatches from lord Moore had informed them that that place was in the greatest danger, and that he had discovered symptoms of disloyalty in the town. The lords justices determined to levy a regiment of foot from among the naked and exasperated fugitives who had sought refuge in Dublin, and they applied to this purpose the sum of three thousand pounds, which lay in the hands of the vice-treasurer to be sent over to England to fulfil a public engagement. They placed this regiment under the command of sir Henry Tichborne, a brave officer and zealous puritan, who had left his residence at Dunsoghly, with his wife and family, to seek refuge in the capital, on the 23rd of October, and they began their march on the 3rd of November. Another regiment of a thousand men was raised by sir Charles Coote; and these troops, as might easily be expected from the materials of which they were composed, were but too ready when the occasion offered to revenge their own sufferings by savage reprisals upon their enemies.

When the lords justices had recovered from their first surprise, they proceeded to dispatch messengers with information of their danger to the king in Edinburgh and to the government in London. In a letter to the lord lieutenant, the earl of Leicester, written on the 25th of October, they gave an account of the discovery of the plot, of the arrest of Mac Mahon and lord Maguire, and of the insurrection in the north; they described to him their own difficult position, and they urged that the earl should come himself to their assistance, and that he should procure of the parliament for their necessities "a good sum of money." They concluded by recommending O'Connolly, who was the bearer of this letter, to the royal bounty, for the service he had rendered to the state by giving information of the conspiracy. O'Connolly arrived in London on the 31st of October, and late in the evening of the same day he delivered his dispatches to the earl of Leicester, and gave him verbally a more full

account of the startling events they announced. Next morning the earl laid the whole matter before the privy council, and at their request he proceeded directly to communicate his dispatches to the house of lords, who immediately appointed a deputation, consisting of the chief members of the privy council, to communicate them to the other house. The same day the commons resolved themselves into a committee to consider of the affairs of Ireland, and after two days' debate, they resolved that fifty thousands pounds should immediately be borrowed of the city of London, on the security of parliament, to be applied to the Irish service, that the English papists of any quality should be secured in the counties where they were residing, and that no persons, except merchants, should be allowed to pass over into Ireland without a certificate from the committee of both houses of parliament, which was appointed at the same time for the exclusive consideration of Irish affairs. Owen O'Connolly was rewarded with a pension.

During the whole of the month of November the English house of commons devoted a part of each day to anxious consideration of the dangers of Ireland, and a day or two after the former resolutions, they passed orders that twenty thousand pounds should be sent over to Ireland without delay, that ships should be sent to guard the coasts, that a force of six thousand foot and two thousand horse should be raised and sent over to Dublin, that provisions should be immediately collected and sent to the relief of that city and its garrison, and that the arms and ammunition then laying in the magazine at Carlisle should be transported to Carrickfergus. It was further resolved that negotiations should be opened with the

Scots for a force of two thousand foot soldiers to be landed in Ulster.

Just as these resolutions had been passed, another messenger arrived in haste from Dublin, with a second letter from the lords justices and council, written on the fifth of November, and acquainting the English government with the successes of the rebellion in Ulster, the cruelties which the rebels had committed, the capture of Dundalk and the danger of Drogheda, the spread of the rebellion into Connaught and Leinster, and the perils with which they were threatened even in Dublin. They represented that Ireland had been suddenly reduced to such a lamentable condition, that unless an army of ten thousand foot and a thousand horse were immediately sent over, that kingdom was in danger of being utterly lost, and that the peace of England itself would be threatened. They petitioned at the same time for a hundred thousand pounds to enable them to carry on the government and the war.

The zeal of the English house of commons was increased by this alarming dispatch, and they resolved to comply in full with the wishes of the Irish government. The news of the Irish massacres created everywhere the utmost horror and consternation, and the popular excitement was fed by the daily publication of pamphlets conveying the intelligence of some new event, or new version of those which had already become old events, to the nation at large. The puritan pulpits resounded with discourses on the horrible designs of the papists against England, and on the atrocities they were committing in Ireland, until people's terror was worked up to such a point, that they expected daily to see the Irish insurgents at their own doors.*

While the parliament in England set this so much fasting and praying, and longed to see those nights and days over. I remember one public fast day (for godly ministers appointed many, and kept them in their respective places;) Mr. Wales kept many at Pudsey, it was two miles from Bradford, and thither my pious mother and all the family went constantly upon those days; I have known that holy Mr. Wales spend six or seven hours in praying and preaching, and rarely go out of the pulpit; but sometimes he would intermit for one quarter of an hour, while a few verses of a psalm were sung, and then pray and preach again; and oh, what confession of sin did he make! what prayers, tears, and wrestling with God was in that place on these days! what tears and groans were to be seen and heard in that chapel! I am sure it was a place of weepers; but that day, I say, which I am speaking of, I think about three o'clock in the afternoon, a certain man that I remember well—(his name was John Sugden)

* The state of feeling in England at this moment cannot be better described than by an extract from the private narrative of a dissenting minister of Yorkshire, Joseph Lister, who was at this time a youth living at Bradford. "About this time," he says, "did the rebellion in Ireland break out, and many thousand protestants of all ages, sexes, and degrees, were put to death with great inhumanity and cruelty; and great fear came upon the protestants in England, these villains giving out, that what they had done there was by the king's commission, and that in a little time the English protestants (or heretics, as they called them) should drink of the same cup; and it was verily believed by many it would be so, if God should suffer it; and oh, what fears and tears, cries and prayers, night and day, was there then in many places, and in my dear mother's house in particular! I was then about twelve or thirteen years of age, and though I was afraid to be killed, yet was I wearv of

example of energy and decision, the Irish government was distinguished only by its supineness and want of activity. The earl of Ormond had now been placed at the head of the army, a considerable part of which was assembled, and its numbers increased by the formation of several new regiments and companies. Ormond urged the necessity of marching immediately with all the troops that could be spared from Dublin against the main body of the rebels, which lay in the county of Louth, and which was little better than an undisciplined rabble. But the lords justices opposed this measure, under the frivolous and notoriously false pretence that they wanted arms to supply the soldiery. The timidity of the governors gave rise to a variety of rumours; some attributing it to want of courage; others to jealousy of the earl of Ormond; and others, who look further into the causes of things, scrupled not to say that the lords justices were unwilling to put a speedy end to the insurrection, but that they were desirous of urging the great catholic families into it, with a view to new and extensive confiscations. These latter did not even conceal their suspicions that their governors were encouraged in this line of policy by secret directions from the ruling faction in England. Be this as it may, the rapid spread of the insurrection in the west and south soon furnished reasons for keeping the army about Dublin. The first intelligence of the proceedings in England, and of the preparations for sending over an English army, was received with the utmost exultation, and decided the lords justices in exhibiting more openly their hatred to the catholics in general. They no longer concealed their suspicions of the loyalty of the catholics of the Pale, and they recalled those arms which they had entrusted to them,

thus leaving them without means of defence. This step was followed by several other unpopular or unwise measures. A new proclamation appeared, commanding all persons, except the ordinary inhabitants of the capital, to leave it within twenty-four hours, on pain of death. The pretext for this measure was, that the landholders and tenantry of the Pale, by flying to the capital, left their lands without defence; but its effect, which could hardly have been unforeseen, was to compel them to seek that protection which was denied them in Dublin, by joining in the rebellion. The Irish government suppressed, or rendered ineffective by their exceptions and qualifications, the order of the English parliament to offer a general pardon to such of the rebels as would submit within a given time, a measure which could hardly have failed at that moment to produce the most beneficial effects; and their object in this suppression could hardly be doubted, when it was observed that in the few counties, least affected by the rebellion, where the pardon was offered, it was combined with a general exception of the freeholders.

The time was now come which had been originally fixed for the meeting of parliament, and much discontent had been expressed, especially by the catholics, at the determination of the lords justices to prorogue it again until the twenty-fourth of February. They wished for the immediate confirmation of the graces, which were to make secure their titles to their lands, and which contained indulgences to the catholics which must at this moment have produced a beneficial effect. They were fearful that the puritanical party in England, who were now seizing upon the supreme power, would find some pretext to defeat the king's intentions in this respect, and, alarmed at

—came and stood up in the chapel door, and cried out with a lamentable voice,—‘Friend,’ said he, ‘we are all as good as dead men, for the Irish rebels are coming; they are come as far as Rochdale, and Littlebrough, and the Balings, and will be at Halifax and Bradford shortly;’ he came, he said, out of pity and goodwill, to give us this notice. And having given this alarm, away he ran towards Bradford again, where the same report was spread about. Upon which the congregation was all in confusion, some ran out, others wept, others fell to talking to friends, and the Irish massacre being but lately acted, and all circumstances put together, the people’s hearts failed them with fear; so that the Rev. Mr. Wales desired the congregation to compose themselves as well as they could, while he put himself and them into the hands of Almighty God by prayer, and so

he did, and so dismissed us. But oh, what a sad and sorrowful going home had we that evening, for we must needs go to Bradford, and knew not but incarnate devils and death would be there before us, and meet us there. What sad and strange conjectures, or rather conclusions, will surprise and fear make! Methinks I shall never forget this time. Well, we got home, and found friends and neighbours in our case, and expecting the cut-throats coming. But at last some few horsemen were prevailed with to go to Halifax, to know how the case stood. They went with a great deal of fear, but found matters better when they came there, it proving only to be some protestants that were escaping out of Ireland for their lives into England; and this news we received with great joy.”

the rumours of intended confiscation, they pretended at least to be anxious for the occasion to make a formal and solemn declaration of their loyalty. They further urged that, in great dangers like the one now impending, the national assembly ought immediately to be convened, as the legitimate power to which the kingdom must look for its defence. The lawyers, who were mostly of the catholic party, expressed their opinion that the prorogation was illegal, and that, unless the houses should hold a meeting on the day to which they had been adjourned, the parliament would in fact be dissolved; and this opinion was favoured by the judges.

In addition to these reasons urged by the catholic party, many leading protestants and others of approved loyalty, at the head of whom were the earl of Ormond and lord Dillon of Costello, were warmly in favour of an immediate and continued session of parliament, not only because they were anxious to avoid giving new causes of popular discontent, but because they felt satisfied that the declarations and resolutions of an Irish parliament would put the most effectual check upon the rebellious spirit which now prevailed. They represented that the parliament might be assembled with perfect security in the present condition of the capital, which was well provided with forces; and that the state would derive essential service from the supplies which must be cheerfully granted at such a moment by all loyal subjects, while even those who were secretly disloyal, would not venture to betray their sentiments when they were actually in the custody of the state.

The lords justices, however, persisted in their original design, and, if they were not averse to the suppression of the rebellion, they were certainly unwilling that it should be suppressed by any other means than those to be sent over by the English parliament. But they were alarmed at the doubts expressed by the judges, and they at length consented to suffer the parliament to meet for one day, making it a condition that the houses should agree in a public protestation against the rebels, and giving them liberty to appoint a deputation of their members to be sent to the rebels to treat for an accommodation, to receive their statement of grievances, and to transmit it to the king. As many members as could be brought together accordingly met at the parliament house in Dublin castle on the 17th of November, the

government having taken the precaution to draw out a guard of musketeers. The meeting was, as might be expected, very thin, there being present in the house of lords only "some few English lords, three or four lords of the Pale, and some two or three bishops." The house of commons proceeded at once to consider the state of the nation, and to draw up their protestation against the *rebels*; upon which the strength of the disaffected party was made evident by the extreme sensibility exhibited at the use of this term, for which it was proposed to substitute that of *discontented gentlemen*. Some, who did not favour the insurgents, but whose estates lay exposed to their ravages, were afraid to exasperate them, and what sir John Temple called "a very meager cold protestation" was at last drawn up, and sent to the lords for approval. The protestant spirit appears to have been stronger in the upper house, and at last the two parties in both houses came to a compromise, and agreed upon a declaration of parliament, in which they spoke of the insurgents as "sundry persons ill-affected to the peace and tranquillity of this realm," who "contrary to their duty and loyalty to his majesty, and against the laws of God, and the fundamental laws of the realm, have traitorously and rebelliously raised arms, have seized upon some of his majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed many of his majesty's faithful subjects of their houses, lands, and goods, and have slain many of them, and committed other cruel and inhuman outrages and acts of hostility within this realm." The lords and commons assembled in parliament then added that they, "being justly moved with a right sense of the said disloyal rebellious proceedings and actions of the persons aforesaid, do hereby protest and declare that they the said lords and commons from their hearts do detest and abhor the said abominable actions, and that they shall and will to their uttermost power maintain the rights of his majesty's crown and government of this realm, and peace and safety thereof, as well against the persons aforesaid, their abettors and adherents, as also against all foreign princes, potentates, and other persons and attempts whatsoever; and in case the persons aforesaid do not repent of their aforesaid actions, and lay down arms, and become humble suitors to his majesty for grace and mercy, in such convenient time and in such manner and form as by his majesty or the chief governor or governors

and council of this realm shall be set down, the said lords and commons do further protest and declare, that they will take up arms, and will with their lives and fortunes suppress them and their attempts, in such way as by the authority of the parliament of this kingdom, with the approbation of his most excellent majesty, or of his majesty's chief governor or governors of this kingdom, shall be thought most effectual."

Having resolved upon this public declaration of the sentiments of parliament, the two houses proceeded to nominate a deputation of their members to confer with the insurgents of Ulster and other parts, in order to ascertain from them the causes of their taking arms. As these proceedings took more time than was expected, a second day was with some difficulty granted by the lords justices, but when the houses petitioned for a longer session, they met with an absolute refusal, although they were indulged with the promise that the term of prorogation should be shortened, and the commencement of the next session was nominally fixed for the eleventh day of January. The parliament, however, remained discontented, although, in spite of the feeling that their services were despised, they still resolved to give all the assistance they could, and passed a vote empowering the lords justices to collect forces and to assess and levy money for their support.

The lords justices had now lost the confidence of most of those who remained attached to the king, and a large body of these, in the conviction that the insurrection was not entirely without provocation, and that it might still be suppressed with the force which Ireland itself could supply, determined to embody their sentiments in a memorial, which should be sent directly to the king. The messenger selected to carry this memorial was lord Dillon of Costello; it reflected strongly upon the conduct of the lords justices, and recommended the appointment of the earl of Ormond to the lord lieutenancy as the measure best calculated to insure the success of the government; it further recommended an immediate confirmation of the graces, and other measures not agreeable to the policy of the puritanical party now governing. The lords justices, aware of this step, despatched an agent to London, to counteract the designs of their opponents. He was the bearer of a private letter to the earl of Leicester, signed only by the two lords justices and their par-

ticular friends in the council, in which they expressed their distrust of their colleagues at the board, and represented lord Dillon's embassy as one the object of which was to benefit the Irish at the expense of England. They said his object was to possess the king with the belief that Ireland might be reduced to obedience by its own resources; whereas if the parliament would enter vigorously upon the work of conquest with an English army and English money, it would soon repay itself with immense advantage by the extensive forfeiture of the estates of Irish catholics. This bait took with the house of commons. When lord Dillon had embarked with lord Taaffe to carry their memorial to the king, a sudden storm drove them from their direct course; and when at length they proceeded on their way to London, on reaching Ware they were seized by a warrant of the house of commons, their papers were taken and suppressed, and they were retained in custody until their mission was of no importance, and then they were suffered to escape.

Meanwhile the continued prorogation of parliament had produced the effect anticipated by the moderate party. The general discontent it occasioned, raised the spirits and expectations of the rebel leaders, who had now begun to form definite and connected plans of operation. The parliamentary deputation proceeded to the rebel camp near Dundalk, where Roger Moore lay with an Irish commander of some note, named Brian Mac Mahon, at the head of two thousand five hundred ill armed troops. They were received coldly, and treated with a pride approaching to disdain. When they presented the order of parliament authorizing them to treat with the rebels, Roger Moore expressed passionately his indignation at the terms in which it was conceived and tore it to pieces, and he refused to listen to their proposals. Other attempts to negotiate were equally unsuccessful; and the lords justices found, as they probably anticipated and desired, that the first successes of the rebels had blinded them to their dangers, and that they would now only be reduced by conquest, the means an English army, and the result a general confiscation.

While the unconciliating behaviour of their English governors was provoking the more loyal part of the disaffected population of Ireland, those who were already in rebellion received new encouragement from the apparent timidity of the lords justices and from the tardy arrival of reinforcements from

England. The approach of the rebel forces of Ulster towards the south was already producing its effect on the wavering allegiance of the English Pale, yet the government adopted no efficient measures of defence. Before the end of November, the insurgent army had established its quarters on the northern banks of the Boyne, and was preparing to invest Drogheda. A pressing despatch from sir Henry Tichborne determined the lords justices to send six hundred of the newly-raised recruits to his assistance; but they were ill-disciplined and provided, dissatisfied with their appointment, and marched slowly and incautiously. When they reached the bridge of Julian's-town, they were intercepted by a numerous body of the insurgents, and, after a slight resistance, put to flight. The number of the slain appears not to have been very great, but the rebels captured their arms and ammunition, and the moral effect of this first defeat of regular troops was much greater than could have been expected from the unimportant character of the action itself. The news arrived in Dublin on the evening of the same day, the 29th of November, and threw the protestants into the utmost consternation. Their governors had adopted as an effective measure of defence against their enemies, the proclamation of a fast. In their dismay, they dispatched a messenger to sir Charles Coote, who had been despatched against the insurgents of Wicklow on the same day that the unfortunate troops marched for Drogheda, to recall him for the defence of the city. Coote was a man of severe character, strongly prejudiced against the Irish, and now provoked by the ravages they had committed on his estates; and in this excursion against the rebels of Wicklow, he had retaliated upon them by many acts of cruelty, which rendered his name odious among the catholics, and which were seized upon by the gentlemen of the Pale as a cause of new dissatisfaction.

These were now on the point of throwing aside the last remnants of their affected loyalty to the English crown. Lord Gormanston was suspected by the protestants of having betrayed their soldiers into the defeat at Julian's-town bridge; which, joined with the boasted force of the rebels of Ulster, and the fears they now entertained of the intentions of the lords justices, decided them in laying down the mask which they had lately worn with difficulty. In the first days

of December, lord Gormanston, who appears to have been for some time in secret communication with Roger Moore, issued an order to the sheriff of Meath to assemble the principal inhabitants of that county at Duleek, but the place of meeting was subsequently changed to the hill of Crofty. There, accordingly, on the day appointed, came the lords Fingall, Gormanston, Slane, Louth, Dunsany, Trimbleston, and Netterville, with the principal gentry and others, to the number of about a thousand, and the scene which followed had something dramatic in its character. After they had remained on the hill of Crofty two or three hours, discoursing together, a party of the insurgent chiefs from Ulster, consisting of Roger Moore, colonel Mac Mahon, Philip O'Reilly, Hugh Boy O'Reilly, Hugh Byrne, and captain Fox, attended by a guard of musketeers, suddenly rode up to them. As they approached the hill, the principal lords and gentry of the Pale pressed forward to meet them, and lord Gormanston, who appeared to be the leader of this movement, advanced before the rest, and demanded of the insurgent chiefs, "Why and for what reason they came armed into the Pale." Roger Moore made reply immediately, that "the ground of their coming thither and taking up arms, was for the freedom and liberty of their consciences, the maintenance of his majesty's prerogative, in which they understood he was abridged, and the making the subjects in this kingdom as free as those in England were." Lord Gormanston then desired to be informed truly and faithfully, "whether these were not pretences, and not the true grounds indeed of their so doing, and likewise whether they had not some other private ends of their own;" and on receiving a solemn declaration of their sincerity, he said aloud, "Seeing these be your true ends, we will likewise join with you therein." The whole assembly having agreed to this, it was thereupon declared that whoever should refuse to join with them, or to assist them in their cause, they would account him as an enemy, and to the utmost of their power work his destruction. After having agreed that a new meeting should be called a week after at the hill of Tara, a spot consecrated in all the Irish dreams of nationality, the lords and gentlemen of the Pale separated to make preparations for a general assumption of arms.

The determination of the lords of the Pale to join openly with the rebels, had perhaps

been hastened by a step taken by the Irish privy council with the object of testing their loyalty, of which they had so recently made profession. On the third of December, a letter was addressed to these lords, summoning them to attend at Dublin on the eighth to confer with other lords on the state of the nation. The lords of the Pale seem to have considered this summons as a trap to secure their persons, and the object of the meeting of Tara was partly to determine upon a reply which should be agreed to and signed by the principal persons concerned in it. This reply was drawn up and brought to Tara by lord Gormanston; it alluded to the invitation to confer on the state of the nation, and intimates as a reason for not complying, the neglect previously shown to the advice and warnings which they had given—"we give your lordships to understand, that we have heretofore presented ourselves before your lordships, and freely offered our advice and furtherance towards the particulars aforesaid, which was by you neglected, which gave us cause to conceive that our loyalty was suspected by you." The confederate lords then stated their particular grounds for apprehension:—"We give your lordships further to understand that we have received certain advertizement, that sir Charles Coote, knight, at the council board, hath uttered some speeches tending to a purpose and resolution to execute upon

those of our religion a general massacre, by which we are all deterred to wait on your lordships, not having any security for our safety from these threatened evils or the safety of our lives, but do rather think it fit to stand upon our best guard until we hear from your lordships how we shall be secured from these perils. Nevertheless, we all protest that we are and will continue both faithful advisers and resolute furtherers of his majesty's service concerning the present state of the kingdom and the safety thereof to our best abilities."

The lords justices replied to this letter by a proclamation, in which they denied the truth of the allegations relating to sir Charles Coote or any intention of persecuting the catholics, and summoned the lords of the pale to attend at the council board on the 17th of December. The only reply was a letter in which the disaffected lords recriminated anew on the cruelties committed by sir Charles Coote, in his recent expedition into Wicklow, and a final refusal of obedience to the summons to appear at Dublin. The immediate consequence of these proceedings was the sudden desertion of most of the companies which the gentlemen of the Pale had been commissioned to raise, many of which carried away their arms;* but they had a much more important character in the new turn which was now given to the insurrectionary war.

* Sir John Temple gives the following account of this defection:—"Several gentlemen, who, in the several counties of the Pale, were made captains, and had received arms from the state for their companies, departed from their obedience, and addressed themselves and their companies wholly to the service of the rebels. Nicholas White, esquire, son and heir to sir Nicholas White, of Leixlip, was the first that gave the example about the second of December; but he carried the matter so handsomely, as his company ran away to the rebels, as he pretended, with-

out his consent or even his knowledge any longer time before their departure than to give him opportunity to come and acquaint the state therewith, and his own disability to hinder the same; but before it was possible to use any means of prevention, the men were all gone with their arms and munition to the rebels. Many of the other captains desired no such fine cover for their intentions, but delivered themselves and their arms up to be disposed as they should direct, without any further scruple or compliment to the state."

CHAPTER V.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE LORDS OF THE PALE, AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE REST OF IRELAND; CRITICAL POSITION OF DUBLIN; SIEGE OF DROGHEDA.



It cannot be denied that the behaviour of the lords of the Pale was insidious and uncandid, and that their pretexts for rebellion had no solid foundation. The lords justices, in their dispatches to England, declared that they had no sinister motives in inviting the principal catholic lords to a conference in Dublin, and it appears scarcely probable that they would have attempted any act of violence, which must have provoked a general rising among their catholic neighbours, and thus placed the capital in the utmost peril. Yet the lords of the Pale declared their belief in a design to sacrifice them, and, with the wild cruelties of the rebels of Ulster before them, they pointed out an instance or two of severity exercised by sir Charles Coote, upon the insurgents around Dublin, to exclaim against the horrible cruelties of the puritan general. The incident which was made the subject of the loudest clamour had occurred in the village of Santry, about three miles from Dublin, where a party of soldiers were sent to surprise a band of plunderers, and in the execution of their orders they had killed several persons, without distinction of the innocent from the guilty. This was designated by the rebels as the massacre of Santry. Another body of rebels had entered the village of Clontarf, on the bay of Dublin, encouraged and assisted by at least some of the inhabitants, and they had plundered a vessel laying near the shore. Their prey had been deposited in the house of one King, a man of some influence in the village, who had afterwards gone away with the plunderers. A detachment of soldiers was sent to chastise the turbulent inhabitants of Clontarf, and among other ravages, they burnt King's house. These and other more excusable acts of violence were made so much of by the enemies of government, that it was judged necessary to issue a proclamation to justify its conduct.

From this moment there was open war between the lords of the Pale and the Irish

government, but the former still hung to the specious pretext that, although disloyal to their governors, they were still loyal to the king, and for a while they attempted to conceal their real designs under the same mask which had been used in a coarser form by the insurgents of the north. Having set the lords justices at defiance, they now drew up an apology for their revolt, which they sent to the king. They dwelt upon the injuries, real or imaginary, which they said they had received from his Irish governors, and which, they said, not only unredressed but repeated, had compelled them to unite with the forces of Ulster, which they described as a body of subjects, who, as they were convinced, had taken arms only for the defence of the royal prerogative, and for the preservation of the liberties, religion, estates, and persons of the king's faithful subjects the catholics of Ireland. They prayed that his majesty would put no worse construction on their conduct than their affection merited, nor look upon it as worse than that of other subjects, who had taken the same course under circumstances of less provocation; and they intreated the king to grant them a free parliament, in which their various grievances might be redressed, and to command in the meantime a cessation of hostilities on both sides. They sent at the same time a letter to the queen, in which they implored her mediation. They next published a manifesto, in answer to the proclamation issued by the lords justices, in which they accepted the declaration of the latter that sir Charles Coote had not been heard to express any intentions of massacring the catholics, but as this was one of their grand pretexts for rebellion, they still insisted that they had the most convincing reasons for apprehending such a measure from that officer's known character for cruelty, and that they were satisfied of the necessity of taking up arms in their own defence. They then made proposals which they probably knew were not likely to be agreed to, offering to attend such commissioners as the lords justices might appoint, at any place sufficiently removed from the

power of sir Charles Coote, and to confer cheerfully with them on the means of advancing the king's service, and restoring the peace of the kingdom. By thus continually talking of their fears, they raised sympathy among the catholics of all classes, and gave a plausible character to the cause in which they were engaged, which from the first they cautiously separated from that of the insurgents of Ulster.

The lords justices were, probably, quite prepared for this defection of the lords of the Pale, for they were not only not disconcerted by it, but it seems rather to have been a matter of exultation. In a letter to the lord lieutenant they described it as an event of little moment, which would only add a few names to the list of enemies, and that these lords would be less dangerous as open rebels than as secret traitors. But they proposed a measure which could not be expected to produce any effect in Ireland, though it had a disastrous influence on the king's fortunes in England. The rebels had, from the first, boasted of the king's commission, or professed to act in his interest; and, to counteract the effect of such statements, the lords justices now proposed that a proclamation should be issued in the king's name against the rebels, but expressed in cautious language, and that twenty copies only, signed with his name and sealed with his privy signet, should be dispersed throughout Ireland. The insurgents were described in this proclamation, of which forty instead of twenty were printed, as rebels and traitors against the king, and enemies to the royal crown of England and Ireland; but the secrecy in which the transaction was at first involved, and the extraordinary anxiety shown by the king that not one copy more than forty should be printed, raised in England suspicions of unfair dealing, and became the cause of a violent clamour against the unfortunate monarch.

In Ireland, from the moment the defection of the seven lords of the pale who had signed the memorials was known, the insurrection spread rapidly through the provinces which it had not previously reached. They held aloof from the insurgents whose violence had already thrown so much odium on the cause, and elected as their chief the lord Gormanston, who from the first had ruled their councils; but the apparent moderation of their professions, that they took up arms only in self-defence and to obtain a redress of grievances, and that they were

desirous of a speedy and effectual accommodation, and their repeated declarations of loyalty, made a powerful impression on the catholics throughout the island. In their manifestos they insisted chiefly on the alleged fact, that the lords justices were merely the tools of the puritanical faction in England, and on the supposed intentions of that party to extirpate the Irish catholics; and they took advantage of every indiscreet act or expression which the lords justices had uttered to render their government odious. These manifestos were sent into Munster and Connaught, and were circulated especially in the trading towns and seaports. Galway, of all Connaught, was only preserved in a precarious state of obedience by the energy and personal influence of the earl of Clanrickard. The president of Munster, sir William Saintleger, a stanch puritan, repressed the first symptoms of turbulence in the province committed to his charge with cruel severity, upon which the disaffected population seized this as a pretext for a general rising; and, as we have already said, though their leaders exerted themselves to restrain the rebels from following the savage example of their brethren in the north, they committed many enormities. Unsupported by the government, who gave him a bare commission to raise men without sending him arms or provisions, Saintleger was totally unable to stem the torrent, and, obliged to keep at a distance from his opponents, was contented with acting on the defensive. Lord Mountgarret, who had taken the lead in north Munster, seized upon Kilkenny, and his son obtained possession of Waterford; and the Butlers joined so universally in the rebellion that some suspicions were even cast upon the loyalty of the earl of Ormond. Kilkenny, Waterford, and Tipperary, were entirely reduced in a few days, and the earl of Thomond made a vain attempt to resist the insurrection of his kinsmen, the O'Briens, in the county of Clare. The great trading cities of the south were notoriously disaffected, and the whole of Munster was in danger of being lost, when a quarrel among the insurgent chiefs saved the English power. Lord Roche, who headed the movement in the county of Cork, insisted that each county should have its own particular general, and refused obedience to lord Mountgarret, who had aspired to the supreme command of the province of Munster. Lord Mountgarret, offended at this resist-

ance, retired in discontent to Kilkenny, and left the noblemen and gentry of south Munster to quarrel with one another. This disunion for a short time paralyzed their movements, and in the mean time the active and vigilant lord president, Saintleger, collected and encouraged the English, and armed and disciplined his new levies, and before spring he found himself at the head of a sufficient army to hold the insurgents in check.

The rebellion of the Pale had rendered the position of Dublin much more uneasy and critical; and this uneasiness was increased by the tardiness with which the English parliament furnished its promised succours. In fact, the quarrel between the parliament and the king was now taking a serious turn, and however ready the house of commons might be to use the Irish rebellion as a means of exciting their fellow-countrymen, they were too much engaged with preparations for the storm which was impending at home to give the necessary attention to that which was tearing the sister island. The lords justices were still dependent on their own resources, while a new army was rising around them which threatened to block them up at their own doors. Immediately after the meeting at Tara the lords of the Pale began to get together the means of resistance. They at once appointed lord Gormanston their general-in-chief, Hugh Byrne was made lieutenant-general, and the earl of Fingal received the appointment of general of the horse. At the same time every barony in Meath was charged with levying and maintaining a certain number of soldiers, and captains were chosen for each district. Well concerted measures were adopted to provision the army from the pale, and the avenues to Dublin were blocked up, and the farmers strictly forbidden to carry their corn thither. Thus was the capital in danger of being distressed for want of its usual supply of provisions.

Early in December the rebels of the Pale established themselves in considerable numbers at Swords, and threatened to occupy Clontarf, and thence impede the entrance of supplies into Dublin from the harbour. The city began now to be much more straitly encompassed, the rebels possessing themselves successively of the various towns and villages around. The soldiers raised by the state in the capital or its immediate neighbourhood. consisted either of Irish, or

of the protestants who arrived naked and broken-spirited from the districts possessed by the insurgents. The former deserted whenever the opportunity offered, and the latter had hardly yet recovered the courage necessary to make good soldiers. In one or two instances they had been with difficulty restrained from turning their backs upon the enemy. Thus, by the middle of December, the city was so closely blockaded by land that even the army dared not march out to a distance of five miles, and the citizens had no intercourse with or intelligence from any one beyond two miles from the city. Yet the rebels had friends within the walls of the capital, and they had perfect intelligence of the condition of the city, and even of the private designs of the government. At this time the town of Swords, to the north, only seven miles from Dublin, was permanently occupied by a rebel force of two thousand men under Luke Netterville, the son of lord Netterville, who had his advanced posts within two miles of the city. On the west another force of two thousand rebels from Carlow, King's County, Kildare, and other parts, under Roger Moore and other commanders, occupied Tassagard, Rathcoole, and other villages, at about the same distance. And on the south the Clan Donnells, O'Byrnes, and O'Tools, had come down in great numbers from the county of Wicklow, and lodged themselves in the castles towards the sea-side, and in the villages at the foot of the mountain, little more than three miles from the walls of the capital.

The lords justices remained quietly under the protection of the castle, and contented themselves with writing dispatches to England, to urge the necessity of immediate relief. They were now busying themselves with what appeared to be a much more agreeable task, the legal conviction and attainder of the lords and gentlemen already engaged in the insurrection, preparatory to the confiscation of their estates; and they seem to have thought only that the greater the number which joined in the rebellion the more extensive would be the forfeitures. It is probable that this feeling had from the first hindered them from employing more gentle means of retaining them in or bringing them back to their allegiance. The city was exposed during this time to continual alarms, as the rebels increased in numbers and boldness. The whole Pale was exposed to their depredations, and the protestant

inhabitants were gradually driven from their homes. On the last day of the year the rebels of Kildare took and plundered the town of Kilkullen, and committed many barbarities there, and on the 3rd of January they attacked Castle Dermod. On the day last-mentioned the insurgents of Meath captured the town of Navan. When the news of these disasters reached Dublin, the discouragement of the citizens had already been changed to rejoicing. On the 31st of December, after long and anxious expectation, sir Simon Harcourt landed from England, with his regiment of eleven hundred men; and he brought the assurance that he would be speedily followed by a further reinforcement.

The Irish government now assumed a little more appearance of activity. Towards the middle of January a strong force was sent out under Coote and Harcourt to dislodge the rebels from their position at Swords, and they were defeated with considerable slaughter; but the English had to lament the loss of one of their officers, sir Lorenzo Cary, a younger son of lord Falkland. The orders which the Irish council had given to their commanders were "to kill, burn, and destroy," and sir Charles Coote executed them with merciless severity, laying the country waste wherever he came. The earl of Ormond exhibited far more humanity; yet, while the government was offended at his moderation, the rebels still complained of his cruelty. He was sent about this time with two thousand foot and three hundred horse, to attack the rebels in the town of Naas, their head-quarters in the county of Kildare, and on his return he received a letter from lord Gormanston, reproaching him with cruelty towards the insurgents who had fallen into his power, and threatening, if it were continued, to retaliate on his wife and family, who were prisoners. Ormond communicated the letter to the privy council, and with its permission wrote a reply, in which he reproached lord Gormanston with his disloyalty, and vindicated his own conduct, declaring his resolution to prosecute the rebels with all the means in his power and at any hazard. "My wife and children," he said, "are in your power, should they receive any injury from men, I shall never revenge it on women and children. This would be not only base and unchristian, but infinitely beneath the value at which I rate my wife and children." The prisoners whom Ormond

brought back to Dublin, met with a harder fate in being placed at the mercy of Coote, as governor of the city, in which office he executed martial law with great barbarity. Among them was a priest named Higgins, who had been spared at Naas on account of the humanity he had shown towards the English when the rebels took possession of that town, and who was now at Dublin under Ormond's special protection. One morning he was suddenly seized and, without trial, hanged, by order of sir Charles Coote. Ormond immediately proceeded to the council to expostulate, but the only answer he received was, that the council had given Coote a general authority to order such executions, without in each case referring to their sanction, and that they had no other hand in the matter of which he complained. Ormond, angry at the coldness with which the matter was taken up, threatened, unless they made him atonement for this barbarous act, that he would resign his commission; but, on reflection, thinking that this was perhaps the very step they wished him to take, his zeal for the public service gained the mastery over his anger, and he retained his military command.

It was fortunate that during all this time the northern rebels lay wasting their strength before Drogheda, for had they marched to Dublin after their success at Julian's-town bridge, there can be little doubt that the capital would have fallen into the hands of the insurgents. But they had resolved to reduce Drogheda first, and, to the joy of the citizens of Dublin, that place still held out under sir Henry Tichborne. Surrounded on all sides by the rude hordes who followed the standard of sir Phelim O'Neill, this officer and his small but brave garrison continued to struggle against their continual attacks, as well as against a variety of privations. On St. Thomas's eve they had made a resolute attempt to take the town by storm, but they were beaten off with considerable slaughter. During the first days of the new year, the garrison made frequent excursions against their enemies, and gained victories which, if of little importance in themselves, contributed towards keeping up the courage of the besieged. On the night of the 11th of January, the rebels taking advantage of a dark stormy night, made an attempt to enter the town by surprise, and they had actually penetrated into the streets, when the garrison took the alarm and drove them out. Just

a month after this, on the 11th of February, Tichborne obtained a signal advantage in an engagement with a large body of the rebels. On the 21st of the same month, after the rebels had been considerably reinforced, sir Phelim O'Neill ordered them to the walls with scaling ladders very early in the morning, before the soldiers of the garrison were on the alert; and they had planted their ladders, and reached the top of the walls, when a timely discovery brought Tichborne's soldiers to their posts, and thus Drogheda was again saved.

These successes, and a timely supply of men and provisions, which came the day after the defeat of the attempts to scale the walls, encouraged Tichborne to further enterprises. On the 27th of February, while protecting his foragers, he defeated the rebels with considerable slaughter at Julian's-town bridge, on the very spot where the English had been defeated at the commencement of the siege. The foraging parties from Drogheda now indeed ranged over the country to a distance of several miles, while Phelim O'Neill, who was evidently as deficient in courage, as in military talent, only exposed his army to be beaten in detail, by sending small parties to check or annoy the foragers. In the course of some skirmishes on the first of March, Phelim was reported to have fled from the scene of conflict, and crept into a furze-bush for concealment. The next day the rebels deserted all their posts to the south of the river Boyne, and left the country open between Drogheda and the capital. Other successes gained by Tichborne and his officers during the few following days, compelled O'Neill gradually to withdraw his forces to Dundalk.

Meanwhile a second reinforcement from England had arrived in Dublin, consisting of fifteen hundred foot and four hundred horse, under the command of sir Richard Grenville and colonel George Monk, the same who was subsequently to act so prominent a part in the history of the English commonwealth. Yet the lords justices still followed their old policy, and, had they not been forced out by absolute necessity, the army would still have been kept inactive in Dublin. The English parliament had sent men without provision, so that they only added at the moment to the burthens of the state. In the execution of their improvident severity, all the districts near Dublin had been laid waste; which increased the distress of the garrison. The soldiers began

to desert in considerable numbers to the rebels, and those who remained became mutinous, and could not be restrained from relieving their distresses by plundering. It was, therefore, found necessary, however displeasing to the lords justices, to give them more active employment. This was found in the neighbourhood of the capital without much difficulty; and, among other exploits, the earl of Ormond was sent to drive the rebels from a position they occupied at Kilsalaghan, within seven miles of Dublin, with orders to burn and destroy their haunts, and kill all the Irish inhabitants capable of bearing arms. He again offended the governors by the lenity with which he executed their orders. The army called loudly for some more important employment, and the commanders urged that they were sufficiently strong to raise the siege of Drogheda. The lords justices, still averse to all vigorous proceedings, affected to fear the numbers and unanimity of the enemy, and to dread the consequences of a defeat; and it was at length resolved, not to proceed directly to Drogheda, before which place the main forces of the enemy lay, but to try the effects of a diversion by sending a strong force towards the river Boyne. A force of three thousand foot, and five hundred horse, was accordingly sent under the earl of Ormond, with orders to prosecute the rebels with fire and sword. But the earl's commission was limited by unwise restrictions; he was to return at the end of eight days, and was on no account to pass the river Boyne; and their fears that he might exceed these directions were so great that, after he had received his orders, they tried in vain to persuade him to give up the command of the expedition to sir Simon Harcourt. They sent still more impolitic orders to sir Henry Tichborne, that he should adventure no farther abroad than so as he might return the same day, and lodge in safety within the walls of Drogheda. These directions were particularly galling to an officer who, in the midst of his successes, was already contemplating greater exploits, and he wrote a strong remonstrance; upon which, he says, "I was left again to my own way of proceeding, with a grave and sound advice to be vigilant and careful in all my undertakings."

Ormond marched towards the Boyne at the beginning of March, just at the moment of sir Henry Tichborne's successes against the rebels before Drogheda, and it was his

approach which decided O'Neill on the 5th of March to raise the siege of that town and retire precipitately to the north. When the earl heard of his flight, he sent the news in haste to the lords justices, representing to them the necessity of a vigorous pursuit of the rebels, before they had time to recover from their consternation, and desiring for this purpose that his commission might be enlarged, and that he might be permitted to continue his march to Newry. The lords justices seemed disappointed at the turn which affairs had taken; for, without condescending to give any reasons for the strange determination they had taken, they merely repeated their positive orders not to pass the Boyne. When he arrived at Drogheda, and had conferred with Tichborne and his officers, the earl was more convinced than ever that the favourable moment had arrived for striking a decisive blow against the rebels of the north, and he made a new attempt to obtain from the lords justices an enlargement of his commission. Still, however, they refused to listen to his reasons, and he was forced to comply with their order to return to Dublin.

After his departure, the rebels, as much surprised at his retreat as they had been at his sudden advance, recovered their courage, collected their forces, and again threatened Drogheda. But sir Henry Tichborne, who felt that he was left more to his own discretion, and who had been reinforced with five hundred men, left him by the earl of Ormond, proceeded to act against his enemies with the greatest activity. Within the space of a few days he dislodged the rebels from Slane and burnt the town, gained a considerable victory beyond that place, and took the more important town of Atherdee. Then, by a bold movement, he suddenly presented himself before Dundalk, and, contrary to the expectation of all, drove Phelim O'Neill and a large force of rebels out of that town. Having drawn up his troops in the market-place, he (Tichborne) tells us he "caused the quarter-masters to divide the town into quarters, proportionable to the companies of horse and foot; and what booty was in any quarter, that I left to the officers and soldiers that were quartered in it, by a proportionable dividend amongst them, whereby the confusion and contention about pillaging was taken away, and I had the soldiers in a readiness to answer the rebels' motion and attempts, who rumoured great words, and still swarmed

very thick in those parts. The number of the slain I looked not after, but there was little mercy shown in those times."

When the news of this unexpected exploit reached Dublin, the lords justices were astonished at Tichborne's boldness, and, although they could not refuse him the praise which his action merited, they followed their old unaccountable policy, and, apprehending, as they pretended, that he was "engaged into too imminent danger," sent him "advice to abandon the place. But Tichborne rejected this advice, and finding, as he tells us, "the town to be of importance for the service, I neither thought it fit nor honourable to do so, except I received a positive command and direction to that purpose; for I was confident to hold it against all the rebels' forces that durst appear before it; besides, I conceived the ten thousand Scots would not be idle when they should hear that I was advanced so far northward, with a handful of men in comparison with their numbers."

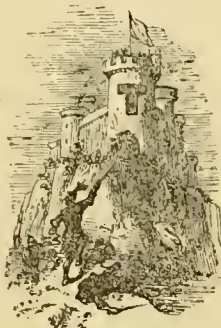
The rebel forces, indeed, soon began to show themselves in imposing numbers in the neighbourhood of Dundalk, and kept Tichborne and his soldiers in continual action. On one of these occasions he "took Toby Guinne, an especial favourite of sir Phelim O'Neill, prisoner; this man," Tichborne says, "had been bred amongst us, and married to an Englishman's daughter, but now a degenerated, active and notorious rebel; in which respect, notwithstanding many promises of large ransom or exchanges, I caused him to be presently hanged in the sight of sir Phelim O'Neill and his battalions." On another occasion he marched along the strand to Carlingford, and took possession of that town, which had been fired and deserted by the rebels on the approach of the Scots to Newry, where they had now arrived, and whither sir Henry Tichborne was invited to confer with lord Conway and Monroe, on the projected expedition against Armagh and the other strong holds of O'Neill; but their plans were soon abandoned, and the Scottish army, having nearly consumed its provisions, returned to its old quarters in the north. Tichborne quaintly tells us, in his history of this siege, that, "sir Phelim O'Neill and his partizans grew very jolly upon the Scots' return, and persuaded themselves of doing great matters against me, but their courage proved to be only in words, for I drew forth for some days together into a convenient field near

unto them; but finding that they did only put themselves in arms, and would no more now than formerly forsake their strength to draw into equality of ground, notwithstanding their advantage of numbers, I concluded they were in another sort to be dealt with; and from thenceforth, for the most part, I fell every other morning into their quarters, and continued these visitations for several weeks together, with the slaughter of very many of them, especially the new plantation in the county of Monaghan, and at the taking in of Harry O'Neill's house in the Fews; inso-much that by this course, and the like acted often by the garrison of Drogheda, there was neither man nor beast to be found in sixteen miles between the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk; nor on the other side of Dundalk, in the county of Monaghan, nearer than Carrick-ma-cross, a strong pile twelve miles distant."

During the period of this desultory warfare, sir Henry Tichborne carefully repaired and strengthened the fortifications of Dundalk, and he thus placed a very important town, which the lords justices had urged him to desert, in an efficient state of defence, and provisioned it from the surrounding country. So much had this brave officer been neglected, in spite of the importance which the Irish government placed in the preservation of Drogheda, that he assures us that during above seven months, provisions only sufficient for five weeks had been sent him, and that during the remaining period his army had been obliged to subsist on preys taken from the enemy. Towards the summer of 1642, the two towns of Drogheda and Dundalk were partially relieved from their apprehensions, and Tichborne was called to Dublin to advise and take part in other military expeditions.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SCOTTISH ARMY IN ULSTER; ARREST OF THE EARL OF ANTRIM; ARRIVAL OF OWEN O'NEIL.



HE war was now carried on in different parts of Ireland so totally independent and unconnected, that we can only understand the progress of affairs by tracing it in each province, separately from the rest. This was especially the case with regard to Ulster, where the authority of sir Phelim O'Neill was still supported by the ancient respect of the Irish of the north for his family; but his pride, his insolence, and his cruelty, had disgusted the leaders of rebellion in other parts of Ireland, who seem to have held little communication with him. During the earlier part of the year 1642 he was occupied almost solely in the siege of Drogheda, and his head-quarters were either in the neighbourhood of that town or at Dundalk, until he was driven out of the latter place by the garrison of Drogheda, in the latter part of April. The capture of this important town, however, was facili-

tated by other circumstances, with which, it would appear, that sir Henry Tichborne and the lords justices were at that moment unacquainted.

The excitement caused in England by the news of the Irish rebellion had not abated, for it was kept up by the continual administration of new incentives; but, after much talk and ostentation, little had been actually done towards rendering assistance to the English cause in the sister island. The king and the parliament, between whom the breach was every day widening, endeavoured to throw upon each other the blame of the delay; but at length a treaty was concluded with the Scots, by which they undertook to send a powerful body of forces into Ireland. The Scottish commissioners made an express stipulation, that when the first division of the Scottish force landed in Ulster, they were to be put in possession of the town and castle of Carrickfergus, and that when the whole force they agreed to send, which was to consist of ten thousand men, had arrived, the town and castle of

Coleraine were also to be placed in their hands, and their generals were to have the sole and uncontrolled conduct of the war in the north. The king is said to have submitted reluctantly to those conditions.

The first detachment of the Scottish forces, amounting to two thousand five hundred men, under the command of Robert Monroe, landed at Carrickfergus about the middle of April, and were immediately joined by most of the provincial forces of the neighbouring county, amounting to eighteen hundred foot, and seven troops of cavalry, commanded by lord Conway. It was the knowledge of the arrival of these troops which discouraged the rebels, and facilitated the entry of sir Henry Tichborne into Dundalk; and he had not been long in possession of it when he received the welcome intelligence that the combined forces from Carrickfergus were in full march towards Newry. The Irish upon this deserted Carlingford, which was taken possession of by sir Henry Tichborne,* and other posts, and retreated to their old head quarters at Newry, which they abandoned immediately, and fell back upon Armagh. At the end of the month of April the army commanded by Monroe and lord Conway were in possession of Newry.

The wild undisciplined soldiery of sir Phelim O'Neill, with the usual instability of the Irish levies, shrunk from the first appearance of danger. Their chief saw that it would not be possible to hold Armagh against the Scottish and English forces who were now on their march against him, and he resolved to abandon it; but he gave vent to his rage and mortification in new atrocities against the protestants. In his flight from Dundalk his troops had, often by his

immediate orders, committed many barbarities on the unfortunate English who happened to remain in their power. Many had remained at and about Armagh, under O'Neill's protection. These he now ordered to be collected together, under pretence that they were to be safely conducted to Coleraine, under the escort of one of the most barbarous of his officers, Manus O'Kane, who murdered them all on their way. Most of the English in the surrounding districts underwent the same fate. In the parish of Killaman there were forty-eight protestant families, who had remained under protection since the beginning of the rebellion, and these were now all massacred. At last, having plundered Armagh, and murdered and drowned as many, it was reported, as five hundred of its inhabitants, young and old, and of both sexes, he set fire to the town and the cathedral, and retired to Charlemont, carrying with him some of the protestants more advanced in age, who, however, were soon afterwards put to death.† These were some of the last atrocities of this kind perpetrated by the unfeeling chieftain, for his power was fast approaching towards an end.

O'Neill was preparing to desert the strong fortress of Charlemont at the first approach of his enemies; for he had not sufficient ammunition to defend it, and he was already deserted by many of his followers, who sought refuge in the fastnesses of Tyrone. Even some of the more distinguished of the rebel chiefs abandoned their houses and concealed themselves in different retreats. But they were again relieved by the extraordinary inactivity of their enemies. Monroe is supposed to have had his secret instructions, which hindered him from pur-

* "About this time I had the news of the Scots coming towards Newry; and the next day I drew my foot upon the strand towards Carlingford, that the rebels' scouts might discern them marching, though I had no intention to leave Dundalk naked, in the view of sir Phelim O'Neill and his rebel companions on the other side: but taking the horse with me, and giving order to the foot to return, as soon as I was out of sight, I went straight to Carlingford, with intention to summon the place, which I believed upon their scout's report of my foot following after me, would occasion them to surrender on easy conditions; but it appeared their terror was too great to abide our coming, for, drawing near, I saw the town on fire, and hastening thither a party of my horse, they overtook a sea captain and some of his men in the street running into the castle, believing us to be of the rebels, which when they found otherwise, it was much to their contentment. From this

captain I understood that lying with his ship in the harbour to attend the Scots' motion with necessaries, that that morning the town and castle were hastily fired by the inhabitants themselves, and they all fled into the mountains; and that an English woman or two that had escaped the general slaughter, were gotten into the castle, had hindered the fire in what they could, and wafted him thither, where he came, and found the state of things to be as I then found them. I wished him to make the best advantage of what the rebels had left behind, and to secure the castle with a guard, until I could send a captain of foot to take it into his charge, having no other than horse with me at that time. This he undertook to do, and performed it accordingly."—*Sir Henry Tichborne's diary of the siege of Drogheda.*

† See the deposition of Captain Parker, in the examination before the commissioners at the beginning of March, 1643.

suing the insurgents. The English officers urged him to seize the advantage of their general consternation, and attack them vigorously before they should have recovered from their terror. They represented the great service which the sudden suppression of the northern rebels would be to the government, by enabling him to march to the assistance of the English who were already hard pressed in the south. But Monroe pleaded want of provisions, and after having so far imitated the policy of sir Phelim O'Neill as to cause sixty men and eighteen women to be put to death at Newry, he left three hundred men as a garrison in that town, and returned to Carrickfergus. There the Scots employed themselves for two months in ravaging the adjacent districts, and exporting vast herds of stolen cattle to Scotland.

The only exploit performed by Monroe during that period was one which conferred still less honour on his name. The earl of Antrim, who had acted so unskilful a part in the events preceding the outbreak of this rebellion, was an object of suspicion to the English parliament, and, as some of his secret negotiations had perhaps come to light, they probably expected that they could extort from him confessions which might implicate the king. He was at this time living in retirement in his castle of Dunluce. Monroe made a military excursion into the county of Antrim, under pretence of pursuing the rebels, none of whom made their appearance, and he invited himself to Dunluce castle. He was hospitably received by the earl at his table, but the meal was no sooner over than the Scottish commander gave a signal to his followers, upon which they made the earl their prisoner, seized upon his castle, and took possession of all his houses and estates.

During the inaction of the Scots the rebels began to leave their retreats and recover their courage, and O'Neill soon found himself again at the head of his forces. To use sir Henry Tichborne's quaint phrase, the northern chieftain and his followers became very "jolly" on the disappearance of the Scots, and, when they found that there was none but the English of Ulster to oppose them, they thought that they were already masters of the north. But O'Neill had no sooner placed himself at the head of his army, than he was encountered between Colrairie and Londonderry by a strong force under two English officers,

sir Robert and sir William Stewart, and after an unusually obstinate engagement the Irish were put to flight with a loss of five hundred slain, many wounded, and a number of prisoners. It was reported that in this battle, which was fought in the month of June, the English captured sir Phelim O'Neill's private trunk, and that they found in it a crown with which the ambitious chieftain had already caused himself privately to be installed prince of Ulster. The English of the northern province were eager to follow up this signal success, but they were still too weak to do it effectually, and Monroe refused to assist them. Some of the English officers were provoked at the indifference shown towards them by the Scottish commander, and they determined to carry on the war with their own resources, and had already captured several forts from the rebels, when a stop was put to their operations by a mandate from the earl of Lieven, who was now preparing to embark with the remainder of the Scottish forces, and had already assumed the chief military command in Ulster. He had probably heard of the progress of the English officers, and suspected them as royalists, and he sent positive orders that no man should besiege any place, or station a garrison in any town in Ulster, but by permission of the Scottish commanders.

Their continued ill success had, however, now so discouraged the insurgents, and their resources were reduced so low, that their leaders were gradually relinquishing their last hopes of success. In the month of July, when Monroe began to show some intention of recommencing active operations, a council of the Irish confederates was held, in which it was determined to abandon a cause that appeared desperate, and to seek refuge from the rage of their enemies in foreign lands. At this moment their courage was suddenly raised by the intelligence that Owen O'Neill, the man who had been for some time looked to as the only leader capable of saving his country, had unexpectedly landed in the county of Donegal, and that he had brought with him a hundred officers and a considerable supply of arms and ammunition. A body of the Irish forces of Ulster was immediately sent to escort the new general to Charlemont, where he was unanimously chosen by the northerners head and leader of their confederacy, and sir Phelim O'Neill lost his power and importance.

Owen O'Neill was an officer who had seen much active service on the continent, and in addition to his experience as a soldier, he possessed in an eminent degree that discernment and foresight which enabled him to see the errors of the past and to prepare for the future. While he did everything to raise the spirit of the insurgents, he not only spoke strongly in detestation of their previous barbarities and excesses, but he took all opportunities of disgracing and punishing those who had taken a prominent part in them. He is even said to have burnt the houses of some who were more notoriously guilty, and to have declared openly that he would rather join with the English than suffer such wretches to escape punishment. He then proceeded to collect and discipline his forces, and to make preparations for the defence of Charlemont, where he expected soon to be besieged.

All this time the Scottish forces still remained inactive, and the English in the north were forbidden to act. In the month of August, the earl of Lieven at length arrived in person, bringing with him the complement of the Scottish army, which was now increased to ten thousand men, and the whole forces, Scots and English, in Ulster under the sole command of Lieven, amounted to twenty thousand foot and one thousand horse, an army against which the Irish confederates could have no hopes of contending. Not long after his arrival, Lieven drew together his Scottish forces, crossed the river Bann, and advanced into the county of Tyrone. There he encamped without meeting with any serious opposition, and he began by sending a letter to Owen O'Neill, in which he expressed his concern that a man of his reputation should come to Ireland as an abettor of treason and rebellion. O'Neill made a brief and somewhat dry answer, the purport of which was that he had better reason for coming to the relief of his country, than Lieven could plead for marching into England against his king. At the conclusion of this fruitless correspondence, the Scottish commander, instead of continuing his march, retired quietly to his old post. There he gave up the command of the army to Monroe, and returned to Scotland, after having warned Monroe to expect a total overthrow, if Owen O'Neill should once collect an army. Monroe remained inactive; and, the civil war in England having now broken out, the Scottish and English forces in Ireland were entirely

neglected; and, without supplies of any kind, they were soon obliged to struggle with the miseries of nakedness and famine in their respective quarters, while Owen O'Neill continued to form his soldiers without interruption. The insurgents again raised their heads in every part of Ireland, took many of the strong places which had previously been possessed by the English, were masters of the open country, and, in spite of a few defeats which had little influence on the fate of the war, they began to confine the English garrisons within narrower bounds.

The insurgents of Ulster could impute the extraordinary conduct of the Scots to no other cause but cowardice, and their self-confidence was now again raised to an extraordinary height. In the midst of their joy, they received a new subject for exultation in the arrival of large supplies from Dunkirk, from whence Owen O'Neill had previously set sail. Two vessels laden with arms and ammunition first arrived at Wexford, which place was in the possession of the rebels; and they were soon followed by a ship of war, attended by two frigates and six transport-ships, the latter bringing ordnance for battery, field pieces and other warlike stores, with five hundred officers and a considerable number of engineers. With this armament came colonel Thomas Preston, a brother of lord Gormanston, and a soldier of experience and reputation, who soon took a prominent part in the war. Within a very short period twelve other vessels, fitted out at Nantes, St. Maloes, and Rochelle, arrived with further supplies of artillery, arms, and ammunition, with a considerable number of Irish officers and veteran soldiers discharged from the French service by cardinal Richelieu. Thus were verified all the apprehensions entertained by Wentworth and others, that the recruits which Spain and other foreign powers had been allowed to draw from Ireland would be taught the art of war to return and exercise it against the English rulers. This sudden part taken secretly by France in the war in Ireland, at the moment when open war had been proclaimed between king and parliament in England, gave great alarm to the latter, who now saw the Irish insurgents fully supplied with arms and every other necessary, and even masters of the sea, so as to be enabled to intercept the small supplies which they were able to send to the English army. Moreover, the country from which the assistance came, and the moment

chosen to send it, were calculated to throw new suspicions upon the king's secret conduct with regard to Ireland.

The Irish leaders had hitherto acted without much unity of plan or purpose, and the effect of their disunion was apparent in all their proceedings. To remedy the inconveniences arising from this circumstance, they were now occupied in a grand scheme of establishing a central power, so as to unite the whole Irish people in their great struggle, and to enforce a uniform obedience throughout the island. It was the clergy who came forward to effect this great work, and, though commenced with moderation, it soon took a character too decidedly ecclesiastical. O'Neill, the popish primate, had first collected his clergy to a synod at Kells, in which it was resolved that the war in which the Irish were then engaged was "a pious and lawful war," and all persons were exhorted to unite in it, and at the same time some constitutions were set forth against "murderers, plunderers, and usurpers of other men's estates." This meeting was followed in May by a general synod of all the catholic bishops and clergy of Ireland, which was held at Kilkenny, and passed acts of a more solemn character. They again began with a general declaration of the justice and lawfulness of their cause, which they described as a war maintained by the catholics against sectaries and puritans, for defence of the catholic religion, the king's prerogative, the honour and safety of the queen and royal issues, the conservation of the rights and liberties of Ireland, and the safety of their own lives and fortunes. To counteract any inconvenience that might arise from this acknowledgment of the king's authority, they disclaimed all belief or acceptance of any letters or proclamations published in the king's name, until their own agents should be assured of his real will and intentions. They directed that all their confederates should bind themselves by an oath of association, and they denounced sentence of excommunication against all who should refuse to take it as well as against not only all who assisted the enemy, but all who remained neuter, and against all who should invade the possessions of any catholic, or of any Irish protestant not an adversary to their cause. We trace through the acts of these men an extraordinary anxiety to unite together the whole native population of Ireland. By one of their constitutions, they forbade all dis-

tinctions and comparisons between the old and new Irish; and in order to throw more discredit on the excesses which the troops of the parliament, to whom and to all royalists they applied the general title of puritans, were likely to indulge, they directed that in every province registers should be kept of all the cruelties and murders committed by the puritans, while they also denounced their ecclesiastical censures on those of their own people who should commit similar barbarities. It was ordained at the same time that there should be provincial councils composed of clergy and laity, and that a general national council should be formed, to which the others were to be subordinate; that the assembly should send ambassadors to foreign potentates, who were especially to solicit the assistance of the pope, the emperor, and the king of France. The catholic nobility and gentry who were residing at Kilkenny, or who had come thither on this occasion, joined willingly in this attempt at political organization, and they united with the clergy in drawing up the oath of association, and in naming the members of the supreme council, of which lord Mountgarret was chosen president. Before separating, this synod appointed a general assembly of the whole Irish nation, laity as well as clergy, to meet at Kilkenny in the ensuing month of October.

Accordingly, at the appointed time, this convention, which was to exercise so important an influence on the future fortunes of Ireland, commenced its deliberation. To the popish lords, prelates, and clergy, were added popish deputies from the counties and principal towns, precisely as though they were to assemble in the national parliament; and indeed, although they all sat in the same chamber, they were divided, as in parliament, into two houses, one composed of temporal peers and prelates, the other of the representatives of counties and cities. As if aware of the light in which this proceeding might be viewed by their enemies, they commenced with an affected protest that their assembly was not intended to be considered as a parliament, which could only be convened by the king's writ, but that it was merely a general meeting for the regulation of their affairs until the present troubles should be settled. Still they continued to imitate parliamentary forms. Patrick Darcy, an eminent lawyer who had been driven into violent opposition by the persecutions of lord Wentworth, took his

place bare-headed on a stool, as a substitute for the judges, and as the speaker of the upper house; while Nicholas Plunkett, another of the recusant leaders, was chosen speaker of the commons. The lords had a place of retirement for their private consultations, and their resolutions were communicated by Darcy to the commons; and such of the clergy as were not admitted into the house of lords, sat apart as a convocation, and deliberated on the affairs and interests of the church.

In all their proceedings, the assembly at Kilkenny continued to make a difference between the king, to whom they made a profession of loyalty, and the English government, which they set at defiance. They declared first their resolution to maintain the rights and immunities of the Roman catholic church. They professed to accept as their rule of government the common law of England and the statutes of Ireland, so far as they were not contrary to the Roman catholic faith, or inconsistent with their own liberties. They commanded all persons to bear faith and allegiance to the king and to maintain his just prerogatives; but they utterly denied and renounced the authority of the Irish government administered in Dublin by what they termed "a malignant party," and which they described as existing "to his highness's great disservice and in compliance with their confederates the malignant party of England." They next assumed to themselves the administration of public justice; for which purpose they assigned to each county a council of twelve persons, who were to decide all matters of which justices of the peace were cognizant, with pleas of the crown, suits for debts, and personal actions, and to name all county officers except the high sheriff. An appeal lay from these to the provincial council, which consisted of two deputies out of each county, who were to meet four times in a year, to decide suits like judges of assize, with some particular limitations of their jurisdiction. There was again a final appeal to what was called "the supreme council of the confederate catholics of Ireland," an assembly consisting of twenty-four persons, chosen by the general assembly. Twelve of the twenty-four were to reside at Kilkenny, or some other town convenient for the central government; no fewer than nine were to compose a council; and two-thirds of the members present were to decide on any measure under discussion. To this supreme

council was given authority to choose the sheriffs out of three nominated by the county council; to command all military officers and civil magistrates; to determine all matters not decided by the general assembly; to hear and judge all causes criminal and civil, except titles to lands; and to direct the conduct of war and every other matter touching the interests of the confederacy. A guard of five hundred foot and two hundred horse was appointed to attend upon this "supreme council."

Such was the constitution which the people of Ireland, as represented by the insurgent leaders, now adopted; but from its first adoption, seeds of dissension were sowed which were not long in bearing their fruits. The ecclesiastical party, from the prominent part they had taken in forming it, assumed a great importance to themselves, and had professedly in view before all others the temporal interests of the church. This feeling was shown with more violence in the convocation of the lower clergy, who made arrogant demands for the restoration of church property which the lay impropiators could but treat with contempt. According to the oath of association drawn up by the ecclesiastical party, the confederates bound themselves never to consent to peace until the church should be amply invested, not only with all its powers and privileges, and restored to its splendour and magnificence, but that all its ancient possessions should be restored. This paragraph was distasteful to the laity, and was omitted when the oath was adopted by the general assembly, which was satisfied with directing that all persons should swear allegiance to the king, and that they should engage to defend his prerogative, the power and privilege of the parliament of Ireland, the fundamental laws, and the free exercise of the Roman catholic religion, to obey the orders of the supreme council, to seek for no pardon or protection without consent of the major part of this council, and to prosecute and maintain the common cause. It was soon evident that their professions of loyalty to the king were but a mark to other designs, and the influence of the ecclesiastics appeared in all their acts. Among others, they assumed the right of coining money, and regulating its value, and specimens of their coinage are still preserved in the cabinets of the curious. Most of these coins bear devices emblematical of the power of the church, and of their undertaking to cleanse it from unworthy

members. The supreme council adopted a seal which bore in the centre a long cross, with a crown on the right side, and on the left a harp with a dove above it; below, a flaming heart; and around it the inscriptions, "*Pro Deo, pro rege, et patria Hibernia, unanimes.*" They dispatched new ambassadors to foreign courts to solicit assistance; and in the mean time they made every preparation for carrying on the war. For this purpose they proceeded to nominate the provincial generals, who were Owen O'Neill for Ulster; colonel Preston for Leinster; Garrett Barry for Munster; and colonel John Burke as lieutenant-general for Connaught, of which they reserved the chief command for the earl of Clanrickard, who, being a catholic, they hoped eventually to gain over to their cause. In the midst of these hostile preparations, they attempted to make a show of pacific dispositions by preparing two petitions to be presented to the king and queen, in which they made a strong representation of grievances which, as they alleged, had forced them into this confederacy.

The spirit of the more moderate of the Irish leaders gained the superiority in these first proceedings of the general assembly of the confederates, and it was exhibited in nothing more strongly, than in the choice of generals and other officers, civil or military. Most of the original actors in the insurrection, and especially those who had been concerned in its first excesses, were carefully set aside. Many of these, such as Phelim O'Neill, were in the highest degree provoked at the neglect which was thus shown towards them; and, meeting with no sympathy in the men who had now obtained the chief power, they retired mortified and angry. Roger Moore, who was also excluded from posts to which his talents and zeal entitled him, was soothed and flattered, merely because he was looked upon as a formidable opponent. His prudence, as well as the active and zealous part he had taken in planning this insurrection, seemed to merit better; but he died at Kilkenny, soon after this convention, and probably his death relieved the confederates from some embarrassment.

CHAPTER VII.

LORD CASTLEHAVEN; EFFECT OF THE ENGLISH CIVIL WAR ON IRISH AFFAIRS; CONTINUATION OF THE WAR; BATTLES OF KILRUSH, LISCARROL, AND ROSS.



THE deliberations of the assembly at Kilkenny had infused a new spirit into the Irish confederacy, and many, who had hitherto remained quiet spectators of the turbulence of their countrymen, now came forward to join in it, while the irritating policy of the English rulers appeared as if expressly designed to drive them into rebellion. Although the confederates had not yet had the time to form any grand plan of hostility, there was petty fighting in almost every corner of the island; and the catholic families nearly all gradually joined the insurgents. Among those who withstood the current, the earl of Clanrickard presented a shining example of unflinching loyalty. The catholics, whose faith he professed,

solicited, threatened, and even excommunicated him, for his disobedience to what they gave out as the will of the church; while the English government at Dublin treated him with every mark of neglect and provocation, merely because he was a catholic. Still he persisted in his allegiance. The government were more successful in driving another nobleman, James Touchet earl of Castlehaven, into the arms of the confederacy. On the first intelligence of the rebellion, lord Castlehaven hastened to Dublin, to offer his services to government; but he being a catholic, they were refused, upon which, provoked at the contempt with which he was treated, and alarmed for his personal safety, he demanded permission to repair to England, which also was denied. As he was not allowed even to reside in Dublin, he retired to one of his seats in the

county of Kildare, and there lived inoffensively during the frightful period of the massacres, exerting himself only for the relief and protection of the English in his neighbourhood. Such is his own account of his conduct at this time; for lord Castlehaven, like several of his contemporaries engaged in these troubles, has left us memorials of his personal history. At a subsequent period, when the lords of the pale attempted to negotiate, they took advantage of his character and station to make him their mediator with the lords justices, for permission to assemble and prepare a representation of their grievances to be laid before the king. He accordingly transmitted their letter, and, at the same time, repeated his application for leave to quit the kingdom. A second refusal was accompanied with a severe reprimand for his correspondence with the rebels, and he was warned to be more cautious in his future conduct. Soon after this the lords justices began to show a design of subjecting him to further persecutions by the ready ear they gave to every rumour or suspicion which seemed to cast a shade upon his loyalty, until, at length, on some slight grounds, they openly charged lord

* Lord Castlehaven's account of his own escape is amusing and characteristic. "You have seen," he says, "how I was imprisoned, and no hopes of any relief from either the king or parliament sitting in England. So that after twenty weeks that I had remained in prison, I was ordered to be removed to the castle of Dublin, which startled me, and brought to my thoughts the proceedings against the earl of Strafford, who, confiding in his innocency, lost his head. I concluded then, that innocency was a scurvy plea in an angry time. Besides, I looked upon the justices and most of the council to be of the parliament's persuasion. Wherefore, I resolved to attempt an escape, and save myself in the Irish quarters, which I did in this manner:—

"After the battle of Kilrush, there was one George Lidwidge, an Irishman and trooper, left wounded in my house, who, being recovered, in acknowledgment of kindnesses received, often visited me in prison. I found so much fidelity in the man towards me, that I trusted him with my design, desiring his assistance, which he promised. I then, giving him money, ordered him to buy me three horses for myself, and two servants, with saddles and pistols, which he did. And the next night, just as the maid was to shut the door, it being dark, I slipped into the street, leaving my two men in the house, and appointing them where they should find me in the morning. About nine of the clock they came out of the house, bidding the maid make no noise, pretending that I was not well, and had not rested that night. They, coming to me, the guards of the town withdrawn, and the patrols come in, were sent before, with the son of the trooper, to the place where our horses stood, to have them ready, the trooper and myself soon following, but I

Castlehaven with high treason. He at once proceeded to Dublin to clear himself, but there he was seized, and without being admitted to a hearing, placed in close confinement. His brother embarked secretly, and hurried to York, where he laid before the king the earl's petition that he might be tried by his peers, but Charles only referred him to the parliament, and the latter body refused to interfere. Lord Castlehaven had, however, made his escape,* and guided as much by resentment for the usage he had experienced, as by a regard for his own personal safety, he went direct to Kilkenny, and joined the Irish confederacy. He was received with the greatest joy, and was created at once an additional member of the supreme council, and appointed to command the Leinster horse, under general Preston.

Other circumstances were at this time equally favourable to the Irish cause. The quarrel between king and parliament, which was now urging England into a civil war, extended its influence into Ireland, where the lords justices and their creatures zealously engaged on the side of the parliament, while the army under the influence of the earl of Ormond, and irritated by the neglect

as his man, carrying a saddle under my arm. To be short, we mounted all on horseback, marched as troopers, carelessly out of the town, and took our way by Temple Oage towards the mountains of Wicklow, where being come, I cared little for the justices, [but was troubled to see nothing but hideous mountains and bogs before me, no guide or path to lead me, so that day I advanced little, and at night lay in a wood, where we saw, far off, some fires, but near hand, on all sides, we heard the howling of wolves, and in the morning, the hollowing of men one to another. We hollowed likewise, and a party of the Irish came unto us; the trooper, who spake their language, told them who I was, and how I had escaped out of prison, and desired them to bring us to their commander, which they did, who used us civilly, and sent us, with a guide, to another. Thus, from place to place, we were conducted to Kilkenny, where being come, I found, that on my imprisonment, Castlehaven was garrisoned by the English, my stock of sheep and cattle taken, and my house plundered.] But before dinner my escape was discovered by the people of the house; and on notice given to the justices, I was pursued by a party of horse, taking their way to my house at Madingstown. In the night they invested it; but not finding me, after having possessed themselves of what I had within and without, they killed many of my servants, and burnt the house. I kept on my way towards Kilkenny, as much through the fast country as I could, till I arrived, where I found the town very full, and many of my acquaintance, all preparing for their natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety but in arms." The part within brackets is from the additions to the *Memoirs*.

which the parliament had shown to its wants, inclined to the king. The first disagreement on this subject arose from an attempt of the English parliament to establish their influence in Ireland, by drawing the officers of the Irish army to sign a petition to the king, urging him to comply with his parliament. The officers were unwilling to act without first consulting their commander, and Ormond, to whom the original petition was of course distasteful, proposed that it should not only be modified, but that another petition should at the same time be addressed to the parliament, and both were now so worded as to convey unequivocal expressions of attachment to king Charles. The agents of the parliament adhered to their own form, and as Ormond no less resolutely objected to it, the whole design was eventually defeated. The earl communicated these transactions to the king, and represented them as a proof of the loyalty of the army of Ireland, while he drew a strong picture of its distresses, and of the embarrassments he had to experience from the lords justices, who kept the army inactive in face of his enemies. The king was doubly anxious under present circumstances to secure the attachment of the Irish army, and he showed every mark of favour to their commander, who became daily more and more an object of jealousy and distrust to the lords justices and the lord lieutenant, the earl of Leicester, who favoured the parliament. A quarrel between Leicester and Ormond was laid before the king, who decided in favour of the latter, enlarged his commission as commander of the army, and made it independent of the earl of Leicester. As Leicester now declared his intention of repairing to Ireland to assume his government in person, the king considered it necessary to give Ormond some further protection, he created him a marquis, and gave him a licence to come to England at his pleasure, without any prejudice to his appointments in Ireland.

The parliament also took steps to strengthen its own influence, and though they were attended with less success in the army, the officers of the Irish government were entirely at their devotion. Two members of the English House of Commons, Reynolds and Goodwin, were sent to Dublin as the parliamentary agents, and carried with them some ammunition and twenty thousand pounds in money, which served for a momentary relief, and, being accompanied

with the promise of further and speedy succour, appeased the present clamour. These men, as well as lord Lisle, the son of the earl of Leicester, and a declared partizan of the parliament, were immediately admitted into the privy council without any warrant from the king. Reynolds and Goodwin proved themselves zealous and skilful agents of the parliament which sent them; they were indefatigable in spreading abroad every rumour disadvantageous to the king or his cause, and they put in practice every possible means of agitation. One of them subsequently proceeded to such lengths, that he was only shielded from the censure of the Irish parliament by a sudden prorogation.

At an earlier period in the war, an attempt had been made to identify the cause of the king in England with that of the Irish rebels, by rumours of a commission clandestinely granted to them, which their own declarations inclined many people to believe. The lords justices made themselves willing agents in this design, and they attempted, by putting some of their prisoners to the rack, to extort confessions which might be turned to the king's disadvantage, and implicate other Irish royalist families, whose estates were not yet threatened with confiscation. The first who was put to the torture was Hugh Mac Mahon, who had been seized in Dublin on the first discovery of the rebellion; but all they could force from him was that he had heard talk of such a commission, but that he had never seen it. Another, and far more innocent victim was then brought forward, sir John Reade, a gentleman of the privy chamber to the king, and a lieutenant-colonel in the army raised to oppose the Scots, had been chosen by the inhabitants of the Pale, when they took up arms, to convey their remonstrance to the throne; he had given notice of his intention to the lords justices, and was invited by them to repair to Dublin and confer with the council. Reade was the first to inform the earl of Ormond, of the flight of the insurgent army from before Drogheda; and he received a safe conduct from the earl to Dublin. Yet, on his arrival there he was seized and thrown into prison, and the letters addressed to the king were taken from him and suppressed. This man was also subjected to the rack, but he confessed nothing. They next put to the torture Patrick Barnwall, an old man, who had attended the meeting at the hill of Crofty, but had taken no further part in the

insurrection of the Pale. His innocence was so apparent, that the lords justices were in this instance ashamed of their cruelty, and then attempted to make amends by allowing him to reside in Dublin, and by protecting his estates. The examinations of these men had been kept secret, and mere rumours were spread abroad that they did in some way or other implicate the king in the excesses of his Irish subjects; and thus they influenced, in some measure, popular feeling in the events that followed. They were now repeated anew, with further exaggerations; while the royalists in general, and especially the few catholics who remained firm to their allegiance, were subjected to every annoyance and persecution that could be devised by the governors. The latter did every thing to disgust the earl of Ormond with his command; they not only left the earl of Clanrickard to struggle with his distresses unaided, but they lent an ear to every report likely to cast suspicions on his loyalty; and lord Ranelagh, the president of Connaught, was at last so provoked, that he quitted his government, and proceeded to Dublin with the intention of laying before him a full account of the conduct of the lords justices, and the distresses of the province committed to his charge. But he had no sooner entered the capital, than he was arrested on a charge of mal-ministration, and he was not allowed to continue his journey in order to make his own defence before the king.

By insisting upon the old right of the Irish government, which was in the hands of the popular party, to regulate the intercourse between the two countries, the English parliament was enabled to hinder the transmission of Irish intelligence, either to the king or to those of their own party, except through the medium of their own representations, and this policy was not only felt severely at the time, but joined with the evident misrepresentations and exaggerations of personal narratives, it has been the cause that it is now difficult and often impossible to arrive at the truth of many of the most important transactions of this turbulent period. It was felt especially by the officers of the army, who were neglected by the parliament for their leaning to the king, and who were hindered by the Irish government from sending the king any account of their necessities; until at last they became so clamorous, that the government was obliged

to agree to the proposal of some of the leading commanders to compel every one to bring in half his plate for the present supply of the army. Even this expedient did not produce a sufficient sum to meet the evil, and, unable to obtain redress, the officers drew up an affecting address to the king, and demanded permission for their agent to proceed with it to England. After having used in vain every kind of persuasion and expostulation to turn the petitioners from their design, the lords justices were persuaded by the agents of parliament, to deny the permission for departure, and even to lay an embargo on all the vessels in the harbour. But the officers persisted more firmly in their demand, and, after the two parliamentary agents had visited the garrisons and made every exertion to gain over the soldiers and officers, the lords justices were obliged to give the required permission, and the petition of the army was delivered to the king at Oxford, who was then able to do no more than thank the army for its services and attachments, and express his regret at its distresses.

It was at this moment however, that the king began again to turn his eyes to the Irish army in hope of deriving assistance from it in his own necessities. The civil war had already commenced in England, and each party felt the necessity of exerting all the strength at its disposal. This was especially the case with Charles, who had not hesitated again to offend the prejudices of his English subjects by accepting the services of the English catholic families who had always shown a steady attachment to his person. He now seemed inclined to proceed still further, and circumstances encouraged him to hope that he might enter into terms of accommodation with the catholics in Ireland, which would enable him to transport into England an army of royalists sufficient to turn the scale in the contest in which he was now engaged. The Irish insurgents had always repeated their professions of loyalty to his person, and they had even made the defence of his prerogative one of their principal reasons for taking up arms. They had repeatedly applied for permission to lay their grievances before the king, and for a cessation of hostilities till their complaints should be heard and decided, and their application was backed by the recommendations of stanch loyalists like Clanrickard and Ormond. The latter at length spoke out more resolutely on the

subject, until the lords justices found themselves compelled reluctantly to compliance, and a copy of the petition was sent to the king, with a strong recommendation of the lords justices that it should be rejected. The king replied by a severe reprimand to the lords justices for their disrespect, in sending him the copy of such a document, and a peremptory order that the original should be placed in his hands. The delay gave time to the general assembly at Kilkenny to prepare a new application to the throne; and, after some deliberation, Charles resolved to act upon it. He issued a commission under the great seal of England, directed to the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Clanrickard, the earl of Roscommon, lord Moore, sir Thomas Lucas, sir Maurice Eustace, and Thomas Burke, esq., authorising them to meet the principal recusants, and to receive and transmit to him their propositions. This proceeding alarmed the lords justices and the committee of parliament (as Reynolds and Goodwin were termed), and they did their utmost to hinder the execution of the commission; but finding all their efforts vain, the two parliamentary agents soon after (early in 1643) returned in haste to England, evidently alarmed for their own personal safety. The king, indeed, encouraged, by the prosperous turn which his affairs seemed to be taking in England, to act with more vigour in Ireland, immediately wrote a severe letter to the lords justices, ordering them peremptorily to remove Reynolds and Goodwin from the privy council; and this was followed by warrants addressed to the lords justices and the marquis of Ormond for securing the persons of the two parliamentary agents and committing them to close custody.

The two lords justices were themselves to be the next victims to the king's resentment, and he made an offer of the lord lieutenancy to the marquis of Ormond, who is said, for some reason or other, to have declined it, advising the king to "delay" sending him an authority to "take that charge upon him." Ormond now proceeded to open the negotiations with the Irish catholics, and summoned a meeting for that purpose at Drogheda, where the Irish confederates were required to send a committee of their own partizans, not to exceed thirty in number, to be all laymen, and to be furnished with authority to enter upon a treaty.

The Irish were at this moment elated

with a number of petty successes gained by Preston and other commanders, and they were but little inclined to listen to counsels of moderation or forbearance. They were provoked by the wording of the safe-conduct sent by the lords justices for their committee, in which the recusants were spoken of as "actors and abettors in an odious rebellion." An indignant letter was, therefore, returned to the king's commissioners, signed by the catholic primate, the bishop of Clonfert, lords Mountgarrett and Gormanston, and others, in which the supreme council began by expressing their surprise, that a commission founded on an application which had been made so long ago as the month of August, should be concealed till the following February, and then after requiring to have a view or copy of the commission, they spoke of the indignity of prescribing to them the number or quality of their committee, or the mode in which they were to demean themselves, and complained especially of the terms which had been applied to them in the safe-conduct, and which they affected to believe had originated with the lords justices. They declared their firm and unanimous resolution to abandon all thoughts of accommodation until the imputation of rebellion should be retracted. They, however, professed their readiness, if this retraction were made, to concur in any pacific measures, *provided* they were not restricted in the number or quality of their agents, and that a place of meeting should be assigned where their agents might appear in safety; for they refused to put any faith in proclamations or safe-conducts of the lords justices. They then, in allusion to the case of sir John Reade, declared that, "if these our just and reasonable demands shall be denied to us, we must again employ some zealous and well-minded man, who in behalf of justice *dare hazard the rack*, by whom we may address our humble requests to the fountain of justice, his sacred majesty, whose most faithful and most humble subjects we are."

The king's commissioners were embarrassed by a letter written in such a disdainful and unconciliatory spirit, and they were inclined at first to return an answer to it, and relinquish the attempt at negotiation. But the consciousness of the king's position, and the desire to do him service, prevailed over all other feelings, and they replied by inclosing a copy of the king's commission, in which Charles expressed "his extreme

indignation at the odious rebellion which the recusants of Ireland had, without ground or colour, raised against his person, crown, and dignity." Thus it appeared that, in the words excepted against, the lords justices had only copied the king's own expression.

During the interval between the first and second letters from the commissioners, lord Castlehaven had been labouring with assiduity to inspire the council at Kilkenny with greater moderation, and they were now induced by him to write in humbler terms, expressing a solicitude that his majesty's good intentions towards them should not be frustrated by any act of theirs, and declaring their willingness to place their causes and persons at his disposal, in such a manner as would show how little they merited the epithet of "actors or abettors in an odious rebellion," and they still insisted that such expressions should not be introduced into any document relating to them. Further negotiation, and another letter from the commissioners, brought the Irish "council" to a still more tractable temper, and they made still more zealous protestations of their loyalty, and of the integrity of their intentions. Moderation appeared on a sudden to pervade the councils of both parties, and after some further negotiations, it was at length agreed that the commissioners should meet at Trim on the 17th of March, and that the supreme council should send thither six agents, all laymen, to treat of an accommodation.

As it has been already stated, the military operations for the last few weeks, since the appointment of the new generals by the Irish assembly, had been of a desultory character; and although of no decisive importance, had, on the whole, been favourable to the Irish cause.

It will be necessary, before we proceed further, to look back to the year 1642, and retrace the history of events in the south and west. At the time of Phelim O'Neill's retreat from Drogheda, Connaught and Munster were already overrun by the insurgents, and the English struggled against them with difficulty. In Leinster, the rebels held many of the towns and strong places, even in the vicinity of Dublin, and detached parties harassed the loyal inhabitants, and besieged their castles. The arrival, early in the spring of 1642, of lord Lisle, son of the earl of Leicester, with nine hundred men, had encouraged the lords

justices to show more activity. The lady Offaly, one of the noble house of Kildare, had made a gallant defence of her castle of Geashill, in the King's county, which was closely besieged by the rebels. When summoned to surrender it in the king's name, and offered a safe convoy to the nearest English station, this spirited lady returned an answer which deserves to remain on record. "I received your letter," she wrote to their commander, "wherein you threaten to sack this my castle by his majesty's authority. I am, and ever have been, a loyal subject, and a good neighbour among you, and, therefore, cannot but wonder at such an assault. I thank you for your offer of a convoy, wherein I hold little safety, and, therefore, my resolution is, that being free from offending his majesty, or doing wrong to any of you, I will live and die innocently; and will do my best to defend my own, leaving the issue to God. Though I have been, and still am, desirous to avoid the shedding of Christian blood, yet, being provoked, your threats shall no whit dismay me." Lady Offaly was now relieved, as was also sir John Gifford, who held the rebels at bay in Castle-Jordan. Several of the castles possessed by the insurgents in Leinster were captured; in the attack of one of which, Carrick-Maine, sir Simon Harcourt was slain. The Irish were likewise driven from Trim, where a small English garrison was reluctantly placed by the lords justices. Towards the beginning of May the insurgents made a desperate attempt to recover this town, and in repelling them sir Charles Coote was slain. His death was a subject of exultation to the Irish, who hated Coote for his barbarous severity; and it is said, that the lords justices themselves felt relieved by the loss of a commander whose enterprising activity had excited their jealousy.

The army of Leinster, which was the only one at the immediate disposal of the lords justices, was at this time crippled by its necessities. Every new arrival of men from England lessened its resources, as no supplies were sent by the English parliament; and multitudes of the common soldiers, without pay or clothing, perished from the laborious service to which they were exposed, and the unwholesome diet to which they were restricted. Those who survived became mutinous and riotous, and their officers grew clamorous for their arrears. To increase the confusion, the new

troops quarrelled with the old ones, and it was impossible to restrain them within the bounds of discipline. This was, at least, an excuse for the government, if it performed no actions of importance. In this situation of affairs, the Irish parliament held in Dublin a brief session of three days. Its members were reduced to a very small number, and consisted almost only of such as were devoted to the party represented by the lords justices Parsons and Borlase. Their acts were calculated merely to exasperate the insurgents, whom they treated as men already at their mercy. They resolved upon new penal statutes, as well as on enforcing the old ones with the utmost rigour, and talked with a puritanical hatred of popery. All this was highly palatable to the parliament in England, and was echoed by them and their agents throughout the country.

The prudence of lord Ranelagh, president of Connaught, and the authority and example of the earl of Clanrickard, had kept that province in tolerable obedience until the defection of the lords of the Pale had roused the greater portion of the catholics of Connaught to take part in the insurrection. The rebels now obtained possession of a great part of the counties of Mayo and Roscommon, and the wild Irish who occupied the mountainous district called Ire-Connaught, issued from their haunts and ravaged the possessions of the loyal subjects on the plains. Even the town of Galway became disaffected, and the townsmen, complaining of injuries received from its governor, arose and laid siege to the fort, and the English garrison was already reduced to distress, when the earl of Clanrickard came, with the forces he could collect in haste, to its relief. Although his army was quite insufficient to contend with the townsmen and their auxiliaries, the earl's authority awed them into an accommodation, by which it was agreed that all hostilities should be suspended, and the town taken under the king's protection, until his royal pleasure should be known; and this event so far discouraged the rebels in other parts of Connaught, that they expressed a wish for a general cessation of hostilities, a measure strongly recommended by lord Clanrickard, as calculated to prevent the desolation of that part of the kingdom, and to give many of the chief insurgents an opportunity of returning to their allegiance.

But the lords justices refused to listen to

moderate counsels of this description; they severely censured the earl of Clanrickard for his protection granted to the town of Galway, and added their peremptory orders that he should receive no more submissions. The commanders of the various garrisons were at the same time directed to hold no correspondence with Irish or papists, and to give no protections. Their orders were to prosecute all rebels, and those who harboured them, with fire and sword, and the names of some of the English commanders became as odious among the Irish for their cruel and indiscriminate massacres, as the O'Neills, the O'Reillys, and others, were among the English. An agent of the parliament was employed to irritate the people of Galway, and urge them to a breach of the late pacification. In spite of the exertions of lord Clanrickard, who, though irritated, still remained steadfast to his loyalty, the whole of Connaught was soon goaded into rebellion, and, as the government had given provocation without preparing to resist, the English were everywhere driven to extremities. The lord president of Connaught was himself besieged in Athlone; when the government at last determined on sending the earl of Ormond, with a sufficient force, to his relief. The insurgents retired at his approach; but the lords justices, in their jealousy of Ormond, recalled the army as soon as Athlone was relieved.

In Munster the rebel leaders had been reconciled, and they had been joined by lord Muskerry, one of the chiefs of the ancient and powerful family of the Mac Carthys. Thus strengthened, they soon reduced the lord president of Munster, sir William Saintleger, to the most alarming difficulties, and, although he had received a reinforcement of a thousand men from England, he was compelled to shut himself up in Cork. It was at this moment (the month of April, 1642) that the Irish government, strengthened by some reinforcements from England, was obliged to keep its army in activity, and a part of it, under the earl of Ormond, made a hasty expedition to the northern borders of Munster, to burn and destroy the houses and goods of those fugitives who had deserted the county of Kildare. On Ormond's return towards Dublin, lord Mountgarret, who still commanded in Munster, resolved to intercept him in his march, and having collected an army of about seven thousand Irish, he stationed himself on the other side of the river

Barrow. As Ormond's force was not one-half the number of that of his adversary, he determined not to seek an engagement, but continued his march along the direct road to Dublin. The insurgents kept pace with him by another and parallel road, separated from the other by a long and broad bog, and thus both parties marched in view of each other, with drums beating and colours flying, and when the English came to the point where the two roads met, they were compelled to the alternative of giving battle, or of exposing their rear to the attacks of an enemy in pursuit. Ormond chose the former, and drew up his small army in battle array; lord Mountgarret did the same, and the Irish began the attack, but, as was usual with them, they exhausted their strength and courage in the first wild onset, and when attacked they broke and fled in irretrievable confusion and dismay. Upwards of seven hundred of the Irish were slain in the field, and among them were a brother of the lord Dunboyne, a son of lord Ikerrin, colonel Cavenagh, and several gentlemen of distinction. The English had only twenty killed and forty wounded.

Ormond continued his march to Dublin without interruption. Within sight of the field of battle stood Maddenstown, a castle of lord Castlehaven, who was at this time residing there in retirement, with the marquis of Antrim, his wife, the dowager duchess of Buckingham, and lady Ross; and the earl of Ormond, and some of his officers, were guests at Castlehaven's table after the contest. The earl of Castlehaven's account of this incident, adds to our picture of manners and feelings in these troubled times. "My lord of Ormond," he says, "after this, being to pass with his army just by my door, some of his people being of my acquaintance came galloping before, assuring me that my lord of Ormond would be with me in half an hour. On which my lady duchess and myself bestirred ourselves, and having two or three cooks, a good barn's door, and plenty of wine, we patched up a dinner, ready to be set on the table at my lord's coming in. But some that came with him turned this another way, magnifying the entertainment beyond what it was, and publishing through the army that it was a mighty feast for my lord of Mountgarret and the rebels; and this through the English quarters passed for current."

The defeat of Kilrush was the most serious check which the rebels had yet ex-

perienced in the south. In England it was a subject of great exultation, and the English house of commons passed an order for expending five hundred pounds, upon a jewel to be bestowed upon the earl of Ormond, proposing at the same time a petition to the king, that he would be pleased to create him a knight of the garter. In Munster, while it threw discouragement among the rebels, it raised the spirits of the loyal subjects. The battle of Kilrush took place on the 15th of April. On receiving intelligence of Ormond's victory, the lord president of Munster, who was closely besieged in Cork, sallied out and routed the besiegers. But these successes were not followed up, and the Irish soon recovered courage. The city of Limerick fell into their hands, while the lord president lay in Cork mortified at his own helplessness, for he could scarcely provide subsistence for his soldiers, and he had been long deserted by the rulers in Dublin. At length his vexations preyed so violently on his mind, that they brought on a lingering malady, under which Saintleger sank. The command of the province now devolved on the lord Inchiquin, one of the O'Briens of Thomond, a brave soldier, and firmly attached to the English interests. After repeated and pressing solicitations, the English parliament at length sent Inchiquin ten thousand pounds for his present necessities, a sum just sufficient to keep his army from perishing, but far from enough to enable him to take the field efficiently. In the midst of his difficulties, lord Forbes, who had been appointed by the English parliament to command some forces raised by the contributions of the adventurers who now speculated upon the spoils of Ireland, arrived at Kinsale with twelve hundred men. But here again Inchiquin was doomed to disappointment; for lord Forbes was a violent puritan, governed by the fanatical counsels of his chaplain, the notorious Hugh Peters, and he refused to ally himself in any way with the "ungodly," under which title he included all who were not actuated with his own spirit. He landed and committed some depredations, in the course of which he made no distinction between rebels and royalists, and in which he sustained both disgrace and loss, and then he re-embarked and proceeded to the bay of Galway, where he pursued the same course, and met with the same success, and from whence he soon returned home, without doing service to any party.

Lord Inchiquin remained firm in his loyalty amid all these disappointments, although he was obliged again to remain shut up in Cork, in want of the resources which could make his army effective, while the enemy were capturing forts and overrunning the country. At length Inchiquin was provoked to a desperate attempt, and he resolved to hazard an engagement with the enemy, rather than be blocked up and starved in his quarters. The Irish, to the number of seven thousand foot and five hundred horse, had just reduced the castle of Liscarrol, in the county of Cork, and were posted near it in an advantageous position. With the troops of the earl of Cork, commanded by his sons, lords Broghill and Kinalmeaky, and some forces raised by the earl of Barrymore (another staunch loyalist), Inchiquin collected a small army of about two thousand men, yet with these unequal numbers he ventured to march against the enemy. The battle was more obstinate than usual in this desultory war, and was embittered to the English by the loss of lord Kinmelmeaky, but it ended in the total defeat of the insurgents, who were pursued without mercy, and scattered dismay in their flight. The loss of the loyalists in numbers was very inconsiderable.

The battle of Liscarrol was fought at the beginning of September, a few weeks before the opening of the general assembly of the Irish confederacy in Kilkenny, and it placed the English party in a momentary superiority in the south. The first of the generals appointed by the assembly at Kilkenny who distinguished himself by his activity, was the Leinster commander, Preston, who reduced several posts of importance in the King's and Queen's counties, and soon compelled the lords justices to take measures of defence. Lord Castlehaven, as commander of Preston's horse, took an active part in these hostilities, and has left us an interesting account of his exploits. One of these will help to show us the cruel character which continued to be given to this war by the exasperated feelings of the opposing parties. "I had the good fortune," lord Castlehaven says, "to begin my first commanding in the wars with an action of charity; for going to see the garrison of Birr before it marched out, I came into a great room, where many people of quality were, both men and women. They with many tears, so soon as they saw me, fell on their knees, desiring

me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and petition, and, desiring them to rise, asked what the matter was? They answered, that from the first day of the wars, there had been continual action and much bloodshed between them and their Irish neighbours, and little quarter on either side; and that, therefore, understanding that I was an Englishman, some knowing me, they desired that I would take them into my protection. I doubted that there was too much reason for their fears, considering that they were to march two or three days through the woods of Iregan and waste countries, before they came to Athy, their next friends' garrison. I went immediately to the general, and desired that I might command their convoy, which he granted. Then calling out two hundred horse and three hundred foot, in whom I had most confidence, I marched, and delivered them with their baggage safe. They were, at least, eight hundred men, women, and children."

A personal narrative of another commander in the wars at this time, sir Henry Tichborn, contributes to our view of the character of these irregular and desultory hostilities. The progress of the insurgents in Leinster rendered it necessary to make some demonstration, and it was determined by the government to send a strong force to reduce the towns of Ross and Wexford. "In March," says Tichborne, "the marquis of Ormond led the army, with the flower of the garrison of Drogheda and other adjacent garrisons, towards Ross; and I receiving intelligence that the rebels intended to send off their northern forces, to assist their party in those quarters against the marquis of Ormond, I moved the lord Moore to draw the best strength he could conveniently from Dundalk (of which town lord Moore now had the command); and sending for those that might be spared from Trim, I met them at Kells, the appointed rendezvous, with a party from Drogheda, where we made in all eleven hundred foot and one hundred and twenty horse. At Kells we took a few prisoners that were not aware of their danger, and amongst them one Plunkett, a popish archdeacon. Part of their Cavan forces were then near us, and sent a drummer pretending to treat an exchange or ransom of the archdeacon. The drummer, as is the custom of such fellows, spoke much of the strength and valour of the Cavan men; and I, that I might

make a little use of his errand, which was, as I conceived, rather (if he could) to discover our strength and intention, than to redeem the prisoners, told him that I thought to have gone through Westmeath toward the county of Longford; but since he spoke so much of the number and courage of the Cavan forces near me, I would turn my course that way, lest I might be dishonoured in seeming to decline them, for fear of their power and ability to resist me. The drummer appearing to be perplexed, because his boasting was likely to bring inconvenience upon his country, not formerly intended; wherefore, I said further (for I knew it would have wings when it came amongst them), that I would at least (that I might not appear to be terrified) lodge that night in the county of Cavan, it not being two miles out of my way into the county of Longford. And after we were all in a readiness to march, I dismissed the drummer, cheerful in the apprehension that he had discovered so much of my purpose. That night we went eight miles into the county of Cavan, saw many rebels, but they knew their distance; yet at Lough Ramor, in an island, we lighted on the earl of Fingall's two children, thirty case of new pistols, with other goods, that could not be suddenly taken away when he fled from thence. That night, about one of the clock, the moon shining, we set forth towards the Cavan, came thither seasonably the next day, and unexpected, the rebels being secure on their drummer's report that I intended another way. The town was soon abandoned, and every man shifted for himself. The next day the rebels were gotten together, and fought with us at Ballyhays; afterwards at a bridge within three miles of Belturbet. We routed them at both places in one day, took two captains, and several other prisoners, besides many of their soldiers, and some remarkable men slain by us. We freed divers English that were in restraint among them, and killed a rebel as he was firing a house where there were ten English shut up ready to be burnt. I staid two days entire in those parts, burnt Ballyhays, the Cavan, and other places, and then returned with a great prey, which served much to the relief of our several garrisons, in those days of exceeding wants and great extremities."

The expedition against Ross and Wexford had been strongly recommended by Ormond, before the arrival and appointment of

Preston, when it offered less difficulties than at present; but it was opposed by the lords justices, on the pretence that they reserved the honour of it for the lord lieutenant, for it was then expected that the earl of Leicester would repair to Ireland without further delay. Now that they found it necessary to give some employment to the forces, they suddenly adopted the plan formerly suggested by Ormond, but in their jealousy of the commander-in chief, they resolved to employ lord Lisle to command it, and they made great preparations, and entertained extraordinary expectations of the result. When everything was ready, the marquis of Ormond, who suspected some secret designs of the rulers, intimated firmly to the lords justices, that as he was especially entrusted with the army, it was indispensable that he should himself assume the command of this expedition. The lords justices could not deny the command of the army to the marquis, and as it was ready to march, they could not countermand the expedition; but their zeal was suddenly cooled, and, although they suffered the army to proceed on its march, they withheld the provisions necessary for its success. Ormond drove the rebels before him without much difficulty, and took possession of the fort, on his road. In firm reliance on the promises of the lords justices to send him the necessary stores by sea to Duncannon, he sat down before the town of Ross, and opened the siege in a regular form.

Ormond's position here soon became uneasy. The Irish garrison of Ross was reinforced with two thousand men, which he could not hinder from entering the place; and the forces under Preston occupied the country behind him; while the lords justices neglected to send the promised stores, and the English army, threatened with famine, could only procure a small supply of provisions and munition from the fort of Duncannon. Ormond saw at once the impossibility of remaining where he was, and, indignant at the conduct of the lords justices, who had thus deserted him and his army, he determined to make one attack on the town before he relinquished his undertaking. A breach was accordingly made, but the garrison was strong and resolute, and the English were driven back from the assault with considerable loss. Ormond had barely provisions for three days, and there was no alternative but a speedy retreat. But he now found that Preston, well

acquainted with his distresses, had taken possession of a strong defile through which he must of necessity pass on his way to Dublin, and that he was prepared to oppose him with six thousand foot and six hundred and fifty horse. To attack such an army so situated, in Ormond's present condition, was hopelessly desperate, and if Preston continued to occupy this impregnable position, the English army, thus betrayed by the neglect or treachery of the lords justices, must soon perish. But Preston, in his indiscreet contempt for Ormond's small army in its present miserable condition, and confident of an easy victory, descended into the plain to give him battle. Ormond immediately attacked the Irish, and their horse, after a slight resistance, were broken and thrown into confusion, and the foot soon experienced the same fate. The Irish left seven hundred dead on the field of battle, and the victory was so complete that all their baggage and ammunition fell into the hands of the English. Had Ormond pursued the fugitives, the rebel army would have been nearly destroyed; but this was

rendered impossible by the extraordinary conduct of lord Lisle, who commanded the English horse, which furnished grounds for new suspicions of treachery. When that officer had broken the Irish cavalry on the field, he rode off with all the force under his orders, and took no further share in the contest. The battle of Ross was fought on the 18th of March, 1643.

Ormond now continued his march to the capital full of indignation and resentment. Dublin itself presented a scene of calamity, and consequent discontent, and the citizens were equally clamorous with the army. They were exhausted and oppressed by the maintenance of the soldiers, and exasperated by their turbulence; and even the merchants were robbed of their property to supply the necessities of the state. To lighten in some degree their burdens, all strangers were expelled from the city, and multitudes of the sufferers who had sought refuge within its walls were sent over to England, to increase, by the personal narratives of their sufferings, the furious animosity of the puritans.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INSURGENTS CONTINUED.—THE CESSATION.



THE negotiations for a treaty of pacification, or at least of cessation, were still going on, and, according to agreement, four of the king's commissioners met the agents of the confederate catholics at Trim, and there received their remonstrance of grievances. The insurgents still professed undiminished loyalty to the throne, and pleaded their former merits in granting extraordinary subsidies. They alleged their old apology for insurrection, declaring that they had been driven to take up arms by a long series of oppressions, among which they specified more particularly, the severities of the penal statutes, the denunciations of the malignant party in England against their religion, and the cruelties exercised upon their ecclesiastics. Among other things they pointed

at the recent ordinance of the puritanical party in England against bowing at the name of Jesus, as a measure which excited their utmost abhorrence. They protested strongly against the offensive behaviour of the lords justices, and pointed out their various devices for exasperating the old natives, and perpetuating the war, and their arbitrary measures for defeating every attempt of the catholics to convey a statement of their grievances to the throne. They complained loudly of the recent acts of the parliament of England, which had proclaimed them rebels, unsummoned and unheard, and had placed their estates and lands at the disposal of adventurers who were induced to speculate on confiscation; acts which, they declared, were forced upon the king, and were unconstitutional and illegal, unless confirmed by a free Irish parliament. This free parliament they now

demanding as the only remedy for their grievances. That which at present bore the name of a parliament in Ireland, they represented, with reason, as consisting merely of a few creatures and dependents of the Irish government; and, without considering the impossibility of electing a free parliament at a time when most of the cities and towns were in the possession of the insurgents, they prayed that the king would be pleased to call one, to be held at some indifferent place, before a person of approved loyalty and acceptable to the people of Ireland, which should be enabled to deliberate without control, by a suspension of the act of Poynings, and in which no catholics should on any account be excluded from sitting and voting.

A proposal like this was totally inadmissible, and to yield to it would have been simply to surrender Ireland to the rebels. Nevertheless their remonstrance was transmitted by the marquis of Ormond to the king, and was the subject of alarm to the lords justices, who attempted to counteract it by a long declamatory letter to Charles, in which they reminded him of the cruelties and barbarities attendant on the first rebellion, and the futility of all the excuses which had been made in its defence. They pressed upon the king's attention the fact that the assembly at Kilkenny had opposed his royal authority, by erecting a new system of government, and that they had completed their act of rebellion by the oath of association, and by sending their ambassadors to foreign powers. And they concluded by stating, that the delay in sending them the means of carrying on the war alone hindered them from "taking ample vengeance on the rebels, reducing them to such a state as they should not easily relapse into their commotions, and finding a way to a peace which should not be attended with a lingering ruin, but be suitable to his majesty's greatness, and establish the future safety and happiness of his posterity and of the kingdom." They followed up this act of opposition to the king's pacific intentions by new measures which showed their contempt and hatred of the catholic party, and which increased its exasperation, while they seemed intent only on executions and confiscations. Ormond was irritated at their conduct, and, although he was disgusted at the want of moderation shown by the confederates, he perceived the folly of giving them new grounds of irritation, in the present lament-

able condition of the Anglo-Irish government, and the miserable state of its army. He accused the lords justices of concealing the true state of Ireland from the king, and he insisted that a detailed account should be laid before him of the distress endured by his subjects in that kingdom. The jealousies between the civil governors and the head of the army thus increased daily, until the king determined to put an end to it by changing the former. The intriguing and unpopular Parsons was, therefore, deprived of his office; and on the 12th of May, 1643, sir Henry Tichborne, the brave governor of Drogheda, was joined with sir John Borlase in the government of Ireland. At the same time the Irish privy council received the king's commands not to execute any warrant, or pay obedience to any orders, without his approbation.

Meanwhile the fortune of arms in the petty warfare now carried on, was turning rapidly to the side of the confederates. Dublin and the few large towns held by the English were in a state of distress. The small garrisons in Leinster were gradually reduced by Preston and Castlehaven. The English interests in Connaught, where the rebels had made themselves masters of the fort of Galway, seemed in the last degree of desperation. In the south lord Inchiquin continued to make head against the insurgent forces, and to take their castles, until a division of his army, under the command of sir Charles Vavasor, had the misfortune to be defeated by the rebels, under lords Castlehaven and Muskerry; and he lost all his cannon and baggage, besides five hundred men slain in the battle. In Ulster, Monroe with his powerful forces kept the insurgents in check; although he persisted in his old inactivity, until, at length, forced into action by the want of supplies, he made an attempt to surprise Owen O'Neill in his quarters, but he was foiled, and compelled to retire with some loss. O'Neill was subsequently defeated by the English, under sir Robert Steward; but he soon recruited his forces, and being supplied with arms and ammunition by the supreme council, was enabled to resume the offensive, and the English were too much dispirited by their distresses to offer any continued resistance.

The necessity of treating for a temporary cessation of arms became daily more evident; the new lords justices, for Borlase appears to have allowed himself to be gov-

erned by his colleague, sir Henry Tichborne, had a full sense of the miserable condition of the loyal subjects throughout the island, and they despatched their agents to the English parliament with urgent petitions for relief, but with little success. At length, as a last effort to keep the English army on foot, they, on their own responsibilities, established an excise, in imitation of the similar measure of the parliament in England. But although the tax amounted to half the value of the commodity, the proceeds were utterly inadequate to the necessities of the state, and the Irish rulers found themselves, at last, actually without the means to carry on the government.

Ormond now felt himself justified in obeying the private directions he had received from the king, to treat with the Irish confederates for a cessation of hostilities; but he was aware of the difficulties which surrounded him, and he proceeded cautiously. It was necessary for the king's honour, in a transaction of this kind, that the first overtures should come from the rebels; and the marquis employed his agents at Kilkenny in labouring to induce the confederates to renew the negotiations. They had to contend chiefly with the catholic clergy, who were actuated by the most violent religious spirit, and who were averse to every approach to an accommodation, which they saw must diminish the power and importance which they had assumed amid the recent confusions. With them were the main body of the Irish of pure race, who submitted blindly to their government. The great families of the old Anglo-Irish race, who were the leaders of the lay party, were guided by a spirit of greater moderation, and they, as yet, appear to have exercised most influence in the assembly of the confederates. They represented that to hesitate in taking advantage of the offer to negotiate, would be giving the lie to their own professions of loyalty to the king's person, and to the reasons which they had hitherto given as an apology for taking up arms against the English government. Influenced by these and other representations, the majority of the assembly determined to accept a cessation of twelve months, on certain conditions to be proposed by their agents to the marquis of Ormond. Among these they still hung to the demand for a new and free parliament, and refused to acknowledge the one which had sat in Dublin since the rebellion, as a legal assembly.

This proposal having been communicated to the marquis, he also proceeded to make his conditions. In the first place, he gave the agent of the confederates distinctly to understand, that he had no authority from the king to promise them that a new parliament should be immediately called, the time being unfavourable for such a purpose; but he said, that they might rely upon the king's favour, upon their seasonable proposition to that effect, and the deliberation and advice of his council. He then required as a condition, if the cessation took place, that the confederates should contribute in some reasonable proportion to the support of the king's forces in Ireland. Moderate councils seem now to have been entirely in the ascendant with the Irish, and, although not without some debate and delay, they consented to waive their demand of a new parliament to be called immediately, and they agreed in general terms to Ormond's demand of a supply, the particular sum to be fixed in the course of the negotiations.

Matters had now gone so far, that the Irish assembly appointed its agents to meet the marquis at such time and place as he should appoint, for the purpose of concluding the treaty. But Ormond had now to contend with difficulties raised by the English government, which were such as, combined with some backwardness on the part of the Irish, led to a temporary suspension of the negotiations. He knew that the cessation would be odious to the parliamentarians in England, and that in general it was distasteful to the English party in Ireland. To guard as much as possible against the misrepresentations to which he might personally be exposed, he communicated his design and authority to the privy council in Dublin, and proposed that if they considered such a treaty dishonourable to the king, or dangerous to the protestant inhabitants of Ireland, they should make a representation to that effect to his majesty, and propose some other way of safety. In that case he offered to break off the negotiations at his own peril. He then offered, if ten thousand pounds could be raised, half in money and half in victuals, he would continue the war, and make an attempt to reduce Wexford, and the merchants of Dublin were consulted with as to the means of raising this supply, but in vain. The account of these transactions left by one of the lords justices, sir Henry Tichborne,

will give the best notion of the spirit which ruled the privy council at this time, and Tichborne's own opinion on the subject was that of the English in general. "Finding," he says, "the army in the highest extremity of want, all ways and means already sought and run through for their support, even to the seizing the native commodities of the kingdom; hides, tallow, and such like, taken from ship-board after the customs paid, and exposed to sale; I was wonderfully perplexed, and sir John Borlase, his majesty's other justice, and myself, with the council, daily assembled: we spent the whole time in sending complaints into England, both to king and parliament; in the meantime borrowing, taking up, and engaging the whole board for money and all sorts of victual and commodities convertible to the soldiers' relief. Amidst these extremities his majesty's letter came over, signifying his majesty's sorrow and disability to relieve us, in regard of the troubles in England. All men's eyes were on the parliament, but no succours in those times arriving from thence to support the forces, his majesty permitted a treaty to be had with the Irish, touching a cessation of arms, in case all other helps were failing; which was generally so disagreeing to the board, that most of them desired to run any fortune and extremity of famishing, rather than yield unto it. And, truly, I was so much of that opinion, that when the marquis of Ormond made offer, that if he might be advanced ten thousand pounds, part victuals, part shoes and stockings, and part money, he would immediately draw towards the rebels, and either compel them to run the hazard of the field, or to forsake their quarters and leave them to the spoil of our soldiers, which might prove to them a future subsistence; and when Theodore Scout, and the rest of the merchants of Dublin, had refused to advance the money upon the security of all the lands of the whole board, and the customs of Dublin, for the interest of the money; I moved the board, there being at that time one-and-twenty councillors present, and myself of meanest fortune amongst them, that every one for himself, out of his peculiar means and credit, would procure three hundred pounds, which amongst us all would raise six thousand three hundred pounds. For even with that sum, and such means as the marquis of Ormond could procure himself, he offered to undertake the work, and that there should be no further

mention of a cessation amongst us. But this motion of mine finding no place, the cessation in a short time began to be treated on, and was in sincerity of heart as much hindered and delayed by me as was in my power; for I believed it would be hurtful to the public, and therefore I cast in rubs to lengthen the treaty, expecting daily relief and money from England, whither sir Thomas Wharton was employed with the sad stories of the public miseries."

Under the pressure of these circumstances, Ormond proceeded to meet the Irish agents at Castle Martyn in the county of Kildare. The confederates were probably aware of the difficulties of the English government, and they now assumed a higher tone. They demanded, among other things, that the exercise of government by the supreme council of the Irish catholics should continue during the cessation, and that a free parliament should be immediately convened. To grant the first of these demands was equivalent to acknowledging a government self-appointed and opposed to the crown, and the second, was giving the executive power into its hands; both were accordingly rejected. They next demanded that they should be at liberty to use hostilities against the "king's enemies," and desired to be informed how they might distinguish between the "malignant" party, and the royalists. On this subject, Ormond declined giving any explicit answer. Above all, he demanded a distinct understanding before the cessation should be agreed upon, that a supply should be given for the maintenance of the king's forces; to which the Irish commissioners now refused to bind themselves, alleging that the demand was not warranted by the king's commission, and that they would only declare it as their intention to grant the king a free gift on the conclusion of the treaty.

During these attempts at treaty, the English naturally carried on the war languidly, and the Irish took advantage of this circumstance, and of the distress to which the English army was reduced, to follow up their successes. Preston re-assembled his troops, and overran the whole province of Leinster, and extended his irruptions almost to Dublin. Lord Castlehaven took several strong places in the Queen's county and Carlow. On the other side Owen O'Neill advanced to Westmeath, and captured several castles and forts, "whereupon," says the lord justice Tichborne, "understanding

that Monroe, with a flourishing army of Scots, was in the county of Armagh, and in three days' march might be brought to our assistance, I moved the board to write unto him, to advance his forces and join with us against the common enemy. And because the message might be the better accepted, colonel Crawford was employed unto him with the aforesaid letter, and particular advice and persuasion from myself to hasten his coming. How colonel Crawford acquitted himself in the discharge of his trust, will best appear by Monroe's answer, who had formerly intimated unto the lord Moore his voluntary readiness to join with us; but now invited, and that by a power whereunto he was subordinate, he refused to come, because the marquis of Ormond had not signed the letter sent unto him, though he could not but be informed by colonel Crawford that the marquis of Ormond was absent upon the treaty, and that the letter could not in convenience of time be transmitted unto him, returned, and sent, with expectation of that speedy remedy we were necessarily to reap by it." In this extremity, colonel Monk, who was occupied in a successful excursion into Wicklow, was suddenly recalled to join with lord Moore in the defence of Westmeath against Owen O'Neill. In this service lord Moore was killed, Monk was obliged by want of provisions to retreat upon the capital, and all the places he abandoned were taken possession of by lord Castlehaven. The marquis of Ormond, who had been obliged by the temper of the Irish agents to suspend the negotiations, placed himself at the head of a powerful force, and marched against Preston, resolved, if possible to bring him to an engagement, in the hope that a defeat at this moment would restore the Irish confederates to a spirit of moderation; but Preston retired cautiously before him, and avoided a battle, till famine obliged Ormond also to lead his army back to Dublin.

The necessity of a cessation, as far as the English interest was concerned, was now more apparent than ever, and a variety of reasons determined the king to obtain this cessation at all risks; but for this purpose he had not only to give fuller authority to his own friends, but he had to persuade or intimidate those of the English party who were opposed to it. With this latter object in view, he caused the great partizans of the English parliament, Parsons,

Temple, Loftus, and others, to be accused of high crimes and misdemeanours, and committed to custody; and in renewing his instructions to the marquis of Ormond, Charles so far condescended to the demands of the Irish as to express an inclination to call a new parliament. He then issued a commission under the great seal of Ireland, giving the marquis of Ormond full power to treat for a cessation of arms for one year, leaving the particular terms and form to his own discretion, with an indemnification to him and all who should assist him from all trouble or danger to which they might thereafter be exposed, on account of the part they had taken in this transaction.

Still the English party looked on these negotiations with regret, and listened to the plea of necessity with reluctance, and they were delayed by the opposition of the government and the hopes that, at length, the relief so long expected from the English parliament might arrive. "Yet," says Tichborne, "the expectation of victual and relief from England stopped the hasty progress of the cessation until the evening, as I take it, of the eleventh or twelfth of September, when a fleet of ships was discovered near the harbour, to the great joy of all honest hearts; but the next morning, one captain Dauske, that was come in with the fleet of provisions, and had landed the night before, returned early on shipboard, hoisted sail, forsook the harbour, and compelled seventeen barks laded with necessaries from Liverpool and other places, to do the like. On what ground or intelligence he did it, is yet unknown; but this so rare and unlooked-for accident amazed all men, put the soldiers into a mutiny, and drew on a very unprofitable, and, in my apprehension, a very dishonourable cessation to be concluded with the rebels, with very much dislike of most of those that were actors in the treaty."

With the necessities of the English, which it was impossible now to conceal from their enemies, the confidence and pride of the confederates increased, and they were now beginning to listen more and more to their ecclesiastics, whose influence was raised by the encouragement they received direct from the pope. The supreme pontiff had lately sent to the assembly at Kilkenny, as minister, a father of the congregation of the oratory named Peter Scaramp, who brought supplies of money and ammunition, with letters from the pope to the supreme

council, the provincial generals, and the catholic prelates, and a bull granting a general jubilee and plenary absolution to all who had taken arms for the catholic religion. From the old Irish the popish envoy met with an enthusiastic reception, and they were ready to listen to his declamations against heretics and English. He dwelt upon the distresses of the latter, whose approaching ruin he foretold, and upon their own successes and prospects, and he inveighed with vehemence against the proposed cessation, and especially deprecated the giving of supplies to the king, which would, he said, be employed against themselves. The moderate party among the catholics, however, was still strong, and they were not inclined to pay implicit obedience to the pope's minister. They saw that the overthrow of the king by his parliament would be fatal to the Irish cause, and they urged the necessity, as well as the propriety, of giving him assistance, while they still earnestly exhorted their colleagues not to incur the disgrace of falsifying all their former professions of loyalty to the king's person. The cessation, they said, would be beneficial to themselves in relieving the country for a while from the ravages of their enemies, and affording them time to husband their resources. The earl of Clanrickard was especially earnest with his friends and kinsmen, of whom so many were engaged in the insurrection, that they should not let the favourable moment for saving their country escape; and the earl of Castlehaven hastened to Kilkenny to use all his interest on the side of moderation. By the exertions of a few men like these, the violent party was again defeated. The steps by which this was effected are told by Castlehaven himself. "The assembly," he says, "being broke up, and a supreme council chosen to govern in their absence, I retired to Kilkash, my brother Butler's house, to rest myself. The council went to Ross; and whilst they were there, a trumpet brought them a letter from the marquis of Ormond, setting forth his being appointed by the king to hear our grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. The particulars of the letter I knew not; but the trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight answer, which coming to my knowledge I repaired to Kilkenny, whither the council was returned. And on information finding what I had heard to be true, I sent for sir Robert Talbot, sir Richard Barnwell, colonel Walter Bagnall, and such

others as were in the town, being well affected and leading men of the assembly, though not of the council. Now being in my lodging, I acquainted them with what I understood, and that, if they would stick to me, I would endeavour to give it a turn. We all agreed on the way; which was, to go to the council then sitting, take notice of the king's offer, and their return, and to mind them that the consideration and resolutions concerning peace and war the general assembly reserved to themselves only; and, therefore, to require that they would send immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to the marquis of Ormond, giving him to understand they had issued summons for a general assembly, in order to acknowledge the king's gracious favour in naming him his commissioner to hear our grievances, and redress them. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance."

It was finally agreed that the agents of the Irish confederates should meet Ormond at Jigginstown, near Naas, where they exhibited a temper far more moderate and complying than on any former occasion. Among other things, they gave up the article which required an immediate dissolution of parliament. An article of more difficulty was that which settled the quarters of each party during the cessation, and this protracted for a while the negotiations. Finally, this being adjusted, the Irish agreed to grant the king thirty thousand pounds, half in money, to be paid at several periods, the rest in cattle. The articles of the treaty were now finally arranged, and formally communicated to the lords Clanrickard, Roscommon, Dungarvan, Brabazon, and Inchiquin, and to some privy councillors, and the principal officers of the army, who had assisted at the treaty, and they subscribed a declaration, stating that, in consideration of the circumstances of the kingdom, they believed it necessary for the king's honour and service, that a cessation should be concluded with the confederates on the articles now laid before them. The treaty was then, on the 15th of September, 1643, signed by the marquis and the Irish commissioners, and it was immediately afterwards ratified by the lords justices and council, and notified to the whole kingdom by a public proclamation.

The announcement of the conclusion of this treaty, however the necessity of it must have been felt by all who were acquainted

with the real position of parties, was far from giving general satisfaction. The violent popish party cried out indignantly against the lukewarmness or treachery of the chiefs of the moderate party, mostly of the old English stock, who had sacrificed the cause of their religion and liberties to their own private feelings and interests. The protestants in general felt it as a blot upon their honour to make any concessions to the popish party, until they had taken ample vengeance for the barbarities which had been inflicted upon their brethren. Others there were who looked on with alarm, lest the long expected forfeitures that were to follow upon the suppression of the rebellion might escape from their hands.

But it was in England that the cessation excited the greatest indignation. The parliament at once protested against it as an act done without their cognizance, and the full weight of their resentment fell upon the marquis of Ormond. In considering the circumstances of the times, we can hardly wonder that the English parliament had been hindered from giving its serious attention to Irish affairs, or from sending any effectual assistance to the protestant interest there; but the English leaders expected that their friends would be able to hold out until they had so far established their own power in England, as to be able to take the necessary steps to secure it in Ireland. They were now alarmed, not only at the superiority which the catholics had obtained, but they feared that the king might be strengthened by the assistance which he would derive from the Irish papists. They now suddenly talked of a variety of schemes for raising money for the service of Ireland, and made loud professions of their commiseration for the sufferings of their protestant brethren in that kingdom. Pamphlets on Irish affairs began to crowd anew upon the public, all giving exaggerated or partial accounts. The parliament published by authority, a solemn declaration of their abhorrence of the treaty, which was full of untrue statements, with regard to the successes of the protestant army, and the disasters of the papists, all of which they

ascribed to their own exertions. After having imputed the disorders of the two kingdoms to a settled plan for the destruction of the protestant religion, and described the barbarous practices of the catholics, they stated, that "God hath been pleased to bless our endeavours with such success, as that those furious blood-thirsty papists have been stopped in the career of their cruelty; some part of the protestant blood, which at first was spilt like water upon the ground, hath been revenged; their massacres, burnings, and famishings, have, by a divine retaliation, been repaid into their bosom." They represented the catholics in Ireland as being reduced to such extremities that they were obliged to feed upon one another, and assured the people that they had laboured to obtain this cessation, in order that they might get in the harvest, and so strengthen themselves for carrying on the war with more vigour. They spoke of the danger to which the commonwealth was exposed, if an army of Irish papists should be sent over to join with the malignant party in this country; and they, finally, lamented the danger in which the adventurers who had agreed to contribute money to carry on the war, in the expectation of sharing in the forfeitures of Irish estates, were now placed, of losing their just reward, and called upon them to come forward with more liberal contributions, in order to enable the parliament to overthrow the designs of the rebels, for, they said, "the cry of much protestant blood, the great indigence of many ruined families, and the danger of their religion, almost exiled out of Ireland, call for this last act of piety, charity, justice, and policy." Such declarations as these had, in this moment of universal excitement and uneasiness, considerable effect in both countries. Many, who had hitherto stood firm in their allegiance to the king, deserted him now, in the belief that he was yielding too much to the catholics, and falsifying his many solemn protestations of his abhorrence of popery, for to the king alone they ascribed the treaty; while others ascribed the cessation to the intrigues of the queen and her favourites.

THE HISTORY OF IRELAND.

BOOK V.—(*continued.*)

CHAPTER IX.

IRISH TROOPS SENT TO ENGLAND; THE MARQUIS OF ANTRIM EMPLOYED AGAIN; THE SCOTS REFUSE THE CESSATION; INCHIQVIN REVOLTS TO THE PARLIAMENT.



THE king was embarrassed by the outcry raised against the cessation in Ireland, and he thought it necessary to publish an answer to the declaration of the English parliament, in which he declared that the English army in Ireland could no longer subsist without supplies, while the parliament had not only neglected to send supplies itself, but their admiral, the earl of Warwick, lay in the channel to intercept those sent by his majesty; the parliament, he said, were further endeavouring to draw the Scottish army out of Ireland into England, so that the very weakness of the Protestants rendered a cessation absolutely necessary. The king admitted in this document that he looked upon the cessation as preparatory to a peace, "which, nevertheless," he added, "he will never admit, unless it be such a peace as may be agreeable to conscience, honour, and justice."

But the king had other reasons for hastening the cessation, besides those stated in his reply to his parliament. The position of his affairs in England made him every

day more anxious to derive assistance from his Irish army, of the loyalty of which the Marquis of Ormond had given him so many assurances; and in his private letters to the marquis during the year 1643, he had urged the necessity of transporting a portion of the Irish army into England immediately after the conclusion of the treaty. Ormond now proceeded to execute the king's orders, and about two thousand men were selected from the army of Leinster, and landed in North Wales. However arduous and ungrateful the service in Ireland may have been, it does not appear that the soldiers entered with willing hearts into a war in which they were to fight against their own countrymen, and it was found necessary to administer an oath by which they bound themselves to defend the king's person and prerogative against all his enemies, and especially against the earl of Essex and his forces, to which, for the sake of allaying some of their scruples, it was added that they were to "defend the protestant religion as established in the church of England." Nor did the king derive much advantage from their assistance. Having been reinforced by a second detachment of about fifteen hundred men sent after them by

Ormond, they proceeded to Chester, where they joined the troops which garrisoned that city under lord Byron. This commander now took the field, captured several castles, and defeated sir William Brereton, the parliamentary commander in Wales, who had retired precipitately before the Irish troops, and was now pursued to Nantwich. Lord Byron laid siege to this town; but, after some fruitless attempts to take it by storm, he was, on the 15th of January, attacked, and entirely defeated by sir Thomas Fairfax. All the principal officers of the Irish forces, including colonel Monk, and a great number of their men, were taken prisoners, and the royalists had the mortification to see many of the latter, both in the battle and after, join the ranks of their enemies. Byron retreated, with the wreck of his army to Chester, where the opportune arrival of another detachment of the Irish army enabled him to repair his losses. Lord Inchiquin, at the same time, contrived to send over from Munster to the west of England some regiments, under lord Dungarvan and other officers, which took part in the siege of Gloucester, where a considerable portion of them perished.

It was necessary, indeed, that the design of the cessation should be carried out by the conclusion of a permanent peace, before the king could hope to derive any substantial assistance from Ireland, and to that object his Irish policy was now directed. As a first step towards this, he dismissed the two lords justices, and on the 21st of January, 1644, appointed as his lord deputy the marquis of Ormond, a nobleman who had merited Charles's confidence by his unchangeable loyalty to his person, while he was acceptable to the catholic confederates on account of the known moderation of his sentiments. But the confederates were now not only unwilling to proceed any further in their pacific negotiations, but they were backward in fulfilling the treaty to which they had already agreed, and their factious behaviour increased Ormond's embarrassments. The subsidy which they had bound themselves to contribute was remitted irregularly and slowly; numerous disputes arose about the respective quarters of both parties; and neither could be restrained from occasional hostilities. The presumption of the Irish leaders had been considerably increased by the treaty of cessation, which they regarded as a proof of the weakness of their antagonists, and the moderate

men were gradually losing ground, while the ultra-Irish party was gaining the ascendant. Ormond represented to them in vain the danger they incurred by withholding their assistance from the king, whose overthrow would leave them exposed to the utmost fury of the English parliament. They were guided by a mistaken confidence in their own strength, and it was evident that their professions of loyalty were not honest, by the fact that while the agents of France and Spain were received with favour, and readily allowed to raise levies for their respective courts, they would neither send forces into England, nor would they even allow arms and ammunition to be purchased for the service of king Charles within their quarters.

Charles seems now to have begun to think that Ormond's probity was a hinderance to the carrying out of his designs, and, although he transacted all his public business in Ireland through him, we find him after this time using other persons more or less secretly, in communications with the Irish rebels. The consequences of this crooked policy were in the sequel eminently disastrous and disgraceful to the royal cause. The king's first choice of a negotiator, guided probably by the influence of his queen, fell upon the earl of Antrim, of whose incapacity he had already received such convincing proofs during the government of lord Strafford. This nobleman, who had, as already stated, been placed under arrest by the Scottish commander, Munroe, made his escape into England, and was received with marks of favour by the queen. His restless temper soon led him into new projects, and on the preparations for war in Scotland, he undertook to raise forces in Ireland, and carry them to the assistance of Montrose. But he had no sooner landed in Ulster, than he was again seized by Monroe, and committed to the castle of Carrickfergus, where he remained a prisoner some months. At length, escaping again, he sought refuge with Owen O'Neill, and proceeded from the quarters of that chieftain to Kilkenny, where, as a catholic nobleman, of considerable wealth, and understood to possess great influence in the court of king Charles, he was received with open arms by the Irish confederates, urged to take at once the oath of association, and flattered with the offer of a high command in the army. These offers, however, he refused for the present, while he encouraged

the Irish leaders to believe that he was strongly prejudiced in favour of their cause.

Soon after the cessation, the earl of Antrim repaired again to England, and made extravagant boasts to the king of his influence with the Irish confederates, and of their willingness to make him commander of their forces. He now aspired to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, and as a proof of his claims and capacity, he offered immediately to bring ten thousand Irish soldiers into England for the service of the king, and to detach three thousand more into Scotland against the duke of Argyle. This magnificent promise was made a matter of consideration in the king's council, and after due discussion, the solicitations of the queen again prevailed, and he was gratified with a commission to command such forces as he might be able to raise for the king. At the same time his vanity was further flattered by his being created a marquis, and the promise was held out to him, that if he succeeded in suppressing the present duke of Argyle, the great leader of the covenanters, he should be rewarded with his dukedom. The marquis of Antrim now embarked for Ireland, accompanied by Daniel O'Neill, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, who was joined with him as an adviser, and fortified with a strong letter of recommendation to the marquis of Ormond. On his arrival at Kilkenny, he presented himself with confidence to the confederates, and demanded ten thousand men for the service of the king. To his surprise, the supreme council met his demand with an absolute refusal. In a negotiation for a purchase of arms and ammunition for prince Rupert, he was equally unsuccessful; and even when he made the more modest demand of three thousand men, for the service of Scotland, he could only obtain a permission to raise them in his own sept, and a promise of arms, ammunition, and provisions, for his levies, on condition that a convenient port in Ulster should be assigned for their reception, and that that port should be placed under a commander, of whom they were to have the nomination. This attempt to gain possession of one of the northern ports was too apparent to deceive the marquis of Ormond, who avoided an absolute refusal by an evasive answer, that the Irish might not have an excuse for denying the supplies.

The marquis of Antrim now imagined that he should gain his purposes by a closer alliance with the Irish confederates, and,

without reflecting on the disservice he was thus doing to the king's cause in England, he took the oath of association, was sworn a member of the supreme council, and received from the catholic confederates the appointment of lieutenant-general of their forces, in accepting which he engaged to use no other commission but theirs, and to transport no troops without their consent. Antrim's attempt to make himself the servant of two masters ended only in mortification to himself. He was successful neither in his attempts to serve the catholic confederacy, nor in his negotiations for the king; his vanity, which led him to think that he could overreach the Scottish commander Monroe, again led him to expose his incapacity; and after repeated promises, and long delays, he at length contrived to send two thousand men into Scotland, when they were no longer of any utility. Antrim consoled himself by throwing himself more into the arms of the catholic confederates; and king Charles, finding again how little trust could be placed in such a negotiator, relinquished all hopes of receiving assistance through him, and turned his eyes to other agents.

While the king was nourishing visionary projects to be carried into effect by private intrigues, the marquis of Ormond was struggling with a multitude of difficulties and annoyances, arising from the clamours and pretensions of the catholics on the one side, and on the other from the dislike of the English to the cessation. The parliament's proclamation against the treaty was leading to a more marked and hostile separation in Ireland between the two great parties of the parliament and the king, which was soon widened by other events. The feeling against the cessation was strongest in Ulster, where the English party was at this time most powerful, and where the protestant army contained so many men who had witnessed and suffered from the barbarities of the massacres in that province, and were proportionally sincere in their hatred of the papists. To this province the English parliament more especially addressed itself. Owen O'Connolly, now a pensioner of the English parliament, was dispatched with letters to the colonels of the army of Ulster, recommending them to disclaim the cessation and take the solemn league and covenant, and promising them a speedy discharge of their arrears and full provisions for the future. They had before them the

example of Monroe and the Scottish army, who had taken the covenant with the greatest eagerness, and were now actuated by the most violent zeal against all who refused it; and, though urged by Ormond to show their loyalty by refusing it, the English officers returned a conciliating answer to the parliament, expressing their willingness to continue the war. They even refused to publish at the head of their regiments the proclamation of the Irish government, forbidding all persons to tender or accept the solemn league and covenant. The war which was now breaking out in Scotland led to an order for the recal of the Scottish army, which created the utmost alarm among the protestants of Ulster, who proceeded to levy soldiers of all sorts for the service of their country, so that even Irish papists and rebels were enlisted to fight for the covenant; but their apprehensions were soon dissipated by the arrival of orders countermanding the departure of the Scots, and a few English and Irish levies, with some discontented Scottish regiments only, were sent to Scotland. There the power of the covenanters was now so great, that they were able to send Monroe ten thousand pounds and a supply of clothing and provisions, along with which came four ministers of the kirk to enforce the covenant among his followers. The zeal of the Scots in Ulster now burnt with a fiercer flame, and the preaching of these missionaries was attended everywhere with the most astonishing effects among Scotch and English, and in every class of society. Many of the English soldiers embraced the covenant with ardour, and when at last by the urgent directions of the government the officers did cause the proclamation against it to be read, the soldiers who had taken it refused obedience and set their officers at defiance. The hostility between the two parties was thus increased and embittered. All the attempts of the government at Dublin to check the spirit which had risen in the north were fruitless, and Ormond's mortification was complete when, sir Audley Mervin being appointed governor of Londonderry, in full confidence of his zeal against the covenant, which he had proclaimed in his declamations in parliament, he had no sooner reached his destination than he took the covenant himself.

At first Monroe, who had taken the covenant with his officers with great solemnity in the church of Carrickfergus, affected a

lenity towards people's consciences which deceived nobody, and pretended to leave the convictions of others entirely to the persuasions of the ministers of the kirk. But he soon afterwards received a commission from England, under the broad seal of parliament, empowering him to command in their name and under their authority all the forces, Scottish or English, in the province of Ulster, and to carry on the war against all the enemies of the covenant. The English officers prepared to resist, and they assembled at Belfast to consult on the answer they should return to the Scottish general; but Monroe had received intelligence of their design, and marching suddenly to Belfast, he took possession of the town by surprise. At Lisburne, whither he marched next, he was foiled by the spirit of the English officers; but a civil war seemed on the point of breaking out between the English and Scots in the northern province, which might have had the most disastrous consequences. It was prevented by an amicable agreement between the two parties, and they subscribed a paper, by which it was stipulated that the English should not be forced to take any oath contrary to their consciences and to the fundamental laws of Ireland, until they had first addressed to the English parliament a representation of their reasons and scruples; and that their regiments should be furnished with the same provisions and have the same privileges and appointments with the Scots. On these conditions they engaged to join with Monroe in vigorously prosecuting the war against the Irish rebels, regardless of the cessation, reserving only to themselves the right of acting upon their own convictions in case of a direct order from the king to the contrary. The English officers and soldiers appear to have followed their own inclinations in thus rejecting the cessation.

The Irish confederates at Kilkenny were alarmed at these proceedings in the north. Confiding in the weakness of their enemies, they had allowed their army to be scattered over the country in small parties, and O'Neill's forces in Ulster were quite insufficient to resist the combined forces of Scots and English in that province, so that there was nothing to hinder them from marching to the south. The struggle was still carried on amongst the confederates between the violent or ultra-Irish party and those who advocated more moderate measures, when Owen O'Neill, to use the words of lord

Castlehaven who was present, "leaving his troops and creaghts to shift the best they could, came to the general assembly, then held at Waterford, where he held forth the lamentable condition of his people, desiring the assistance of the other three provinces, and, in the name of his province, undertaking to join to their forces four thousand foot and four hundred horse; but withal declaring, that otherwise he with his forces and creaghts should be obliged to save themselves in the other provinces, and so get subsistence as well as they could. This last point of Owen O'Neill's speech, besides their persuasion that the Scots would not fail soon to follow him and visit them, made the assembly come to a quick conclusion, and agree to send six thousand foot and six hundred horse out of the other three provinces, so that the army was to consist of ten thousand foot and one thousand horse. But it coming to the question who should be general of this army, they went to the election after this manner. The assembly sitting, those they thought fit to come in competition, they caused their names, one under another, to be written down, and from each a long line drawn. Then at the table where the clerks sat, every member of the general assembly, one after another, with a pen, put a dash on the line of him that he would have to be general. And to the end that none should mark more than once, four or five were chosen out of the assembly, two of whom were bishops, to overlook this marking, being on their oath. Now, contrary to Owen O'Neill's expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he should be generalissimo, I was chosen, which he took extremely much to heart, as I have reason to believe. However, he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate me, giving withal great assurances of his performance and readiness to serve me." Thus were personal jealousies already springing up among the confederate commanders.

This decision of the general assembly showed that still the moderate party in that body were in the majority, for lord Castlehaven and Owen O'Neill represented severally the two great parties which were contending for power. Castlehaven's campaign in Ulster furnishes us with so curious a picture of the war in Ireland at this time, that we cannot do better than follow his own narrative, with the observation that he, perhaps, gives it a little colouring of

his own, but we cannot tell to what degree, as we have no detailed account written on the other side. "Next day," says lord Castlehaven, "a commission was sent me, with orders to prepare all things for this expedition, which I did. But the further I looked into the matter, the worse I liked it; for I considered that I was now to make war in a country where I had never been, and in a country, too, where we had not so much as one town, but the enemy had many; that, by all intelligence, they could draw into the field sixteen or seventeen thousand men; that if Owen O'Neill should perform and deal fairly with me, yet all I was to expect did not exceed ten thousand foot and a thousand horse; that having no towns in the province, we should be forced to bring all our provisions from the other provinces where I had my magazines; that I must depend upon O'Neill for intelligence; for by such lights I always guided myself in my former small undertakings. But that which most of all troubled me was, that I did not see how I could avoid a battle, if the enemy had a mind to it, being I was to make an offensive war. I had also this other consideration to discourage me, that although our parties had commonly the better, yet our armies had commonly the worst. This was experimented in several battles, and the reason was clear and obvious. Most of all the great towns in the kingdom were the enemy's, and garrisoned; and of the few towns we had, there was but one, to wit Kilkenny, that would receive a garrison. So that at our coming out of every field, as the enemy returned into their garrisons, where they were with their officers, and kept in discipline, ours were dispersed all the kingdom over, into little villages and odd houses, never seeing an officer till the next campaign. And, therefore, they came to their rendezvous in the beginning of every field, like new men half changed; and for the horse, so haggled out in riding up and down to see their friends, that they seemed hardly able to draw their legs after them; and both horse and foot with rusty arms, and not fixed. But how plainly soever I saw my ill condition, I must through as well as I could; yet withal resolving to avoid a battle by all means, and seek to make war by parties and surprises, where new men are as good as old. Now having more than time before the campaign, I was commanded by the supreme council to march

into Connaught to reduce some of our own party, which had set up for themselves in the county of Mayo, and had possessed Castle-Carrol and Castle-Barre; the former commanded by one Burke, the latter by the lord of Mayo. I took with me two thousand men and passed the Shannon at Fort-Falkland, the marquis of Clanrickard permitting me to pass through his country. These castles made little resistance. After they had yielded I sent my party, under the command of sir James Dillon, into the county of Roscommon, to reduce the Ormsbyes, and some others that held garrisons, and would not submit to the cessation. When he had done his work, which he was not long about, he returned into Leinster, and lodged the troops as he was ordered. In the meanwhile I had gone to Kilkenny, and set myself to the great work, still having some mistrust of Owen O'Neill's performance. Wherefore I desired the council to grant me four hundred horse and dragoons more, in case I could raise them without charge, which I did.

"The first rendezvous," lord Castlehaven continues, "that I made in order to this field, was 1614, about midsummer, in the county of Longford, at a place called Granard, where I had appointed three thousand horse and foot, with two or three field pieces, intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army, which might be four or five days; for O'Neill was near encamped at Portlester, and the rest were marching as ordered. By my spies, that met me at this rendezvous, and came in haste, all agreed that they had left the enemy near a certain mountain, threescore miles off, and that they were seventeen thousand strong, with one-and-twenty days' provision in oaten meal, which they carried on their own and little horse's backs; no cannon or other baggage; and were ready to march. I thought myself pretty secure for that night; but at twelve of the clock, one from Cavan, assured me, that he had left the whole army there, and that their horse and dragoons would be with me in the morning. On this advice, I packed off as fast as I could, and gained Portlester, ordering the rest of the army to come thither; and at the instant commanded a colonel, with five or six hundred foot and a hundred horse, to defend the bridge of Fierragh. It was of stone, and a castle on our end. I sent with him shovels, pickaxes, and spades, with plenty of ammunition. The enemy, according to

my intelligence, came at sun rising into the camp I had left, and showed themselves the next day before that bridge. My unfortunate colonel sent over his horse to skirmish, and, when they were far enough out, on a sudden the enemy mingled with them, which was the cause that our foot could do nothing; but, through fear to kill their own, left bridge, castle, and all, free for the enemy. However, this availed them little, for finding me well posted, though O'Neill was of another opinion, their provisions shrunk, and being at least twelve day's march from their own country, they staid not to give me farther trouble, but hastened homewards.

"Now, then, I was at leisure to call on general O'Neill for his four thousand foot and four hundred horse, being resolved to follow the enemy, and try my fortune in Ulster, as I was designed to do. He excused himself by reason of the continual alarms in his country, that he could not at present make good his word; but withal, assuring me again, that so soon as I came into the province, I should have no reason to complain. Having this assurance, I marched on with my six thousand foot and a thousand horse and dragoons; and O'Neill joined to me about two hundred horse, and three or four hundred foot; his creaghts marching with us, being all the Irish with their cattle of that province. When he had drawn me on as far as Toinregoat, I had intelligence that the enemy had revictualled themselves, and were returning to encounter me. Whereupon I pressed O'Neill very hard to make good his word; who plainly told me that he could not do it, alleging that his people were all amongst the creaghts, and every one looking to save what he had. In this sad condition, I blamed my own weakness in being persnaded with fair promises, to come so far into an enemy's country. However, I was resolved to see the enemy, then encamped at Drummore Iveagh; and therefore taking such guides as O'Neill would give me, and leaving the command of the camp to him, in the evening I marched with my thousand horse and dragoons, and fifteen hundred commanded foot. These I left on a pass, about three miles from my camp, to make good my retreat, intending to fall with my horse into their horse quarter. But whether wittingly or willingly in my guides, it was sunrising when I came within two miles of their horse quarter. And yet still, though I had lost my design,

I would see the enemy; and, to this end, perceiving some of their horse at grass, I being drawn under a hill near a little river, where there was a stone bridge, sent a party to take those horses, which they did, and brought them to me. But their guard of horse being near, after my horse were come back, seized the bridge and defended it. I sent men to beat them off; but it would not do. Then I sent another party; the same still. Whilst this was a disputing, I perceived a hundred foot coming over a great plain. Then I galloped down myself, with some officers, and more horse. So passing the bridge, I had the cutting off that hundred foot, without resistance. A party of mine pursued the horse that ran from the bridge; but before they overtook them they were met with another, which routed them; and others of mine put them also to the run. Before this fight ended, most of the horse on both sides were engaged. The enemy at last drew off; and so did I to my army.

"Being returned to my camp, I acquainted O'Neill with what had passed, and how the enemy's army were advancing according to my intelligence. Whereupon he advised me to retire to Charlemont, a fort where he had a garrison. I followed his advice, and found it a very good post, there being a large plain joined to it; on the one side runs the Blackwater, and near the fort a bridge over it; the rest surrounded with bogs and moorish ground. My horse lay encamped at Benburb, on the other side the river. At the same time that I came into this place, Monroe with his army arrived at Armagh, about two or three miles distant, and there encamped, fortifying himself. Thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in pretty good correspondence; and the small war we had was chiefly in cutting off of convoys. During this idle time, I went often to see my horse quarters, and one day lying down by the Blackwater side, and merry with the officers, a number of the horsemen came about me, and I, in a pleasant way, asked them what they would give me to bring them to a day's work with the enemy; they answered, they should be glad to see it, if I could make their doublets and skins proof against lances, of which the Scots had many squadrons. Having found this apprehension, I passed off the discourse, and returning to my camp, that night dispatched an express to my magazine at Wexford, to bring me thence so many defensive

arms as might cover two ranks of my horse; which being come, and I growing every day more uneasy than the other, for my provisions came much harder to me than Monroe's came to him, and O'Neill began to be very weary of sometimes assisting me with cows, after two months I resolved the endeavouring to gain my own country, seeing no hopes of any forces from O'Neill. Which to effect, for I did not desire fighting, I caused a tougher or great way to be cut through the bog, near the fort, leading to Toinregaoh, by which their provisions came. This way being finished, I, knowing their days, took my time to pass most of my horse and some foot, showing them beyond the tougher, as if that night I intended straight for Toinregaoh. Monroe having this intelligence, posted away a great party of horse and foot to secure his convoy. But the night being come, I turned, and instead of marching towards Toinregaoh, passed over the bridge with the whole army, leaving my cannon and baggage in the fort, with a strong garrison, plenty of ammunition, and all the provision I could possibly scrape to put in. That night I marched, and all the next day, taking a great round before I could have my own country on my back; which having obtained, in the county of Cavan, I faced towards the enemy, about five or six miles from them. Which Monroe knowing, and finding that I lay easier for my provisions than he did, raised his camp and marched to his own country. It being now late in the year, I, thus free of him, sent a party of horse and foot to bring off my cannon and what I left in the fort; and so marched to Fienaeagh, where I met commissioners from the supreme council to receive the army and lodge them on the three provinces, together with fifteen hundred Ulster men, which, on my order, came to me out of Connaught, being of no army, but endeavouring to live by strong hand, which I could not admit. Thus ended the Ulster expedition, likely to be so fatal to the confederate catholics of Ireland, through the failing or something else of general Owen Roe O'Neill. But, after all, the three provinces had no reason to complain of this campaign; for this army they sent kept them from being troubled either with Scots or Ulster people that year."

During these marches and countermarches, the Irish army was allowed to pass through the English quarters without molestation, although they were not regarded with a

friendly eye. The purely English garrisons on the borders of Ulster, appear to have looked on as neutrals between the two parties which were in the field against each other, inclining in their hearts towards the Scots, but restrained by the articles of the cessation from openly impeding the Irish, although they bore this restraint with reluctance. Such was the case with sir Henry Tichborne, who, after laying down his office of lord justice, had returned to his garrison at Drogheda, and he describes in himself the feeling of most of the English officers. It appears that he was afterwards charged by some of the zealous covenanters, of withholding assistance from Monroe's army; in answer to which he declares, that "when the Scotch forces advanced into Westmeath, returned by our quarters, and lodged at Atherdee, though they professed themselves opposite to our party, and had proffered some acts of hostility, yet did I not forbid nor hinder provision to be sent unto them, as some snarlers at all my actions have untruly suggested; but the truth is, they abounded in all provisions, and staid at Atherdee but one night, insomuch that the drink and other necessaries, that several persons of Drogheda had provided, could not come time enough for them, as was desired." "About eight or ten days after that the Scotch army was returned into the north," continues Tichborne, "the earl of Castlehaven and Owen Roe O'Neill, with all the Irish strength, came unto Atherdee, and remained in those parts, as I remember, about fourteen days; and during the time of their abode, they required the benefit of the market, for the buying of such provisions as were needful for them, and that the town and garrison might spare; which demand agreeing with the article of the cessation, could not be in reason absolutely denied by me, except I would draw their united forces on Drogheda, the garrison being weak and unable to oppose them. And this was a thing that was proposed amongst them by Owen Roe O'Neill, as I was informed. However, I cast in many rubs, and found several ways to delay their desire of commerce, until, at last, the earl of Castlehaven sent his lieutenant-general to understand the reason of my backwardness, and to expostulate the matter with me at large; and then, indeed, I had direction from Dublin to grant them their desire; whereupon I sent for Mr. Alderman Geves, the present mayor of the town, and told

him, in the presence of the lieutenant-general, that the articles of the cessation afforded free traffic for either party; and that a provident care being, in the first place, taken for the necessities of the town, the benefit of the market might be granted unto those that were without; and the lieutenant-general might appoint some one of the inhabitants of the town to buy such provisions for the use of the Irish army as could conveniently be spared. Whereupon he named one Dardis, who came unto me to know whether he might with safety, and without future blame, be employed by them, and I told him he might; for I was not willing that any of them should lodge in the town, or frequent our markets. The provision that they had was most drink. Of a hundred and sixty barrels of wheat bought for their use, I caused the moiety to be stopped. Some oatmeal they had, and coarse bread of beans and peas was carried forth by private persons to be sold unto them."

This detailed account of the expedition to Ulster will serve to show the position of parties at this moment in Ireland. The confederates, meanwhile, more and more convinced of their own consequence, affected to consider themselves as the great supporters of the royal cause, and expected that the marquis of Ormond was to look upon them in that light, and act in concert with them. While the earl of Castlehaven was employed in Munster, they privately invited Ormond to accept the supreme command of their forces and march against the northerners with the united powers of the "royalists;" and they required that, in return for the infringement of the cessation by the Scots, he should proclaim them rebels. To accept the command thus offered to him, would be to blend and identify the usurped power of the rebels with the legitimate authority of the sovereign; and even the other proposition would draw down the full resentment of the parliament of England, throw its authority into the scale against him, and perhaps cause the revolt of a large portion of his army.

Ormond was placed in a difficult position; for it was equally impolitic at this moment to offend the Irish, who might seize upon a pretext for withholding that portion of their subsidy yet unpaid, and upon whom he now depended in a great measure for his provisions. He therefore endeavoured to gain time by evasive answers, pleading the want of direction from the king, and the necessity

of receiving more explicit orders from court before he could declare against the Scots. He offered, however, if the Irish would make provision for the payment and maintenance of six thousand foot and six hundred horse of the king's forces, to employ this body in restraining the Scots from violating the cessation. The catholic confederates, aware that by declaring the Scots rebels the king would be compelled to throw himself still more upon their support, arrogantly insisted upon that measure. Some time was spent in debate and attempting to evade this question, which at length fell to the ground in consequence of the Scottish general returning to his former inactivity.

The more important negotiations between the king and the confederate Irish had been transferred to the court at Oxford, where, after various delays, the commissioners of the Catholic party arrived in the March of 1644. Charles, anxious for a conclusion of the permanent peace, and sanguine in his hopes of assistance to be derived from an Irish army transported into England for his service, received them with favour, but their first demands were of so extravagant a character that it was impossible to listen to them. They not only required the public establishment of the Romish worship, but they demanded a repeal of the acts of the English parliament which had placed the estates of the Irish rebels at the mercy of the adventurers, although they knew that the king had no share in those acts, and that he had no control over the parliament. They demanded further that no standing army should be maintained in Ireland, and that their own supreme council should be continued in authority, with other concessions, which implied the utter extinction of the English power. Such demands could only provoke the threat that all conference would be broken off with men who came to propose terms so unreasonable; upon which they lowered their tone, and offered what they professed to consider as the most moderate propositions consistent with the safety and liberty of Ireland. They now demanded the repeal of all penal statutes; a free parliament, and the suspension of Poynings' law during its session; the annulling of all acts and ordinances of the Irish parliament since its prorogation, on the seventh of August, 1611; that all indictments, attainders, and outlawries in prejudice of Irish catholics, since that day, should be vacated, with a release of debts and a general act of obli-

vion; that all offices found for the king's title to lands since the year 1634, should be annulled, and that an act of limitation should be passed for the security of estates; that an inn of court, and seminaries of education, should be established in Ireland for the benefit of the catholics; that all natives of Ireland, without exception, should be capable of being appointed to places of trust and honour, while none but such as had estates and were resident in Ireland should be allowed to sit and vote in the Irish parliament; that the parliament of Ireland should be formally declared independent of that of England; that the jurisdiction of the Irish privy council should be limited to matters of state; that no chief governor should be continued more than three years, and that he should not be allowed during his government to purchase any lands in Ireland, except from the king. With these articles was joined an affected anxiety that all acts of cruelty committed on either side since the breaking out of the rebellion should be rigorously inquired into, and that the actors in them should be excepted from the act of oblivion, and brought to severe punishment.

Even these diminished proposals breathed the arrogant spirit of a victorious faction; and, although some of them were just and reasonable, others could not possibly be conceded. Yet the king agreed to take the whole memorial as the foundation for a treaty of peace, reserving the details for subsequent discussion, which was impeded and embarrassed by the violence of both parties. The king required the Irish privy council to nominate some men of experience in Irish affairs, to assist at the treaty, and of the nine names, including that of archbishop Usher, which they sent, he selected and summoned four. But the more zealous Irish protestants had on their part taken the alarm, and a meeting was held at the house of the earl of Kildare, when they chose four agents, which number was afterwards increased to six, to present to the king the petition, as they called it, of the protestants of Ireland. Charles agreed to receive this deputation, and they proceeded with so much despatch, that they presented themselves at Oxford before the arrival of the agents chosen by the king from among those nominated by the privy council. These representatives, as they styled themselves, of the Irish protestants, who were all of the puritanical party, were as extravagant in their demands as their

catholic opponents. They seemed to look upon the papists as a party defeated and lying at their mercy, and they required, among other things, a vigorous execution of the penal statutes, and the immediate banishment of all the Romish clergy, with a full restitution of churches and their revenues to the protestants; the continuation of the present parliament, and the dissolution of the government established by the Irish confederates; they demanded that all the catholics should be disarmed, made to repair the damages sustained by the protestants, and brought to punishment for their offences, without any act of oblivion; that the oath of supremacy should be strictly imposed upon all magistrates, and that they who refused it should be incapable of sitting in parliament; that the king should take possession of all forfeited estates, and, after satisfying those who claimed by former acts of parliament, dispose of them entirely to British planters; and they spoke of Poyning's act as the great bulwark of the royal power, and the chief protection of the protestant subjects.

The king was more provoked by the intemperate zeal of these men, than by the extravagant demands of the catholic agents, and he waited anxiously for the arrival of the commissioners appointed by the Irish council. These, however, only increased his embarrassments, for though they began by expostulating with the so-called protestant agents, on the insolence and absurdity of their demands, they, on their part, insisted upon protection for the protestant interests, especially the disarming of the catholics, and the continuance of the penal statutes, which showed that in the present posture of affairs, the protestant party could not be brought to agree willingly to any practicable terms of accommodation. The king now began to lean entirely to the catholics, in his anxiety to procure some assistance against his parliament, and he seems to have let himself be persuaded by his queen, that his protestant subjects were all, more or less, tainted with the spirit of rebellion. He openly treated the agents of the confederates with especial attention and courtesy, and he granted many of their requests without hesitation, and promised to give them ease and indulgence on others. He even held out the hope of the independence of the parliament; and he agreed to relieve the Irish catholics from their civil incapacities; to allow them their seminaries

of education; to grant a general pardon, with an act of oblivion; and to call a new parliament; and he promised at least that the penal statutes should not be enforced.

Flattered by these concessions, the Irish agents concurred in the propriety of waiving the more obnoxious part of their demands in the king's present circumstances, and they proposed to return immediately to their employers, and make representations to that effect, which they expected would influence the determination of the general assembly. The king was anxious, above all things, to obtain immediate succour, and aware of the damage which his cause must sustain from the public concessions of some of their most essential demands, he attempted to evade the difficulty by vague promises of future indulgences. He dismissed the agents with an earnest admonition to consider their own circumstances and his own; and he told them, in words which ought to be given unchanged, "that the existence of their nation and religion depended on the preservation of his just rights and authority in England; that if his catholic subjects of Ireland would consent to such conditions as he could safely grant, and they accept with security to their lives, fortunes, and religion, and hasten to enable him to suppress his enemies, it would then be in his power to vouchsafe such grace to them as should complete their happiness, and which, he gave them his royal word, he would then dispense in such a manner as should not leave them disappointed of their just and full expectations. But if, by insisting on particulars, which he could not in conscience grant, nor they in conscience necessarily demand, and such as, though he might concede, yet at present would bring that damage on him which all their supplies could not countervail, and yet might be hereafter granted with equal benefit; if they should thus delay their succours until the power of the rebels had prevailed in England and Scotland, then they would quickly find their power in Ireland but an imaginary support for his interest or their own; and that they, who with difficulty had destroyed him, would, without opposition, root out their nation and religion."

Charles's equivocal conduct in these negotiations, and the sentiments he had expressed to the catholics, so contrary to his former declarations against the toleration of popery, tended to create disgust in those protestants who had hitherto followed his fortunes, and

to detach many of them from his cause. Not content with flattering the catholics, the king gave needless offence to some of his own friends among the Irish protestants, and thus paved the way to further dissensions and embarrassments. Among these one of the most important was lord Inchiquin, who had commanded in Munster since the death of Saintleger, and had distinguished himself eminently by his courage and fidelity, in reward for which he claimed the office of lord president of that province. When he repaired to the king in England to press this claim, he was mortified with the reply that the office had already been

* The revolt of lord Inchiquin was a subject of great exultation in England; and the manner in which the principal Catholics were excluded from Cork was related in a brief tract, entitled, "A plot discovered in Ireland, and prevented without the shedding of blood. London, printed by Jane Coe, 1644." This narrative is sufficiently curious to merit reprinting here in a note:—

"I know you have heard how my lord of Inchiquin had put the Irish out of Cork in July last, and not without much cause, for there was a most horrid, damnable, and bloody plot of conspiracie, invented and practized by the popish priests and blood-thirstie jesuites, and the same of a sudden to be put in execution by the townsmen of Cork that were confederates with that bloody and arch-rebell the lord of Muskerrie, who had prepared an armie in his countrie, neer Cork, to be in readinesse at an howre's warning, after he had intelligence from the popish priests and others of that faction, to approach toward Cork with his armie of rebels, who should have been let into the towne in the night, and for that purpose they had agreed among themselves to have such townsmen that night to be in the watch, and in the court of guard, as should be in readinesse to seaze upon the magazine, armes, ordnance, powder, and shot, at an instant when the word should have been given, and the rest of their confederates to be likewise readie to let in the rebels at the gate, and so in the dead time of the night to enter into every Englishman's house, with swords, skenes, and pistols, with full resolution to massacre, murther, and kill, man, woman, and childe, for which horrible murthers their holy fathers the priests had given to each one that did undertake this bloody designe, a free pardon and dispensation, and it pleased God that, in the interim, that this execrable plot of treason was discovered, the priests, that were the chief contrivers of this most damnable plot, were taken, and, at the time of their execution, confest their mischievous intentions, which extended to the utter extirpation of all the English protestants in Mounster, if God had not, in his infinite goodnesse and mercy prevented it.

"For the rest of the townsmen that had engaged themselves in this inhuman conspiracy, they were so many in number, and being at least six to one of our English, they could not so well be taken, or apprehended, without great danger and much effusion of blood on both sides. But the governour of Cork, and the rest of the chief commanders, for the better prevention of so great a danger, devised a remarkable counter-plot (for the taking and apprehending the

given to the earl of Portland, and lord Inehiquin was treated with other marks of disregard. He returned to Munster, and, in the heat of his resentment, entered into a negotiation with the English parliament; engaged that his brother, who commanded the garrison of Wareham, should deliver that town into their hands, and that he would himself unite zealously in their cause. He was received with joy; and, under pretence that he had discovered a plot to seize his garrisons, he drove out the magistrates and all the popish inhabitants of Cork, Youghal, and Kinsale,* and having administered to his officers, who willingly took the cove-

town's conspirators rather by policie than by violence), and for that purpose caused captain Muschamp, governour of the great fort without the south gate of Cork, to faine and counterfeit himself to be in drink, and so as it were in a merry humour, invite himself to master major (*mayor*) his house to dinner; and accordingly he dined there, and after the Irish fashion was kindly entertained, and diverse cups passed round of sack, clarret, and usebaugh in friendly manner to welcome him, and make him to be the more merrily disposed.

"And sitting at dinner, they discoursed of diverse matters concerning the present distractions of these times, and diverse propositions were made, and every one gave their opinions according to their own apprehensions; and amongst other discourses, captain Muschamp, seeming to be in a merry humour, did speak these, or such like words.

"'Well, master major, if that it should please God that the parliament in England should have the best of it in this warre, and that the parliament ships were in the harbour of Cork, if you and the rest would not take the covenant to be true to the king and parliament; I protest I would, with the great ordinance of the fort, beat down all the houses in Cork about your eares.'

"With that the major and the rest of the company rose up in a great fury, and said, that he had spoken treason, and he should answer it, and so they brought him before the governor, and repeated the words he had spoken; desiring that he might be proceeded against according to law, in such cases provided. Whereupon the governor gave many thanks to master major in shewing himself so good a subject, in discovering such a treason as that was, saying it was time to look about us, when we shall have the chief officers that are put in trust with matters of such concernment, as he was, being governor of the king's fort, should speak such treasonable words, 'and therefore, master major, you shall have my best assistance, and such punishment shall be inflicted upon him as marshall law will permit.'

"So the major for the present departed, and a marshall court was called, and the counsell of warre met, and sat upon his tryall, the businesse examined, the witnesses produced, the words were proved against him, and being found guilty, was condemned by the counsell of warre for treason, had his sentence given to be hanged the next day. And at the time appoynted the sberfes, and the greatest part of the city came to see the execution, and the prisoner was brought out of the city well garded, with a consider-

nant, an oath that they would endeavour the extirpation of popery, and prosecute to the last the war against the Irish; he persuaded lord Esmond, governor of the important fort of Duncannon, to join with him in revolting to the parliament and disclaiming the cessation. Inchiquin declined taking the covenant himself until the expiration of the cessation. Monroe immediately entered into communication with the new parliamentarians in the south, and promised to concur vigorously with them in carrying on the war; but he soon relaxed into his usual inactivity, and Inchiquin, without efficient support from the parliament, found it necessary to agree to a cessation with the Irish confederates.

Lord Inchiquin gave publicly as his reason for revolting to the parliament, the undue partiality which the king began to show to the catholics, and the disregard which he showed to his protestant subjects in the negotiations with the Irish agents at Oxford; and his sentiments were those of most of the protestants of Ireland, and were naturally responded to in England. The king was aware of the unpopular course he was pursuing, but he now seemed resolved to make any sacrifice rather than forego his hopes of assistance from the Irish. He determined to obtain peace with the Irish confederates, even on terms most disadvantageous to himself and his cause, but, as he had done on so many former occasions, he attempted to relieve himself from the public odium which must follow his treaty with the Irish by throwing it on his minister, the marquis of Ormond. Charles accordingly sent Ormond a general commission to make a full peace with his catholic subjects in Ireland, leaving the conditions to his own discretion, provided only that he effected such a union in Ireland that the king might derive assistance from that kingdom to suppress the rebels in England and Scotland. The marquis was at the same time given to

understand that he was to expect no instructions from court, but that, in fact, he was to act on his own responsibility, with the understanding that the king would protect him against all blame or injury to which this transaction might expose him. Ormond's devotion to the royal cause led him to undertake this delicate transaction, and the commissioners of the Irish confederates attended him at Dublin, on the 6th of September, 1644. They agreed in the first place that the cessation should be prolonged. But when they entered upon the negotiations for peace, the exorbitance of their demands was increased rather than abated, and it appeared as though they had, either received some encouragement to expect greater concessions than were publicly promised, or that they calculated upon extorting them from the king's necessities. They not only insisted upon all the extravagant propositions which had been offered to the king at Oxford, but they added some others, and especially they required that the Scots and lord Inchiquin, who sided with the parliament against the cessation, should be immediately proclaimed traitors. When Ormond represented the impolicy of such a proceeding at the present moment, they still persisted in their demands, in justification of which they alleged a promise made to that effect by the king; and the king's minister, lord Digby, acknowledged that such a promise had been given, provided a peace or cessation were first concluded. This discovery of secret promises on the part of the king added to Ormond's difficulties, but he determined to execute the commission which the king had intrusted to him as far as it lay in his power, without sacrificing the protestant interest, and having returned the same answers to the Irish propositions, which had been given by the king at Oxford, he stated to them the conditions which he felt it necessary to insist upon on the part of the protestants. He demanded that the govern-

able company of musqueteers; and when they perceived that the chiefest and most dangerous men of the city were come out of the gates, the word was given, and the prisoner, captain Muschamp, being set at liberty, did command his officers to lay hold on all the chiefest of the citizens, and carry them prisoners to the fort, whereof he was captain and governor, and as soon as they were taken, so the chiefest aldermen and others in the city were taken, and kept prisoners as hostages to secure the English as well within, as without the gates, which were at that instant shut up, and the drawbridge taken up, so that none could come in, nor go out, till all matters were pacified.

"And in the mean time there was a proclamation made, that if the Irish resisted the English, the soldiers should shoot them, and if any English were killed in that broyle, the chiefest of their city should be hanged over their walls; which proclamation did so terrifie the Irish, that they were all glad to be quiet, and so there was no great hurt done, which was much to be admired, that a matter of so dangerous a consequence should be effected without any further trouble, and the projectors thereof highly to be commended in devising such a stratagem of mercy, in time of such troubles and rebellion, to prevent the shedding of guiltlesse blood."

ment established by the confederates should be abolished, that the towns and castles in their hands should be restored to the king, and the churches to the protestant clergy, and that the protestant land-owners should be reinstated in their lands. The treaty was then adjourned from October to the succeeding month of January, in order to give time to communicate the proposals of the catholics and Ormond's answers to the king. The agents employed to carry them over had the misfortune to be captured by a ship in the service of the parliament, and this accident caused a longer suspense in the negotiations, which were not resumed till the month of April.

The king was impatient of this delay, and he entered into private negotiations with the catholics, through three agents appointed by them, lord Muskerry, Nicholas Plunkett, and Geoffrey Browne, in the hopes through them of hastening the conclusion of a treaty, from which he expected to derive so much advantage. Even in his public communications with Ormond, he intimated his readiness to condescend to further concessions; but private letters of the king to his chief governor of Ireland have been preserved, in which he declared his willingness to agree to terms which are quite inconsistent with all his public professions, and which speak little for his sincerity. Two of these letters were written at the moment when his commissioners were preparing to enter upon the treaty of Uxbridge. In the first, dated on the 9th of January, 1645, he informs the marquis of Ormond of the negotiations for peace which were in agitation in England. "The rebels, here," he said, "have agreed to treat; and most assuredly one of the first and chiefest articles they will insist on will be *to continue the Irish war*, which is a point not *popular for me to break on*: of which you are to make a double use; first to hasten with all possible diligence the peace there, the timely conclusion of which will take off that inconvenience, which otherwise I may be subject to by the refusal of that article upon any other reason. Secondly, by dexterously conveying to the Irish the danger there may be of their total and perpetual exclusion from those *favours I intend them*, in case the rebels here clap up peace with me upon reasonable terms, and only exclude them, which possibly were not counsellable for me to refuse, if the Irish peace should be the only difference betwixt us, before it were perfected there. These, I hope, are sufficient

grounds for you to persuade the Irish diligently to dispatch a peace upon reasonable terms; assuring them, that you having once engaged to them my word and the conclusion of a peace, all the earth shall not make me break it. But not doubting of a peace, I must *again remember you to press the Irish for their speedy assistance to me here and their friends in Scotland*, my intention being to draw from thence into Wales (the peace once concluded) as many as I can of my armed protestant subjects, and desire that *the Irish would send as great a body as they can land about Cumberland*, which will put those northern counties into a brave condition. Therefore you must take speedy order to provide all the shipping you may, as well Dunkirk as Irish bottoms; and remember that after March it will be most difficult to transport men from Ireland to England, the rebels being masters of the seas."

On the 18th of the same month, the king wrote still more pressingly. "I am sorry," he said, "to find by colonel Barry the sad condition of your particular fortune, for which I cannot find so good and speedy remedy as the peace of Ireland, (*it being likewise most necessary to redress my affairs here*). Wherefore I command you to dispatch it out of hand; for the doing of which I hope my public dispatch will give you sufficient instruction and power. Yet I have thought it necessary for your more encouragement in this necessary work to make this addition with my own hand. As for Poyning's Act, I refer you to my other letter: and for matter of *religion*, though I have not found it fit to take public notice of the paper which Browne gave you,* yet I must command you to give him, the lord Muskerry, and Plunkett, particular thanks for it; assuring them that without it there could have been no peace; and that sticking to it, their nation in general, and they in particular, shall have comfort in what they have done. And to show that this is more than words, I do hereby promise them (and command you to see it done) that *the penal laws against the Roman Catholics shall not be put in execution*, the peace being made, and they remaining in their due obedience. And further, that when *the Irish give me that assistance which they have promised*, for the suppression of this rebellion, and I shall

* A paper, it appears, in which the catholics, in consideration of his majesty's favour, had agreed to waive for the present some of their demands with regard to their religion.

be restored to my rights, then *I will consent to the repeal of them by a law.* But all those against appeals to Rome and præmunire must stand. All this in cypher* you must impart to none but those three already named, and that with injunction of strictest secrecy. So again, recommending to your care the speedy dispatch of the peace of Ireland, *and my necessary supply from thence,* as I wrote to you in my last *private letter,* I rest your most assured constant friend." In a postscript to this letter, Charles adds:—"In case upon particular men's fancies, the Irish peace should not be procured upon the powers I have already given you, I have thought fit to give you this further order (which I hope will prove needless), to endeavour to renew the *cessation* for a year; for which you shall promise the Irish (if you can have it no cheaper) to join with them against the Scots and Inchiquin; for I hope by that time, my condition may be such, as the Irish may be glad to accept *less,* or *I able to grant more.*" And finally, on the 27th of February, three days after the breaking off of the treaty of Uxbridge, the king, still at Oxford, wrote privately to Ormond as follows: "The impossibility of preserving my protestant subjects in Ireland by a continuation of the war, having moved me to give you those powers and directions, which I have formerly done, for the concluding of a peace there; and the same growing

* All the words in these letters here printed in italics, were written in cypher in the original.

daily much more evident, that alone were reason enough for me to enlarge your powers, and make my commands in the point more positive. But besides these considerations, it being now manifest, that the English rebels, have (as far as in them lies) given the command of Ireland to the Scots; that their aim is a total subversion of religion and regal power; and that nothing less will content them, or purchase peace here; I think myself bound in conscience not to let slip the means of settling that kingdom (if it may be) fully under my obedience, *nor to lose that assistance which I may hope from my Irish subjects,* for such *scruples* as in a less pressing condition might reasonably be stuck at by me for their satisfaction. I do therefore command you to conclude a peace with the Irish, *whate'er it cost,* so that my protestant subjects there may be secured, and my regal authority preserved. But for all this you are to make me the best bargain you can, and not to discover your enlargement of power, till you needs must. And though I leave the managing of this great and necessary work entirely to you, yet I cannot but tell you that if the suspension of Poynings' Act for such bills as shall be agreed on between you there, *and the present taking away of the penal laws against papists by a law,* will do it, I shall not think it a *hard bargain,* so that *freely and vigorously they engage themselves in my assistance against my rebels of England and Scotland,* for which no conditions can be too hard, not being against conscience or honour."

CHAPTER X.

STATE OF IRELAND AT THE PERIOD OF THE CESSATION; VISIT OF A FRENCH TRAVELLER.



MID the turbulence and miseries of a period like that of which we are now relating the history, it is interesting to obtain a glimpse, even if but a brief one, of the condition of the country and its people. A French traveller of some merit, named M. de la Boullaye le Gouz, visited Ireland in the course of his peregrinations, in the summer of 1644, and has

left us a narrative which, defective as it is, throws some light on the condition of the country during the period of the cessation.* After having narrowly escaped the parliament cruisers and shipwreck in his passage

* Boullaye le Gouz's travels were published in French in 1653, and a second edition appeared in 1657. An English translation of the portion relating to Ireland, with copious notes and illustrations, was published by Mr. Crofton Croker in 1837, and is the work here quoted.

from England, M. le Gouz arrived at Dublin on the 15th of May, 1644. He describes that city as a town about the same size as Angiers, in France, that is, of between twenty and thirty thousand inhabitants, and during the few days he remained there, he had an opportunity of witnessing the ceremonial of the lord lieutenant, in his attendance on sunday's service at the cathedral. "On leaving the church, there marched before him a company of footmen, beating the drum, and with matchlocks ready for action. Then followed a company of halberdiers, his body-guards, and sixty gentlemen on foot, with four noblemen well mounted, and the viceroy in the midst upon a white Barbary horse. I followed the train in order to enter more freely into the castle; but at the door they ordered me to lay down my sword, which I would not do, saying, that being born of a condition to carry it before the king, I would rather not see the castle than part with my arms. A gentleman in the suite of the viceroy, seeing from my gallant bearing that I was a Frenchman, took me by the hand, saying, 'strangers shall on this occasion be more favoured than residents;' and he brought me in. I replied to him, that his civility equalled that of the French towards his nation when they met them in France. Being within, I found this castle indifferently strong, without any out-works, and pretty well furnished with guns of cast metal."

Ireland was at this time divided in a singular manner between the hostile parties, who had their garrisons and towns so intermixed, that it was difficult to travel even a short distance without a passport or safe-conduct. Having obtained one from the lord lieutenant, le Gouz left Dublin in company with an Irishman of a wealthy family in Cork, named Tom Neville, and they proceeded together towards Limerick. At six miles from Dublin they passed a village, which our traveller in his Frenchified pronunciation calls Fortinguesse, which had been destroyed in the war; "there remained but one house, where was an English garrison." The first evening they reach Naas, which Le Gouz describes as "a large village, nearly ruined by the wars." At Kilcullen bridge where they dined the second day, they came into the Irish quarters. "We swam over a little river (the Liffey) with much trouble, carrying our clothes upon our heads; the Irish having broken the bridge during the religious wars. All this

country was laid waste, and we found none but poor unfortunates on the roads, who sold buttermilk and a little oaten bread. After having passed this river we came to sleep at Castle-Dermot, a little village under the dominion of the catholics."

On the third day the travellers reached Ballylaughlan, then remarkable for its fine castle, which was garrisoned by the catholics; and the day following they reached Kilkenny, which is represented as a city about the size of Orleans in France. Probably its resident population was at this period very much increased from the circumstance of its being the capital of the Irish confederacy. To judge from our traveller's description, the city of Kilkenny was at this time distinguished chiefly for its "monasteries of Jacobins, of Recollets, and a college of Jesuits, who are in great honour among the people." The confederates had restored the monastic orders wherever they had the power. "At the gates of the city," Le Gouz tells us, "they seized upon me, and led me to the mayor, who judging by my physiognomy that I was English, told me that I was a spy; that my figure, my speech, and carriage, were those of a native of England. I maintained that he was mistaken, and as politely as I could, contradicted him, telling him I was of the French nation, and a good catholic; that the passports I had from the king of England were proof of what I had advanced; that he might read them, and inform himself of my profession. He took them rudely enough from my hands, and reading only the superscription in English, 'Mestre le Gouz his passe,' which signifies the pass of Monsieur le Gouz, he was confirmed in his error, and said to the company, 'see, if this name be not English, and if I have not judged rightly that this fellow is a spy. Let the soldiers come and take him to prison; we do not so easily suffer these sort of rambles; we will soon discover the truth.' The impertinence of this lord [he appears to have been now considered as a 'lord' mayor] shocked me: I replied to him, 'you say I am English without any foundation but your imagination. Is there no Frenchman here who can judge if the French language is not natural to me, and English strange? As for my name it is English [*le Gouz* seems to have been taken for *the Goose*]; and it may be that my ancestors formerly came from England to live in Brittany, after the invasion of the Saxons, as those of many other French

families did.' He sent in search of an inhabitant, a native of Caen in Normandy, who assured him that I was French. I had leave to withdraw; and, owing to the catholic council which was held in this town, the hotels were so full, that if I had not met with a Norman, called Beauregard, I should have been forced to lie in the streets."

On leaving Kilkenny, the travellers were hospitably entertained the first day at Callan by Edward Comerford, a member of the general assembly of confederate catholics; the second day they were lodged by lord Ikerrin, probably at Lismullen; and the third day they reached Cashel. Most of the districts in the possession of the Irish confederates were overrun with Spanish monks and friars, who disgusted everybody by their arrogance and scornful bearing towards the ecclesiastics of other countries, especially the French. At Cashel and other places, Le Gouz was drawn into controversies with these Spaniards, which he details with great complacency. From Cashel he proceeded to Limerick, which he describes as the strongest fortress in Ireland. The city, according to Le Gouz's account, was remarkable for its number of courtezans, some of whom stripped his companion Neville of his money, so that from this place to Cork he was obliged to depend on the generosity of the French traveller.

The journey from Limerick to Cork took three days; the travellers sleeping at Kilmallock and at Castlemagne. They had now entered again into the territory under the power of the English, and they reached Cork immediately after the exclusion of the catholics from that city by order of lord Inchiquin. The account of their reception there will give some notion of the consequences of this act of violence. "Having arrived here, Tom Neville, of whom I have before spoken, led me to his father's house. He knocked at the door, when a well-looking man appeared, and demanded what we wanted. Tom Neville desired to know whether John Neville was at home. The man replied that he knew no such person. Neville insisting that the house belonged to the person for whom he asked, was told that it belonged to an English captain, who had it on the seclusion of the catholics from the town. He was surprised to find events so deplorable had occurred to his family. I sympathised with him, and observed, since things were thus, we must seek a lodging,

as the night was coming on. 'O, mister Frenchman,' he said, 'you cannot without injustice refuse to repair to the house, if not of my father, at least of some other relation. I have uncles in the town, where we shall be welcome.' We found out one of them, and by him were received with all imaginable kindness, and Neville learnt that his father had lost in the religious wars more than ten thousand pound sterling, and had been obliged to fly to the country, to avoid the tyranny of the English protestants. I remained eight days in this house in the midst of continual festivity; and on taking leave to pursue my travels, they thanked me for the assistance I had rendered to Tom Neville, and, in spite of all I could do, repaid me the money I had furnished for his expenses from Limerick."

From Cork, Le Gouz proceeded to Kinsale and Youghall, where he again experienced the inconvenience of travelling in unsettled times. "At the gate of Youghall I was surrounded by twenty English soldiers, who led me forcibly to the captain of the town; he demanded of me who I was, and after having shown him my passports from the king of England and from the viceroy of Ireland, I told him that I had travelled from Bristol to Dublin with Mr. Galway, a merchant of Youghall. He sent for the person I mentioned, and tired of questioning me, allowed me to depart quietly, being assured that I was not a liar." As lord Broghill, who commanded in Youghall, had followed lord Inchiquin in revolting to the parliament, a traveller from Dublin, passing through the catholic quarters, could not fail to be an object of suspicion. To avoid these inconveniences as much as possible, as he was now going again to enter the catholic quarters, for by the articles of the cessation the county of Waterford was left in the hands of the Irish confederates, Le Gouz proceeded by sea from Youghall to Dungarvan, which he describes as "a small town, where there is a fine castle, of which the Irish were masters. The harbour is very bad, and this year captain Antonia, a Spaniard, an excellent seaman, lost there a handsome frigate, with which he was chasing the small parliamentary vessels."

Le Gouz proceeded the same day eight miles beyond Dungarvan to Kilmacthomas, where he passed the night, and the next day he reached Waterford, which he describes as a fine town, very populous, and as large

as Tours, in France. Thence, he travelled in another day, to Wexford, where his Irish travels ended, for he waited there to obtain a passage to France. "This town," he says, "is very populous, owing to its great commerce. The fortress is a small square, regularly enough fortified, and washed by the sea."

Before leaving Ireland, Le Gouz made some observations on the manners and condition of its inhabitants, and, as he seems to have set down without much prejudice, both what he saw and what he heard, we may take it as a tolerably correct picture of the Irish during the period of the great rebellion; at all events sufficient to form a link between Ireland under Elizabeth, and the same country in the age which followed the restoration. In some things he was perhaps credulous, for he believed in the old legend, that no venomous animals could live in the island, or near anything that was brought from it. "Saint Patrick," he says, "was the apostle of this island, who, according to the natives, blessed the land, and gave his malediction to all venomous things; and it cannot be denied that the earth and the timber of Ireland, being transported, will contain neither serpents, worms, spiders, nor rats, as one sees in the west of England, and in Scotland, where all particular persons have their trunks, and the boards of their floors, of Irish wood; and in all Ireland there is not to be found a serpent nor a toad."

Le Gouz proceeds to describe the manners of the Irish. The natives of the southern and eastern coasts, he tells us, followed the customs of the English, while those of the north resembled the Scots in their mode of life. That portion of the population which received from the English the name of wild Irish, were still very rude in their manners. Receiving his impressions evidently from some of the catholic party, he adds, "the English colonists were of the English church, and the Scotch were calvinists, but at present they are all puritans." "The native Irish," he says, "are very good catholics," to which he adds, oddly enough, "though knowing little of their religion." "Those of the Hebrides and of the north

acknowledge only Jesus and St. Columkill, but their faith is great in the church of Rome. Before the English revolution, when an Irish gentleman died, his Britannic majesty became seized of the property and tutelage of the children of the deceased, whom they usually brought up in the English protestant religion." He cites as an example of this, lord Inchiquin, whose protestant zeal led him to persecute his catholic countrymen with so much bitterness, that, as Le Gouz assures us, he had already gained the popular appellation of "the pest of his country."

With regard to the ordinary diet of the Irish, Le Gouz informs us, "the Irish gentlemen eat a great deal of meat and butter, and but little bread. They drink milk and beer, into which they put laurel leaves, and eat bread baked in the English manner. The poor grind barley and peas between two stones [quernes] and make it into bread, which they cook upon a small iron table, heated on a tripod; they put into it some oats, and this bread, which in the form of cakes they call haraan, they eat with great draughts of buttermilk. Their beer is very good, and the eau-de-vie, which they call brandywine, excellent; the butter, the beef, and the mutton, are better than in England."

The traveller next describes the miserable hovels inhabited by the peasantry, which seem to have undergone little improvement since a very early period. "The towns," he says, "are built in the English fashion, but the houses in the country are in this manner:—two stakes are fixed in the ground, across which is a transverse pole to support two rows of rafters on the two sides, which are covered with leaves and straw. The cabins are of another fashion. There are four walls the height of a man, supporting rafters, over which they thatch with straw and leaves. They are without chimneys, and make the fire in the middle of the hut, which greatly incommodes those who are not fond of smoke.* The castles, or houses, of the nobility, consist of four walls extremely high, thatched with straw; but, to tell the truth, they are nothing but square towers without windows, or, at least,

* The editor of Le Gouz's account of Ireland, illustrates this description of the Irish hut by the following extract from the *Irish Hudibras*, a burlesque poem published about half a century later:—

"Built without either brick or stone,
Or couples to lay roof upon;
With wattles into wattles tied
(Fixt in the ground on either side),

Did like a shaded arbour show,
With seats of sods, and roof of straw.
The floor beneath with rushes laid, stead
Of tapestry; no bed or bedstead;
No posts, nor bolts, nor hinges in door,
No chimney, kitchen, hall, or windor;
But narrow dormants stopt with hay
All night, and open in the day.

having such small apertures, as to give no more light than there is in a prison. They have little furniture, and cover their rooms with rushes, of which they make their beds in summer, and of straw in winter. They put the rushes a foot deep on their floors, and on their windows, and many of them ornament the ceilings with branches."

After speaking of the attachment of the Irish to the music of the harp, Le Gouz informs us, that "the Irish carry a skeine, or Turkish dagger, which they dart very adroitly at fifteen paces distance; and have this advantage, that if they remain masters of the field of battle, there remains no enemy; and if they are routed, they fly in such a manner that it is impossible to catch them. I have seen an Irishman with ease accomplish twenty-five leagues a day. They march to battle with the bagpipes instead of fifes, but they have few drums, and they use the musket and cannon as we do. They are better soldiers abroad than at home."

The trade of Ireland, according to Le Gouz, consisted chiefly in salmon and herrings, which latter were caught in such immense quantities, that "you have one hundred and twenty herrings for an English penny, in the fishing time." The Irish exported to France "strong frize cloths," and in exchange took home wine and salt.

In regard to the temper of the Irish as a people, the traveller tells us that they "are fond of strangers, and it costs little to travel amongst them." Spenser, in the reign of Elizabeth, had spoken of the spirit of curiosity and the love of novelty which made them welcome those who arrived from foreign parts. "When," Le Gouz continues, "a traveller of good address enters their houses with assurance, he has but to draw out a box of *sinisine* or snuff, and offer it to them; then these people receive him with admiration, and give him the best they have to eat. They love the Spaniards as their brothers, the French as their friends, the Italians as their allies, the Germans as their relatives, the English and Scotch as their irreconcilable enemies. I was surrounded on my journey from Kilkenny to Cashel by a detachment of twenty Irish soldiers, and when they learnt I was a Frankard (it is thus they call us), they did not molest me in the least, but made me

offers of service, seeing that I was neither Sassenach nor English." Our traveller probably refines a little in his account of the national partialities of the Irish, for the sake of giving point to his sentences; but from the long intercourse they had had with Spain, during a succession of insurrections often provoked, and generally supported by that power, we cannot be surprised at the close intimacy which existed between them, independent of the influence of the Spanish monks upon the Irish population.

Le Gouz gives rather a minute description of the costume of the old Irish, not omitting the mantle which was so odious to the English in the reign of queen Elizabeth, and which seems now to have been as important an article of clothing to the Irish as it was then. "The Irish whom the English call wild, have for their head-dress a little blue cap, raised two fingers' breadth in front, and behind covering their head and ears. Their doublet has a long body and four skirts, and their breeches are a pantaloon of white frize, which they call trowsers. Their shoes, which are pointed, with a single sole, they call brogues. They often told me of a proverb in English, 'Irish brogues for English dogs,' the shoes of Ireland for the dogs of England, meaning that their shoes are worth more than the English. For cloaks they have five or six yards of frize drawn round the neck, the body, and over the head, and they never quit this mantle, either in sleeping, working, or eating. The generality of them have no shirts, and about as many lice as hairs on their heads, which they kill before each other without any ceremony. The northern Irish have for their only dress breeches, and a covering for the back, without cap, shoes, or stockings. The women of the north have a double rug, girded round their middle, and fastened to the throat. Those bordering on Scotland have no more clothing. The girls of Ireland, even those living in towns, have for their head-dress only a ribbon, and if married, they have a napkin on the head in the manner of the Egyptians. The body of their gowns comes only to their breasts, and when they are engaged in work, they gird their petticoat with their sash above the abdomen. They wear a hat and

On either side there was a door,
Extent from roof unto the floor;
Which they, like hedgehogs, stopt with straw,
Or open, as the wind does blow;

And though they reach from top to floor,
His grace crept in upon all-four.
Betwixt the door there was a spot
I th' middle, to hang o'er the pot."

mantle very large, of a brown colour, of which the cape is of coarse woollen frize, in the fashion of the women of Lower Normandy."

The condition of Ireland at this moment was rendered doubly miserable by the utter destruction of commerce. The coasts were watched on every side by parliamentary cruisers, who struck the more terror into the ships they pursued, because it was commonly reported that they put to death indiscriminately all who fell into their hands. For some time neither prayers nor promises could procure our traveller a passage to France in any of the vessels leaving the port of Wexford. At length he embarked in a pinnace, the skipper of which promised to put him on board the first French or Spanish ship they met. "We sailed immediately, but the wind having changed against us, we were obliged to make the mole, and to anchor in the same spot from which we had taken our departure. From thence he sent me ashore again, saying that he would not risk, for the passage of an individual, the loss of his cargo; that if he were taken by the French, and that I did not keep his secret, they would declare that his vessel was a lawful prize, having smuggled goods on board. I entreated of him not to leave me in this island, which I had no means of quitting, since the natives were in such fear of the parliamentarians that they dared not

put to sea. He remained inexorable, and I was astonished at the ungraciousness of this Irishman, as his countrymen are in general so attentive to strangers. He obliged me to remain in this island, where civil warfare was raging on all sides, and from which the escape appeared to me very difficult, because there was no vessel at Dublin, Limerick, or at Wexford. Scotland was out of the question, for there was no security there." At length, by the intervention of his friends in Wexford, Le Gouz was allowed to re-embark, and they set sail a second time. In four days they reached the Scilly isles, where they were chased by three Barbary corsairs from Salee, and were obliged to make for the Cornish coast, near St. Ives, for shelter. Here they fell in with a frigate of the parliament, which gave chase, and they were obliged to fly again. "We should have preferred," says the traveller, "falling into the hands of the Turks than of the parliamentarians, because with the first we should have been assured of life, but with the others we were certain of being killed, on account of the massacres which the Irish had made in their country of the English planters." At length they gained the port of Falmouth, which was in the hands of the royalists, and where the queen was waiting for a passage to France. Le Gouz obtained a passage in one of the ships which escorted her majesty.

CHAPTER XI.

ACTIVITY OF THE CONFEDERATES; THE WAR IN MUNSTER; SECRET MISSION OF THE EARL OF GLAMORGAN; ARRIVAL OF THE PAPAL NUNCIO.



As the king had stated in his private letter to the marquis of Ormond, and as we have seen by the adventures of the French traveller Le Gouz, the parliament was so entirely masters of the sea, that it was

only by stealth that the king could communicate with his Irish friends. The inclemency of the winter months rendered his enemies less watchful, and it was then that his communications were most frequent.

The winter of 1644 was one of complicated intrigues, for Charles, conscious of the difficulties with which he had to contend in England, seemed daily more bent upon throwing himself into the arms of the Irish catholics, and the latter, aware also of his position, showed a determination to extort from him the most extravagant concessions. Under these circumstances, the marquis of Ormond was soon found to be too cautious a negotiator; he seems to have been as anxious as the king not to engage his own personal responsibility too far, he possessed sufficient prudence and foresight to perceive

the danger of the course the king was now pursuing, and he appears to have had sincerely at heart the interests of the protestant establishment. He did not hesitate to express his feelings in private to Charles's minister, lord Digby, to whom he wrote at the end of December, 1644, in these words:—"One thing I shall beseech you to be careful of, which is, to take order that the *commands* that shall be directed to me touching this people (if any be), thwart not the grounds I have laid to myself in point of religion; for in that, and in that only, I shall resort to the liberty left to a subject to obey by suffering. And this I mention, lest the king's service should suffer in my scrupulousness in things another would find less difficulty in." Instead, therefore, of hurrying to execute the king's wishes to obtain a peace on any terms, he preserved an air of dignity in his negotiations with the confederates, and canvassed their propositions with so much reserve, that the violent catholics (probably aware of the king's eagerness) accused the lord lieutenant of obstructing the peace, while some of the more zealous of the king's friends blamed him as the cause that the king was not assisted in his distress. Ormond would willingly have resigned an office, in which he was surrounded with perplexities, and where he felt that he could not honourably go the whole length of the king's wishes. But the king was too well acquainted with the respect which Ormond's character inspired, with his prudence, his zeal, and his vigilance, to listen to a request which would deprive him of the services of so valuable a minister, which, moreover, had just been proved in the discovery, by his watchfulness, of a plot to deliver the cities of Dublin, Drogheda, and Dundalk, into the hands of the parliament. Charles, therefore, made an unprofitable show of condescension towards the recusants on one side, of granting new powers and favours to Ormond, and of sympathy for the sufferings of the protestants, which neither conciliated the first, satisfied the last, or strengthened the lord lieutenant.

Meanwhile the confederates were extraordinarily active. They dispatched their agents abroad to press foreign courts for assistance. An ecclesiastic of the name of Burke was sent to Madrid. They sent the secretary of the supreme council, Richard Balling, with letters to the pope, the Italian princes, and to the Spanish governor of the

Low Countries, to explain to them their position and their hopes, "that they might know what they had to trust to, and what succours they might really depend upon from abroad; and that, in case they should be again forced to serve God in holes and corners, the world might be convinced that they had laboured all they could to prevent this misfortune." They had numerous agents in the court of the English queen, now residing at Paris; and they seem there to have met with special encouragement, which some of them ill-deserved by their presumption and indiscretion. To encourage foreign princes to take up their cause with confidence, they made extraordinary representations of their own power, which they exhibited by transporting to the service of France fourteen hundred foot, and by allowing considerable levies for the king of Spain. Yet when Ormond urged them to send two thousand men to serve against the covenanters in Scotland, they declared "that they would send no men to the king's assistance, until such a peace should be settled as might demonstrate that they had really taken arms for the sake of religion, and to establish it in its full splendour."

The Irish confederates had, indeed, been constantly shifting the ground on which they rested their cause, since the beginning of the rebellion, when they complained only of a few personal grievances, and professed themselves obedient subjects. It was a proof that the ultra-Irish and Romish party were gradually rising in influence, and that they were now overruling their moderate associates. The negotiations went on at Dublin languidly, and with no prospect of any satisfactory result. They were to be renewed by appointment on the 10th of April; but the confederates, who wished to gain time to learn the result of their applications to foreign courts, and who imagined that as the king was gradually plunged into deeper difficulties, they might wring from him more advantageous terms, proposed a further postponement. As Ormond, however, insisted that conference should be resumed on the appointed day, the Irish agents attended him, but in numbers not sufficient, by their commission, to proceed to business. A week was lost before the requisite number was complete, and then they declared that they could conclude nothing without the approbation of the general assembly of the catholic con-

federation, which was to meet on the 15th of May; previous to which they could go no further than delivering their propositions, and debating the matter of them; but they desired to be made acquainted with the utmost concessions the king was willing to make, and promised to do their best to prevail upon their party to agree to them. As this merely amounted to a postponement of the negotiations, Ormond only treated on the basis already proposed, listened to the same demands, and returned the same answers, with a few additional concessions of no essential importance, and concealed the power which the king had privately given him to consent to the repeal of the penal statutes. When, at length, the assembly met, it was soon found that, however unanimous the confederates might appear in their measures of resistance, they were split into many parties on other points, and that they were not likely to agree very easily to any reasonable terms of peace. The Irish of Ulster insisted upon retaining all the lands and other advantages they had gained by the first massacres and acts of violence in the north, and utterly to subvert the northern plantations; and they were supported by the arrogance of the clergy, who had the commonalty at their devotion throughout the island, and who would be satisfied with nothing short of the re-establishment of the supremacy of Rome. The impatience which the king had expressed for an accommodation with the Irish was not long kept a secret, and it increased the insolence of the confederates.

In the meantime, relieved from hostilities in other parts of the island, the confederates were carrying on the war with vigour against the partizans of the parliament, or, as the Irish, who had now learnt the term, called them, the roundheads, in Munster. The revolt of the garrison of Duncannon, under lord Esmond, to the parliament, had alarmed the supreme council of Kilkenny, because it commanded the harbour of Waterford, and they raised an army to besiege it under the Leinster general, Preston, at the beginning of the year. Lord Castlehaven, who had proceeded to Kilkenny after his return from the Ulster expedition, dissatisfied, as he tells us, at the slow progress made in the negotiations for peace, seems to have been disgusted at the proceedings of the supreme council, and he joined Preston's besieging army from motives of curiosity, for this appears to have been the first regular siege

undertaken by the confederates. "Preston," he tells us, "made not any line of circumvallation, fearing no succour that could come on the land side [he was protected by the terms of the treaty of cessation]; but began his approaches with two attacks; and being come near the place, joined them with a line of communication, and then ran them on divided to the two ends of the curtain. Those within made a good defence, and lost nothing in six weeks, only the besiegers had made a lodging in the ditch." As they lay open to the sea, the garrison had no difficulty in receiving reinforcements and supplies, but they came slowly and precariously, and want was a greater enemy to the garrison than the besiegers who lay without. At length two or three frigates of the parliament arrived, bringing men, ammunition, and provisions; but before they could effect a landing, so furious a tempest arose, that for eight or ten days it was impossible to approach the shore. The garrison, which had now made a brave resistance of ten weeks, were compelled by their necessities to surrender, and their commander, lord Esmond, did not long survive the disaster."

When, about the same time, the truce with lord Inchiquin having expired, that commander having received encouragement and some assistance from the parliament, recommenced hostilities, and soon overrun the southern province. When he came to Cashel, the inhabitants took shelter in the cathedral on the rock, and blindly set the assailants at defiance; but it was taken by storm, and a great slaughter of the Irish was made in and about the church. The clergy who now ruled in the councils of the confederates, were horror-struck by the intelligence that more than twenty ecclesiastics had fallen in this massacre, and they were urgent in calling down vengeance upon the perpetrators. An army of five thousand foot and a thousand horse, was placed under the command of the earl of Castlehaven, who took the field at Clonmel. South Munster was at this time so entirely under the power of the English, that, to use lord Castlehaven's words, "every gentleman's house, or castle, was garrisoned, and kept the country in awe." Lord Castlehaven's arms were chiefly occupied in reducing these petty garrisons. On the 5th of April, 1645, he marched to Capperquin, which soon surrendered. Drommane, Lismore, and Michaelstown, were taken successively; and he proceeded in this manner without

bringing the enemy to an engagement, which Inchiquin avoided, until he came to the walls of Cork, and from thence proceeded to Youghall, to which he laid siege, but was obliged to relinquish his design by the vigilance of lord Inchiquin, who threw succours into the town. Castlehaven "trifled out the remains of the campaign in destroying the harvest," and then retired into winter quarters.

Meanwhile the king was carrying on in secret a new project, and certainly not a very honourable one, for obtaining assistance from the Irish catholics. In England there was perhaps no family more devotedly and unreservedly attached to the king's person than that of the marquis of Worcester, and the eldest son of the marquis, lord Herbert, enjoyed in an especial degree the royal favour. Lord Herbert was not only a zealous, but a violent catholic, and he seemed a fit person to work upon the catholics of Ireland; while he had proved his devotion to the king on various occasions. At the commencement of the civil war he had been made lord-lieutenant of South Wales, and had raised for the king's service, at his own and his father's expense, fifteen hundred foot and nearly five hundred horse; his conciliatory manners made him generally popular; and he was connected with Ireland and the catholic party there by his marriage with the lady Margaret O'Brien, sister of the earl of Thomond. In the spring of 1644 the king had, as a mark of special favour, created him earl of Glamorgan, and, although it appears doubtful if the patent ever passed the great seal, he was usually addressed by that title, even by the king. The earl of Glamorgan, for by this title he is generally spoken of in the transactions now to be recorded, was sanguine and weak, and his vanity was puffed up by the various marks of royal favour bestowed upon him; and the king, who had formed extravagant expectations of the assistance he was to derive from him, authorised him to raise forces, command armies, and even to bestow honours at discretion. Such a man was peculiarly fitted to be a secret negotiator with the Irish confederates.

Towards the end of the year 1644, the earl of Glamorgan announced his intention of proceeding to Ireland, as it was pretended on private business, but the great expectations which were soon afterwards avowed by the catholics; and their anxiety for his arrival, showed that his visit had another object.

On the 27th of December, the king, then at Oxford, gave him a letter to the marquis of Ormond, in which, speaking of him merely as lord Herbert, he announced to the lord lieutenant that, "my lord Herbert having businesses of his own in Ireland (wherein I desire you to do him all lawful favour and furtherance), I have thought good to use the power I have both in his affection and duty, to engage him in all possible ways to further the peace there; which he hath promised to do. Wherefore, as you find occasion, you may confidently use and trust him in this or any other thing he shall propound to you for my service; there being none in whose honesty and zeal to my person and crown I have more confidence." As if foreseeing the necessity which might arise of disavowing his agent at some future period, the king added a postscript in cypher. "His honesty or affection to my service will not deceive you; but I will not answer for his judgment."

Having once resolved to employ the earl of Glamorgan as a secret agent, the king seems gradually to have extended his designs, and Glamorgan was detained in England longer than was expected. Perhaps he had urged the necessity of having some sufficient credentials to exhibit to the catholics, or the king may have hesitated as to the degree of authority with which he would entrust him. On the 6th of January, 1645, he gave him an extensive commission for levying men in Ireland or elsewhere, for commanding them, and for other objects connected with them. On the 12th of January, the earl received another commission, of a different description, purporting to be given under the king's sign manual and private signet, and expressed in the following words. "Whereas we have had sufficient and ample testimony of your approved wisdom and fidelity, so great is the confidence we repose in you, as that whatsoever you shall perform, as warranted under our sign manual, pocket signet, or private mark, or even by word of mouth, without further ceremony, we do, on the word of a king and a christian, promise to make good to all intents and purposes, as effectually as if your authority from us had been under the great seal of England, with this advantage, that we shall esteem ourself the more obliged to you for your gallantry, in not standing upon such nice terms to do us service, which we shall, God willing, reward. And although you exceed what law can warrant,

or any powers of ours reach unto, as not knowing what you have need of, yet it being for our service, we oblige ourself, not only to give you our pardon, but to maintain the same with all our might and power; and though, either by accident, or by any other occasion, you shall deem it necessary to deposit any of our warrants, and so want them at your return, we faithfully promise to make them good at your return, and to supply anything wherein they shall be found defective, it not being convenient for us at this time to dispute upon them; for of what we have here set down you may rest confident, if there be faith and truth in men. Proceed therefore cheerfully, speedily, and boldly; and for your so doing this shall be your sufficient warrant."

The earl's departure was still delayed; the attempted treaty of Uxbridge passed over; the king became wearied of the slow progress of the negotiations carried on through the marquis of Ormond; and he seems to have been resolved to make a desperate effort to procure forces from Ireland. He now gave the earl of Glamorgan still more unbounded authority, by a secret commission dated on the 12th of March, from the tone of which we can only imagine that he was ready to make any promises to the Irish confederates in order to procure himself supplies, reserving to himself to break them, as he had often done before, when he had derived from them the benefit of which he was in need. This new commission was worded as follows: "Charles, by the grace of God, of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c., to our trusty and right well-beloved cousin, Edward, earl of Glamorgan, greeting. We reposing great and especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom and fidelity, do by these (as firmly as under our great seal, to all intents and purposes) authorize and give you power, to treat and conclude with the confederate Roman catholics in our kingdom of Ireland, if upon necessity any be to be condescended unto, wherein our lieutenant cannot so well be seen in, as not fit for us at present publicly to own. Therefore we charge you to proceed according to this our warrant, with all possible secrecy; and for whatsoever you shall engage yourself, upon such valuable considerations as you in your judgment shall deem fit, we promise on the word of a king and a christian, to ratify and perform the same that shall be granted by you, and under

your hand and seal; the said confederate catholics having by their supplies testified their zeal to our service. And this shall be in each particular to you a sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Oxford, under our signet and royal signature, the 12th of March, in the twentieth year of our reign, 1644." (*i. e.* 1644-5).

Immediately after the date of this document, Glamorgan left the court at Oxford, and proceeded to Wales, in company with sir Brian O'Neill and some Romish priests, and he appears there to have experienced further delay. When at length he did put to sea, his ship was seen and chased by a vessel of the parliament, and escaped with difficulty to the coast of Cumberland. It was not till the end of July that he landed in Ireland. In the mean time vague reports had gone abroad that the earl of Glamorgan was entrusted with an important mission to the Irish catholics, though of what character was unknown. In the month of April, the marquis of Ormond received private information, giving him to understand that Glamorgan was employed on a secret mission, and that it was suspected that it was quite independent of the lord-lieutenant. Before leaving Wales Glamorgan had written to Ormond to apprise him of his intended voyage, and the latter in a letter to lord Digby, dated on the 8th of May, expresses his regret that he should have been driven out of his course, and avowed his knowledge that he was to be employed in furthering the treaty with the catholics, though he appeared not to be aware that he had any instructions to treat without his privity.

Great events had in the mean time taken place in England. The battle of Naseby, so disastrous to the royal cause, was fought on the 15th of June, and when he had recovered from the first consternation caused by this great defeat, the king wrote to Glamorgan to press him to procure the supplies from Ireland, on which all his hopes seemed now to rest. The king's letter, dated from Hereford on the 23rd of June, 1645, was conceived in the following terms:—

"Glamorgan, I am glad to hear that you are gone to Ireland; and assure you, that as myself is no ways disheartened by our late misfortune, so neither this country: for I could not have expected more from them, than they have now freely undertaken, though I had come hither absolutely victorious; which makes me hope well of the neighbouring shires. So that (by the grace of God) I hope shortly to recover my late loss with advantage, if such succours come to me from that kingdom, which I have reason to ex-

pect. But the circumstance of time is that of the greatest consequence; being that which is now chiefest and earnestliest recommended to you by,

"Your most assured constant friend,
"CHARLES R."

One of the consequences of the battle of Naseby had already placed the public in England in possession of the secret of the assistance which Charles was to derive from the mission of Glamorgan; for among the papers found in the king's private cabinet, which fell into the hands of the victors, was a paper sent by Glamorgan to the king before leaving Wales, in which he promised to land in Wales with six thousand Irish by the end of May or beginning of June, and assured the king that the gentlemen of the counties of Monmouth, Glamorgan, Brecknock, and Carmarthen, would raise and arm four thousand men in those counties to join him. With the ships which were to transport the Irish he undertook to block up Milfordhaven, while the Welsh troops marched into Pembrokeshire. He stated further that he had thirty thousand pounds ready for this service, with ten thousand muskets, two thousand case of pistols, eight hundred barrels of powder, besides his own artillery, and that he was assured of thirty thousand pounds more on his return from Ireland. And he concluded by reminding the king of his commission.

It can hardly be doubted, when we consider the great assistance not only promised but expected from Glamorgan's mission, and the haste with which it was produced, that this nobleman carried with him the power to bring the negotiations with the catholics to a close far more speedily than the marquis of Ormond; and it is also pretty evident that he was hindered from fulfilling these promises by accidents only.

While these transactions were in progress, however, another personage had embarked on the troubled waves of Irish politics, whose influence was destined to produce new and calamitous effects upon the fortunes of that unhappy country. A new pope, Innocent X., had been elected to the papal chair on the 15th of September, 1644, and he was of a temper easily to be gained by the magnificent prospect of re-establishing popery in the British isles. Belling, the minister of the confederate Irish, was received at his court with every mark of distinction, and assured of the great interest which the new pontiff took in the affairs of his country; and in the month of March, 1645, he

sent as his nuncio to Ireland Giovanni Battista Rinuccini, archbishop of Fermo, a noble Florentine, who possessed many of the qualities of a statesman, overbalanced however by excessive vanity and bigotry. His public instructions, signed on the 16th of March, declared the grand object of his mission to be "to restore and establish in Ireland the exercise of the Catholic religion, and to reduce the people, if not to be tributary (as they had been five ages before) to the apostolic see, at least to be subject to the *gentle* yoke of the papal power in things spiritual, and at last gain over innumerable souls to the bliss of heaven."

In his more private instructions the nuncio was directed to unite the Irish prelates in a firm declaration for war, until their religion should be completely established, and the government of the kingdom entrusted to a catholic lord lieutenant. He was to practise with the marquis of Ormond, to do his utmost towards converting that nobleman to the catholic faith, and to prevail upon him if possible to deliver up to the Irish the cities of Dublin and Drogheda. He was to take Paris in his way to Ireland, and there obtain an interview with the English queen, for the purpose of consulting with her and assuring her that religion was the sole object of his mission; that no designs were entertained against the king's crown or prerogatives, and above all that it was only from his catholic subjects he could now expect any substantial assistance.

The nuncio reached Paris on the 22nd of May, and he remained there till the end of August, chiefly employed in communicating secretly with the queen, by the intermediation of private agents, for it was represented that serious injury might arise to the king's affairs in England if it were known that the queen had given the nuncio a personal audience. These communications, apparently candid and cordial, were distinguished by equal insincerity on both sides; the queen, entering into her husband's views of obtaining assistance from the Irish catholics by giving the least concessions possible, was anxious to engage the nuncio to his interests; while the latter was only intent upon establishing the power of the Romish church, and equally anxious to hinder her from taking steps which might lead to a peace. The queen was evidently desirous of retaining the nuncio in Paris as long as possible; she represented that there he would be an important negotiator between the pope and

catholic princes in the cause of the English kings, expressing her hope that by his means permanent peace might be made between the king and his Irish subjects, now that the former was in so much want of assistance; and that this was their mutual interest, the king being on the one hand reduced to great extremities, while on the other the Irish, if they forced the king to agree with the parliament, would, by the conjunction of England and Scotland, find themselves ruined and incapable of resisting so great a force; she insisted upon this as a motive for the Irish to abate their demands by accepting moderate terms, and not to endeavour "to extort the whole at once."

These communications were made to Rinuccini through an English catholic gentleman, who had been sent by the king to inform the queen of his defeat at Naseby. Charles was at this time listening more and more to the counsels of the catholics, and the consequence was that even the English catholics were taking courage, consulting together, and forming the most extravagant projects. When it became known in England that the pope intended to interfere in the cause of their Irish brethren, the English catholics sent a memorial to Rome, representing their own grievances, and desiring that the Irish confederates should be made to insert in the articles of their peace conditions in their favour, and that the catholics in both countries should unite with their whole strength to restore the king to power, on certain conditions. The articles of the English catholics were forwarded by the pope to his Irish nuncio, and found him still in Paris, and are important from the connection they have with the progress of affairs in Ireland at this time. They seem to a certain degree to imply a knowledge of the mission of the earl of Glamorgan, and of his extensive powers, especially when we consider that Glamorgan was directed by the king to enter into communication with the nuncio, and through him with the pope. These articles were as follows: "That the Irish do not come to England with less than ten or twelve thousand men, that they may subsist of themselves, without any fear of being cut off even by those English protestants who serve under his majesty. That two sea-port garrisons be delivered up to them. That the general and all the officers be named by the Irish. That the general be subject only to the immediate orders of the king. That this army be kept together

in a body, and not obliged to go upon any particular service, except by order from the general and council of war. That the English catholics, by the king's command and authority, have a power of meeting in a body, and with a corps of horse, answerable to the Irish foot, forming one army. That the catholic general of this body of English horse be such a man as shall not be distrusted by the Irish, but approved of by the Irish general." With regard to the conditions of peace to be made between the king and the Irish, they proposed that nothing should be omitted which was essential and necessary to the complete re-establishment of the catholic religion in Ireland, without, however, the least demand that might tend to any change in the political government; and they intimate the full knowledge that it was the king's intention to demand, through the queen, a subsidy of the pope. The tone of the English catholics throughout this transaction shows a consciousness of the king's habitual insincerity, and this appears in a singular manner in the end, where they urge upon his holiness not to give the subsidy until the king had bound himself to grant the demands of the Irish with respect to religion, "since," said they, "the king was not to be trusted, when once his interest might tempt him to agree with his parliament, to whom he had often solemnly declared his resolution to consent to any severities against the catholics; and his word was not to be relied upon, as appeared from the case of the earl of Strafford and the bishops, whom he sacrificed, after he had sworn to protect them." They desired, therefore, that before any assistance was given him, the king should agree that all the penal laws against the catholics in Ireland should be repealed; that the oath of allegiance should be abolished; that the catholics should be made as capable of any honours, posts, offices, &c., in the kingdom and parliament as any other subjects; that the king should bind himself not to agree with his parliament, but on condition that the latter should ratify these articles; and that to confirm and secure them, all the strong places in Ireland should be placed in the hands of the English and Irish catholics. If these articles were agreed to, they said, it was reasonable to hope for the conversion of the whole kingdom in a few years, which would contribute so greatly to the final extirpation of heresy in the north. These representations, combined with the orders of

the supreme pontiff, made the nuncio anxious to reach Ireland.

The king was evidently disconcerted at the intelligence of Rinuccini's mission, for he foresaw that it must give new strength to the violent party among the Irish confederates, and that it would most probably make them still more extravagant in their demands, and retard, if not destroy, his hopes of assistance. However, Charles seems now to have made up his mind to run all risks, and expecting that the nuncio might arrive in Ireland before the earl of Glamorgan, he gave that nobleman not only a letter to Rinuccini himself, but also one addressed to the pope, and to be forwarded through his hands. The letter to the nuncio, which was written in French, is so remarkable that it deserves to be given entire.*

"My lord, hearing of your resolution for Ireland, we do not doubt but that things will go well; and that the good intentions begun by means of the last pope will be accomplished by the present, by your means, in our kingdom of Ireland and England, your joining with our dear cousin the earl of Glamorgan,

with whom whatever you shall resolve, we shall think ourselves obliged to, and perform it at his return. His great merits oblige us to this confidence, which we repose in him above all others, having known him above twenty years; during which time he has always signally advanced himself in our good esteem, and by all kind of means carried the prize above all our subjects. This being joined to the consideration of his blood, you may well judge of the passion even which we have for him, and that nothing shall be wanting on our part to perfect what he shall oblige himself to in our name, in consideration of the favours received by your means. Confide, therefore, in him; but in the meanwhile, according to the directions which we have given him, how important it is that this affair should be kept secret, there is no need to persuade you, nor to recommend it to you, since you see that the necessity of the thing itself requires it. This is the first letter which we have ever written immediately to any minister of state of the pope, hoping that it will not be the last; but that after the said earl and you shall have concerted your measures, we shall show ourself, as we have assured him,

"Your friend,

"CHARLES R.

"From our court at Oxford, the 30th of April, 1645."†

Meanwhile the earl of Glamorgan, after encountering a variety of hindrances, reached

* The original letter was as follows:—

"A Monsr. (Monseigneur) Monsr. l' archevesque de Ferno.

"Monsr.—Entendant de vostre resolution pour l'Irlande, nous ne doubtons point, que les choses n'yront bien, et que les bonnes intentions commencées par effect du dernier pape ne s'accompliront par ceulx icy, et par vos moyens, en notre royaume d'Irlande et d'Angleterre, joignant avec notre cher cousin le comte de Glamorgan, avec qui ce que vous resolvés, nous y tiendrons obliger, et l'acheverons à son retour. Ses grandes merites nous obligent à la confidence que sur tout nous avons en luy, notre cognoissance estant de plus de vingt années. Pendant icel temps il s'est tous jours signalement avancé dans notre bonn estime, et par toute sorte de moyens a emporté le prix par dessous tous nos subjects. Le quel joint à son sang, vous pourrez bien jugez la passion que mesmement nous avons en son endroit, et que rien ne manquera de nostre costé à perfectionner ce à quoy il s'obligera en notre nom, au prix des faveurs reelues par nos moyens. Fiez-vous doneques à luy; mais cependant, selon le commandement que nous luy avons donné, combien il import que se tient secret, il n'y a pas besoin de vous persuader, ne plus de recommander, que vous ne voyés que la necessité mesme requiert. Cellecy estant la premiere que nous avins jamais immediatement escrite à quelconque ministre d'estat du pape, esperant que celle ne sera pas la derniere, mais que apertement (après que le dit comte et vous avez fait vos effects) de nous montrer, comme nous luy avons assuré.

"Votre ami,

"CHARLES R.

"De nostre cour d'Oxford, le 30 d'Avril, 1645."

As the nuncio, who prints this letter in his memoirs, observes, the French in which it was written is very far from correct.

† The king appears at this time to have had several independent negotiations in progress, all aiming at the conclusion of a peace with the Irish, but Glamorgan's mission appears to have been kept secret, even from his friends abroad. Sir Kenelm Digby, whose father had been executed for complicity in the gunpowder plot, was Charles's agent in Rome, and was earnestly pressing for a supply of money from the pope. Lord Jermyn, another English catholic, who was the queen's minister of state, was busy in France. In a letter written from Paris on the 5th of August, which was found in lord Digby's cabinet, when it fell into the hands of the parliamentarians at the battle of Sherborn (October 15th, 1645), lord Jermyn wrote to lord Digby as follows:—"sir Kenelm Digby writes hopefully of supplies of money from Rome, but concludes nothing; the Irish treaty trouble all our solace, until the peace be made with them. I fear all catholic help will be drawn that way. Upon this purpose I must tell you with what amazement the delays of the peace in Ireland is considered here; and you have left us so ignorant of the condition of the treaty, that we know not what to say of it. If yet it be not concluded, it is not like it ever will by *those that manage it now* (i.e. the marquis of Ormond). And, therefore, it seems to me, for satisfaction of those that so much press it of the Irish, and to satisfy this state (France) who are much of that opinion, and to *secure our hopes at Rome*, and, lastly, to put that business into a possibility of being concluded, that the proposition long since made to the king, of having the treaty made here by the queen and queen-regent, were not unfitly resumed. . . . The only thing I fear is, *that the king's party in Ireland might possibly not acquiesce in such a peace as would be fit for the king to make; and then he would have the scandal of it* (for it would be a *scandalous one*, that is unavoidable), without the benefit of an assistance from Ireland. To conclude, if nothing be done in

Dublin about the beginning of August, where he was received with distinction by the marquis of Ormond, and he was present at one of the meetings of the agents of the Irish confederates with Ormond in that city. After the return of these agents, Glamorgan made ready to proceed to Kilkenny, to execute his own commission with the confederates; and on the 11th of August, Ormond wrote for him a letter of recommendation to lord Muskerry, which derives an unintentional importance from the circumstance that it was afterwards taken as a proof, that the marquis would support any agreement that should be made between them and the confederates. "Though I am persuaded," Ormond wrote, "that the points which you and the other deputies have agreed to in the presence of my lord Glamorgan and myself, are still fresh in your memory, yet, considering that the weight and importance of a timely execution of the business, which you then were inclined to expedite, is now twice as great as it was before, on account as well of some incidents which have lately happened in England, as of your own security; and observing that in our meeting on this affair, you expressed a desire that I should act in concert with my lord Glamorgan, I think it necessary that I should remind and in this way acquaint your lordship, with that which I could not insist on in his lordship's presence, without offending his modesty and incurring the imputation of flattery. What I have to say, in short, is this: that I know no subject in England upon whose favour, and authority with his majesty, and real and innate nobility, you can better rely, than upon his lordship's; nor (if that has any weight with you) any person whom I would more endeavour to serve in those things which he shall undertake for the service of his majesty, or with whom I shall sooner agree for the benefit of this kingdom." The warmth and terms of this recommendation show, that the marquis of Ormond knew, at least, that the earl of Glamorgan had power to treat with the confederates, and that he supposed his treaty might influence his own.

We have seen that the king recommended to lord Glamorgan, above all other things, haste, and certainly as soon as he reached

Ireland, I think it most necessary that the offers of treaty be withdrawn from thence; and that the queen may be trusted to treat and conclude with the queen-regent here, with such as the catholics in Ireland shall appoint. This I write to you to consider of it.

the scene of action, he lost little time. It must have been the middle of August when he reached Kilkenny; he immediately exhibited his two commissions from the king, and proceeded to business; the confederates were dissatisfied with Ormond's reserve, and as the secret instructions he had received from the king were found in his cabinet at Naseby, and made public, they were, no doubt, now aware that he had authority to grant more of their demands than he had agreed to; moreover, the earl yielded at once, and without hesitation, all that Ormond had refused; and thus in spite of a protest by the abbate Scarampi, the pope's agent, against making peace publicly with the marquis and privately with the earl, and disjoining the religious from the political articles, a treaty was concluded between Glamorgan and the Irish commissioners on the 25th of the same month. This treaty, signed by the earl of Glamorgan for the king on one side, and by lord Mountgarrett as president of the supreme council, and lord Muskerry and the other commissioners on the other, commenced with a preamble setting forth the time lost in useless negotiations with the marquis of Ormond, and the powers given by the king to the earl of Glamorgan to make concessions which the marquis refused, and consisted of the following articles:—That all professors of the Roman catholic religion in Ireland should enjoy the free and public use and exercise of their religion. That they should hold and enjoy all the churches by them enjoyed in that kingdom, or by them possessed at any time since the 23rd of October, 1641, and all other churches in the said kingdom, other than such as are now actually enjoyed by his majesty's protestant subjects. That all the Roman catholics should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the protestant clergy; and that the Roman catholic clergy should not be punished or molested for the exercise of their jurisdiction over their respective catholic flocks. That an act should be passed in the next parliament to be held in Ireland, for securing all the king's concessions to the catholics. That the marquis of Ormond, or any others, should not disturb the professors of the Roman catholic religion in possession

By the return of sir Dudley Wyatt you shall know more of this particular."

Sir Dudley Wyatt was the gentleman employed in the private communications between the English queen and the papal nuncio in Paris.

of the articles above specified. That the earl of Glamorgan having engaged his majesty's word for the performance of these articles, the public faith of the kingdom should be engaged to the said earl by the commissioners of the confederate catholics for sending ten thousand men by order and public declaration of the general assembly of Kilkenny, armed the one-half with muskets, and the other half with pikes, to serve his majesty in England, Wales, or Scotland, under the command of the earl of Glamorgan as lord general, which army, it was stipulated, should be kept together in one entire body; and all others the officers and commanders of the said army were to be named by the supreme council of the confederate catholics, or by such others as the general assembly of the said confederate catholics of Ireland should entrust with their nomination. The Irish commissioners further engaged their word, and the faith of the supreme council, that two-thirds of the revenues of the clergy should be employed for three years towards the maintenance of these ten thousand men; and the earl, on his part as commander of this army, added the following protestation on oath:—"I, Edward earl of Glamorgan, do protest and swear faithfully to acquaint the king's most excellent majesty with the proceedings of this kingdom in order to his service, and to the endearment of this nation, and punctual performance of what I have (as authorized by his majesty) obliged myself to see performed; and, in default, not to permit the army entrusted to my charge to adventure itself, or any considerable part thereof, until conditions from his majesty and by his majesty be performed." The confederates, as a further security to themselves, in case of opposition from a protestant lord lieutenant, passed an order in the general assembly on the 28th of August, declaring "that their union and oath of association should remain firm and inviolable, and in full strength in all points and to all purposes, until the articles of the intended peace should be ratified in parliament."

Glamorgan and the confederates now looked with anxiety for the arrival of the pope's nuncio, and the former wrote him a letter which met him at Rochelle, on the 4th of October, and in which he assured him that in his whole negotiation between the king and the Irish, he was resolved to proceed in concert with him. Rinuccini embarked on the 16th of October, but when he

approached the coast of Ireland, to use the words of lord Castlehaven, "he was chased by a parliament frigate, commanded by one Plunkett, and, as he was ready to lay him on board, to the great misfortune of the confederate catholics, and many other good interests, Plunkett's kitchen chimney took fire, which to quench he was forced to lie by, and in the mean time the nuncio got the shore." After escaping this danger, Rinuccini landed on the 22nd of October in the bay of Kilmair, and he entered Kilkenny on the 12th of November. Throughout, his movements were marked by a slowness which was probably assumed, in accordance with the extraordinary dignity and importance with which the nuncio considered himself invested.

The nuncio, in his memoirs, describes with no little self-complacency, his reception at the capital of the Irish confederacy. The supreme council had sent three ambassadors to wait upon him and conduct him to Kilkenny, and they were accompanied with two troops of cavalry. Most of the principal catholic gentry of the country through which he had to pass, also attended upon him. The night before he entered Kilkenny he slept at a small house about three miles distant, to give time for arranging the ceremony of his entry into that city next morning. An escort of fifty young students, all armed with pistols, attended in the procession, and while the cavalcade rested, one of them, who wore a wreath of laurel on his head, repeated to the nuncio a copy of verses which had been written for the occasion. At the church of St. Patrick the magistracy of the city, with all the clergy, stood to receive the nuncio, and the vicar-general held forth the cross for him to kiss. Rinuccini then put on the pontifical hat, and, mounting his horse, proceeded in solemn pomp to the cathedral, some of the principal citizens holding a canopy over his head. He next paid his visit to the supreme council, and was received with great respect by its president, lord Mountgarret; and the personal vanity of the papal nuncio led him to remark, that the chair on which he was seated was covered with crimson damask, and adorned with gold of a somewhat finer kind than that which adorned the chair of the president.*

The papal nuncio had every reason to be satisfied with the profound respect shown to

* "La mia sedia era di damasco rosso con oro un poco più nobile di quella del presidente."

him by the confederates. Immediately after his arrival at Kilkenny, the supreme council gave him an account of their recent negotiations and treaty, and explained to him the sentiments and hopes which had led them to conclude the latter. He then had an interview with the earl of Glamorgan, who showed him the king's private commissions, on the authority of which he had made the treaty, and delivered to him the king's letters to himself and to the pope. The nuncio tells us in the pride of his self-importance as a principal champion of the church, that he felt at first doubtful whether he ought to receive a letter from a heretical prince without the express permission of the pope; but that on further reflection he considered that he had a general authority for treating with all heretics, and that the pope was inclined to favour the king's cause in order to the advancement of the catholic religion. The earl of Glamorgan then gave the nuncio a list of all the honours and commissions he had hitherto received from the king, to convince him of the trust which Charles placed in him, and of the power which he possessed of serving the cause in which Rinuccini was himself engaged. He professed the utmost devotion to the church of Rome, and, in expressing his personal respect for the nuncio, as its representative, he declared his resolution to proceed hand in hand with him in this great affair, for the advantage of religion, of the king his master, and of the apostolic see. Charles's secret agent was indeed anxious to gain over the nuncio to forward his wishes.

The nuncio, however, who evidently cared nothing for the king or for his cause, was at first reserved in the expression of his sentiments, and seemed intent on making himself fully acquainted with the real posture of affairs. At length, in the month of December, he made a public declaration of his views in a speech delivered in Latin to the supreme council at Kilkenny, of which he afterwards gave them a written copy, and in which he informed them, that the pope's instructions to him related to two points, the first of which was, that he should take care that the Irish should maintain an inviolable fidelity in the first place to God and the church, and secondly to the king; which would best be effected by establishing the free exercise of the catholic religion, and then by making peace with their sovereign. That as the political articles of peace which they were negotiating with the marquis of

Ormond, were to be published immediately, while the religious ones, concluded with the earl of Glamorgan, were to be kept secret until they were ratified by the king, it would appear to foreigners, who knew nothing of the secret treaty, that they had made peace on account of private and temporal advantages, and not for the honour and freedom of religion; and that this would occasion great scandal among all catholics, and be a triumph to the heretics. "Nor," said he, "did it seem a sufficient answer to this, that the concessions with regard to religion would be published and made known to everybody after the king had confirmed them; because in fact, besides that the scandal above mentioned would not be removed by these means, the whole affair was made to depend on a future event. And although there was no doubt to be made of the promises of a great prince, yet, on the other hand, a doubt might arise with regard to the situation and condition the king might be in when the time for confirming the concessions should come; for it was not unusual for even powerful princes to be sometimes reduced, by various accidents, into such exigencies, that, though willing to do much, they can perform but little, and are even obliged against their wills to grant or refuse many things, or at least to suspend their intentions. Besides, if it should happen (which God forbid) that the earl of Glamorgan should die in the meantime, who could press any further the confirmation of the concessions, or explain the whole course of this negotiation? It is certain, that in this and the like cases, all christian princes, even when they shall be informed of these private concessions, as well as the enemies of the Irish catholics, would say that they had taken diligent and safe precautions for those things which related to their temporal state, while they had trusted their spiritual and religious concerns to uncertain events; and that with regard to the plea that the publication of the religious articles could not be made at present, because the king's agents were apprehensive lest this publication might alienate the protestants from the king, this ought to be an example to the supreme council, that they might not alienate the pope and all christian princes from themselves, and should determine them to publish the religious articles with the others, or at least to suppress both until the king had confirmed them." The nuncio further insisted upon the necessity of stipulating that

they should always be ruled by a catholic lord lieutenant; and he spoke against the omission of any article relating to the bishops, and the erection of universities, and against that which promised the abrogation of the government established by the confederates and the supreme council, as soon as the peace should be concluded.

The supreme council replied to these objections by a simple statement of the position in which the king then stood. To insist upon the treaty with the earl of Glamorgan being made public at first, would manifestly (as was proved by the result) be merely to deprive the king of the power of confirming it, and would be tantamount to a refusal to assist him, or make any treaty at all. They had obtained concessions that they had no reason to expect, and they thought that they had a sufficient security in a promise which they must assist in placing their sovereign in a position to fulfil.

Rinuccini now applied himself to the earl of Glamorgan, whom he assured that he felt equal zeal with him in the king's cause. He told him that the pope had sent him with subsidies into Ireland, not only for the service of that kingdom, but that when the people there were rescued from the yoke of heresy, he might make use of them for the restoration of the church in England, and of the king's crown; that it was, therefore, the king's interest, above all things, not to suffer himself through a false zeal for a false religion to be any longer deceived by the artifices of heretics, but to place the whole expectations of the safety of his crown, next to God, in the pope, the union of the catholics of Ireland and England, and the catholics abroad; that, consequently, it was of the utmost importance to the king to grant to the Irish, from whom he might expect the greatest help in the world, the concessions due to them. By which being secured in their own country, they would be as able, as they were willing, to fight for him against his rebels. The nuncio added, in conclusion, that it was Glamorgan's duty to make such use of the powers given him by the king, as would be for the advantage of the crown in the only way which could be serviceable to the king and the monarchy, and which would secure the establishment of the orthodox faith. He thus succeeded at length in persuading the earl to sign a writing, by way of supplement to his treaty with the confederates, in which he engaged "that in

case the ten thousand Irish were landed in England, the articles till then being kept secret, the king should oblige himself never to employ any but a catholic lord lieutenant of Ireland; to allow the catholic bishops to sit in parliament, and universities to be erected under regulations of their own; and that the supreme council should be continued in the exercise of their jurisdiction, without any restriction from the present lord lieutenant, till the private articles should be ratified." At the same time the nuncio had called a meeting of the catholic bishops in his house at Kilkenny, and, imagining, as he said, that the treaty with the marquis of Ormond was already concluded unknown to the more zealous catholics, he drew up a protest against the peace in his own name, which was signed by the archbishops of Dublin and Cashel, and by the bishops of Ossory, Cork, Waterford, Clogher, Clonfert, and Ferns. This instrument was to be kept secret, unless the peace should be "abruptly or preposterously" concluded by the supreme council.

This account of the proceedings of the nuncio is given nearly in the words of his own memoirs. The public negotiations had been carried on with the marquis of Ormond, who seems to have been ignorant of Glamorgan's proceedings, and surprised at the sudden facility shown by the Irish agents. The articles affecting the civil interests of the confederates were debated with deliberation and temper, and were arranged without much difficulty. The demands with respect to religion and to the church establishment were more extravagant than ever; but, when Ormond absolutely refused to listen to them, the Irish agreed to waive them altogether for the present, and to make a treaty separately for what Rinuccini had designated as the "political articles," providing merely that no clause in this treaty should preclude the catholics from any graces they might subsequently obtain by their devotion to the king's service. This seemed reasonable, and no further difficulties lay in the way of a peace, to hasten the conclusion of which lord Digby now arrived in Dublin, sent expressly by the king to conciliate the different parties, in order that the success of which he was at this moment in such pressing need might be delayed no longer. It was thus mutually agreed that all propositions relating to religion should be referred

to the king, a concession which would appear to be the entire giving up of the grand object for which they had been struggling, to those who were not acquainted with the secret treaty which the Irish had made with the earl of Glamorgan.

The latter parted with the confederates in the full confidence that the peace was

concluded, and that he was on the point of leading his Irish levies to make a powerful diversion in England in favour of his royal master. We have no apparent means of ascertaining whether the king was at this moment acquainted with the whole course of the secret negotiations to which he was to owe them

CHAPTER X.

CAPTURE OF SLIGO; ACCIDENTAL DISCOVERY OF GLAMORGAN'S TREATY;
THE PEACE OF 1646.



BATTLE fields had been peculiarly unfortunate for king Charles in discovering to the world the private correspondence of himself and his ministers. It was an accident of this kind which now brought to light prematurely the treaty which lord Glamorgan had negotiated with the Irish. After the campaign of lord Castlehaven in Ulster, the lord lieutenant had shown an inclination rather to conciliate and gain over Monroe and his army, than to enter into new hostilities, and the neglect shown by the English parliament towards its adherents in Ireland seemed to encourage him in pursuing this course. Suddenly the parliament sent to the Ulster forces a sum of ten thousand pounds, with a supply of clothes and provisions, and at the same time a committee of their own body was dispatched to examine into the condition of the soldiery and stir up their zeal. Connaught was in a position more singular than that of any of the other provinces, for it was governed by three independent presidents, lord Dillon of Costello, who commanded for the king, sir Charles Coote, who commanded for the parliament, and Malachias O'Kelly, the catholic archbishop of Tuam, who was commissioned by the confederate catholics. With the assistance of a strong detachment of troops from Ulster, sir Charles Coote made himself master of Sligo, the principal place of strength of that province, which was in the hands of the confederates. The marquis of Ormond dispatched forces under lord Taaffe, to assist in repressing the hostilities of the parlia-

mentarian troops, who made incursions into the royalist quarters, while sir James Dillon, one of the Irish commanders, was sent from Kilkenny with a force of eight hundred men to support the Irish governor of the province. The archbishop of Tuam, a zealous and warlike ecclesiastic, had lost no time in raising the Irish of Connaught to recover Sligo, and on the 17th of October, 1645, he led the attack upon that town in person, and forced his way into it at the head of his troops. But at the moment when success seemed to have crowned their efforts, the Irish were seized with a sudden panic, and driven back with considerable slaughter. Among the slain was the archbishop of Tuam, and upon him was found, besides other papers of consequence, a complete and authentic copy of the secret treaty between the earl of Glamorgan and the confederates, with a distinct recital of the earl's private commission from the king, and of his oath to the Irish negotiators. These papers were dispatched in haste to the English parliament, by order of which they were printed and distributed abroad, and copies were sent to the lord lieutenant and to lord Digby, who was then in Dublin, as well as to many other persons in Ireland. The injury done to the royal cause by this astounding revelation was as great as that which it had received by the defeat at Naseby.

Lord Digby, who was the king's confidential minister, saw with alarm the position in which his master's affairs were thus placed, and he determined to make a bold attempt to stifle the slander raised by the publication of the archbishop of Tuam's papers, which contained not only Glamor-

gan's treaty, but a number of letters which implied a concerted design for re-establishing popery in England as well as in Ireland. It is even said that Digby nourished a personal jealousy against Glamorgan, and that he was not unwilling to lend a hand to crush him. He was invited by lord Digby to repair to Dublin in order to explain the state of forwardness of the troops which he had promised for the king's service, and, arriving in that city on Christmas eve, he was received with great civility by the lord lieutenant. On the 26th of December, a council was held, and then lord Digby came to the board, and there made a charge against the earl of Glamorgan of suspicion of high treason, accompanied with a motion that his person might be placed under arrest. In support of his charge, he presented a writing to the board, containing copies of the articles of the treaty, of the earl's oath, and of the secret commission given by the king on the 12th of March, 1645; and he declared his belief, "That any such pretended authority from his majesty, must be either forged, or surreptitiously gained; or if possibly the earl had any colour of authority, that it was certainly bound up and limited by such instructions and declarations of his majesty's intentions therein, as would in no wise license the said earl to any transaction of that nature; for most confident he was, that the king, to redeem his crown, his own life, and the lives of his queen and children, would not grant unto them (the Irish) the least piece of concessions so destructive both to his religion and religion."

A warrant was immediately signed by the lord lieutenant and council, by which the earl was committed a close prisoner to the castle of Dublin. The next day he was brought before a committee of the privy council, consisting of the earl of Roscommon, lord Lambert, and sir James Ware, when he made a full confession of the whole transaction, stating that he had consulted with nobody in it except with the parties to the treaty, and that he conceived that "what he did therein was not obligatory to his majesty." Two days afterwards, after reflecting upon this statement, he desired that to the words just quoted might be added, "and yet without any just blemish of my honour, honesty, or conscience." He then sent to Kilkenny for the original counterpart of the articles and the copy of his oath, which he delivered to the council

on the 30th of December, and was then liberated from his close confinement, but was continued a prisoner in the castle. He afterwards alleged to the marquis of Ormond that he had acted merely out of zeal for the king's service, and in the anxiety to procure him the immediate assistance of which he was so much in need, and to show that the king was not yet obliged by his agreement, he produced a "defeazance," signed by the same parties, the day after the signing of the articles, in the presence of his brother lord John Somerset, father Oliver Darcy, and Peter Bathe, explaining the intent of those articles, and expressing that the earl "did no way intend thereby to oblige his majesty, other than he himself should please, after he had received those ten thousand men as a pledge and testimony of the said Roman catholics' loyalty and fidelity to his majesty; yet he promised faithfully, upon his word and honour, not to acquaint his majesty with this defeazance, till he had endeavoured, so far as in him lay, to induce his majesty to the granting of the particulars in the said articles: but that done, the said commissioners discharged the said earl of Glamorgan, both in honour and conscience, of any further engagement to them therein, though his majesty should not be pleased to grant the said particulars in the articles mentioned; the said earl having given them assurance upon his word, honour, and voluntary oath, that he would never, to any person whatsoever, discover this defeazance in the interim, without their consent." It seems as though every person engaged in these transactions was trying to deceive the others.

It was now necessary to acquaint the king, through his secretary of state, of the steps which had been taken by his Irish privy council. On the 4th of January, lord Digby wrote a long letter to secretary Nicholas, expressing in a tone from which we can hardly be deceived in thinking that lord Digby himself believed Glamorgan had acted under the king's authority, and therefore that it was necessary to impress upon him the policy which had led them to use violent measures towards his agent. He remarked, in this letter, that if the conditions of peace granted by the earl of Glamorgan "were once published, and they could be believed to be done by his majesty's authority, they could have no less fatal an effect than to make all men, so believing, conclude all the former scandals cast upon

his majesty, of the inciting this Irish rebellion, true; that he was a papist, and designed to introduce popery, even by ways the most unkingly and perfidious; and consequently that there would be a general revolt from him of all good protestants with whom this opinion could take place." "Now," he said, "when we considered the circumstances convincing the truth of this transaction on my lord of Glamorgan's part; and how impossible almost it was for any man to be so mad as to enter into such an agreement, without powers from his majesty; and there being some kind of a formal authority vouched in the articles themselves; we did also conclude that probably the greatest part of the world, who had no other knowledge of his majesty than by outward appearances, would believe this true, and do according to that belief, unless his majesty were suddenly and eminently vindicated by those who might justly pretend to know him best. Upon this ground it was also concluded by us, that less than an arrest of the earl of Glamorgan upon suspicion of high treason could not be a vindication of his majesty eminent or loud enough; and that this part could not properly nor effectually be performed by any other person than myself, both in regard of my place and trusts near his majesty: that the business of Ireland had passed for the most part through my hands: that I attended his majesty about the time of the date of his majesty's pretended commission: that since that time I had by his majesty's command written to the Irish commissioners a letter, whereof I send you a copy, so diametrically opposite to the said earl's transactions: and, lastly, in regard that my lord lieutenant, to whom otherwise his majesty's vindication in this kind might properly have belonged, was generally thought to be unworthily cozened and abused in the matter, in case there were any such secret authority given by his majesty to the earl of Glamorgan. This being our unanimous judgment of what was fit to be done, and by whom, the whole question then remaining was to the point of time, in which we were also of opinion, that if it were deferred till the business, growing public otherwise, should begin to work its mischief, his majesty's vindication would lose much of its force, and be thought rather applied to the notoriety than to the impiety of the thing, and rather to the pernicious effects than to the detestable cause itself.

Notwithstanding I must confess to you, that the consideration of frustrating the supplies of three thousand men, which were so confidently affirmed to be in readiness for the relief of Chester, in case the condition of the place could not bear the delay which this might occasion, wrought in us a very great suspension of judgment, whether the proceedings against my lord of Glamorgan should not be forborn, till that so necessary a supply should be sent away. But the case being more strictly examined, we found, first, that by the earl of Glamorgan's oath, the forces were not to be hazarded till his majesty's performance of the said earl's conditions; and, secondly, that the supply was never intended by my lord of Glamorgan and the Irish, till the articles of peace were consented to; which the lord lieutenant durst in no wise do, without a preceding vindication of the king's honour, since this transaction of my lord of Glamorgan's was known unto him, and known to be known unto him by those who wanted neither art nor malice to make use of it. So that the necessary forbearance to conclude the treaty, frustrating as much the relief of Chester, as the sudden and vigorous proceeding against my lord of Glamorgan could do, our resolutions did in the end determine upon that course; when at the instant, to remove all objections, information was brought us, that the thing was already public throughout the town, and began to work such dangerous effects, as in truth I do not believe that my lord lieutenant or any of the king's faithful servants could have been safe in the delay of this his majesty's and their vindication, which has now been so seasonably applied, as that it hath wrought here not only a general satisfaction in all moderate men, but even such a conversion in many less well inclined, that whereas before a peace with the Irish, even by those unavoidable conditions upon which my lord lieutenant must needs within a few days have concluded it, would hardly have been published in this place without very much danger; men's minds are so secured and settled by this proceeding, as that I believe the peace now would be embraced upon these and perhaps upon harder terms without much mutiny or repining. This being so, our chief remaining fear is, lest what hath been done against my lord of Glamorgan should so far incense the Irish, as to drive them to sudden extremes, things here on his majesty's part being in so ill a condition to enter upon a war. Unto this

danger the best preventives we could think of are applied: this inclosed letter written to my lord of Muskerry by my lord lieutenant; apt persons employed to Kilkenny, to acquaint them with the reasons and necessities of this proceeding; and, lastly, the articles of peace sent unto them, with my lord lieutenant's assent, in the very terms proposed and acquiesced in by them themselves in the last results of this long treaty, which, in all probability, will have one of these two effects, either to make them conclude a peace, notwithstanding this intervening accident, whereby Chester will be speedily relieved, and his majesty be further supplied this spring; or make it break so foully on their side, as to divide from them the most considerable of their party. Whatever the event be, my lord lieutenant and I shall comfort ourselves with this satisfaction, that we have done what belonged to men of honour, faithful to their king and their religion,* and as wisely as ours and our best friends' understandings could direct us; leaving the rest to God Almighty, whom we beseech to direct his majesty to that course herein on our part which may be correspondent to our faithful endeavours; and that he will bless them with as good effects upon the minds of all honest men towards his majesty's vindication in that kingdom, as I make no doubt but what we have done will have in this, when seconded and pursued by those further directions from his majesty, which I am sure his own wisdom and a princely indignation to find his honour, conscience, and piety, thus infamously traduced, without further advice."

In a postscript to this letter, lord Digby adds, "I believe you will be as much startled as I was, to find the signet mentioned in my lord of Glamorgan's transactions. But it seems that was mistaken, and that he now pretends to some kind of authority under the king's pocket signet, which I certainly believe to be as false as I know the other." The next day, the 5th of January, the council sent copies of all the papers which had been laid before it on this affair, and of the minutes of its proceedings, to secretary Nicholas, accompanied with some remarks, among which it was observed, "That as the conditions of peace drawn from the earl were accompanied with all the inconveniences and mis-

chiefs formerly mentioned to his sacred majesty, to his royal posterity, to this his kingdom, and to the protestant religion therein; so they were very confident (and that upon grounds of most certain assurance) that his majesty in his high wisdom would adjudge them to be such, and consequently inconsistent with his honour and justice, and with the happiness and welfare of this his kingdom and people."

It will at once be observed, that, while the letter of the Irish privy council indicated only alarm, the letter of lord Digby was suggestive of a course to be pursued by the king, and we shall find that the suggestion was not thrown away. The king's disavowal of lord Glamorgan was hastened by a rather strong memorial of the English parliament, with whom Charles now wanted to make peace, in answer to which he made the following declaration: "His majesty having received information from the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, that the earl of Glamorgan hath, without his direction or privy, entered into a treaty with some commissioners on the Roman catholic party there; and also drawn up and agreed unto certain articles with the said commissioners, highly derogatory to his majesty's honour and royal dignity, and most prejudicial unto the protestant religion and church there in Ireland; whereupon the said earl of Glamorgan is arrested upon suspicion of high treason, and imprisoned by the said lord lieutenant and council, at the instance and by the impeachment of the lord Digby, who (by reason of his place and former employment in these affairs) doth best know how contrary that proceeding of the said earl hath been to his majesty's intentions and directions, and what great prejudice it might bring to his affairs, if those proceedings of the earl of Glamorgan should be anyways understood to have been done by the directions, liking, or approbation of his majesty; his majesty having in his former messages for a personal treaty, offered to give contentment to his two houses in the business of Ireland, hath now thought fitting, the better to show his clear intentions, and to give satisfaction to his said houses of parliament and the rest of his subjects in all his kingdoms, to send this declaration to his said houses, containing the whole truth of the business; which is, that the earl of Glamorgan having made offer unto him, to raise forces in the kingdom of Ireland, and to conduct them into

* It was not long subsequent to this when lord Digby, who was at this time a protestant, changed his religion, and became a Roman catholic.

England for his majesty's service, had a commission to that purpose, and to that purpose only: that he had no commission at all to treat of anything else, without the privy and directions of the lord lieutenant, much less to capitulate anything concerning religion, or any propriety belonging either to church or laity. That it clearly appears by the lord lieutenant's proceedings with the said earl, that he had no notice at all of what the said earl had treated and pretended to have capitulated with the Irish, until by accident it came to his knowledge. And his majesty doth protest, that until such time as he had advertisement that the person of the said earl of Glamorgan was arrested and restrained, as is above said, he never heard or had any notice that the said earl had entered into any kind of treaty or capitulation with those Irish commissioners, much less that he concluded or signed those articles so destructive both to church and state, and so repugnant to his majesty's public professions and known resolutions. And for the further vindication of his majesty's honour and integrity herein, he doth declare, that he is so far from considering anything contained in those papers and writings framed by the said earl and those commissioners with whom he treated, as he doth absolutely disavow him therein, and hath given commandment to the lord lieutenant and the council there, to proceed against the said earl, as one who either out of falseness, presumption, or folly, hath so hazarded the blemishing of his majesty's reputation with his good subjects, and so impertinently framed those articles of his own head, without the consent, privy, or directions of his majesty, or the said lord lieutenant, or any of his majesty's council there. But true it is, that for the necessary preservation of his majesty's protestant subjects in Ireland, whose case was daily represented unto him to be so desperate, he had given leave to the lord lieutenant to treat and conclude such a peace there, as might be for the safety of that crown, the preservation of the protestant religion, and no way derogatory to his own honour and public professions."

The king's answer to the dispatch of the Irish privy council is so remarkable in its evasive tone, that it also must be given entire. "We have seen and considered," says Charles, "the dispatch directed from you (the lord lieutenant) and our council there to our right trusty and well-beloved

counsellor sir Edward Nicholas, one of our principal secretaries of state, concerning the earl of Glamorgan's accusation, and your proceedings thereupon. And as we could not but receive the one with extraordinary amazement, that any man's folly and presumption should carry him to such a degree of abusing our trust, how little soever, so we could not but be very sensible of the great affection and zeal to our service which you have expressed in putting our honour (so highly traduced) into so speedy and effectual a way of vindication, by the proceedings against the said earl. And although we are so well assured of your and the rest of our council's entire confidence in the justice and piety of our resolution in what concerns the maintenance of the true protestant religion, and particularly of the church and revenues thereto belonging, and our constant care of our good subjects of the same in that our kingdom, as we do not think it needful to say any more to you upon that subject, than what hath been sufficiently declared by the practice and professions of our whole life: yet to the end that your zeal may be the better instructed in that particular, whereby to satisfy such of our good subjects as might be apt to be misled by the subtilty and malice of our enemies, we have thought fit to let you know the whole truth of what hath passed from us unto the earl of Glamorgan, whereby he might in any wise pretend to the least kind of trust or authority from us, in what concerned the treaty of that kingdom. The truth is, that the pressing condition of our affairs obliging us to procure a peace in that kingdom if it might be had upon any terms safe to our honour and conscience, and to our protestant subjects there; and finding also, that the said peace could not be gained, but by some indulgence to the Roman catholics, in point of freeing them from the penalties imposed upon the exercise of their religion, although justly and duly we might grant, yet haply in a public transaction could not be without some scandal to such our good subjects as might be yet to be wrought upon by their arts who did continually watch all advantages to blast the integrity of our actions; we thought fit over and above our public power and directions to you, our lieutenant, to give you private instructions and power to assure the said Roman catholics in a less public way of the said exemptions from the penalties of the law, and of some such other

graces as might, without blemish to our honour and conscience, or prejudice to our protestant subjects, be afforded them. With the knowledge of these secret instructions to you, we thought fit to acquaint the earl of Glamorgan at his going to Ireland, being confident of his hearty affections to our service; and withal knowing his interest with the Roman catholic party to be very considerable, we thought it not unlikely that you might make good use of him, by employing that interest in persuading them to a moderation, and to rest satisfied, upon his engagement also, with those above-mentioned concessions, of which, in the condition of our affairs, you could give them no other than a private assurance. To this end (and with the strictest limitations that we could enjoin him, merely to those particulars concerning which we have given you secret instructions, as also even in that to do nothing but by your especial directions,) *it is possible we might have thought fit to have given unto the said earl of Glamorgan such a credential as might give him credit with the Roman catholics*, in case you should find occasion to make use of him, either as a farther assurance unto them of what you should privately promise, or in case you should judge it necessary to manage those matters, for their greater confidence, apart by him, of whom, in regard of his religion and interest, they might be the less zealous. This is all and the very bottom of what we might have possibly entrusted unto the said earl of Glamorgan in this affair; which, as things then stood, might have been very useful to our service in accelerating the peace, and whereof there was so much need, as well for the preservation of our protestant subjects there, as for hastening those necessary aids which we were to expect from thence, had we had the luck to employ a wiser man. But the truth is, being very confident of his affections and obedience, we had not much regard to his abilities, since he was bound up by our positive commands from doing anything but what you should particularly and precisely direct him to, both in the matter and manner of his negotiation. Wherefore our pleasure is, that the charge begun by our secretary, according to his duty, be thoroughly and diligently prosecuted against the said earl."

The king thus admits having given some kind of commission or authority to lord Glamorgan (for to suppose that he should have forgotten such a thing, where every-

thing shows that he looked daily for the succour which was to be derived from it, is absurd,) and, with the knowledge of the commission shown by Glamorgan, he does not himself deny that it was authentic. No other document or proof was ever shown or appealed to, to prove the existence of any other more authentic commission, so that we have only against Glamorgan's commission the king's evasion, and the very indirect and insufficient denial of his secretary of state, for it was upon his shoulders that the denial was thrown. On the same day on which the king wrote the above letter to the council, sir Edward Nicholas also wrote them an official letter, in which he said, "your lordships will, by the king's own letter herewith sent, receive the particulars of *all that his majesty can call to mind, or imagine he may have done or said* to the lord Herbert in that business, and since the warrant whereby his lordship pretends to be authorized to treat with the Roman catholics there, is not sealed with the signet, as it mentions, nor attested by either of his majesty's secretaries, as it ought, nor written in the style that warrants of that nature used to be; neither refers to any instructions at all; your lordships cannot but judge it to be, at least, surreptitiously gotten, if not worse; for his majesty saith, *he remembers it not*. And as the warrant is a very strange one, so hath been also the execution of it. For it is manifest, the lord Herbert did not acquaint the lord lieutenant with any part of it, before he concluded with the said Roman catholics, nor ever advertised his majesty, the lord lieutenant, or any of his council here or there, what he had done in an affair of so great moment and consequence four months before, till it was discovered by accident." In a letter to the marquis of Ormond of the same date, Nicholas adds to this statement, "the king hath commanded me to advertise your lordship, that the patent for making the said lord Herbert of Ragland earl of Glamorgan is not passed the great seal here, so as he is no peer of this kingdom, notwithstanding he styles himself, and hath treated with the rebels in Ireland, by the name of earl of Glamorgan, which is as vainly taken upon him, as his pretended warrant (if any such be) was surreptitiously gotten." It must have been well known that the king allowed lord Herbert to assume the title of earl of Glamorgan, and that he himself spoke of him and addressed him by that title; so that

this was an unworthy attempt to throw discredit upon him.

On his confinement, the earl of Glamorgan had written to his lady, who was in England, a letter in which he expresses the utmost confidence in the result of the prosecution against him, declaring his expectation "that this cloud will be soon dissipated by the sunshine of the king my master. And did you but know how well and merry I am, you would be as little troubled as myself, who have nothing that can afflict me, but lest your apprehensions might hurt you." This and some other letters, fell into the hands of the parliament, by the capture of the ship which carried them over to England, and helped to convince the king's enemies in England that the proceedings against the earl of Glamorgan in Dublin were a mere mask to save the king's credit. That the king was not serious in his wish that the earl should be punished, as expressed in his public letters, is apparent from a private letter written at the same time to the marquis of Ormond, in which he says, "and albeit I have too just cause, for the clearance of my honour, to command (as I have done) to prosecute Glamorgan in a legal way, yet I will have you suspend the execution of any sentence against him, until you inform me fully of all the proceedings; for I believe it was his misguided zeal, more than any malice, which brought this great misfortune on him and on us all." It happens, however, that several private letters of the king to Glamorgan have been preserved, which afford the most distinct proof of the monarch's insincerity, and of the truth of the assertion of his enemies that the prosecution of the earl was nothing more than a show. It appears that the king had directed lord Digby, who was perhaps more in the secret than he pretended, to give certain advice to the earl of Glamorgan, as to the course which under the circumstances he was to pursue, and that he was very anxious that this advice should be followed. Accordingly on the 3rd of February, 1646, only three days after the foregoing letter to the council, the king wrote to the earl of Glamorgan, addressing him by that title, a letter which was worded cautiously, as it was to pass through lord Digby's hands. "Glamorgan," says the king "I must clearly tell you, both you and I have been abused in this business; for you have been drawn to consent to conditions much beyond your instructions, and your treaty hath been

divulged to all the world. If you had advised with my lord lieutenant (as you promised me), all this had been helped. But we must look forward. Wherefore in a word, I have commanded as much favour to be shown to you, as may possibly stand with my service or safety; and if you will yet trust my advice (which I have commanded Digby to give you freely), I will bring you so off that you may be still useful to me, and I shall be able to recompense you for your affection: if not, I cannot tell what to say. But I will not doubt of your compliance in this, since it so highly concerns the good of all my crowns, my own particular, and to make me have still means to show myself your most assured friend." On the 28th of the same month of February, the king wrote to Glamorgan in a more confidential style, because the letter was intrusted to the safer hands of sir John Winter, lord Glamorgan's cousin-german, a staunch Roman catholic, and a confidant of the queen. "I am confident," said the king on this occasion, "that this honest trusty bearer will give you good satisfaction, why I have not in everything done as you desired; the want of confidence in you being so far from being the cause thereof, that I am every day more and more confirmed in the trust that I have of you. For, believe me, it is not in the power of any to make you suffer in my opinion by ill offices. But of this and divers other things I have given sir John Winter so full instructions, that I will say no more, but that I am your most assured constant friend."

But before the date of this letter, the earl of Glamorgan had been set at liberty. It would appear that the Irish confederates had formed the same opinion of the insincerity of the proceedings against him as was entertained by the English parliament. When the intelligence of Glamorgan's arrest first reached Kilkenny, the catholics were thrown into the utmost excitement, and some members of the supreme council insisted upon taking up arms and marching at once to lay siege to Dublin, to procure the earl's release. Others, however, of the more moderate party urged less violent councils; but it was finally determined to call an immediate meeting of the general assembly, and it was further recommended that they should proceed to war if they could find the means of supporting it. They consulted with the nuncio, desiring to know the extent of the subsidies on which they could rely from

him, and the papal minister conceived hopes of again plunging the confederates into hostilities." "I shall endeavour," he says in a dispatch to Rome, "to encourage and keep up their spirits, to prevent any loss of time, which is the point aimed at by all those of the marquis of Ormond's party, who has sent hither some persons to justify him with regard to the imprisonment of the earl of Glamorgan, and to cool the vigorous measures concerting here. In the mean time, I cannot but assure all of them, that if resolutions shall be taken unfavourable to their first oath of confederacy, and they show a firmness in defence of religion, his holiness will supply them with new subsidies, and procure them still more considerable ones from other provinces."

When the general assembly of the confederate catholics met, they showed more temper than the nuncio expected, for they seem to have been convinced that no violence was intended against the earl of Glamorgan. They wrote to the lord lieutenant to press the release of that nobleman, and in the middle of January they sent one of their members to Dublin to convey to Ormond their refusal to resume the treaty so long as he remained in custody. Ormond attempted, but in vain, to induce the earl of Glamorgan to resign the command of the Irish troops which were to be transported into England, but the earl gave up to the lord lieutenant the instrument by which the confederate catholics had obliged themselves to their treaty with him. In his communications with Ormond, the earl utterly denied that he had received any particular instructions from the king, which directed or limited him in his negotiations. He declared that he had acted from no other motive but zeal for the king's service, in order to accelerate the transmission of the Irish forces; and that he did not consider the king as bound by all the particular articles which he might disapprove, from which he thought the confederates might recede rather than recal their men when already landed in England. He appears not to have confessed to Ormond his transactions with the nuncio, and the extravagant concessions into which he had been drawn by him. He had, it appears, sent for one paper from Kilkenny which had been a subject of alarm to the confederates, who anticipated divisions among themselves as the result of its publication; but he contrived so to secrete it that this part of the transaction remains still unknown.

It was seen probably by the Irish government that further proceedings against Glamorgan could only bring to light new scandals on the king, and on the 21st of January he was enlarged on his own recognizances and those of the marquis of Clanricard and the earl of Kildare.

The earl of Glamorgan was no sooner at liberty, than he returned to Kilkenny, where he continued to be employed in negotiating with the catholics as though nothing had occurred. He was particularly commissioned to exert himself in hastening the peace which had been negotiated by the marquis of Ormond, to expedite the three thousand men raised for the relief of Chester, and to obtain a subsidy of three thousand pounds to assist in paying the army. The immediate answers were not satisfactory; the commissioners referred the negotiations for peace to the general assembly; they said that the men were ready, but that they would not be sent till the peace was concluded; but they refused the money. Glamorgan, however, now joined cordially in forwarding the public negotiations of the marquis of Ormond, as the only course which promised to furnish speedy assistance to the king's cause, yet in all his intercourse with the Irish he still spoke of his former secret treaty as one which had been concluded under sufficient authority from his majesty, and which was defeated only by its having been prematurely made public. He soon found, however, that he had to carry on an apparently hopeless struggle with the papal nuncio, who resolutely opposed every concession to be made by the Irish catholics, and who proposed that, to avoid any immediate treaty which might not be sufficiently advantageous to the church, the cessation should be continued and some assistance sent to the king on the faith of his promised concessions. This proposal seems to have met with objections from all sides, when the nuncio received from Rome a plan of a treaty which had been drawn up at Rome and agreed to between the pope and sir Kenelm Digby, who had been sent thither by the English catholics. It contained a series of extravagant propositions for the aggrandisement of the catholic church, and to these the nuncio, who was empowered to make such additions as he should think proper, added other articles which were still more extravagant. He assembled the more violent of the popish clergy, and prevailed upon them to sign a protestation in favour of this treaty, which

he recommended to the general assembly as the only plan that would effectually secure their rights and interests, and he proposed to them that, while waiting for further advice from Rome, they should prolong the cessation, and send some forces to relieve Chester.

The nuncio next applied himself to the earl of Glamorgan, and he succeeded without much difficulty in gaining over that nobleman, who was chiefly anxious to obtain the promised assistance for the king, to his views. Glamorgan wrote to the marquis of Ormond in a style which implied a consciousness that his powers from the king were genuine and authentic, representing to him "that it was of the utmost importance to the king and kingdom, that no cause of offence should be given to the pope's nuncio," and insinuating the necessity of treating with him in his own manner. "But since," he said, "the high post which you hold, and the difference of religion, will not permit your excellency to engage openly in this affair, I believe it would not be at all improper for you to delegate that office to others, with whom if your excellency shall join me, who, though unequal in other respects, am inferior to none in friendship and regard for you, I doubt not that we shall in a few days, and even a few hours, obtain of the nuncio whatever shall be thought reasonable and honourable for his majesty; myself alone having by the interest and good will of the nuncio, gained this point, that three thousand soldiers are designed to be sent to the relief of Chester; and to-morrow or next day he is to have the chief management of that proposal in the general assembly." This letter was written on the 8th of February, and on the 11th Ormond replied to it in terms which seem equally to imply a consciousness on the part of the lord lieutenant that the earl of Glamorgan was authorized by the king to treat with the confederates. He cautiously declined engaging in any negotiation foreign to the powers he had himself received, expressed his ignorance of any grounds to expect advantageous terms through the queen, and then proceeded to say, "my affections and interest are so tied to his majesty's cause, that it were madness in me to disgust any man that hath power and inclination to relieve him in the sad condition he is in; and, therefore, your lordship may securely go on in the way you have proposed to yourself to serve the king, without fear of

interruption from me, or so much as inquiring into the means you work by."

But the nuncio had now to contend with formidable opposition in the general assembly, where there were many partizans of Ormond's treaty, who cared less for the dignity and splendour of the catholic church than for the concessions of a temporal character to which the king, through the lord lieutenant, had now agreed. Some even of the ecclesiastics took this view, and pointed out the impossibility of obtaining security for further concessions in the circumstances in which the king then stood; they urged that the pope himself had admitted that a connivance was all they could at present demand for their religion, and one of them offended the nuncio in the highest degree, by declaring his belief that his story of a treaty arranged at Rome was a mere tale, to hinder their treaty with Ormond. Glamorgan now, becoming more and more devoted to the nuncio, acted as a mediator between the contending parties in the assembly. He signed an instrument on the 8th of February, by which he engaged in the king's name to ratify the treaty concluded at Rome (as it was pretended) with the queen, on the condition that if the original articles should not arrive before the first of May, his engagement should be null, and that it should be kept absolutely secret until that day, unless the lord lieutenant should previously publish the political concessions, and that in such case this engagement should likewise be made public, with such circumstances as should be thought proper by the nuncio and himself.

On the 19th of February, the day after Glamorgan had signed this engagement, the nuncio yielded to the importunities of the earl and some of the deputies, and signed an instrument by which he agreed that the cessation should be continued till the first of May, at which time or even sooner, if the nuncio did not produce the original agreement between the pope and the queen of Great Britain, signed and sealed, he should ratify whatever should appear just and proper to him on the part of the pope, and to the earl of Glamorgan on the part of the king of England, in order that an honorable peace might no longer be delayed. It was agreed by this instrument, that the confederate catholics might in the mean time send to treat with the lord lieutenant for the political articles, but it was stipulated that no prejudice should arise from that treaty to this future one between the nuncio and

the earl of Glamorgan; that the former should not be concluded or published, till the conclusion and publication of the latter; and that in the mean time, no alteration should be made in the political state and civil government of the kingdom, but that both treaties should be concluded and published together and at the same time, with the approbation of the general assembly, if the nuncio and the earl should think it necessary to call that body together.

A short period of suspense and agitation now came, arising chiefly from the delay in the arrival of the articles from Rome; and this gave rise to new intrigues. The nuncio on one side feared that, if the king agreed to the Roman articles, the marquis of Ormond might refuse obedience, especially in regard to that article which stipulated for the delivery of Dublin and other strong places to the catholics, and that the moderate party among the confederates might join with Ormond. Glamorgan also was afraid that Ormond's opposition to the nuncio might retard the departure of the three thousand men for the relief of Chester. With this feeling he threw himself more decidedly into the arms of the nuncio, and on the 19th of February he subscribed a written promise to him, by which he bound himself on his oath to adhere to the nuncio's party, "not only against the marquis of Ormond, and all his relations and favourites, but likewise against all others who shall oppose the pope's treaty and your measures for the good of the catholic religion and the service of the king my master." "For," he concludes this singular document, "I esteem your cause to be the cause of God and of the king my master, *in whose name* I make all the concessions agreed upon between your lordship and me."

Satisfied with a mark of devotion like this, the nuncio now urged the general assembly for the immediate dispatch of the troops for England, and Glamorgan proceeded to Waterford to overlook the embarkment and transportation of the long-promised supplies. We are in the dark as to the communications which had passed between lord Glamorgan and the king, subsequent to the return of the former to Kilkenny, but he was now so confident in the possession of the powers originally entrusted to him, that in a letter to the nuncio written from Waterford on the 10th of March, he offered to act upon another more general commission he had received from the king

in the year preceding, and create one earl, two viscounts, and three barons, to enable him to gratify the Irish. On his first arrival at Waterford, on the 23rd of February, he had announced it to the king in a letter, in which he said, "I am now at Waterford, providing shipping immediately to transport six thousand foot; and four thousand more are by May to follow them. I hope these will yet come opportunely to the relief of Chester. What hath been the occasion of so long delays, and yet suffers not your majesty's service herein to proceed with that advantage it might do, I conceive not so fit to commit paper; but I will shortly send my brother, who shall fully inform your majesty with all particulars, and thereby rectify your opinion, and give you true knowledge who are your faithful servants. I hope long ere this captain Bacon hath arrived with you since my enlargement; and, therefore, I need only tell your majesty that my further services intended for you will, I hope without further crosses, be suffered to go on; though strange is the industry used by many seeming friends to hinder me therein. But I am confident it shall not lie in their power, your majesty remaining still constant, as I doubt not but you will, to your favourable opinion and right interpretation of my poor endeavours." Other letters written to England at the same time by the earl expressed the same sentiments.

It would appear that the earl had never been informed of the fact of the king's disowning, directly or indirectly, the secret commissions given to him in the preceding year, and that he and the Irish looked upon the secret treaty as merely disavowed, on account of its premature publication, while the king's promise was still engaged with the secret negotiator. In the course of the month of March, the king's message to the parliament denying Glamorgan's commission, which had been printed, was brought to Kilkenny; and the confederates, in the utmost consternation, put an immediate stop to the transportation of the troops. The nuncio who had on the 15th of March written to Rome that the earl of Glamorgan had during his imprisonment at Dublin written to the king, and that he had received an answer (a copy of which the nuncio inclosed), in which his majesty expressed such an affection for the catholics as implied that he would not reject the articles signed at Rome, when two or three

days after he was made acquainted with the king's public declaration, believed that the Irish were betrayed, and on the 20th of March he wrote a memorial to the general assembly urging them to take steps in their own defence, and prepare for the worst.

The earl of Glamorgan was no less astonished than the nuncio and the confederates, and he communicated his sentiments to them in a paper entitled, "Considerations and conclusions concerning the present state of my affairs, 29th March, 1646." In this document he commenced by stating: "As the king has published such a declaration, I think myself at present incapable of serving him. Yet I am persuaded that he has done *this unwillingly*, and through the *violent impulse of others*, and on account of the bad situation of his affairs. For which purpose, I am desirous to send to him a person of rank and my relation, by whose means I shall propose to his majesty a method by which he may enable me, under the authority of the great seal, to proceed further, both in promoting the interest of this nation, and his majesty's own, in such a manner, that his forced renunciation shall not be openly touched upon, and yet my justification, as far as it shall conduce to the good of this kingdom, so sincerely desired by me, may attain its wished-for effect." Throughout, Glamorgan manifests the same consciousness of the authenticity of his commissions, and of the support still privately shown to him by the king; and in this same paper he gives a further proof of it, and of the king's insincerity. "As," he says, "I have received such instructions from the king as these, viz., 'If by any unfortunate accident we should be involved in any counsels in appearance contrary to the powers given by us to you, you shall make no other account of them but by putting yourself in a condition to help us and set us free,' I do not find any more expeditious way of relieving his majesty from his distress, than by taking no notice of anything which he has done through compulsion, and by supporting this nation. But if the supreme council will engage to adhere firmly to me, I will likewise oblige myself to employ the ships and money, which I had before designed for England, to the assistance of this nation, and devote my labours and endeavours to the service of this kingdom, till we can all jointly succour his majesty in England." After suggesting how these troops were to be employed in Ireland, the earl declared his intention of

proceeding abroad and ultimately to Rome, for the purpose of pressing foreign courts for assistance.

All doubt as to the light in which the king viewed the earl of Glamorgan's proceedings is taken away by a letter which he wrote to him by a private bearer from Oxford, on the 5th of April. "Glamorgan," says the king in this letter, "I have no time, nor do you expect, that I shall make unnecessary repetitions to you. Wherefore (referring you to Digby for business),* this is only to give you assurance of *my constant friendship to you*; which, considering the general defection of common honesty, is in a sort requisite. Howbeit, I know you cannot be but confident of *my making good all instructions and promises to you and the nuncio*." These last words were written in cypher. The next day the king wrote him another letter, still more remarkable in its tone, in which he said: "As I doubt not but ye have too much courage to be dismayed or discouraged at the usage ye have had, so I assure you that my estimation of you is nothing diminished by it, but rather begets in me a desire of revenge and reparation to us both, for in this I hold myself equally interested with you. Wherefore, not doubting of your accustomed care and industry in my service, I assure you of the continuance of my favour and protection to you."

The nuncio at least was fully made acquainted with this secret understanding between the king and Glamorgan, and his party were now anxious to secure themselves with the latter, aware that the king's authority was at all events a valuable prop to their cause, however weak he might be in England. But the councils of the general assembly had now taken a new form, little agreeable to the representative of the pope in Ireland. In February they had come to a resolution that no further negotiations for peace should be carried on with the marquis of Ormond until the 1st of May, before which time they expected the pope's articles of peace. In a few days, however, new alarms arose, and the peace party were in the majority. Another assembly, which met on the 6th of March, decided on immediately sending lord Muskerry and the other commissioners to hasten the conclusion of a peace with the marquis of Ormond. On the 15th of March the nuncio wrote to the assembly, protesting against this design; and

* Lord Digby was at this time at Waterford, and in communication with the earl of Glamorgan.

the news of the king's public disavowal of Glamorgan, and the nuncio's warlike message after its arrival, seemed to have raised for a moment a corresponding spirit in that body. But the negotiations were still carried on at Dublin, unknown to the nuncio and his party; and within a few days after the news of the king's denial of the trust which Glamorgan asserted that the king had placed in him, on the 28th of March, 1646, the Irish commissioners at Dublin concluded their peace with the lord lieutenant.

Ormond's treaty of peace was lengthy, and not only embraced the more important subjects of complaint on the part of the catholics, but provided against a numerous list of petty grievances, some of which, such as the provision for the repeal of the old acts of the Irish parliament prohibiting ploughing by horse-tails and burning oats in the straw, related to things in themselves trivial and obsolete. One of the more important demands of the confederates, the independence of the parliament of Ireland of that of England, was to a certain degree yielded by the agreement that "his majesty will leave both houses of parliament in this kingdom (Ireland) to make such declaration therein as shall be agreeable to the law of the kingdom of Ireland." The only stipulation with regard to religion was, that the catholics should be exempted from taking the oath of supremacy on swearing allegiance according to a new form. In fact both parties now wished to avoid the religious question, until some new turn in the king's fortunes should decide whether the king was to be thrown entirely into the arms of the Irish catholics, or to be restored to the throne by some agreement with the English parliament. The confederates engaged to transport six thousand foot, well armed and provided, by the first day of April, and four thousand more by the first of May, on which latter day the peace was to be published with all due solemnity. In the mean time it was to remain secret, and it was deposited in the hands of lord Clanrickard (who was now created a marquis), as an instrument of no force until the conditions relating to the sending of the troops were fulfilled.

In the mean while the nuncio, who was left in total ignorance of the conclusion of the treaty, though he suspected that active negotiations were in progress, was occupied in warm altercations with the assembly. The king in England, and the queen in France, were encouraging both parties, with-

out daring to give the preference to either. The former, especially, as long as any hopes remained of recovering his position in England, was afraid to lose the affection of his protestant adherents by abandoning the marquis of Ormond, and declaring openly for the catholics, yet his belief became daily stronger that at last the catholics would be his best safeguard. It was a policy, therefore, to which Ormond himself was no stranger, to conclude such a treaty as, while it gave promise of the immediate succour he required, without shocking the prejudices of his old supporters, left him at liberty, when the worst came, still to throw himself back on the secret treaty of the earl of Glamorgan, or on that concluded at Rome, and, if necessary, to make his way into Ireland and cast himself into the arms of the nuncio and the extreme catholic party. This appears, as far as we can learn, to have been Charles's secret design. But the nuncio cared little for the king's personal interests, and saw only his own glory and the interests of the church of Rome, in the immediate establishment of the catholic church in Ireland in all its ancient power. He talked largely of the Roman treaty, of the power of the confederacy, and of the assistance which was to come from abroad, and urged the confederates to put their entire faith in him. His representations seem to have produced some effect, for, after the conclusion of the treaty with Ormond, the Irish commissioners cooled in their zeal, and, as the time approached for supplying the troops and publishing the treaty, the confederates themselves were the cause of retarding both measures. They seem to have been suddenly transported with dreams of expelling the English protestants, and raising up in Ireland an independent catholic government; and on the 17th of April they sent new instructions to Plunkett, their agent in Dublin, who was to inform the marquis of Ormond, "that if he caused the articles of peace to be proclaimed, then they must publish those articles concerning religion made with the earl of Glamorgan; and that it was not in their power to do otherwise, for fear of losing their foreign friends, and the danger of a rupture at home." They then proposed to Ormond that, instead of sending men into England, they should join their forces to clear Ireland of the common enemy, offering in that case to submit themselves to his advice, and give him as absolute a voice in their deliberations as though he

sat in their councils. These proposals were repeated more urgently on the tenth of May, when they further pressed him to give countenance to the nuncio.

Ormond was somewhat embarrassed by these proposals, but on the 2nd of June he sent an agent to Limerick, whither the supreme council had moved on the 18th of April, and where they were joined on the 12th of May by the nuncio, who was beginning again to influence their councils. The firm representations of the lord lieutenant made the confederates waive most of their demands made since the conclusion of the treaty; but the publication of the peace was still retarded, while Ormond waited impatiently for the king's approval and further instructions.

But Charles's fortunes had rapidly declined during the few weeks which had been expended in Ireland in the negotiations we have just related. Chester, to relieve which had been so anxious a subject of negotiation in Ireland, had surrendered in the month of February; and the last troops which held the field for Charles had been successively routed in different parts of the kingdom. The unfortunate monarch had again made his way, not without difficulty, to Oxford; and from thence he escaped in disguise and surrendered himself to the Scots army, on the 5th of May. He was now under restraint with the Scots in Newcastle, and he was obliged, in deference to them, to change his public policy with regard to Ireland. After waiting long and impatiently for the king's confirmation of his peace, Ormond was no less astonished than disconcerted by receiving, on the 26th of June, an order signed by Charles, dated at Newcastle on the 11th of June, and transmitted through the English committee in Ulster. In this document, the king forbade any treaty with the Irish catholics. "Having long," he said, "with much grief looked upon the sad condition our kingdom of Ireland hath been in these divers years, through the wicked and desperate rebellion there, and the bloody effects that have ensued therefrom, for the settling whereof we would have wholly applied ourselves, if the differences betwixt us and our subjects here had not diverted and withdrawn us; and not having been able by force (for that respect) to reduce them, we were necessitated, for the present safety of our protestant subjects there, to give you power and authority to treat with them upon such pious, honourable, and safe

grounds as the good of that our kingdom did then require. But for many reasons too long for a letter, we think fit to require you to proceed no further in treaty with the rebels, nor to engage us upon conditions with them after sight hereof. And having found such real proofs of your ready obedience to our commands, we doubt not of your care in this, wherein our service and the good of our protestant subjects in Ireland is so much concerned."

The marquis of Ormond was partly relieved from the embarrassment caused by this order, by the arrival on the 4th of July, of lord Digby from France, with instructions from the queen that Charles had found means to convey information to Paris that he was in the hands of his enemies, and that all his public acts were to be considered as done under restraint. The king had stated, "that particularly for the business of Ireland, he had, whilst he was free, sent positive and repeated orders to the lord lieutenant for concluding the peace, upon the terms expressed to him by his excellency, since the mutual signing of the articles. That he had commanded the queen and prince [of Wales] to give the marquis of Ormond assurances of their adhering firmly to him in the business of the peace of Ireland, in what unfortunate condition soever his person should continue. And that if there were any possibility for his majesty by any art to gain the means of doing it, the marquis should receive orders in his own hand conveyed unto him by the queen for all this, and whatever the lord Digby was commanded to signify to him as his majesty's pleasure. That as the great seal of England was likely to fall into the hands of his enemies, he was to give no obedience to anything under it concerning Ireland, nor thereupon interrupt his prosecution of the king's service, unless he should receive from his majesty's own hand, in cypher, assurances that the same was passed by warrant from him freely granted, and upon his own free and unconstrained judgment of what was fit for his service. That whatsoever the king should freely command, should be sent either in cypher in his own hand, or else conveyed to him by the queen and prince of Wales; and whatsoever directions he should receive in any other way, he was not to consider them as his majesty's free commands, nor yield any further obedience to them than such, as upon consideration of the matter con-

tained in them, the lord lieutenant should judge fit for his service to have done with relation to any such commands."

Strengthened in his determination by these instructions and by a declaration signed by lord Digby, on the 28th of July, and entered in the council book, the marquis of Ormond determined to pay no attention to the order sent from Newcastle; and the peace was finally concluded with the Irish confederates, and solemnly proclaimed at Dublin on the 30th of July. It was on the same day proclaimed by Preston at the head of his army; and was ordered to be proclaimed in the cities and corporate towns in the possession of the confederates. The Irish, in general, were strongly opposed to this peace, which was considered as the work of the moderate party, and they received it with marks of dissatisfaction; and the nuncio, who complained bitterly of the manner in which he had been treated in the negotiations, prepared to use every means in his power to render it abortive.

It is evident, however, that now the king placed more trust in the earl of Glamorgan's negotiations, than in the peace of the lord lieutenant, and that his hopes were fixed in the possibility of escaping to Ireland. On the 20th of July, he wrote a letter from Newcastle to the former nobleman, in cypher, in which, still addressing him by the title of Glamorgan, he expressed himself as follows: "I am not so strictly guarded, but that if you send to me a prudent and secret person, I can receive a

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

This remarkable letter can leave no doubt in our mind that Glamorgan had been fully authorized in all that he had undertaken or promised in the king's name. A copy of it was sent to the pope, who is said to have received great comfort from the reading of it; and in the mean time Glamorgan carried on a correspondence with the king, and concerted measures with the nuncio for receiving the king in Ireland, which were frustrated by the vigilance of his keepers.

CHAPTER XIII.

HOSTILITIES IN ULSTER; BATTLE OF BENBURN; INCREASING OPPOSITION TO THE PEACE; ORMOND'S PROGRESS INTO MUNSTER; SIEGE OF DUBLIN.



URING these protracted negotiations and intrigues, the greater portion of Ireland was in a state almost of lawlessness, and many parts were involved in actual hostilities. The parliamentarians held their ground in the south and in the north, and sir Charles Coote gave no little uneasiness to the catholic party in Con-

naught. Of the two principal commanders of the Irish, Owen O'Neill followed blindly the dictates of the nuncio, while Preston ranged himself with the moderate party. O'Neill's army was composed chiefly of creaghts, wild rovers who were always ready to assemble in times of turbulence, and who escaped the consequences of defeat by the ease with which they dispersed. The presence of Monroe and his army in Ulster,

had obliged the Irish chieftain to retire with his wild followers to seek a subsistence in Leinster, and that province had been so harassed by their depredations, that the supreme council at Kilkenny had been obliged to make an energetic remonstrance, and even to threaten the expulsion of O'Neill's army by force of arms. O'Neill had other causes of dissatisfaction besides this affront, and, when the nuncio flattered him with the promise of his support, and assured him that the subsidies he received from abroad should be devoted to his support, he was easily induced to declare openly against the negotiations with the marquis of Ormond.

The Ulster men were now assembled, and told that they were the nuncio's soldiers, and were rendered bold by the assurance that the pope had placed them under the special protection of heaven. By the end of May, Owen O'Neill found himself at the head of a well-provisioned army of about five thousand foot and five hundred horse. With these he marched into Ulster, with the intention of surprising Armagh, and had advanced as far as Benburb, when Monroe, informed of his movements, hastened with a portion of the Scottish army and some of the forces of the province, to meet him. Monroe's collective forces on this occasion are said to have amounted to six thousand foot and eight hundred horse. His first object was to prevent the occupation of Armagh, and, after a forced march, he arrived in that city at midnight, when he learnt that O'Neill was still at Benburb, strongly posted between two hills, with a wood behind, and his right protected by the river Blackwater, where it was supposed to be unfordable. The next morning, which was the 5th of June, Monroe, hoping to take the Irish by surprise, marched early and formed in battle array at Glaslough, near Benburb, but on the other side of the river.

Monroe had dispatched orders to his brother, who commanded at Coleraine, to join him immediately with the troops in garrison there; and O'Neill, informed of this circumstance, sent two of his officers, Bernard Mac Mahon and Patrick Mac Neny, with their regiments to intercept them. O'Neill's cavalry had marched forward to an eminence commanding the Blackwater, when they were informed of Monroe's arrival at Glaslough, but they retired when the Scottish general, having unexpectedly found a ford at Kinnaird, passed the river with his

army. O'Neill sent a detachment under colonel Richard O'Ferral to occupy a narrow pass through which Monroe was obliged to march, but they also were dislodged by his cannon. It appears to have been near mid-day when the two armies drew up in front of each other, with the sun in the faces of the Irish. O'Neill saw this disadvantage, and he succeeded in amusing his enemy with trivial manœuvres and skirmishes, until the sun had changed its position, and the detachment he had sent in quest of George Monroe had returned.

When this body of troops, which appear not to have met with the forces from Coleraine or to have obliged them to retire, made their appearance, Monroe at first took them for the reinforcement commanded by his brother, but, on learning his mistake, he became alarmed, and ordered a retreat. O'Neill, observing the hesitation shewn by the enemy, ordered his men immediately to advance, and they rushed upon the Scots and English with the greatest fury. The latter only seem to have performed their duty, for the Scots were seized with a panic, and soon fled, after their cavalry had been broken by O'Neill's horse. One regiment only, under lord Montgomery, retreated fighting and in tolerable order. Lord Blarney fought bravely at the head of the English regiment, until he fell, and his regiment, after a vigorous defence, were cut to pieces before they would turn their backs on the enemy. General Monroe fled precipitately, and reached Lisburn without hat, sword, or cloak. Lord Conway, after having had two horses killed under him, escaped with difficulty to Newry, accompanied with captain Burke and about forty horsemen.

O'Neill's victory at Benburb, the first great battle gained by the pure Irish against their English rulers since the days of their independence, was decisive. The whole of Monroe's artillery and baggage, with the greater part of his arms and provisions, fell into their hands, and his loss in men must have been very considerable. The nuncio perhaps exaggerates it when he states it at upwards of three thousand slain on the field, while the parliamentarians no doubt underrated it at five hundred. O'Neill's loss appears to have been very small; it is estimated by the nuncio at only seventy killed, and two hundred wounded. Monroe, in his dismay at this unexpected disaster, burnt Dundrum, abandoned several

posts of strength, and called all the northern province to arms to oppose the victorious course of the Irish. Had O'Neill continued to advance, the consequence might have been still more disastrous to the parliamentarians in the north; but now he was the servant of the nuncio, who recalled him suddenly to Leinster to support him in his resolution to oppose the peace. The fame of his victory had already swelled his ranks to ten thousand men.

The victory at Benburb seems to have turned the heads of the nuncio and his party, who determined at all risks to overthrow the peace. When the officers sent by the supreme council to proclaim it arrived at Waterford and Clonmell, they were prevented from the execution of their commission. In many other places it was the occasion of riots and tumults. The people of Limerick, led on by some of the clergy, attacked the mayor and the heralds when in the act of reading the proclamation, killed and wounded some of their escort, and threw the officers of the confederates into prison. The nuncio rewarded them for this outrage with his thanks and benediction, displaced the magistrates who had attended the proclamation, and by his own authority conferred the office of mayor upon a man who had been a chief leader in the tumult. He then convened to Waterford such of the principal clergy of Ireland as were most devoted to his will, and proclaimed the excommunication of the church against the commissioners and all who had been instrumental in negotiating and concluding the treaty, placed all towns where the peace had been admitted under an interdict; pronounced all who adhered to it guilty of a violation of their oath of association; and suspended all the clergy who favoured it, and all confessors who absolved those who adhered to it. The nuncio then proceeded more directly against the supreme council at Kilkenny. He excommunicated all those who levied or paid money assessed by them, and all soldiers who should support the execution of their orders. He framed a new oath of association, by which his partizans engaged to adhere to no peace, but such as should meet with the approval of the assembled clergy, who were chosen from amongst the most zealous supporters of papal supremacy. The censures of the church produced their full effect on the mass of the Irish population, which was ignorant and bigoted, and caused the most violent agitation against the

peace, which was represented as a desertion of their religious faith.

Meanwhile the supreme council responded to these violent measures in a tone of moderation which only convinced the nuncio's party of their weakness. They attempted to gain over the clergy by persuasions and gentle expostulations, and they made vain efforts to appease the nuncio. The latter, in the confidence of his own power, became haughty and unconciliating. O'Neill and the victorious army of the north was at his devotion; and Preston held aloof with what remained of the Leinster army, part of which had been disbanded for want of pay, and part had deserted to the clergy.

Thus the peace which had so long been looked forward to with anxiety, brought no relief to the country. It was acknowledged neither by the parliamentarians, nor by the generality of the Irish, and the moderate party among the latter, to whom the nuncio and his adherents now gave the name of Ormondists, were almost powerless. The supreme council, in utter helplessness, threw itself into the arms of the lord lieutenant, and urged him to repair to Kilkenny, to give them his support against the nuncio's violence, and to concert measures for arresting the progress of lord Inchiquin, who was becoming every day more formidable in the south. Ormond was weaker even than the moderate party among the confederates, for he now had no hope of assistance from England; he was not therefore unwilling to join with the supreme council, and thought that his presence might assist in reconciling the nuncio to the peace. Accordingly, Ormond took a force of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, and, accompanied by the marquis of Clanrickard and lord Digby, he marched to Kilkenny, where he was received by the whole population with every mark of joy and satisfaction.

The supreme council continued anxious to conciliate the nuncio. Early in August they had sent their agents to him at Waterford, where he now held his court, and was surrounded by the Irish clergy, with a paper setting forth their reasons for concluding the peace, in which they acknowledged all that had been done by the earl of Glamorgan. They represented that although in the articles agreed to with the marquis of Ormond there were few things satisfactory with regard to religion, yet that they contained a reference to the king's further concessions; and that this clause might

justly be understood to imply the articles concluded with the earl of Glamorgan, since the earl had a commission from his majesty, "the original of which, signed by the king's own hand, was deposited by the earl with the confederate catholics." They added, "that the king being in the hands of the Scots, there was no possibility of obtaining further concessions from him at present, but that, as he had no prospect of being restored to power, except by the catholics, if they now joined together in his service, they might hope for every concession they desired on his release." The clergy, however, were inaccessible to all arguments, and they went on thundering forth their excommunications and interdicts against all who favoured the treaty. Lord Glamorgan went hand and hand with the nuncio. He again expressed his determination to proceed to the continent; "and then," he says, "I will likewise go to Rome, and inform his holiness concerning the state of this kingdom, and the virtue and merit of the most illustrious nuncio, that the highest honour might be conferred upon him, and those emoluments obtained, which may conduce to the service of this kingdom and England." In the paper in which he made this declaration, Glamorgan recommended to the clergy the publication of his treaty, to show that they had not, like the supreme council, neglected the interests of their religion; he suggested a project for gaining possession secretly of the principal fortified places, and offered to conduct in person a design for seizing the rock of Cashel, which was considered one of the most important of their strongholds. This lord was now so high in the nuncio's favour that he created him general of Munster; and his recommendations on this occasion seem to have had great weight, as upon the 24th of August the nuncio and clergy sent a declaration to the supreme council, founded chiefly upon Glamorgan's paper, and in which, among other things, they demanded, "that the earl of Glamorgan's articles, grounded upon the king's authority, be printed, and made as firm and obliging as the present peace. That the confederates do oblige themselves by union, oath, and otherwise, to insist upon the same articles, and them to maintain till confirmed (with the present peace) next parliament." "And whereas," they said, "it appears by his majesty's letters taken at Naseby, that Ormond had power to repeal the penal laws, and suspend Poyning's Act, the confederates

expect the benefit thereof to be added to the articles of peace; and that those letters be made public." The clergy further demanded, "that the generals of Ulster and Leinster (O'Neill and Preston) be made general of the horse and major-general of the field; and all other catholic officers continued, if not advanced."

The object of this last demand was of course to strengthen the nuncio's party in the army; and he seems now to have been anxious for the calling a parliament, which, chosen with the spirit then spread abroad by the clergy, must have been entirely devoted to him. The supreme council deferred their answer to these demands until after the arrival of the marquis of Ormond at Kilkenny, and then, on the 10th of September, they dispatched a paper to the nuncio, in which they agreed partly to some of his demands, and showed that the others would result eventually from their own measures. To the more important articles of the declaration of the clergy, the council replied, "that they will print and publish Glamorgan's articles, and insist on them as being *obligatory on the king*, and get them confirmed the next parliament; and no interruption shall be given them in the mean time. That the repeal of the penal laws was purposely omitted in the peace, as being less than Glamorgan's concessions, and therefore might derogate from them; and the suspension of Poyning's Act was by unanimous consent omitted for saving of time."

During the whole of this time the king was in communication, direct or indirect, with the earl of Glamorgan, and was actually giving the support of his name to the violent party against his own chief governor. But it was more particularly from the queen in France that the nuncio received encouragement to reckon upon the king's support. At the end of August, the dean of Fermo was sent by the Irish clergy to Rome, to acquaint the pope with the condition of their affairs, and in his way through France he met with the queen's confidential agent sir Dudley Wyatt, who was then anxious to proceed to Ireland with the queen's private directions for the nuncio. He appears to have been hindered by the difficulties of the passage, the sea being now more than ever in possession of the fleet of the parliament, which rendered precarious the communications of the Irish catholics with their friends abroad. The dean of Fermo, to whom

Wyatt had communicated the queen's wishes immediately wrote to the nuncio, and informed him that the offers the queen on the part of the clergy was willing to make in order to bind him to her interests were, "that all the forts and places of any consequence should be put absolutely into the hands of the Irish catholics, and that without any dependence on the lord lieutenant so long as the marquis of Ormond should hold that post; that out of respect to the king, his lord lieutenant be general of the armies, but that only in name, so that in fact the catholic generals should have an absolute command each over their own army; that religion and the church should continue in the same state in which they were in the territories and cities possessed by the catholics, with a free exercise of the catholic religion, until a free parliament of the kingdom of Ireland should be called, in which the method and form to be observed in that respect should be established; and that this parliament should meet in November or December."

While giving this information to the nuncio, the dean advised him not to be too ready to accept the first proposals, since, said he, better terms are always obtained after some little resistance; and in concluding his letter he remarked, that the marquis of Ormond was to be continued in the government merely to save the king's honour, upon the pretence of his having always acted with fidelity, and of having lost in a manner all his fortune; but if this were strongly opposed, and a catholic lord lieutenant insisted upon, the dean expressed his opinion that that point also might be gained, as he doubted not that this article was settled in the treaty to be concluded at Rome.

In spite of all these concessions and humiliations, the nuncio's memoirs show sufficiently how little the court at Rome cared for the personal interests of the king of England. In several instances the nuncio had given offence to his employers, by speaking even with a little indulgence of a heretical prince. On one occasion, in a speech to the council at Kilkenny some time before the conclusion of the peace, he had recommended fidelity first to God and religion, and after that to the king. A copy of this speech had been given to the supreme council, and another was sent to Rome. Cardinal Pamfilio, the pope's minister of state, immediately conveyed to the nuncio the severe reprimand of the holy pontiff. "The holy

see," he said, "never would by any positive act approve the civil allegiance which catholic subjects pay to a heretical prince; and the displeasure of the court of Rome was greater as he had deposited a copy of this speech with the council, which, if published, would furnish heretics with arguments against the papal authority over heretical princes, when the pope's own ministers should exhort catholics to be faithful to such a king." The nuncio, on some pretence, obtained the copy of his speech from the secretary of the supreme council, and returned another copy, in which the obnoxious passage was omitted. In his warmth against the peace, the nuncio again, apparently through inadvertence, fell into the same offence. He signed the protestation of the clergy against Ormond's peace, which contained a declaration on the part of the Irish catholics of their attachment to religion and to the king. A copy having been sent to Rome, Pamfilio was again directed to express to him the pope's displeasure, and he failed not to remind him, "that it had been the uninterrupted practice of the see of Rome, never to allow her ministers to make or consent to public edicts for the defence of the crown and person of a heretical prince." On this occasion, however, the papal minister added: "But as the pope knows very well how difficult it is in such assemblies to separate the rights of religion from those which relate to the obedience professed by catholics to the king, he will therefore be satisfied if his minister doth not show, by any public act, that he either knew or consented to such public protestations of that allegiance, which, for political considerations, the catholics were either forced or willing to make."

Never had Ireland presented so miserable a scene of inextricable confusion as at this moment. At least four independent governments had established a footing on its soil, and were contending for the sovereignty over the whole. The parliamentarians were strong in the north and south; the earl of Ormond ruled at Dublin, the supreme council at Kilkenny, and the papal nuncio at Waterford. Such was the state of things, when the lord lieutenant arrived at Kilkenny, on the 31st of August, 1646. O'Neill and Preston had both been invited to attend upon Ormond, and his agents were employed to gain them over to his party; and no sooner had he reached Kilkenny, than new steps were taken to conciliate the

nuncio. But all was in vain: O'Neill absolutely refused obedience; Preston pleaded illness as an excuse for absence; and the nuncio continued inexorable. The earl of Castlehaven was sent to Waterford to use persuasions with the latter, but he only returned disgusted with his violence.

Ormond still determined to make a shew of resolution, and he collected the small forces he could, and marched into Munster. When he arrived at Carrick-on-Suir, a castle of his own, he found one of his own kinsmen in arms, with a company of three or four hundred horse, to oppose or watch his progress; and when he approached Cashel, the magistrates begged him not to enter that city, as the nuncio had denounced the utmost vengeance against the citizens if they admitted him; and at the same time he was informed that O'Neill was marching with his army to intercept him on his return. Dispatches also arrived from the privy council at Dublin, informing him of O'Neill's movements, and of the alarm in the capital.

The lord lieutenant now determined to make the best of his way back to Dublin. He did not return to Kilkenny, but, as he passed near that town, he sent lord Castlehaven and sir George Hamilton to inform the magistrates of the reasons of his sudden retreat, and to state that, if it was their wish, he would go to them with the force he had, and garrison Kilkenny against the nuncio. Lord Castlehaven, one of the envoys, informs us that the magistrates of Kilkenny "received the message with all kindness and duty, and answered, that if he pleased to come to them, they would serve him with their lives; though they did believe it would be the loss of him and them together." In fact, no sooner had the nuncio received intelligence that Ormond had quitted Dublin on his progress to Kilkenny, than he urged O'Neill immediately to lay siege to Dublin, or to march towards Kilkenny, in order to intercept the lord lieutenant on his return; and not only did the northern chieftains embrace the latter proposal, but Preston also yielded to the nuncio's persuasions, and engaged in the same design. Ormond received certain information that both generals were on their march to cut off his retreat, and by forced marches he succeeded in gaining Leighlin Bridge, where he had established a small garrison to secure the passage of the Barrow, and thence proceeded in the same haste to Dublin, "when coming near," says lord Castle-

haven, "I think the whole people of the city came forth to meet his excellency, with as much joy as ever man was received, having for several days judged him and his party lost." Lord Castlehaven, who now deserted the confederates, was chosen on this occasion to carry the sword before the lord lieutenant on his entry into the capital.

The triumph of the nuncio was now complete. O'Neill's army marched to Kilkenny, as the lord lieutenant left it, and Preston was at hand to second him. Ormond entered Dublin on the 13th of September, and, in consequence of an invitation to return to Kilkenny, the nuncio made his public entry into that town on the 18th, with great pomp and ceremony. He shewed no inclination to forego any of the advantages of his position. The same day on which the nuncio entered Kilkenny, the peace was solemnly repealed. It was further resolved to proceed against all who had promoted the treaty with Ormond, as guilty of treason against God and the king; the one, in not making sufficient provision for their religion and church, and the other, because it was pretended that the articles of the peace did not preserve a due obedience to the king. On the 21st of September the city gates were closed, and the secretary of the supreme council (Mr. Belling), and four others, were summoned before the council of war, and next day they were committed to close custody in the castle of Kilkenny. On the 24th, four more members of the council were thrown into prison; and lord Muskerry, who had returned the evening before from Waterford, was confined to his house. By a solemn decree, signed in his own name, the nuncio appointed a new council for the government of the kingdom. It consisted of the nuncio, who, as president of the council exercised sovereign authority in all the affairs of government, of the archbishop of Cashel and the bishops of Clonfert, Clogher, and Fernes, and of eight laymen, the chief of whom was the earl of Glamorgan. This nobleman was now the nuncio's especial favourite, and he was appointed general of Munster, in place of lord Muskerry, who was deprived of his command.

Glamorgan and the nuncio now rushed anxiously into an idle plot for bringing the king over to Ireland; but he was too well guarded to give any chance of escape. We are assured that they did communicate with the king on this subject, and a copy of

the proposals which Glamorgan made to him is preserved in the nuncio's memoirs. The latter became now so well satisfied with the earl's devotion, and his own expectations rose so high, that he declared his intention of appointing Glamorgan to the high office of lord lieutenant, as soon as he should have expelled Ormond from Dublin, and he even spoke of the king's authority for that appointment. The letter in which the nuncio announces this intention to cardinal Pamfilio, dated on the 21st of September, 1646, is so characteristic, and marks so singularly the pride and ambition of the papal representative, that it deserves to be given in his own words. "Among other patents and commissions," he says, "signed by the king, and brought by the earl of Glamorgan from England, there is one appointing him lord lieutenant of Ireland, upon the expiration of the marquis of Ormond's term of holding that post, or in case the marquis should by any fault deserve to be removed from it. For this reason I was of opinion that the earl, who had designed to go to Rome, should stay for the present in this kingdom, imagining that a way might perhaps be opened for accomplishing this affair. And in fact the way seems open for us, since the marquis of Ormond is now publicly negotiating with the parliamentarians, and consequently making a treaty with the king's enemies, upon which occasion, the earl being desirous of advancing himself to the marquis's post, has begun to solicit the consent of the kingdom, and believes that he has the interest of the two generals, and almost all the congregation of the clergy and the new council. I have thought it the more proper to promote this affair, since, when Dublin shall be taken, it will be immediately necessary for the kingdom to provide a lord lieutenant. And it is a point of no small importance in the present situation of affairs, to begin with appointing to that post a catholic so highly beloved by this kingdom and by the king himself. Besides, it is to be considered, that the king's inclination and pleasure concur with this design; for though his majesty has appointed the earl by his lesser seal only, yet that is sufficient for the Irish, since they have just reason to consider that appointment as legal and valid. Add to this, that as the confederates of Ireland have it in their view to transport the holy faith into England by their arms, no person appears to be more fit for the execution of such a purpose than the earl, in whom two charac-

ters are united, that of a faithful servant to the king, and that of a perfect catholic; and who, the winter before, was ready to carry over to the king from that country ten thousand men for the same purposes. Some, and those but few, oppose this design, upon this single consideration, that the earl being both an Englishman and of a very mild temper, will not be favourable enough to Ireland, nor exert the firmness necessary in this case. But I believe no better choice can now possibly be made, and that the appointment of a catholic lord lieutenant who is in so many respects attached to the apostolical see, and bound to it by oath and promises which the earl has a hundred times repeated to me, is sufficient to weigh down every other doubt."

Flattered by the hope thus held out to him, Glamorgan now gave himself up, body and soul, to the violent party, and, within a week after the above letter was written, he took in writing an oath of obedience to the nuncio, which deserves also to be given entire. "I, Edward, earl of Glamorgan, &c.," this document says, "faithfully promise and swear, that I will do nothing of moment without the consent and approbation of the most illustrious nuncio; and if I shall happen to do anything imprudently which shall not be approved by him, I will correct my error upon the first intimation of his pleasure, and obey his commands. If it should be more conducive to the praise and glory of God, the splendour of the catholic church, and the happiness of this kingdom, that the post of lord lieutenant be conferred upon another person rather than myself, I swear that I will readily and without reluctance resign it, at the command of the most illustrious nuncio. And in all things I vow a perfect, voluntary, and religious obedience to his holiness, saving my secular obligations towards my most serene king. And if I fail in any part of the oath taken by me, I consent, that the said oath be published, and myself exposed; otherwise the said oath shall be communicated only to the bishop of Ferns, chancellor of the congregation, and to father Robert Nugent, superior of the Jesuits in Ireland. In confirmation of this oath, voluntarily taken by me, I have written all this with my own hand, subscribed my name, and affixed my seal."

While thus engaging in measures of the utmost hostility against the marquis of Ormond, Glamorgan still attempted to keep

up a friendly correspondence, and professed to be anxious to join with him in serving the king. But the lord lieutenant treated him with coldness and distance, and lord Digby, who was still in Ireland, expressed himself with respect to the earl in terms of the bitterest contempt. "There is nothing more certain," said Digby in a letter to the lord lieutenant on the 18th of October, "than that the lord Glamorgan is a principal author and fomentor of all this mischief of the clergy, and that he hath forged new powers from his majesty to take upon him the command, at least of Munster, if not of Ireland. It is necessary that the king be advertised of it, and that his majesty no longer dally with the fool, but that he send him some fulminating letter, not conveyed unto him by either of us, commanding him upon his allegiance forthwith to quit this kingdom." In Ormond's answer to this letter, dated on the 22nd of October, no allusion is made to the earl of Glamorgan, and we are led to surmise that the lord lieutenant at least suspected his secret communications with the king; "nor do we find," to use the words of an historian of these events, "that his lordship ever after remonstrated against him to the king, or that his majesty sent any *fulminating letter* to the earl, or in any other way complained of his conduct; which neither the Scots nor English protestants, in whose custody his majesty was, would have denied him the liberty of doing."

The congregation, as the clerical assembly, which had now seized upon the government at Kilkenny termed itself, determined at once to drive the marquis of Ormond out of Dublin, and they gave orders to their two principal generals to employ their whole forces upon this service. The alarm in Dublin was great, for the citizens looked upon the old Irish of Ulster, who were now chiefly to be employed against them, with particular horror, as the original perpetrators of the worst massacres which characterised the commencement of the rebellion. They proceeded with the utmost vigour to repair their walls, and to animate them the more in this pressing emergency, the marchioness of Ormond, and other women of quality, appeared at their head, carrying baskets of earth to the fortifications. All the provisions that could be removed were brought in from the country around, which, to a distance of eight miles from the walls was laid waste, that it might furnish no support or lodgement for the enemy.

In the midst of all these preparations, and in spite of the zeal displayed by the citizens, the marquis of Ormond felt the hopelessness of his situation, in case the enemy acted with unity and vigour. He had no means to support his army closed up in Dublin, however diminished in numbers, and he dared not increase the scarcity of provisions by calling in the out-garrisons. He had no hopes of any supplies, and the small revenue furnished by the excise would be cut off the moment the siege commenced; while the money which he could raise by mortgage on his estates, amounting to twenty-three thousand pounds, had already been expended on the public service. Two thousand pounds, which he had recently raised among his tenants at Kilkenny, only served to purchase subsistence for a few days. In his distress, the lord lieutenant saw only one alternative; he must submit either to the pope's nuncio, or to the English parliament. He felt that by delivering Dublin to the nuncio, he separated Ireland entirely from England, and gave it to a foreign power which might perhaps never restore it to the English crown, and he resolved therefore to treat with the parliament. To them, therefore, he addressed himself. He demanded an immediate reinforcement of three thousand foot and five hundred horse, three months' pay for his army thus increased, security for the persons and estates of his adherents, of those who had for some time after the rebellion been obliged to continue in the Irish quarters, of all unoffending catholics, and of such of the rebels as with consent of parliament should receive pardons; and on these conditions he engaged to carry on the war as parliament should enable and direct him. His agents were further authorised to intimate that, rather than obstruct the immediate relief of Dublin, the lord lieutenant and council were ready, with the king's permission, to resign their patents, stipulating only for security for their persons and estates, and indemnity from their public engagements. This latter overture only was accepted, and commissioners were named to treat with Ormond for the surrender of his government and garrisons; while two thousand foot and three hundred horse were ordered for the immediate relief of the city.

In the mean time the nuncio's army approached Dublin, and had already established itself within a few miles of the walls. Owen O'Neill established his head quarters at New-castle, a small town about ten miles from

Dublin, and Preston at Leixlip, and the nuncio himself, who attended with his clerical council to order in person and direct the operations of the siege, remained at Seginstown. His chief reliance was in O'Neill, who was his favourite general, and he indiscreetly shewed his distrust of Preston by exacting of him an oath that he would proceed faithfully and vigorously in the siege of Dublin. Thus were jealousies fomented between Preston and O'Neill, which retarded the progress of the army, and were soon increased by other circumstances. The wild and barbarous followers of O'Neill plundered and ravaged the country through which they passed, in a pitiless manner, and the catholics of Leinster carried their complaints to Preston and his army, as their natural protectors. Preston expostulated and threatened, and the nuncio's two generals were ready to draw the sword against each other.

Lord Digby was on the point of leaving Ireland for France, when he learnt the secret discontents of Preston, and the hope of detaching him from the party with which he was now leagued, determined him to remain. Preston, who began by demanding security for religion, entered upon a private treaty, and expressed his willingness, on certain conditions, to unite with Ormond. Digby and the marquis of Clanrickard, who were anxious to prevent Ormond's surrender to the parliament, encouraged Preston to hope for all the terms he expected, though Ormond, who disliked and distrusted the Leinster general, and who was in treaty with the parliament, refused to take personally any part in it. Digby was at the same time engaged in an attempt to surprise the nuncio, and in the same letter of the 18th of October in which he expressed himself in such bitter terms against the earl of Glamorgan, he unfolded to him his plan, informing him that the next day the nuncio was to be at Grange-Mellan, where it would be easy to surprise him, and Ormond sent him the necessary orders, but the attempt was either not made or was not attended with success.

After Digby and Clanrickard had given Preston some assurances of security of religion on the part of the queen and prince, he gave in his propositions to be laid before the lord lieutenant. He demanded that the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion should be as free and public in all the English garrisons as in Paris or Brussels, and that Dublin, Drogheda, Trim, Newry,

Carlingford, and other places in the English quarters, should be garrisoned by catholics. Ormond unhesitatingly refused these extravagant demands. He pressed the agents of the parliament, who were in Ulster, for assistance, which they refused, except on condition of the delivery of Drogheda into their hands. The Scots of that province, who seemed more inclined to give him their aid, were too much weakened and discouraged by the defeat at Benburb, and the subsequent departure of a part of their forces for Scotland; and even when Ormond desired to transport his wife and children from the scene of danger to the Isle of Man, he was refused the use of a ship, unless he agreed to send them to some place under the dominion of the parliament. His only hopes of resistance to the Irish lay in the inclemency of the season now approaching, and in the difficulty which the besiegers would find in procuring provisions.

But the personal jealousies of the two generals again came to his aid. From the moment of their arrival before Dublin, each opposed pertinaciously every plan proposed by the other, and the violent and impatient temper of Preston found so many occasions for breaking out, that the nuncio was not without difficulty restrained from committing him to prison. The animosities between the leaders soon communicated themselves to their officers and men; and while the Leinster troops reproached the northerners with their barbarity, the latter sneered at the southerners under the appellation of Englishmen. The two armies seemed on the point of fighting with each other, instead of uniting to push the siege of Dublin. Lord Digby seized this occasion to make another attempt to detach Preston from the confederacy, or to prevail upon the nuncio to resort to more moderate councils. The marquis of Clanrickard proceeded to the camp of the confederates, was received with distinction, and commenced a treaty with the nuncio and his council. He went so far as to answer for the repeal of all laws against the catholics; he undertook that they should retain possession of the churches until the king's pleasure should be signified upon the full settlement of the nation; that these articles should be immediately confirmed by the queen and the prince; and that the crown of France should be the guarantee for the final performance. But although the more moderate part of the confederates, alarmed at the prospect of Ormond's sur-

render to the parliament, warmly advocated the acceptance of their terms, the nuncio still remained inaccessible to the sober dictates of reason, and insisted upon still more extravagant concessions. In the midst of their debates on this subject, intelligence was suddenly brought in that the forces of

the English parliament were landed in Dublin, and they started from the council. O'Neill broke up his camp, and marched away the same night; and the council hastened to Kilkenny, whither they were speedily followed by the nuncio.

CHAPTER XIV.

DELIVERY OF DUBLIN TO THE PARLIAMENTARIANS; THE EARL OF ORMOND LEAVES IRELAND; DISSENSIONS AMONG THE IRISH; BATTLES OF DUNGAN HILL AND KNOCKNONESS; STRUGGLES IN THE ASSEMBLY.



NEGOTIATIONS with the two parties who sought to obtain possession of Dublin, still suspended the fate of the capital for a short period.

The party of the English parliament had learnt to feel its own power, and were inclined to treat only as conquerors. Their commissioners had brought a strong body of troops to Dublin, sufficient to alarm the Irish army, and they were regarded as deliverers by the protestant inhabitants; the latter were so urgent that they should be admitted into the city, that Ormond was obliged to comply so far as to allow them to land, and take up their quarters in the suburbs. As the marquis of Clanrickard's negotiations with Preston still continued, and gave promise of an accommodation with part at least of the Irish, Ormond felt himself in a position to insist upon favourable terms from the parliament. The commissioners proposed simply to take the protestants of Ireland under the protection of parliament, and to secure to the marquis of Ormond his estate, or an annual pension of two thousand pounds for five years, if his rents should not produce so much, and they required that on these conditions he should resign the government. He demanded a more specific answer to the proposals he had himself made, and sent to London; and observed, that the commissioners offered no security to any protestants but on condition of their obedience to all the ordinances of parliament, without informing him what those ordinances were. He complained further, that the commis-

sioners offered no security for those catholics who were untainted by rebellion; that they gave no assurance of the continuation of any officers, civil or military, in the public service; and that they brought no orders from the king to justify him in laying down his office. In order, however, that the kingdom might not be deprived of their services, he offered to distribute the soldiers into garrisons until the king's pleasure should be known, and their instructions from the parliament enlarged; and he demanded in that case a supply of three thousand pounds for the services of the army. The commissioners broke off the negotiations, re-embarked their forces, and carried them into Ulster.

In the meanwhile the marquis of Clanrickard and lord Digby were dragging Ormond against his inclinations into a treaty with Preston. They had gone so far as to promise the security of the queen and the prince for the advantages stipulated in favour of religion, and they now required Ormond to engage himself to obey all orders in favour of the catholics received from the queen or prince, or such as should be certified by lord Digby to be the king's real intentions. He was further required to declare that the king's intentions to secure the catholics in the free exercise of their religion were omitted in the articles of peace through the intrigues of some of the Romish party, who intended thus to inflame the people against the treaty. Finally, he was to promise that, notwithstanding this omission, the penal law should be repealed, and the churches left in the possession of the catho-

lies until his majesty's pleasure should be known; and he was to make the marquis of Clanrickard chief commander of the catholic forces, and not only to give Preston and his officers commissions under him, but to admit their forces into the king's garrisons, and to receive some of Preston's regiments into Dublin.

To agree to these conditions would be on the part of Ormond to vouch untruths, and to render himself guilty of inconsistencies which were not in accordance with his own feelings of honour. He took no notice of the demands of the catholic negotiators, so long as he was engaged in treating with the commissioners of the parliament; but when they were gone, he made his answers to Digby and Clanrickard, and stated his objections, and he then found that they had precipitately engaged for his compliance. Both lords urged upon him the necessity and policy of yielding the point of principle, and expressed their entire confidence in Preston's sincerity, and in his willingness to serve the king; and their importunities at length so far prevailed, that, in spite of his personal dislike of Preston, he consented to write to him, and finally to promise him that his army should be employed both in the field and in the king's garrisons. He then wrote an ostensible letter to the marquis of Clanrickard, in which he declared his resolution of obeying all the king's free commands in favour of the Irish catholics, or those of the queen and prince during his restraint, or the assurance of the king's will given by his secretary lord Digby. But Ormond was soon relieved from the bonds of this disagreeable treaty. Clanrickard received his commission to command the Leinster army, and Preston not only consented to become his major-general, and to consult with the lord lieutenant on the operations of the war, but he made immediate preparations for the reduction of Waterford and Kilkenny to obedience to the peace. He had begun his march, and was to be joined immediately by the lord lieutenant and his forces, when the latter received intelligence that Preston had been met by an agent of the nuncio who threatened him with excommunication, and that he had immediately reconciled himself with the party against whom he was marching. Preston wrote a letter to Clanrickard, pretending that he had been forced to this measure by the dissatisfaction of his soldiers, and recommending that the lord lieutenant

should wait the issue of a general assembly at Kilkenny. Three days after, he published a formal renunciation of his treaty with the marquis of Clanrickard, on pretence that some articles had not been performed on the part of the government. The marquis of Ormond, who was not unwilling to gain time, agreed to wait the result of this meeting, and in the mean time marched into Westmeath to seek subsistence for his troops. When the assembly met, it approved of all the nuncio's extravagant demands, and in spite of every remonstrance on the part of the lord lieutenant and the moderate party, declared by a formal resolution that the late peace was to be considered as null and void. Thus ended all prospect of negotiating with the Irish.

It was now quite evident that the nuncio had determined to have no peace until Ormond and his party should be driven out of Ireland. The marquis had no alternative left but to throw himself upon the English parliament, a course in which the Irish privy council concurred, and which was approved by what remained of an Irish parliament in Dublin. Ormond had been assured that it was the wish of the king, who had now been delivered by the Scots to the parliament commissioners, that in case of extreme necessity he should surrender rather to the English than to the Irish, and taking this for a sufficient justification, although he had reason to believe that the king's private wishes ran in a contrary direction, he addressed himself again to the commissioners of parliament, and offered to resign his government and garrisons on their own conditions. The confederates were alarmed, when they were assured of the marquis's determination, and they suddenly expressed a solicitude to prevent it, and voluntarily renewed the negotiations for an accommodation. But they only repeated the same extravagant demands, and although they began to be distracted in their own councils by jealousies and rivalries, they refused to make any abatement. Preston, however, was called from Leinster to oppose the progress of lord Inchiquin in the south, and the subtle and designing O'Neill, who had lately been made general of Connaught, and now refused to obey any orders, was intent only of overawing the nuncio and the assembly, while his army harassed the country with their ravages.

The parliament having approved the propositions of the marquis of Ormond, the

treaty was commenced and proceeded with tolerable dispatch. Yet still an opportunity was offered to the Irish of retrieving their error, for one of the queen's chaplains reached Ireland under a fictitious name, sent expressly to forward an accommodation between the lord lieutenant and the nuncio. But the latter was still inaccessible to all other considerations but his own bigotry and pride, and he merely condescended to offer again the same ridiculous conditions, to be rejected with disdain. It is reported that even Owen O'Neill began to foresee the consequences of this obstinate policy, and that he sent his nephew Daniel O'Neill to Kilkenny, to exert himself in urging on the nuncio's council the necessity of preventing, at any risk, Ormond's surrender to the parliament. Ormond proposed that if O'Neill would procure a cessation for one year, he would break off his treaty with the parliament, but he required an answer within fourteen days. Instead of deliberating on this measure, the council committed Daniel O'Neill to prison, and kept him there till the fourteen days had expired.

The winter of 1646 and the spring of 1647 passed away in these negotiations, and it was not till the month of June in the latter year that Ormond concluded his treaty with the parliament. He then sent his second son, lord Richard Butler, with the earl of Roscommon, colonel Chichester, and sir James Ware, to England as hostages for the performance of his stipulations. The articles were signed on the 19th of June, by which Ormond engaged to deliver up Dublin and all the king's garrisons, his ordnance, ammunitions, and stores, together with the sword of state and other ensigns of government, on the 28th of July, or sooner, if required by parliament, on notice of four days. The commissioners promised on their part a general protection of the protestants; free liberty to depart for all those who chose to accompany the marquis of Ormond out of Ireland; the favour of parliament to popish recusants who had not engaged in the rebellion, according to their future demeanour; and permission for the marquis of Ormond to take up his residence in England, on condition of submitting to the ordinances of parliament; and they acknowledged that the sum expended by him in the king's service amounted to thirteen thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven pounds, of which they engaged to pay three thousand before his departure, and to se-

cure the remainder by sufficient bills of exchange.

On the conclusion of this treaty, a considerable body of the forces of parliament marched out of Ulster to Dublin, and they were increased by new arrivals from England. The city was thus completely in the power of the commissioners, who did not wait for Ormond's departure to exercise their authority, which was first shewn in an order forbidding the use of the liturgy within the walls. They neglected some of the stipulations of parliament, and especially the payment of the three thousand pounds to enable him to discharge his debts; yet they were impatient for his departure, and the parliament refused to allow him to transport five thousand men of the Irish catholics for the service of the king of France, jealous probably of a project by which their Irish enemies would become experienced soldiers in foreign service. Ormond had fixed the 28th of July for the resignation of his authority; but on the 16th the commissioners summoned him to remove from the castle and deliver up the regalia within four days, according to the terms of the treaty. He expostulated, and they were satisfied on his delivering the castle to the custody of their guards. The more moderate among the confederates, whose councils became more divided, now began to see the error they had committed in forcing Ormond to resign to the parliament, and they seemed for a moment to be recovering their power. The overbearing violence of O'Neill, who threatened to seize Kilkenny and march into Munster, created general disgust; and lord Muskerry, having made his escape, the Munster army received him as their general, and deposed the earl of Glamorgan, who had been appointed general of Munster by the nuncio. Some of the chiefs of the moderate party, fearful that the nuncio and O'Neill might attempt some desperate project on Ormond's departure, held a private consultation with lord Digby, on the possibility of retaining him in Ireland. But it was now too late; and on the 28th of July, the day appointed by the treaty, having left the regalia to be delivered to the commissioners, Ormond quitted Ireland, and proceeded direct to Bristol.

Thus was the English parliament in full possession of Dublin, and the first step was taken towards that terrible punishment which the confederates were drawing upon themselves. A brave officer in the parliamentary

army, colonel Michael Jones, was appointed governor of Dublin, and commander of the forces in Leinster. He had to contend with some of the difficulties which beset the marquis of Ormond; and the troops left by the late lord lieutenant, ill paid and fed, and provoked at the severe discipline of the republican governor, became insubordinate, and plundered and ill-treated the citizens. Among the Irish, O'Neill and his army still remained devoted to the extreme policy of the violent papists, while the army of Leinster, under Preston, and that of Munster, under lord Taaffe, to whom Muskerry had surrendered the command in order that he might attend more closely to the proceedings of the assembly in Kilkenny, supported the moderate party. They were all anxious to drive the parliamentarians from Dublin, and Preston and Taaffe were concerting their plans for bringing back the marquis of Ormond.

Preston, who had an army of seven thousand foot and a thousand horse at his command, took the field against Jones, and advanced into the English quarters, taking possession of Naas and some other places of no great importance; while Jones, who was inferior in numbers, experienced some trifling checks, and could not venture on a general action. But when Preston proceeded to invest Trim, Jones, now reinforced by some troops from the north, marched to its relief. By the advice of lord Digby, who knew that there was much disaffection in Dublin, Preston determined on making an attempt to surprise the capital, and he hoped to elude his opponent by a forced march. But Jones was not wanting in vigilance; he pursued him closely, and the two armies met on the 8th of August, at a place called Dungan-hill. Jones's army was now nearly equal in numbers to that of Preston, and his men were moved with such an enthusiastic hatred of the Irish, that they

* Lord Inchiquin himself, in a letter to the speaker of the English parliament (printed in Cary's *Memorials of the great Civil War*) gives the following account of the taking of Cahir Castle, which he describes as "an ancient and eminent hold of the rebels, environed with two branches of that river, which was observed to be in all appearance of that strength, as it was both by them and by the officers of this army esteemed impregnable; notwithstanding which, the importance of the place being seriously considered by us, we were occasioned to make an attempt upon it by this accident.

"One of our horsemen being plundering near the town, was by some of the rebels wounded and carried a prisoner into the castle, from whence he was admitted to send for a surgeon into our quarters, to dress his wounds; of which we made this

could hardly be restrained by their officers, but rushed furiously upon the enemy with little order or discipline. The Irish, however, were borne down by the fury of the attack, and were soon driven from the field with terrible slaughter, leaving their arms, cannon, and baggage in the hands of the victors, who, unable from want of provisions to follow up their advantage, carried back these trophies, and a number of prisoners to Dublin. Among the latter were several persons of distinguished rank and consequence. Preston escaped with his horse to Carlow, and there collected the shattered remains of his army. But he soon experienced a new mortification; the supreme council sent him an order to resign most of his remaining forces to O'Neill, for the nuncio, who rejoiced at Preston's defeat as that of a confirmed Ormondist, had persuaded them of the necessity of recalling his favourite general from some petty excursions, to take the chief command in Leinster. O'Neill soon overran the country, and carried his depredations up to the walls of Dublin, while he cautiously eluded all Jones's attempts to bring him to an engagement.

Lord Taaffe's army was as unfortunate in Munster as that of general Preston in Leinster. Lord Inchiquin had, early in 1647, opened a vigorous campaign in the south. He reduced two or three places of strength on the river Blackwater, and, having invested Dungarvan, that town was surrendered to him on the tenth of May. He was subsequently forced by want of provisions to return to Cork; but having received reinforcements from the parliament, he marched towards Tipperary in September, took several forts, and invested Cahir, an ancient and strong fortress, environed by two branches of the river Suir. After a very slight resistance, Cahir was surrendered,* and thus use: one colonel James Hippley, who had formerly served the king, and was (upon some assurance given me by a friend of his doing service) admitted to come into our quarters, being an ingenious person, skilled in chirurgery and in fortifications, took upon him to go under a disguise into the castle, and to dress the wounded trooper; which accordingly he did with so good caution and circumspection, as that he discovered perfectly the condition of the castle in each respect, the weakness of the ward, and especially some defects in the wall of the outward bawne, which rendered it assaultable by our men, the taking whereof would probably induce the surrender of the castle, which he collected from the observed timorousness of the warders; which sorted to so good purpose, as that, falling on the place defective, with a party led on by colonel Hippley himself, we carried that out-

the way was opened for the troops of lord Inchiquin to range over the fertile county of Tipperary. Inchiquin now advanced to the city of Cashel, almost without opposition. In the storming of the rock of Cashel, twenty ecclesiastics were massacred. The nuncio raised a violent clamour upon this outrage on the priesthood, which he imputed to the disaffection of lord Taafe to the cause, and that nobleman was obliged by the popular outcry to take the field in November. On the 13th of that month, he encountered lord Inchiquin at Knocknenoss, to the west of Mallow. Fortune again favoured the parliamentarians. Lord Taafe's left wing, which he commanded in person, was broken immediately, and all his efforts to stop the flight were in vain, though he is said to have slain several of the fugitives with his own hand. His right wing stood more firmly, and the battle is celebrated in Irish story for the bravery of sir Alexander Mac Donnell, who was known by the appellation of Kolkitto, or the left-handed, and is celebrated in popular Irish tradition by the name of Mac Allisdrum. Mac Donnell commanded a body of highlanders in the right wing of lord Taafe's army, and he was supported by two regiments of horse. After one discharge of musquetry, the Irish fell sword in hand upon their enemies, put them to flight with slaughter, and seized their cannon and carriages; but the English rallied, and when Inchiquin returned to the field from the pursuit of lord Taafe, the highlanders were abandoned by their cavalry, and left without a commander by the fall of Mac Donnell. Still they obstinately stood their ground, until a great part of them were slaughtered, many of them, as the royalists asserted subsequently, after they had accepted quarter. Inchiquin's victory was complete; above three thousand of the Irish are said to have been slain; six thousand arms, all their baggage and artillery, the tent and cabinet of the Irish general, and thirty-eight colours and standards, fell into the hands of the victors. For this service, the English parlia-

ment voted ten thousand pounds to be sent to Munster, and the thanks of the parliament with a present of a thousand pounds were voted to lord Inchiquin.

The successive defeat of their generals seemed to have rendered desperate the position of the moderate party in the Irish confederacy, and several of their leaders began to think of abandoning the cause and their country, now reduced to the extreme of misery, and seeking a new home in foreign lands. Lord Muskerry, however, prevailed upon them with some difficulty to remain for a while at their posts, and make a last attempt to counteract the pernicious influence of the nuncio. With this object in view, they commenced by labouring vigorously, and, as it appeared in the end, with some success, to gain a majority in the new general assembly now summoned to Kilkenny. Their activity did not long escape the notice of the nuncio, who saw through their design to subvert his power, and determined to counteract it. In doing this, he allowed no scruples to deter him, and his authority was still sufficient to intimidate the assembly. He had recommended eleven persons to Rome to be made bishops; and now, when he perceived the strength of the opposition and the necessity of gaining as many votes as possible, he prevailed upon the supreme council, who were mere creatures at his command, to summon these ecclesiastics to the assembly, although they had not yet been consecrated. The assembly at first objected to their admission, and it was represented by the lawyers that they could not legally sit in the assembly, since their bulls had not arrived, and they were neither consecrated nor invested with their temporalities. The nuncio was angry at this opposition to his will, and at first threatened to consecrate them himself; but on second thoughts he adopted what appeared the safer and more expeditious course, by ordering them to take their seats directly. The assembly was in this instance intimidated, and acquiesced in the nuncio's will; who

ward hawne and some out-turrets by storm, and in a few hours after had the castle surrendered unto us on quarter only for life; though, upon entry of it, we found that the same was by no force of ours to be reduced, if the defendants had not been, by divine providence, deprived of any courage to oppose us.

"The place is justly looked upon by this army as the most important in the whole province, being of that strength, as not to be taken from us so long as we have victual to support a garrison therein; whereby a pass is kept open for us to make daily incursions

into this country, which hath been a principal contributory to the rebels' army. To the performance of which service the soldier was enabled, with no other food than the roots under and corn above the ground (all their cattle being driven away before us out of our reach), of the latter whereof we had great and abundant store, so as we have burned in this county above £20,000 worth, whereof there could be no use made through want of hand-mills (for which I have often and earnestly written), the water-mills being for the most part either burned or deserted."

grew still more insolent and overbearing. But his next attempt to swell the number of his votes was less successful. It appears that sixty-three members had been usually sent to the assembly from the province of Ulster, which on the present occasion, apparently from its exhausted condition, returned no more than nine. As the representatives of this province were all devoted to the nuncio, he made the extravagant demand that, as the war had hindered the province of Ulster from making its full election, the nine members returned should be allowed amongst them the whole number of votes of the sixty-three; that is, that each of the members for Ulster should have seven votes. The opposition party proved sufficiently strong to reject this proposal.

The strength of the opposition was soon proved by the circumstance that, in spite of all the nuncio's exertions, the assembly declared for peace; and as the king, whom they still acknowledged, was in restraint, they resolved to send agents to the queen and prince in France to commence a treaty. The nuncio opposed this course vehemently, because he knew it would lead to the return of the marquis of Ormond, and he expected it would be followed by an invitation to the prince of Wales to repair to Ireland, which would of course overthrow his own power. He, therefore, pressed the assembly to reject this proposal, and send to Rome to implore the protection of the pope. The policy now adopted by the moderate party was to persist secretly in their own plans, and allow the nuncio to carry his points outwardly just so far as they could be undermined and counteracted. It was therefore agreed that three deputations should be sent to Rome, Madrid, and France, and that that to Rome should be sent first, while the one sent to the queen was to wait in Paris

to learn the result of the application to Rome.

In choosing the agents for these different deputations, the leaders of the opposition deliberately proposed some of the most violent supporters of the nuncio, in order that during their absence he might be deprived of their support in the assembly. In this manner, the bishop of Fernes and Nicholas Plunkett, two of the most violent opposers of the peace, were appointed to repair to Rome. But when they proceeded to nominate MacMahon, bishop of Clogher, to accompany lord Muskerry and Geoffrey Browne to France, he saw through their design, and refused to obey; and being supported in his contumacy by the nuncio, the assembly, after a considerable ferment, was obliged to substitute the marquis of Antrim. The nuncio now proceeded, as he had done before, to impose the conditions upon which the confederates were to treat. He had easily induced his clergy to unite with him in subscribing a declaration to the effect that they would never consent that either the queen or the prince of Wales should be invited into Ireland, until the pope's articles with respect to religion were insured; that any but a Roman catholic should ever be appointed chief governor; that the forts and armies of the confederates should ever be delivered to heretics, or that any peace should ever be concluded which should not preserve their church and religion in the state of supremacy in which they had then placed it. The nuncio insisted that the instructions to be given to the agents sent to France should be modelled according to this declaration, and that they should be submitted to his revision, and he took care to insist upon all the extravagant demands which had already caused so many treaties to be broken off.* But lord Muskerry and Geoffrey Browne were now resolute in their

*The clergy of the nuncio's party and the old Irish at this time scarcely concealed their design of withdrawing the island from the English crown, and placing themselves under the protection of a foreign power. This was particularly avowed, as Leland observes from Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*, in a tract written by an Irish jesuit, printed about this time, and privately dispersed through the nation. The positions of the author were, that the kings of England never had any right to Ireland; that supposing they once had, they had forfeited it by turning heretics and neglecting the conditions of pope Adrian's grant; that the old Irish nation might by force of arms recover the lands and goods taken from their ancestors by usurpers of English and other foreign extraction; that they should kill not only all

the protestants, but all the Roman catholics of Ireland who supported the crown of England; that they should choose an Irish native for their king, and throw off at once the yoke both of heretics and foreigners. These doctrines were not at all palatable to the old Anglo-Irish, who formed a large portion of the population of the island, including most of the leaders of the confederacy. The priest in whose custody this book was seized escaped punishment by the interest of the nuncio, who laboured to save the book from censure; but, to his mortification, it was condemned by the supreme council, and ordered to be burnt at Kilkenny by the common hangman. O'Neill was the great favourite of the party which professed such principles as these.

opposition to the nuncio, and they had privately agreed to neglect the nuncio's instructions, and not to insist upon his extravagant proposals. With this assurance, the opposition leaders allowed the nuncio and his party to amuse themselves with drawing up whatever public instructions they pleased. The struggle in the assembly was not yet ended, for as the session was drawing towards a close, each party was solicitous as to the construction of the supreme council which was to govern when it was no longer sitting. It was finally agreed that this council should be formed equally of both parties. It was, however, artfully suggested by lord Muskerry, that as the public affairs might call away several members from their attendance, it was necessary to appoint some supernumeraries to supply their places. The proposal was rather hastily acceded to; and lord Muskerry contrived to introduce among these occasional councillors forty-eight of his own partizans.

The marquis of Ormond, on his arrival in England, had been permitted to present himself before the king at Hampton Court, and he there tendered to him his commission for the lord lieutenancy of Ireland; but Charles refused to take it, expressing his wish that the marquis should retain it, in the hope that at a subsequent period he would be able to use it with better success. He remained in England, in the hope of serving the king, until he found that he was no longer in safety, and then he proceeded with his eldest son, lord Ossory, to France. He was with the queen, at St. Germain's, when the Irish agents arrived, and the attention with which the queen listened to his advice aided powerfully the wishes of the moderate party among the Irish confederates. The queen soon learnt that she was to pay most attention to Muskerry and Browne, and having received them to a private audience, they produced their secret instructions, signed by Preston and lord Taaffe, by which they were directed to assure her of the unshaken loyalty of their party, and their unchangeable adherence to the king's cause, in despite of those of the Irish party who laboured to introduce a foreign supremacy into Ireland; they were to entreat the countenance and support of the queen and prince of Wales; and they were to propose as the measure most desirable in the present conjuncture, that the prince should be sent to Ireland with arms and money, and assume

the command of the moderate party, who were ready to receive him with the utmost joy. They then joined with the marquis of Antrim at a public audience, and delivered as a matter of form the propositions of the nuncio and clergy. The queen and prince returned an answer in general terms, calculated to offend no party, yet manifesting a leaning towards those represented by Muskerry and Browne; and they assured them that a person should speedily be sent to Ireland with full authority to listen to the propositions of the confederates, and grant every concession consistent with the king's interest, justice, and honour.

There was another intrigue going on in France with regard to the Irish affairs. After the marquis of Ormond had quitted Dublin, the earl of Glamorgan hastened to Paris to solicit the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, and he carried with him a strong recommendation from the nuncio to cardinal Mazarine. The marquis of Antrim, whose vanity and ambition continued the same, and who was more especially a favourite with the queen, also nourished sanguine expectations of obtaining this appointment; and the doubt in which this question was involved created much uneasiness among the advocates of peace. They were, however, relieved of their anxiety, when the queen gave private assurance to their agents that the lord lieutenancy would remain in the hands of the marquis of Ormond, and that he would speedily be sent to Ireland to their support, with all the assistance she could procure from the court of France.

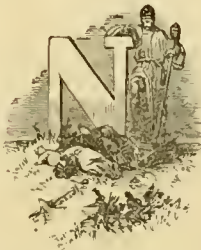
On the return of the agents they found affairs at home proceeding to their entire satisfaction, for things had taken a turn in the south which gave an unexpected encouragement to the design of bringing back the marquis of Ormond. The English parliament seem never to have looked with much confidence on the old commanders who were serving them in Ireland, and they had given offence to lord Inchiquin, it is said, by refusing some favours which he conceived that his services merited. This, combined with some discontent, real or pretended, at the violent proceedings of the parliament in England, determined lord Inchiquin to desert the parliament, as he had formerly deserted the king. He entered into a secret correspondence with the marquis of Ormond, and though he still made a show of carrying on hostilities with vigour, he entered into a secret engagement with

lord Taaffe and Preston, by which the three commanders bound themselves to support the king's rights and to obey the marquis of Ormond as his lord lieutenant. Inchiquin first raised suspicions of his fidelity, by sending a remonstrance to parliament in the January of 1648. His ultimate designs being suspected by some of his officers attached to the Independent party, they entered into a conspiracy to seize Cork and Youghall, during his absence with the army. This plot was discovered, and the conspirators seized and imprisoned by a council of

war; but, although his officers were sworn to stand by him and be true to one another, Inchiquin's designs were discovered too early, and the parliament sent their ships to block up the harbours of Cork, Youghall, and Kinsale. Upon this, Inchiquin concluded a cessation with the confederates, and sent a messenger to the marquis of Ormond in France, earnestly pressing his return, urging him if possible to bring with him a sum of money, and assuring him that the provinces of Munster and Leinster would be immediately placed at his command.

CHAPTER XV.

DECLINE OF THE NUNCIO'S POWER; O'NEILL DECLARES WAR AGAINST THE CONFEDERATES; ARRIVAL OF THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND IN MUNSTER; PEACE OF 1649.



NOW at length the nuncio's overbearing pretensions were beginning to work the overthrow of the power which he had grasped so strenuously, and which he had exercised with so little moderation. The inclination which manifested itself in different quarters to treat for peace with the king, and to call over the prince, had raised his apprehensions to such a degree, that he suddenly became willing to join with the parliamentarians, the party of all others most opposed to his own, in order to obstruct the plans of the royalists. In the preceding year, pressed with difficulties on all sides, the nuncio had recommended to the assembly a cessation either with the Scots in Ulster, or with lord Inchiquin in Munster; the latter alternative had been preferred, and they were already in treaty with that commander. But now that Inchiquin had revolted to the king, and had been proclaimed a traitor by the parliament, the nuncio did his utmost to obstruct it, and when he found that it was near a conclusion, he sent in writing to the supreme council his reasons against it, which were to the effect that Inchiquin had seized upon many estates and churches of the catholics in Munster, which would be left in his hands by the truce, that he was

still stained with the blood of their ecclesiastics slain at Cashel and elsewhere, and that now that he could obtain no supplies from England, by continuing the war they would soon be able to avenge the latter and recover the former. The council replied by protesting their inability to reduce Inchiquin, and the impropriety of making war upon a royalist while they were in treaty with the king. But the nuncio was inaccessible to such arguments, and, having repaired to Kilkenny, to try the effect of his personal intercession, and found it unsuccessful, he withdrew privately from that city on the 7th of May, 1648, and took refuge in the camp of Owen O'Neill, at Killminch in the Queen's County.

After the nuncio's departure, the treaty of cessation between the confederates and lord Inchiquin was soon concluded, and it was published on the 20th of May. The confederates were, however, disconcerted at the nuncio's flight, who was still looked up to with the most profound reverence by the Irish population, and they intreated him to return, and confer temperately on public affairs; but he only replied by new and extravagant demands, that the armies of Leinster and Munster should be taken from their present commanders and placed under the control of O'Neill, and that the whole management of peace and war should be surrendered to the clergy. This of course

was refused, and the nuncio in consequence disclaimed all further connection with the supreme council. He caused a protest of the clergy against the cessation with Inchiquin to be fixed on the door of Kilkenny cathedral, and, when he learnt that that was contemptuously torn down, he called together the bishops of Clogher, Ross, Cork, and Down, and on the 27th of May, with their assistance, publicly denounced the excommunication of the church against all who adhered to it, and placed an interdict on all places where it should be accepted or maintained. The supreme council made an appeal to the pope against this sentence, as being erroneous in matter and form, and their appeal was supported by many of the clergy who had formerly sided with the nuncio. Thus was completed the breach between the nuncio and the confederates.*

The former was still strong in the support of a large body of the Irish clergy, including many of the most influential ecclesiastics, and in that of Owen O'Neill and the Irish of Ulster. He removed to Athlone, which was an important post in regard both to Connaught and Ulster, and had been betrayed to him some months before by a friar of the name of Dillon, and he announced to the supreme council his intention of calling a national synod at that place. Finding that the council had determined to pay no further attention to his orders or remonstrances, he threw himself entirely into the arms of his favourite general, and O'Neill, having made a truce with the Scots in the north, and collected together his forces from Connaught and Ulster, proclaimed war against the supreme council on the 11th of June.

The confederates were not backward in preparing to meet the emergency. By the cessation, they had secured the assistance of lord Inchiquin and the marquis of Clanrickard, and thus strengthened, on the 20th of June they renewed their oath of association, and proclaimed war against Owen O'Neill and his confederates. As the nuncio had now no money to pay the troops, they were obliged to live at discretion upon the country, and the ravages of the barbarian adventurers from Ulster rendered them an

object of detestation. Preston, reinforced with some troops sent from Munster by lords Inchiquin and Taafe, was sent against them; and this general and the marquis of Clanrickard laid siege to Athlone, which was obliged to surrender before O'Neill could arrive to its relief, and the nuncio was compelled to make a precipitate retreat to Galway. This town appears to have been well affected to the nuncio; but it had agreed to the cessation, in consequence of which we are told that he ordered it to be subjected to the interdict, and the churches closed, and even the ensigns of authority taken from the house of the mayor. This violent conduct only provoked a popular tumult, to which the nuncio was compelled in some degree to yield. He then summoned the national synod to meet at Galway on the 15th of August; but the council protested against it, and themselves called a general assembly to meet on the 4th of September. The marquis of Clanrickard, by order of the council, prevented the synod by investing Galway, and he compelled the inhabitants to proclaim the cessation, to pay a considerable sum of money, and to renounce utterly the nuncio and his adherents.

The nuncio was undismayed at these repeated proofs of the strength of his opponents, and he continued to issue his comminations, declaring all who favoured the cessation guilty of mortal sin. The parliamentarians in Dublin had been relieved from most of their alarms during these dissensions among the Irish, and Jones, the governor, was thus left at liberty to provide against the disaffection which he knew existed among many of his officers and men. He arrested those most suspected, imprisoned some of them in the castle of Dublin, and sent others to England; while Monk, to whom the parliament had now entrusted the command of Ulster, marched suddenly into that province, surprised Carriekfergus, and seized Monroe and sent him prisoner to England. He next reduced Belfast and Coleraine, and placed garrisons on the frontiers to restrain the incursions of the Irish. The English parliamentarians willingly entered into a treaty with Owen O'Neill, who nuncio, and said that whoever would not pledge it was a heretic, he was so well pleased with that prophane and irreligious zeal, that he rewarded it with a deanery. And this is reported by Mr. Beling, who was himself an eminent Roman Catholic, and a learned man, and their first legate to the pope, and secretary to the supreme council."

* Coxe (*Hibernica Anglicana*) has recorded a singular instance of the blind zeal of the nuncio and his party. "And that it may appear how little regard this apostolic nuncio had for religion, it is necessary to add, that when he understood that a blasphemous wretch had drunk a health to the Trinity, viz. God, Owen Rowe (O'Neill), and the

had now declared against Ormond and the king's party, and they allowed him to march unmolested through Leinster against the confederates.

O'Neill now formed the design of marching suddenly to Kilkenny, and seizing the supreme council, to which he was encouraged by private intelligence from the city, which led him to believe that it would be betrayed into his hands by the partizans of the clergy. In fact there was a considerable party there who still clung to the nuncio, and a plot was formed, in which the chief conspirator was an ecclesiastic named Paul King, to deliver Kilkenny into O'Neill's hands, on his showing himself before its walls. The moment was an advantageous one, for the forces of the confederates were scattered at a distance, and the courage of the nuncio's party had been raised by the sudden return from France of the marquis of Antrim, who, enraged at his disappointment in regard to the lord-lieutenancy, declared himself the zealous partizan of the nuncio, and undertook to raise considerable forces amongst his friends and dependents in Ulster and the Scottish isles.

But O'Neill's slowness and caution in this instance defeated his design; for the plot in Kilkenny was discovered, and while the Ulster army was ravaging the country at some distance from the city, lord Inchiquin arrived with the army of Munster to its protection. Inchiquin joined with Preston, and attempted to bring O'Neill to a general engagement; but the wily northern eluded all their attempts, and, after some hostilities which were of no great benefit to either side, made his retreat into Ulster. The marquis of Antrim was still less fortunate in his undertaking. Having brought into Ireland a body of Scottish Highlanders, he marched into the counties of Wicklow and Wexford, where the Cavenaghs and Byrnes, who were devoted to the nuncio's party, rose and joined him. This insurrection had grown to some degree of strength and importance, and excited considerable apprehension at Kilkenny, till the council sent sir Edmund Butler and sir Thomas Esmond, with a strong force to suppress them. The marquis of Antrim was attacked suddenly, and entirely defeated, his Highlanders, the only troops which stood firm, being cut to pieces. His vanity however was unabated, and he still boasted so much of his power in the north and the great exploits he intended to perform, that not only did Jones agree

to support him, but even O'Neill consented to serve under him as the commander-in-chief of the nuncio's forces. But Antrim's great promises soon came to nothing, and his weakness and incapacity became so evident, that O'Neill resumed the chief command.

At the appointed time, the new general assembly, composed almost entirely of friends to the peace, met at Kilkenny, and they were encouraged by the arrival of lord Muskerry and Geoffrey Brown from France, with the assurance of the speedy arrival of the marquis of Ormond. The spirit which actuated the new assembly was not long in showing itself in their actions. They not only formally approved and ratified the cessation with Inchiquin, but they expressed strongly their sense of the outrageous conduct of the nuncio, and formally declared O'Neill a traitor for having leagued with Jones and the enemies of the king against the government of the confederates. They renewed the appeal to Rome against the sentence of excommunication. The nuncio well informed of these proceedings, intercepted their messenger to the pope, and seized his despatches. Enraged at this new act of aggression, the assembly proceeded to more direct and open steps for subduing the pride of the papal agent. They forbade, under the severest penalties, all the catholics of Ireland, and especially those of Galway, who appear now to have been specially devoted to him, from holding any intercourse or correspondence with the nuncio, to whom they intimated, in a letter signed by their prolocutor or speaker, their wish that he would leave the kingdom, while they informed him that they had drawn up articles of accusation against him which were immediately to be laid before the supreme pontiff.

This was the state of affairs when the marquis of Ormond landed at Cork on the 29th of September, 1648, where he was received by lord Inchiquin and the officers of the army of Munster. On the 4th of October, Ormond wrote to the supreme council, informing them that the king had sent him back to Ireland in accordance with their request, and desiring them to send commissioners to his house at Carrick to treat for a peace. Although the moment was favourable in many respects for the re-appearance of Ormond on the stage, yet he had many difficulties to contend with. It was necessary above all things to conciliate the army

of Munster, and as the loyalists had been disappointed in their hopes from France, he had no money to pay them. He was obliged to conceal his poverty by declaring his expectation of a large supply which was to follow him immediately. Part of the English fleet had deserted to prince Charles, and, although the ships returned to their allegiance to the parliament, Ormond gave hopes that they would be brought to the Irish coast to favour the importation of provisions, and to enrich the army by the prizes which they would take from the enemy.

On the 6th of October, the marquis, still at Cork, published a declaration to the protestants of Munster, of the causes which had induced him to return to Ireland. After making an apology of having delivered Dublin and the other garrisons to the parliament, which he said that he had done in the hope, "that being under the power of the houses, they would upon a happy expected composure of affairs in England, revert unto and be reverted in his majesty as his proper right," he proceeded to state that, "having found how, contrary to the inclinations of the well-affected to his majesty's restoration in England, the power of that kingdom had unhappily devolved to hands employed only in the art and labour of pulling down and subverting the fundamentals of monarchy, (with whom a pernicious party in this kingdom [Ireland] do equally sympathise and co-operate); and being filled with the deep sense of the duty and obligations that are upon us strictly to embrace all opportunities of employing our endeavours towards the recovery of his majesty's just rights in any part of his dominions; having observed the protestant army in the province of Munster (by special providence, discovering the arts and practices used to entangle the members thereof in engagements as directly contrary to their duties towards God and man, as to their intentions and resolutions) to have found means to manifest the candour and integrity thereof, in a disclaimer of any obedience to or concurrence with those powers or persons which have so grossly varied even their own professed principles of preserving his majesty's person and rights, by confining him under a most strict imprisonment; his majesty also vouchsafing graciously to accept the declaration of the said army, as an eminent and seasonable expression of their fidelity towards him, and in testimony thereof, having laid his commands upon us

to make our repair into this province to discharge the duties of our place; we having, as well in obedience thereunto, as in pursuance of our own duty and desire to advance his majesty's service, resolved to evidence our approbation and esteem of the proceeding of the said army, by publishing unto the world our like determination."

The marquis then went on to declare his intentions to be, "first, to improve our utmost endeavours for the settlement of the protestant religion according to the example of the best reformed churches; secondly, to defend the king in his prerogatives; thirdly, to maintain the privileges and freedom of parliament, and the liberty of the subjects." "In order hereunto," he says, "we shall oppose to the hazard of our lives those rebels of this kingdom who shall refuse their obedience to his majesty upon such terms as he hath thought fit by us to require it; and we shall endeavour to the utmost the suppressing of that independent party who have thus fiercely laboured the extirpation of the true protestant religion, the ruin of our prince, the dishonour of parliament, and the vassalage of our fellow-subjects, against all those who shall depend upon them or adhere unto them, and that this our undertaking might not appear obnoxious to the trade of England, but that we desire a firm union and agreement be preserved betwixt us, we do likewise declare, that we will continue free traffic and commerce with all his majesty's good subjects of England; and that we will not in the least manner prejudice any of them that shall have recourse to our harbours, either in their bodies, ships, or goods; nor shall we take anything from them without payment of ready money for the same. And now that by his majesty's said commands, we have proceeded to re-enter upon the work of his service in this province, we conceive no higher testimony can be given of his majesty's acceptance, or of the estimation we bear about us towards their proceeding, than by resorting unto them in person with his majesty's authority, and exhibiting unto them the encouragement and satisfaction they may receive in this assurance, that as we bear an especial regard to their present undertakings and performances, accompanied with a real sense of their former sufferings, so, lest there should any advantage be derived unto those who endeavour to improve all opportunities of sowing sedition and distrust by this suggestion, that the

former differences in judgment and opinion, which have induced persons to serve diversely under his majesty and the parliament, will occasion prejudice or ill-resentments to arise towards such persons as have not formerly concurred in judgment with others in his majesty's service, we do declare that we are qualified with special power and authority from his majesty to assure them that no distinction shall be made in any such consideration, but that all persons now interested and engaged in this cause shall be reflected upon with equal favour and regard; and that we shall make it our endeavours so to improve and confirm his majesty's gracious disposure towards them, as that we will never call to memory any past difference in opinion, judgment, action, or profession, to the prejudice of any member of this army, or any person relating to it; but on the contrary shall be very ready to attest our good affections towards them, in the discharge of such good offices as shall be in our power. In return whereof we shall only expect their perseverance in their present engagements for his majesty's service with such alacrity, constancy, and affection as may suit with their late public declaration and professions."

Ormond seemed thus to have secured the Munster army, and the general assembly having agreed to send their commissioners to Carriek, the treaty seemed in a fair way towards a speedy and satisfactory result, in spite of the exertions of the parliamentary government to defeat Ormond's projects on the one hand, and the opposition of the nuncio on the other.

The influence of the latter received a new blow in the month of November by the arrival of the ambassadors sent to the pope, who returned laden with popish relics, but with no more substantial consolation. They presented themselves before the assembly, and gave an account of their negotiations, the sum of which was this. They had represented to the pope the desperate condition of the kingdom, and informed him that without present and good supplies, which they expected from his holiness, there was no hope of the preservation of the catholic religion in Ireland; and they urged that he was bound in justice to assist them, since his nuncio had in a general assembly of the confederates undertaken that the sum promised to Sir Kenelm Digby, the agent of the English catholics, for the king's service in England, should be applied to the service of the catho-

lic confederates in Ireland. The Irish ambassadors met with a very different reception at the court of Rome from that which they had anticipated. The pope, who had as yet received no intimation of the disagreement between his nuncio and the assembly, appeared to be but ill satisfied with the proceedings of the former, and to regret the money which he had expended somewhat lavishly on Irish intrigues. After keeping the envoys in attendance at court during four months, he at length condescended to give them his answer, to the effect that he had sent by the dean of Fermo a considerable sum, of the disposal of which he had received no account; that he was obliged to husband his resources at home, as the Turks were in Candia and threatened Italy; that there was a scarcity of corn in Rome and the adjoining territories, so that a great sum of money must be issued to satisfy the commoners, and that this was a heavy burthen to the treasury, which had not only been left empty by the late pope, but the holy see was deeply charged with debts incurred in his time. The envoys had tried the cardinals and others who had "pious intentions" towards the Irish, but they represented that they were poor and hardly able to maintain their own dignities, so that nothing was to be expected from them. When they spoke on the subject of the treaty, instead of finding it, as the nuncio had given them reason to suppose, drawn up by the pope and ready for signature, they were merely informed by the supreme pontiff, that he considered it unfit that the see apostolic should grant any articles to heretics, and that as for the nuncio's engagement that the catholics of Ireland should be supplied by him in their maintenance of the war, he had no such commission, although it was true that his holiness would give money for conditions of religion, but none upon the event of war. The Irish envoys added, that just before their departure from Rome, the news arrived of the rupture between the nuncio and the assembly, upon which they "heard from some eminent persons," that what his holiness was resolved to give for the support of the Irish catholics, "he knew not to what party he would send it, we being flushed in blood one against the other."

In the mean time, the king had been engaged in the treaty of Newport, and on the ninth of October, at the desire of the parliament commissioners, he gave his written consent to their articles concerning Ireland,

especially, "that act of parliament be passed to declare and make void the cessation of Ireland and all treaties and conclusions of peace or any articles thereupon with the rebels without the consent of both houses of parliament, and to settle the prosecution of the war of Ireland in both houses of parliament of England, to be managed by them; and his majesty to assist, and to do no act to discountenance or molest them therein." The next day (the tenth of October) the king wrote a private letter to the marquis of Ormond, which was conveyed to him by way of Paris, in which he ordered him, "first, to obey all my wife's commands; then, not to obey any public command of mine, until I send you word that I am free from restraint. Lastly, be not startled at my *great concessions* concerning Ireland, for that they will come to nothing." On the 28th of the same month another secret letter, sent perhaps by a different route, was written to the marquis of Ormond by the king, containing the following words:—"I hope before this mine of the tenth of this month will have come to your hands: I sent it by the way of France. This is not only to confirm the contents of that but also to approve of certain commands to you; likewise to command to prosecute certain instructions; until I shall under my own hand give you other commands. And though you will hear that this treaty is near, or at least most likely to be concluded, yet believe it not, but pursue the way you are in with all possible vigour. Deliver also that my command to all your friends, but not in a public way, because otherwise it may be inconvenient to me, and particularly to Inchiquin."

A copy of the marquis of Ormond's letter to the supreme council, in which he announced that he had been sent by the king and authorised to conclude a peace with them, had now been obtained by colonel Jones, the governor of Dublin, who had sent it to England. It was immediately forwarded by the English parliament to their commissioners in the Isle of Wight, who on the 1st of November communicated it to the king, and desired his majesty's public declaration against any such power as the marquis claimed, and against his proceedings in Ireland. The king, with the full consciousness of having written the two letters just mentioned to Ormond, did not hesitate to make the assertion, "That since the first votes [on the 3d of August] passed for the treaty, he had not transacted any affairs concerning

Ireland, but with you the commissioners in relation to the treaty itself." He further wrote a public letter to the marquis on the 25th of November, acquainting him with the information he had received from the two houses of parliament concerning his arrival and proceedings in Ireland, and requiring him to desist from any further prosecution of them. But Ormond acted upon the king's private instructions, and paid no attention to his public orders.

Nobody shewed so much anger at the negotiations carried on between the marquis of Ormond and the confederates as the papal nuncio. When it was known that commissioners were appointed to attend the marquis at Carrick, the clergy of the nuncio's party set up a loud complaint against the impiety of betraying the church and its rights, and deserting the cause for which they had confederated together; and their clamour had still so much weight, that the assembly appointed a bishop as one of the commissioners, and Ormond so far retreated from the sentiments he had formerly expressed as to admit him. The demands on the subject of religion were almost as extravagant as ever. The debate on these demands had continued during twenty days, without much progress towards its conclusion, when the assembly, aware of the delay occasioned by the continual travelling between Carrick and Kilkenny, invited the marquis to go to his own castle in the latter city, with the promise of perfect security to his person. He accepted the invitation, and was met at some distance from the city by the whole body of the assembly, nobility, clergy, and gentry, who conducted him with the utmost pomp to Kilkenny. He was there ceremoniously received by the magistrates, the castle was delivered up to him, and he was surrounded with his own guards.

He was here suddenly interrupted in his negotiations by the intelligence of a threatening spirit which had shown itself in the army of lord Inchiquin. These forces, which had so suddenly been drawn from their obedience to the parliament of England, were now agitated with scattered intelligence of the success of the independents, and, disappointed in their expectations of money from Ormond, they began to lean towards the party which seemed to be alone able to pay them, and had grown discontented and clamorous. Some of the officers thought it prudent to make their peace in time with the powers which now

ruled in England, and propositions were even sent to the parliament, in which it was pretended that Inchiquin himself concurred. Men of zealous protestant feelings, who had for several years fought obstinately through good fortune and bad fortune, against their catholic enemies, were alarmed at the reports of a treaty with papists, and they complained of dangerous concessions likely to be made to the Irish, and talked of joining with Jones at Dublin, or of forcing their way to the quarters of Owen O'Neill. Ormond hastened to Cork, and, fortunately for his influence, a messenger from the prince of Wales arrived there almost at the same time, bringing assurances that the fleet would speedily arrive with ammunition and provisions, that the duke of York was on the point of sailing, and that the prince was soon to follow. This intelligence, with the persuasions and expostulations of Ormond and Inchiquin, appeased the soldiers, some of the officers were imprisoned or dismissed, and the army was remodelled in such a manner as to ensure its attachment to the king.

It was during Ormond's absence at Cork, that the Irish agents returned from Rome. The general assembly had agreed to prolong its session until after his return, and the report they brought confirmed the moderate party in their disposition for peace, so that Ormond found fewer difficulties to encounter on his return than he had anticipated. Still the leaders of the confederacy were exigent and unreasonable, and Ormond was obliged to remonstrate energetically against the extravagance of their demands, and point out to them the danger of delay. At this moment the remonstrance of the army in England, requiring that the king should be brought to trial, reached lord Inchiquin, and was sent by him to Kilkenny. The evident danger in which the king was now placed, alarmed the confederates, who felt that their own safety depended in some measure upon the king's preservation, and they acceded to the terms proposed by Ormond without further delay. The treaty was mutually ratified on the 17th of January, 1649, and immediately afterwards the peace was publicly proclaimed with much joy. Even the clergy, although they did not obtain all their extravagant demands, joined in the general satisfaction, which they expressed in a circular letter, containing the following remarkable expressions:—"As a war undertaken principally for religion," they said, "gave us all the world over the reputation

of a catholic people, even so the peace, now concluded between the king's lieutenant and us speaks a *most loyal* nation, as complying with his majesty in his greatest necessity; though, in our thoughts and occasions during these seven years' wars, we have still this loyalty, and have oft publicly sworn it; yet we lay under the suspicions of many men. But by the present agreement all blemish of that kind is taken away. We are of opinion, that our sense of this peace would give you a confidence to receive and submit to it willingly and cheerfully; to which end, we do hereby give you assurance, we have by this peace, in the present concessions, and in the expectations of further gracious favours from his majesty's goodness, received a good satisfaction for the being and safety of our religion; and *the substance* thereof, as to the concessions for religion, *is better than the sound*. By the temporal articles, the lives, liberties, and estates of men are provided for; so as now you have a clear quarrel, without thought or the least colour of suspicion; for you fight purely against sectaries and rebels, for God and Cæsar; and under those banners you may well hope for victories."

From the language used in the foregoing circular, we might be led to suppose that the catholic confederates had not made advantageous terms with the protestant lord lieutenant, yet when we look into the treaty itself, we find that the concessions made to the catholics were little less extensive than those made by the earl of Glamorgan, which had given so much offence a few months before. The treaty consisted of thirty-five articles, in the first of which it was promised that in the next parliament to be called in Ireland, an act should be passed for the repeal of the penal statutes, and that the catholics should be relieved from the oath of supremacy, instead of which they were to take an oath of allegiance in the following words:—"I do hereby acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience, before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king Charles is lawful and right king of this realm, and of other his majesty's dominions and countries; and I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty and his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power against all conspiracies and attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his or their crown and dignity, and do my best endeavour to disclose and make known to his majesty, his heirs, and successors, or to the lord deputy,

or other his majesty's chief governor or governors for the time being, all treason or traitorous conspiracies which I shall know or hear to be intended against his majesty or any of them; and I do make this recognition and acknowledgment heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a christian." In the same article the catholics were assured, "that they or any of them shall not be molested in the possession which they have at present of churches and church livings, or of the exercise of their respective jurisdictions as they now exercise the same, until such time as his majesty, upon a full consideration of the desires of the said Roman catholics, in a free parliament to be held in this kingdom, shall declare his further pleasure."

In the second article of the treaty, it was agreed that a free parliament should be held in Ireland within six months after the date of the peace, or as soon after that time as should seem advisable to the twelve commissioners appointed to see the fulfilment of the treaty. To that parliament it was left entirely to consider of the repeal or suspension of Poyning's act. By the third and fourth articles, all acts, ordinances, and orders of parliament against the Roman catholics, as well as all indictments, attainders, outlawries, and the processs and proceedings thereon, and all letters patents, grants, leases, &c., arising out of them, which had been made since the 7th of August, 1641, were to be annulled. By the fifth, it was agreed, "that as soon as possible may be, all impediments which may hinder the said Roman catholics to sit or vote in the next intended parliament, or to choose or be chosen knights and burgesses to sit or vote there, shall be removed, and that before the said parliament." The seventh article confirmed the rights of the landholders of Connaught and Thomond in their estates. By the eighth the native Irish of the catholic religion were to be relieved from all civil incapacities, and were to be allowed to erect one or more inns of court in or near the city of Dublin or elsewhere; and it is added that "his majesty is further graciously pleased that his majesty's Roman catholic subjects may erect and keep free schools for education of youths in this kingdom, any law or statute to the contrary notwithstanding." The ninth article stipulates, "that places of command, honour, profit, and trust in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, shall be upon perfection of these articles actually and by particular instances conferred upon his Ro-

man catholic subjects of this kingdom, and that upon the distribution, conferring, and disposing of places of command, honour, profit, and trust in his majesty's armies in this kingdom, for the future no difference shall be made between the said Roman catholics and other his majesty's subjects, but that such distribution shall be made with equal indifferency according to their respective merits and abilities; and that all his majesty's subjects of this kingdom, as well Roman catholics as others, may for his majesty's service and their own security, arm themselves the best they may, wherein they shall have all fitting encouragement." By the same article, it was agreed that the command of forts, castles, garrisons, towns, and other places of importance in the kingdom should be conferred upon his majesty's Roman catholic subjects in Ireland; and that, until a full settlement in parliament, fifteen thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse of the said Roman catholics should be of the standing army of the kingdom, with power to the lord lieutenant and to the commissioners to diminish or add to the number, as they should see cause. The tenth article relates to the yearly rent or revenue to be paid to the king; and by the eleventh it was agreed, "that no nobleman or peer of this realm in parliament shall be hereafter capable of more proxies than two, and that blank proxies shall be hereafter totally disallowed; and that if such noblemen or peers of this realm as have no estates in this kingdom do not within five years, to begin from the conclusion of these articles, purchase in this kingdom as followeth: a lord baron two hundred pounds per annum, a lord viscount four hundred pounds per annum, and an earl six hundred pounds per annum, a marquis eight hundred pounds per annum, a duke one thousand pounds per annum, shall lose their votes in parliament until such time as they shall afterwards acquire such estates respectively; and that none be admitted in the house of commons but such as shall be estated and resident within this kingdom."

With regard to the independency of the Irish parliament, it was concluded by the twelfth article that the king would "leave both houses of parliament in this kingdom to make declaration therein as shall be agreeable to the laws of the kingdom of Ireland." The thirteenth article restrained the Irish privy council from interfering in judicial causes; the fourteenth promised the repeal of certain statutes of the reign of Eliza-

beth, placing restriction on the sale of some articles of Irish production; the seventeenth assured the restoration of the catholics ejected by lord Inchiquin to their estates and possessions in Cork, Youghall, and Dungarvan; and the eighteenth promised a comprehensive act of oblivion. These are followed by others, disabling the officers of the crown from being farmers of the customs; prohibiting monopolies, repealing such as had been granted, and fixing the custom and imposition on aquavitaë, wine, oil, yarn, and tobacco; regulating the court of the castle-chamber, or Irish star-chamber; and promising the repeal of "two acts lately passed in this kingdom, one prohibiting the plowing with horses by the tail, and the other prohibiting the burning of oats in the straw." Other articles of more general importance both to protestants and catholics, allowed the Roman catholics the constituting of magistrates and judges in all causes, and gave them the possession of all towns and counties within their then quarters, until a full settlement in parliament. The thirty-fourth states that, "At the instance, humble suit, and earnest desire of the general assembly of the confederate Roman catholics, it is concluded, accorded, and agreed upon, that the Roman catholic regular clergy of this kingdom, behaving themselves conformable to these articles of peace, shall not be molested in the possessions which at present they have of and in the bodies, sites, and precincts of such abbeys and monasteries belonging to any Roman catholic within the said kingdom, until settlement by parliament; and that the said clergy shall not be molested in the enjoying of such pensions as hitherto since the wars they enjoyed for their respective livelihoods from the said Roman catholics, and the sites and precincts hereby intended, are declared to be the body of the abbey, one garden and orchard to each abbey, if any there be, and what else is contained within the walls, mears, or ancient fences, or ditch that doth supply the wall thereof, and no more."

Perhaps the most objectionable and dangerous part of the treaty was that in which the lord lieutenant consented to divest himself of a great part of the authority belonging to his office of lord lieutenant, in order to allay the fears of those who were conscious of their former acts, and were fearful that the present treaty might not be fully observed in regard to them. Twelve members of the general assembly were elected to

watch over the fulfilment of the treaty, under the title of commissioners of trust, and they were to be to such an extent joint sharers with the lord lieutenant in authority, that he could neither levy soldiers, raise money, or even erect garrisons, without their consent. These commissioners were lords Dillon, Muskerry, and Athenny, Alexander MacDonnell, sir Lucas Dillon, sir Nicholas Plunkett, sir Richard Barnewall, Geoffrey Browne, Donough O'Callaghan, Turlough O'Neill, Miles Reilly, and Gerald Fennel.

A treaty like this, totally inconsistent with Ormond's former scruples, could not fail to give the utmost offence to the protestants in general, and of this the marquis was so sensible, that he thought it necessary on its publication, to address a declaration to them in explanation and defence of his conduct. After professing his constant care for the interests of the protestant religion and the crown, he explained the articles of the treaty as amounting only to some moderate indulgence to the confederates, with some concessions necessary to their present security until an act of oblivion should be passed in parliament. He pretended with less truth that he had made no accommodation with those who had any share in the barbarities committed at the beginning of the rebellion, since the terms of the treaty were general, and included all Irish catholics who submitted to it; and that he had not condescended to any articles, until the treaty between the king and parliament in England was broken off, and the army had demanded the king's trial. "This," he added, "we mention not to invalidate any of the concessions made unto this people; but, on the contrary, to render them in every point the more sacred and inviolable, by how much the necessity on his majesty's part for granting them is greater, and the submission on their part to his majesty's authority in such his great necessity more opportune and seasonable; as also, to call the world (and whomsoever either any peace at all with the Irish, or the terms of this peace, may be distasteful to) to testify hereafter, that as the full benefit thereof cannot without great injustice, and somewhat of ingratitude (if we may so speak in the case of his majesty) with reference to this last act of theirs, be denied unto them; so any blame thereof ought to be laid on those alone who have imposed the said necessity, the saddest to which any king was ever reduced."

The protestant subjects might well answer that in this act Ormond had sacrificed their welfare and his own religion and conscience to the king's mere personal interest, and that if he had only gone as far at the time when he expressed so much abhorrence of the secret treaty of the earl of Glamorgan, he might probably have saved the king from this extremity. But as it was, the peace only led to further embarrassments and discussions, and was far from producing the results he anticipated. Ormond expected to be at once at the head of the most formidable army which had yet marched on Irish ground, and he calculated on four thousand Irish foot and eight hundred horse from Munster, besides three thousand foot and six hundred horse under Inchiquin, the same numbers of horse and foot from Leinster and Connaught, and five thousand foot and five hundred horse from Owen O'Neill, "if he would come in." O'Neill did not come in, and from the other provinces he collected but a small portion of the twenty thousand foot and three thousand five hundred horse which his imagination thus counted, and

when they were assembled, he was obliged to borrow money on his own credit to enable the army to march. On the other hand, "the peace being concluded," as Coxe tells us, "the Irish became very troublesome by their importunities for offices and places of trust and honour. Sir Richard Blake, the very next week after the peace, wrote to secretary Lane to mind the lord lieutenant to make him a baron, and others were as careful to their own advancement; but above all others, the insolence of a son of Hugh O'Connor is remarkable, for he on the ninth of March wrote to the lord lieutenant to give him a troop, and his brother a foot company, *or else they would shift for themselves*: to whom the lord lieutenant made answer, "that whatever he did with great rebels, he would not capitulate with small ones." Neither was the treaty serviceable to the king; for Ormond's negotiations, and the insincerity of the king with regard to them, were made a serious charge against him, and before the intelligence of Ormond's peace reached London, Charles had expiated his errors on the scaffold.

CHAPTER XVI.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR; SUCCESSES OF THE ROYALISTS; SIEGE OF DUBLIN;
BATTLE OF RATHMINES; CROMWELL'S ARRIVAL IN IRELAND.



TWO events occurred nearly at the same time to encourage the parties which had concurred in the peace of 1649. One was the departure of the nuncio, who, finding that his influence in the general assembly was overthrown, and understanding that accusations against him had been carried to Rome, determined on proceeding thither himself to defend his conduct, and embarked at Galway on the 23rd of February. The other was the arrival of prince Rupert, who with sixteen frigates entered the harbour of Kinsale on the tenth of the same month. Ormond met Rupert at Cork, with the joyful news of the conclusion of the treaty with the confederates,

and they resolved to send a new and pressing invitation to the prince of Wales to repair immediately to Ireland. It was on his departure from this conference, that the marquis of Ormond received intelligence of the king's execution, which occurred on the 30th of January. The lord lieutenant immediately proclaimed Charles the Second at Cork and Youghall, while prince Rupert prepared to perform the same ceremonial at Kinsale.

Ormond soon received dispatches from the new king, confirming him in the office of lord lieutenant, and he made immediate preparations to prosecute the war against all who refused to accept the peace and acknowledge his authority. But he had difficulties of various descriptions to contend with, which seemed already to hold out little hopes of ultimate success. No

less than five armies, independent of each other, were in the field: in the south, the king's army, chiefly composed of the old army of lord Inchiquin, now commanded by Ormond, and the army of the confederate Irish, which was, in consequence of the peace, allied with that of Ormond; in the north, the army of Owen O'Neill, who acted in the name of the nuncio; and that of the Scottish and English presbyterians, which opposed to the peace as much as to the abolition of monarchy, would neither join with Ormond, nor with the Irish, nor with the parliamentarians; and, lastly, in Dublin, the army of the English parliament under colonel Jones. In the north, sir Charles Coote maintained Derry for the parliament.

Some of these parties it was at least desirable to reconcile, and Ormond made the first attempt on O'Neill. He consented to treat, but the hatred borne towards him by the commissioners of trust, stood in the way of conciliation; he haughtily claimed that the six escheated counties in Ulster should be restored to the old Irish, and he was supported in his demand by the marquis of Antrim; and he finally declared that he was ready to obey the king when he landed in Ireland, but that he would hold no communication with his present representative. Ormond addressed himself next to sir Charles Coote, who returned but an evasive answer; and then he had recourse to Jones, the parliament's governor of Dublin, to whom he made a pathetic representation of the injuries and sufferings of the late king. But Jones, who was stanch to his party, and was in expectation of immediate and large reinforcements, turned a deaf ear to his arguments, and contented himself with replying that Ormond himself was to be blamed for the death of the king, since, by his arrival and transactions in Ireland while the treaty of Newport was pending, he had convinced everybody of the king's insincerity, and driven the party in power to desperate measures.

The lord lieutenant experienced difficulties and obstructions in collecting the troops to be furnished by the confederates, and the commissioners of trust, busied about their own interests, took no steps to collect the money which they had promised for the service. The leaders contended with each other for military command and precedence, and Ormond was mortified with clamours, which he scarcely knew how to appease. Even prince

Rupert, whose capricious conduct at the head of the fleet it is difficult to understand, seemed bent only on thwarting and obstructing Ormond's designs; he entered into intrigues with O'Neill and Antrim, raised discontent and dissatisfaction in various parts of the island, and, when Ormond announced the intention of laying siege to Dublin, he refused to block up the port with his fleet. In these difficulties, he was more than ever anxious for the arrival of the king.

Hostilities commenced about the beginning of May. Two thousand of the Munster army were then collected under the command of lord Castlehaven, and succeeded in reducing those places in Leinster which were still possessed by the forces of Owen O'Neill. The presbyterians of the north had at length decided upon acting against the parliament, and, under their commander lord Montgomery of Ardes, they besieged sir Charles Coote in Londonderry. Sir George Monroe, who had received a commission from the king to command in Ulster, joined with the marquis of Clanrickard in reducing the parliamentary garrisons in Connaught, and then marched to join the Scots in the siege of Londonderry.

The grand aim of the marquis of Ormond was now to obtain possession of Dublin, which he judged would not only secure the king's interest in Ireland, but he expected that it would cause a powerful rising in his favour in England. He mustered his forces at Carlow, where they amounted to six thousand foot and two thousand horse. With money borrowed from private persons, he was enabled to put this army in motion, and soon reduced Kildare and some other places. Still his necessities hindered his progress, and when an opportunity presented itself of intercepting colonel Jones, who had marched to some distance from Dublin, and engaging him with advantage, it was not in his power to advance from his station behind the Liffey. It was the 14th of June, when at length, having been joined by Inchiquin, and receiving some assistance in money through lords Castlehaven and Taaffe, he encamped at Naas, where a council of war was held, at which it was determined at once to form the siege of Dublin. On the 18th, Ormond encamped at Finglass, about two miles from the capital, and the next day he sent a detachment to show themselves before the walls of the city, in the hopes that their presence would raise a tumult among those within who were disaffected to

the parliament, but he was disappointed, and after experiencing some loss in skirmishing with the parliamentary horse, they returned to the camp at Finglass.

There were indeed many in Dublin, both of the army and the citizens, who wished success to the besiegers, and who would willingly have afforded them assistance. Most, however, of the disaffected soldiers deserted at the beginning of the siege, and Jones relieved himself of any fears from the disaffected citizens by sending them away. The courage of those who were left was raised by the arrival of reinforcements and provisions from England. Ormond's army, however, now estimated at seven thousand foot and four thousand horse, was formidable, and for a while all its undertakings were attended with success. On the 20th of June, the king's lord lieutenant learnt that the governor of Dublin, distressed for want of forage, had detached a portion of his horse to Drogheda. Lord Inchiquin was sent in pursuit with a strong body of cavalry, and having surprised and routed this party, pushed on his success to the walls of Drogheda. He was there reinforced with two regiments of foot, and with some cannon, and laid siege to that place, which was bravely defended by a small parliamentary garrison. Want of ammunition, however, compelled them soon to surrender, on honourable terms, and the garrison was allowed to march to Dublin.

Owen O'Neill, meanwhile lay encamped in the county of Monaghan, with his rear to Dundalk, and other places possessed by Monk, who commanded for the parliament in Ulster. Among the various parties by whom he was surrounded, O'Neill, who detested Ormond and the confederates, resolved to ally himself with the parliamentarians, and he first agreed to a cessation with Monk, and then declared his willingness to treat for a permanent accommodation. Colonel Jones encouraged the correspondence with the Irish chieftain, and by the cessation, which was to last three months, O'Neill and Monk promised each other mutual assistance, and the former undertook, if supplied with money, to find sufficient occupation for Ormond and his army. In accordance with this agreement, a body of horse and foot, under lieutenant Farrell, was detached from Dundalk to escort a quantity of arms and ammunition to the quarters of O'Neill. Inchiquin, who was at Drogheda, despatched a strong force to inter-

cept this convoy, which defeated Monk's men with great slaughter, and captured all the stores sent to O'Neill. From some of the prisoners taken on this occasion, Inchiquin was informed of the weak condition of Dundalk, and he immediately resolved on besieging that place. The arrival of a part of the presbyterian army of lord Montgomery of Ardes increased the besieging army; but the town would probably have held out, had not a mutiny in the garrison compelled Monk to surrender at the end of two days. The lesser garrisons in this part of Ulster, Newry, Carlingford, &c., soon followed the fate of Drogheda and Dundalk, and having also made himself master of Trim, on the 21st of July, lord Inchiquin returned to the camp at Finglass.

Ormond now prepared to invest Dublin, and, although his army was insufficient to form the siege of an extensive city, defended by a numerous garrison, yet it was resolved to encompass it on all sides. Lord Dillon of Costello, with two thousand five hundred men, was left to press the siege on the north, while Ormond with the rest of the army crossed the Liffey, and established himself at Rathmines. As this position commanded the entrance to the river, he hoped to cut off the city from its supplies from the sea, and thus reduce it to distress, and he began immediately to carry on his works to the east for this purpose. Here, however, the besiegers had the mortification to see the garrison of Dublin strengthened successively by the arrivals, on the 22nd of July, of colonel Venables with a strong body of foot, on the 25th of colonel Reynolds with his horse, and, on the 26th, of a still larger force of horse and foot. These troops brought the still more alarming intelligence that, the parliament considering Dublin was now in no danger, Cromwell, at the head of a powerful army, was only waiting a favourable wind to pass over into Munster, where it was well known there was considerable disaffection to Ormond and his allies.

On receiving this intelligence, Ormond lost no time in despatching lord Inchiquin with a great part of his horse to the south, to strengthen the garrisons of Munster, and encourage the loyal inhabitants by his presence. The army before Dublin appears to have been considerably augmented during the siege, but still the departure of lord Inchiquin was felt severely, and Ormond was only decided in remaining before Dublin,

from the fear of discouraging his Irish allies, and in the hope that by cutting off the water and interrupting the communication with the sea, he might still reduce the city to extremities before any further succour could arrive.

On the 1st of August Ormond held a council of war, at which it was proposed, for the safety of the army, which appeared now to be too much exposed in its camp at Rathmines, that the enemy should be driven from Rathfarnham, and that the marquis should then remove to securer quarters at a place named Drumnah, whence he might hold uninterrupted communication with the division stationed on the north side of the river. This plan met with great opposition from Ormond's Irish officers, who represented it as a disgraceful retreat, and insisted that the reduction of Dublin was by no means so difficult an undertaking as it was represented. They represented that it was only necessary to possess themselves of the old castle at Baggatrath, about one mile from their camp at Rathmines, which might be sufficiently fortified in one night, to deprive the garrison of their pasture which lay in some meadows near the walls on the south side of the river, and the loss of which would starve all their horses in a few days. From this place they might advance their works securely to the river, and cut off the garrison from further succours, which would soon reduce them to distress. Some of the older officers approved of this plan, and as Ormond did not object to it, it was resolved that it should be undertaken the same night, and fifteen hundred foot were placed under the command of an officer named Purcell, to whom the enterprize was entrusted.

Accordingly, at the close of day, Purcell set out with his men towards Baggatrath, and the rest of Ormond's army was drawn out in battalion to support them in case of any attack from the town. But for some cause or other—it was afterwards laid to the treachery of the Irish guide, an ecclesiastic of the nuncio's party—the greater part of the night was spent before Purcell reached Baggatrath, and when Ormond went to view it in the morning, he found it neither so strong nor the works so far advanced as he expected. Parties of the enemy were also seen hovering about, and Ormond was convinced that the enemy would attack him. Considering that it would now be as dangerous to retreat, as to draw out his army to support the party engaged at Baggatrath, he made his dispositions for an engagement,

and, observing no readiness on the part of the garrison of Dublin for a sally, he ordered the troops to repose themselves, and retired to his own tent for the same purpose.

Colonel Jones appears not to have been aware of Ormond's preparations for an engagement, and to have imagined that he had only to do with the fifteen hundred foot in Baggatrath, but he anticipated that other troops might come to their aid. About nine o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of August, he drew out twelve hundred horse and four thousand foot, "not then," as he tells us, "intending further than the beating up of the enemy's quarters only," and marched to the fort. Ormond, who was asleep in his tent, was suddenly roused by repeated volleys of shot, and, hastily mounting his horse, he rode forward to ascertain the cause of alarm. He had scarcely ridden a hundred yards, when he found that Purcell had been driven from his works, that the engagement had become general, many of his officers and men were slain, and that his whole right wing was broken and in disorder. After an ineffectual attempt to arrest the flight of his cavalry, Ormond forced his way to the left, which he found in the same disorder. The engagement lasted about two hours from the first attack, and the slaughter, according to the account of the parliamentarians, amounted to four thousand men, but this was probably much exaggerated. Their enemies accused them of putting many to death after they had thrown down their arms. The foot, deserted by the horse early in the battle, surrendered themselves prisoners to the number of two thousand five hundred. The rest followed Ormond to Kilkenny, where he collected the shattered remains of his army. The troops on the north of the river, under the command of lord Dillon, of Costello, instead of any attempt to recover the victory from the parliamentarians, fled precipitately, and sheltered themselves in Trim and Drogheda. Jones was hindered from pursuing the fugitives, by the sudden appearance of Sir Thomas Armstrong, who had arrived with a thousand fresh horse to reinforce the besieging army; but when he saw how matters stood, he drew off and made the best of his way to the latter garrison. All Ormond's artillery, baggage, and provisions fell into the hands of the victors.

The capital was relieved by this battle of Rathmines from any further apprehensions, and colonel Jones, to profit by the first

moment of consternation in which he had thrown the enemy, advanced suddenly to Drogheda.* But lord Moore, who commanded the garrison in that town, made a brave defence, and Ormond having collected as many as he could of his forces, marched to Trim, and there again presented a formidable appearance. On the 8th of August Jones found it necessary to raise the siege of Drogheda, and retire to Dublin.

Meanwhile Owen O'Neill had continued to act in conjunction with his new allies, and after the departure of Monk from Dundalk, he had entered into negotiations with sir Charles Coote, who was besieged in Londonderry by lord Montgomery of Ardes. The British troops before the city under this nobleman had become suspicious of the cause in which they were engaged, and understanding that the new king had not taken the covenant, they became mutinous, and deserted in great numbers and dispersed. Owen O'Neill, informed of these circumstances, and bribed by Coote with a large sum of money, now marched to his relief, and on the very day that Jones retired from Drogheda, lord Ardes was compelled to raise the siege of Londonderry, at a moment when its garrison was reduced to the last extremity. But O'Neill had become dissatisfied with his allies, and he was provoked and alarmed by intelligence brought from England that the parliament looked upon him with the utmost hostility, and had formally condemned the treaties which their officers Monk and Coote had entered into with him. He now renewed his negotiations with the marquis of Ormond, and meeting with greater condescension than formerly from the commissioners of trust, who had been humbled by the defeat before Dublin, he promised to reinforce the army of the king's lord lieutenant with six thousand foot and five hundred horse. Ormond was now inspired with the hope of renewing the siege of Dublin, and perhaps of making himself master of it before the expected troops from England could arrive. But his hopes were destined to be speedily and disastrously overthrown.

* Soon after his defeat, Ormond wrote to colonel Jones requesting to be favoured with a list of his prisoners. The sturdy parliamentarian was so much elevated with his recent victory that he only deigned to return the following laconic reply :

"My Lord,

"Since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you.

MICHAEL JONES."

Since the entire overthrow of the royalists in England, the leaders of the party in power were turning their attention more and more to the affairs of the sister island, and they were preparing to proceed with the utmost vigour against the Irish rebels, under which title they now included all who were not ranged under their own banner. The Irish expedition had been some time in contemplation, though it had been retarded by a variety of political occurrences in England, and by the contention of parties. The presbyterians insisted that the command should be entrusted to sir William Waller, while the independents proposed that it should be given to Lambert, and thus it remained in suspense until the spring of 1649. On the 28th of March in that year all further doubt was removed by a unanimous vote of the English parliament, appointing Cromwell lord lieutenant of Ireland and commander-in-chief of the English forces in that island. The rising of the levellers retarded his departure, and when at last the army had reached the coast for embarkation, difficulties in procuring shipping caused a further delay. It was even suspected by some that Cromwell's expedition would never leave the English shores. But the progress of the marquis of Ormond alarmed the English parliament, and hastened Cromwell's departure. It was originally intended that he should land in Munster, but the unexpected turn of affairs at Dublin suggested different councils. Accompanied by his son-in-law Ireton as second in command, Cromwell set sail on the 13th of August, and two days afterwards he landed at Dublin with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, twenty thousand pounds in money, a formidable train of artillery, and all other necessities of war.

On his arrival in Dublin, Cromwell lost no time in assuming the authority of his office of lord lieutenant, and he proceeded to regulate all civil and military affairs, and offered indemnity and protection to all who would submit to the parliament. This offer was embraced by many less from a leaning to the parliament, than from a disgust at the proceedings of the confederates. Cromwell then committed the government of the city to sir Theophilus Jones, and took the field on the 30th of August with a well provisioned army of ten thousand picked men.

It must be considered as characteristic of the times that one of Cromwell's first proclamations as lord lieutenant of Ireland was

directed against swearing and drunkenness. It was dated at Dublin castle on the 23rd of August, and ran in the following words: "Whereas God Almighty, in the abundance of his mercy and goodness, hath been pleased from time to time to vouchsafe preservation and deliverance unto this city from the rage and cruelty of a bloody enemy, and in a more special manner to manifest his [wrath against the*] numerous army of rebels encamped about this city; which continual mercies do justly call for a thankful acknowledgment of his gracious goodness, by a sincere and earnest endeavour, as well to maintain the honour of his most holy name, as to oppose and take away such offences, being contrary and displeasing to his divine will. And yet notwithstanding, by the frequent practice of prophane swearing, cursing, and drunkenness, his holy name is daily dishonoured and blasphemed, to the scandal and grief of all good men, although the said offences are prohibited by the law of God, the known laws of the land, and the known articles of war, whereby we have just cause to fear that, without a thorough reformation of such sins, he may deservedly break off the continuance of his wonted loving kindness towards this place, and give us over to destruction. And forasmuch as it is a duty required at the hand of the magistrate, who ought not to bear the sword in vain, but to improve the power committed into his hand for the punishment and prevention of offences, we therefore sadly taking the premises into consideration, and resolving that the said offences be strictly proceeded against and punished according to the utmost severity and rigour of law, do by this our proclamation strictly charge and command, that as well the mayor of this city and other officers and ministers of justice in the same city whom the same may concern, as also that all officers of the army, do respectively cause the said laws and articles to be put in execution against all such persons as shall offend against the same. And we do further charge and command all officers of the army to be aiding and assisting to the said mayor of this city and other the said officers and ministers of justice therein, for the apprehending of all and every the said offenders which shall be members of the army, and for the bringing of them before their proper officers, whereby they may be severely

* Some words like these have been accidentally omitted in the original printed copy.

punished according to the said articles of war. And we do hereby declare our full resolution to punish the neglect and contempt of this our proclamation with the severest punishment which by law may be inflicted upon the contemners thereof."

The day following witnessed another proclamation, which shews that it was not a part of Cromwell's plan to make war with more cruelty than is unavoidably attached to it. The army which he brought with him from England was deeply imbued with that horror and detestation of the Irish rebels which had been fed by the continual reports of the atrocities perpetrated on their protestant brethren, and they were ready to give the fullest latitude of interpretation to the exception against those who were found in open resistance to their arms. The merciless orders against the armed enemy in some of Cromwell's first successes no doubt hastened the termination of the war, and it is more than probable that Cromwell's campaigns were far less cruel and devastating than the continued hostilities of the previous years. The declaration alluded to was thus expressed. "O. Cromwell. Whereas I am informed, that upon the marching out of the armies heretofore, or of parties from garrisons, a liberty hath been taken by the soldiery to abuse, rob, and pillage, and too often to exercise cruelties upon the country people, being resolved by the grace of God diligently and strictly to restrain such wickedness for the future, I do hereby warn and require all officers, soldiers, and others under my command, henceforth to forbear all such evil practices as aforesaid, and not to do any wrong or violence towards country people or persons whatsoever, unless they be actually in arms or office with the enemy, and not to meddle with the goods of such without special order. And I further declare that it shall be free and lawful to and for all manner of persons dwelling in the country, as well gentlemen and soldiers, as farmers and other people (such as are in arms or office with or for the enemy only excepted), to make their repair and bring any provisions unto the army (while in march or camp) or unto any garrison under my command, hereby assuring all such that they shall not be troubled or molested in their persons or goods, but shall have the benefit of a free market and receive ready money for goods or commodities they shall so bring and sell. And that they behaving themselves peaceably and quietly, and paying such con-

tributions proportionably with their neighbours, as have been, are, or shall be duly and orderly imposed upon them for maintenance of the parliaments' forces and other public uses, shall have free leave and liberty to live at home with their families and goods, and shall be protected in their persons and estates by virtue hereof until the first day of January next, by or before which time all such of them as are minded to reside and plough and sow in the quarters, are to make their addresses for new and further protections to the attorney-general residing at Dublin, and such other persons as shall be authorized for that purpose. And hereof I require all soldiers and others under my command diligently to take notice and observe the same, as they shall answer to the contrary at their utmost perils, strictly charging and commanding all officers and others in their several places, carefully to see to it, that no wrong or violence be done to any such person as aforesaid contrary to the effect of the premises, and being resolved (through the grace of God) to punish all that shall offend contrary hereunto very severely according to law or articles of war, to displace and otherwise punish all such officers as shall be found negligent in their places, and not see the due observance hereof, or not to punish the offenders under their respective commanders. Given at

Dublin the twenty-fourth of August, 1649."

All Ormond's plans against Dublin were now overthrown, and he was driven to act on the defensive against an enemy far more formidable than any whom he had yet encountered. He judged rightly that Drogheda, a frontier town of the utmost importance for establishing the communications with the northern province, would be the first object against which Cromwell would employ his force, and he determined to put that place in such a posture of defence as he hoped would occupy the besiegers a long time, and cause them a great loss of men, while he was preparing for further measures of resistance. It was placed under the command of a catholic general, sir Arthur Acton, who had distinguished himself by his gallantry in the English civil war as governor of Reading and Oxford. The garrison was increased to about three thousand, all tried and picked men, and sir Arthur was so confident in his strength, that he wrote to Ormond, who was at Trim prepared to retire in the hope of forming a junction with lord Inchiquin, "that he would find the enemy play; and that the garrison, being select men, was so strong that the town could not be taken by assault; and therefore he advised him to hazard nothing by precipitating to his relief."

CHAPTER XV.

CROMWELL IN IRELAND; LORD BROGHILL; DROGHEDA TAKEN BY STORM; EXTRAORDINARY SUCCESSES OF CROMWELL; REDUCTION OF MUNSTER AND ULSTER; CROMWELL'S RETURN TO ENGLAND.



HE campaign of Cromwell in Ireland exercised so sudden and powerful an influence on future events, and has become so closely interwoven even with the popular traditions of the country, that it requires a more particular history

than the petty warfare which had preceded it.* The military genius of that great commander had foreseen and provided against the difficulties with which he would have to contend; he had already established a system of intelligence and espionage which not only made him master of the movements of his enemies, but prepared demonstrations and insurrections in his favour; and he had the first of August, 1649, to the twenty-sixth of this present June, 1650. Published by authority. Printed at London for Robert Ibbitson, dwelling in Smithfield, near Hosier Lane, and to be sold by Peter Stent, over against the Bible in Giltspur Street, 1650." This book will be largely used in the present chapter.

* After Cromwell's return from Ireland, a pamphlet was published with the title, "A History or Brief Chronicle of the Chief Matters of the Irish Warres, with a perfect Table or List of all the Victories obtained by the lord generall Cromwell, governour generall of Ireland, and the Parliaments' Forces under his command there. From Wednesday

conciliated many men of influence in the country who subsequently performed service of the utmost importance.

Among the latter one of the most important was Roger Boyle, lord Broghill, a son of the first earl of Cork, and subsequently created by Charles II. earl of Orrery. The attachment of lord Broghill to the royal cause, like that of most of his family, was not very deep-rooted. From the beginning of the rebellion, lord Broghill had been an active commander against the Irish, and he had joined lord Inchiquin in revolting to the parliament in 1644, as well as in quitting the parliaments' service in 1647. On the king's death, lord Broghill retired for a while from public life to a small estate he possessed at Marston in Somersetshire. But for some reason or other he soon afterwards resolved to proceed to the continent to join the court of Charles II.; his biographer Morrice, to whom we owe this anecdote, tells us that he went "for a commission to raise what forces he could, to restore his majesty in Ireland, and to recover his own estate, then given for lost." The real object of his journey he confided as he believed to none but his most trustworthy friends, and, as a mask, he wrote to the earl of Warwick desiring him to procure for him a licence to pass beyond the seas to the spa, for the benefit of his health.

Broghill arrived in London, and to escape observation took private lodgings, waiting for his licence to embark; but he had not been there long when, to his surprise, he received a visit from a gentleman belonging to Cromwell, who had now been appointed lord general, informing him that the lord general intended to wait upon him in person, if he knew but the hour when he would be at leisure to receive him. Broghill, who had never had any communication with Cromwell, was surprised and alarmed at this message, and replied that he presumed there was some mistake, as he could not be the person for whom the general had designed it. The messenger said that he was sent to lord Broghill. The latter perceiving that there was no mistake, and that it was useless to attempt to conceal himself, sent his humble service to the general with the assurance that he would immediately dress and wait upon Cromwell, rather than give him the trouble to come to him, and with this answer the gentleman took his leave. Broghill was still in great alarm, but his anxiety was speedily relieved by the appear-

ance of Cromwell himself, who, after mutual salutations, told him that he had come out of kindness and respect for his lordship; that the council of state was fully acquainted with his designs; and, when Broghill offered to excuse himself, he spoke in a manner which convinced the Irish nobleman that all his intentions were known, and he added that the council had made out an order to commit him to the Tower on his arrival in London, but that he had interceded in his behalf, and had obtained a delay in order that he might have the opportunity to confer with him and persuade him to relinquish his dangerous project.

Lord Broghill, astonished and confounded, thanked Cromwell for his friendship, and demanded his advice. The powerful lord general then told him that he and the council of state were well acquainted with his former services in Ireland; and that, since he had been himself appointed to the charge of subduing the Irish rebels, he had obtained authority from the council to make him an offer, that if he would serve under him in the wars against the Irish, he should receive a general officer's command, and that he should have no oaths nor engagements laid upon him, nor be obliged to fight against any but the Irish. Broghill made some slight hesitation, but upon being more closely pressed, he agreed to accept the offer of the council, took service under Cromwell instead of Charles, and was immediately dispatched to Bristol, where a strong body of men were placed under his command, ships were provided for their transportation, and he set sail for Ireland. There he was soon joined by many of his former companions in arms, and found himself at the head of a sufficient force of staunch protestants to inspire terror in the camp of the royalists, and he did good service during the remainder of the war.

Cromwell's movements in the field were executed with such rapidity and success as soon disconcerted all the plans of his enemies. On Monday the second of September, his army encamped under the walls of Drogheda. A week was spent in landing the artillery from the ships and planting the batteries, and on the Monday following, the ninth, the batteries having been completed, a formal summons was sent in to sir Arthur Ashton demanding the immediate surrender of the castle and town. On receiving his refusal, Cromwell, with his characteristic boldness and decision, com-

menced his attack on the south side of the town, at a point where the wall of St. Mary's churchyard formed a rampart twenty feet high, which was strengthened with towers. He had selected this place, because, though the defences here were most formidable, yet once taken it afforded a more secure lodgement for the first assailants than any other point in the fortifications. The besieged had planted guns on the summit of the church steeple, which gave great annoyance to their assailants, and the first day was occupied in battering down this steeple and a tower near it at the south-east corner of the walls. On the next day, Tuesday, two formidable breaches were made in the south and east walls, and at five o'clock in the evening, about six or seven hundred men under colonel Cossell marched to the assault and forced their way in, after an obstinate struggle. They were, however, quickly driven back through the breach by the increasing number and courage of their opponents, with the loss of colonel Cossell and several of his officers and men. New assailants, however, arrived to their assistance, and, encouraged by Cromwell in person, they again forced their way through the breach, and, after a desperate struggle made themselves masters of the church and all the enemy's entrenchments. Ashton, with some of his principal officers, took refuge in a fort on an ancient moat or tumulus called the Mill Mount, which was strongly pallisadoed, but it was soon forced, and all who were found in it were put to death. Cromwell, with the ruthless policy of striking terror into the enemy, gave orders that all who were found in arms should be put to the sword, and about two thousand men were thus slain the night Drogheda was stormed. A party, who had taken shelter in the steeple of St. Peter's church, and refused to sur-

render, were burnt by setting fire to the steeple. Others, who fortified themselves in two strong towers, were forced to surrender next day, and experienced the fate of their companions; and the few who were spared were only reserved for transportation to Barbadoes. Cromwell's enemies have charged him with ordering the massacre of the garrison of Drogheda after it had surrendered on the promise of mercy; and others talk of a general slaughter of the citizens without respect to age or sex. But the latter, at all events, seems to have no foundation in truth. Cromwell estimated his own loss at less than a hundred killed.*

Thus ended the hopes which Ormond had built on the long resistance of the garrison of Drogheda. The king's lord lieutenant made a hasty retreat from his quarters round Trim and Tecroghlan towards the counties of Wexford and Kilkenny, giving orders to the garrisons left behind to set fire to the places committed to their charge, and desert them on Cromwell's approach. But the terrible massacre of Drogheda had produced the full effect expected from it, and when Cromwell's forces approached Trim and Dundalk, Ormond's soldiers fled in the utmost consternation, and left those fortresses, with all their stores and ordnance, to the enemy. Cromwell returned to Dublin, and was received there in triumph, for he had already conciliated the protestant inhabitants of the capital and its neighbourhood by relieving them from the oppressive impositions to which they had been subjected. We learn from the news pamphlets of the day that "before his march out, he caused many taxes to be taken off that were laid upon the well-affected English protestants about Dublin; whereupon he hath gained exceedingly upon the affections of the people, and divers of the gentlemen of

* Many of the citizens would no doubt be slain in the heat of storming the place, and the catholic priests and ecclesiastics seem to have experienced no mercy. It appears, however, from various accounts that the catholics of Drogheda had given great provocation to the protestants by their intemperate and ill-timed zeal. Coxe tells us, "But one thing is very remarkable, and ought not to be omitted, and that is, that though there were several protestants in the town, yet were the popish soldiers so insolent and so unjust to their protestant companions, even in the midst of their adversity, that on Sunday the eighth of September (the day before the attack) they thrust the protestants out of St. Peter's church in Drogheda, and publicly celebrated mass there, though they had monasteries and other convenient places besides for that purpose." Cromwell, in his dispatch to the

English parliament on the capture of Drogheda, says, "It is remarkable that this people at the first set up the mass in some of the places of the town that had been monasteries; but afterwards grew so insolent, that the Lord's day before the storm the protestants were thrust out of the great church called St. Peter's, and they had public mass there; and in this very place near one thousand of them were put to the sword, flying thither for protection. I believe all their friars were knocked on the head promiscuously but two, the one of which was father Peter Taafe, brother to the lord Taafe, whom the soldiers took the next day and made an end of; the other was taken in the round tower, under the report of a lieutenant, and when he understood that the officers in that tower had no quarter, he confessed he was a friar, but that did not save him."

Ireland have voluntarily tendered their service to him, and at their own charges rid along with his life-guard."

Before his return from Drogheda, Cromwell had sent colonel Venables with a detachment into Ulster to co-operate with sir Charles Coote and reduce the northern garrisons. Venables presented himself before Carlingford on the 18th of September, and soon reduced their fort, in which he found a large quantity of arms and ammunitions. He marched thence to Newry, which surrendered without resistance. In proceeding thence to Lisburne, he was attacked by a force of eight hundred horse, under colonel Mark Trevor, sent by Ormond to intercept him, but who were defeated, and Lisburne in consequence made no resistance. Belfast was surrendered on articles, four days after Venables appeared before it, and "eight hundred Scots were afterwards turned out of the town, whither they had brought their wives and children to plant themselves there." Coleraine was betrayed to sir Charles Coote, who imitated the example of Cromwell at Drogheda in putting the garrison to the sword, and he subsequently drove sir George Monroe from the counties of Down and Antrim, and reduced the whole country except the castle of Carrickfergus.

Cromwell was not the man to waste his time in inaction; the army, after a few days' repose, marched out of Dublin on the 27th of September, leaving colonel Huson governor of the city, and proceeded to the south, taking numerous places on their way, some of which were fired and deserted on their approach. On the 28th of September Cromwell took the fort of Arklow, on the coast. On the 29th he captured the castle of sir Thomas Esmond at Ballin Treman and the strong fort at Slane passage, and the castle of Fernes was surrendered on conditions, the garrison being allowed to march away without their arms. Enniscorthy was surrendered on the same terms next day, and on the first of October Cromwell appeared before Wexford.

Ormond in the mean time exerted himself to raise and collect forces, while, mortified at the rapid progress of his great antagonist, he was obliged to keep at a distance and watch his movements, at the head of fifteen hundred foot and seven hundred horse, waiting the arrival of lords Inchiquin and Ardes with reinforcements, and involved in continual disputes with his own allies. Without money or provisions, he had been com-

pelled, in the absence of the commissioners of trust, to issue his own warrants for raising them. The commissioners complained that Ormond had infringed the articles of peace, and they even threatened to treat with the enemy. All his hopes were now placed in the arrival of the king, who had expressed a willingness to repair to Ireland in person, and whose presence might have had the affect of reconciling and keeping together the jarring elements which were now confederated together in his name. Prince Rupert's fleet was with some difficulty manned and provisioned, for the purpose of escorting the king from Jersey; but before it was ready, he had listened to other councils, and determined to seek his fortunes in Scotland. Ormond saw no other hope of success than trusting to the inclemency of the winter for gaining time to raise recruits and discipline his men, while those already raised were placed in garrisons where they would be most likely to arrest the progress of the enemy. But even for this purpose, it was necessary to have the consent and authority of the commissioners of trust, and not only did they again exhibit their usual jealousies, but the cities and towns most likely to be attacked were those in which the papal clergy were most violent and had greatest power, and with blind obstinacy they refused to receive garrisons. Thus Wexford, Waterford, and Limerick, obstinately refused to admit soldiers or obey orders. The citizens of Wexford had made no preparations for defence. Although pressed by Ormond, before Cromwell left Dublin, to accept a garrison, they would only admit a few companies of immaculate catholics, under the command of lieutenant-colonel Sinnot, a violent papist, whose chief recommendation was his being a creature of the popish bishop of Fernes. On learning the direction of Cromwell's march, Ormond, whose army had then been considerably augmented by the junction of Inchiquin, Castlehaven, and others, and a considerable body of the Irish of Ulster, marched from the county of Kilkenny to observe him and offer every obstruction in his power; and by his orders the earl of Castlehaven contrived to throw into Wexford fifteen hundred Ulster foot, which were soon after reinforced with another body under sir Edmund Butler. Having thus provided for the security of the city, and being informed that colonel Michael Jones had marched to intercept him in his return, Ormond made good his retreat to

Ross, to make preparations for the defence of that place and Dungannon.

On the 3rd of October, Cromwell formally summoned Sinnott, who acted as commander-in-chief of the forces in Wexford, to surrender the town, which led to a correspondence, the object of which seemed to be to gain time, and which was carried on till the 6th. Cromwell in the mean time captured a fort which commanded the entrance of the harbour, and took two of the enemy's ships. Sinnott, under the pretence of his desire to treat, had obtained a safe-conduct for four commissioners, but on the fifth of October, when the commissioners were to proceed to Cromwell's camp, lord Castlehaven made his appearance on the north side of the river, and threw five hundred fresh men into the town. Sinnott, who appears to have been blindly confident in the large force which

* The correspondence between Sinnott and Cromwell is sufficiently curious and characteristic to be given entire; it was as follows:—

CROMWELL TO COLONEL SINNOTT.

"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 prevented, and the town and country about it preserved from ruin, I thought fit to summon you to deliver the same to me, to the use of the state of England. By this offer, I hope it will clearly appear where the guilt will lie, if innocent persons should come to suffer with the noecent. I expect your speedy answer; and rest, "Sir, your servant,

"October 3, 1649. "O. CROMWELL."

COLONEL SINNOTT TO CROMWELL.

"I have received your letters of summons for the delivery up of this town into your hands, which standeth not with my honour to do of myself; 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 confer with, and return my resolution unto you to-morrow by twelve 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 lordship's servant,

"Wexford, Oct. 3, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

CROMWELL TO COLONEL SINNOTT.

"Sir, Having summoned you to deliver the town of Wexford into my hands, I might well expect the delivery thereof, and not a formal treaty, which is seldom granted, but where the things stand upon a more equal foot. If therefore yourself 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 reasonableness of them when they are made known to me. To which end, if you shall think fit to send the persons named in your last, entrusted by yourself and the town, by whom I may understand your desires, I shall give you a speedy and fitting answer. And I do hereby engage myself, that they

garrisoned Wexford, now attempted to gain a further delay, by pretending a necessity of consulting with lord Castlehaven, as his superior in command; but Cromwell replied by revoking his safe-conduct, while he landed his cannon and prepared his batteries, resolved to turn all his force against the castle, "persuaded," he says in his dispatch, "that if we got the castle, the town would easily follow." On the morning of Thursday the 11th of October, Cromwell's batteries began to play, and with such effect, that when near a hundred shots had been fired, Sinnott's "stomach came down," to use Cromwell's own expression, and he sent a flag to demand again the safe-conduct for the four commissioners, that they might convey to the parliament's lord lieutenant his terms of surrender.* Cromwell yielded again, and the four commissioners, Majors Dillon and shall return in safety to you. I expect your answer hereunto within an hour; and rest

"Your servant,

"October 4, 1649. "O. C."

COLONEL SINNOTT TO CROMWELL.

"Sir, I have returned you a civil answer, to the best of my judgment; and thereby I find you undervalue me and this place so much, as you think to have it surrendered without capitulation or honourable terms, as appears by the hour's limitation in your last.

"Sir, had I never a man in this town but the townsmen and artillery here planted, I should conceive myself in a very befitting condition to make honourable conditions; and having a considerable party with them in the place, I am resolved to die honourably, or make such conditions as may secure my honour and life in the eyes of my own party. To which reasonable terms, if you hearken not, or give me time to send me agents till eight of the clock in the forenoon to-morrow, with my propositions, with a further safe-conduct, I leave you to your better judgment, and myself to the assistance of the Almighty; and so conclude. "Your servant,

"Wexford, Oct. 4, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"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 four 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 the names. And I pray that the meeting may be had to-morrow at eight of the clock in the forenoon, that they may have sufficient time to confer and debate together, and determine and compose the matter; and that the meeting and place may be agreed upon, and the safe-conduct mutually sent for the said meeting this afternoon. Expecting your answer hereto, I rest,

"My lord, your servant,

"Wexford, Oct. 4, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

"Send me the names of your agents, their qualities, and degrees. Those I fix upon are, major James

Byrne, an alderman of the town named Chevers, and captain James Stafford, who held the command of the castle, now presented themselves before Cromwell.

Sinnott's catholic zeal now proved disastrous to himself and the army entrusted to his charge; for Cromwell was no less enraged than astonished at receiving from the hands of the commissioners a paper of conditions of the most extravagant description. The governor, no doubt under the influence of his ecclesiastical advisers, demanded that the inhabitants of Wexford should have free and uninterrupted liberty to exercise publicly the Roman catholic religion, without restriction or penalty; that their regular and secular clergy should continue to possess all the churches and religious houses they then held, with liberty to preach and teach in them publicly; that the popish bishop of Fernes should be confirmed in the jurisdiction throughout his diocese which he then exercised; that the officers and soldiers of the garrison and such of the inhabitants as pleased should march out with flying colours, with their artillery, ordnance, ammunition, arms, goods, horses, and money, and be conveyed in safety to Ross; that the corporation and inhabitants of Wexford should be molested in no respect in their liberties or property; and that there should be an oblivion of all past acts.

Propositions like these were not likely to meet with a favourable reception from the victorious general of the parliament armies, who expressed his opinion of their "abominableness" and of the "impudence of the Byrne, major Theobald Dillon, alderman Nicholas Chevers, Mr. William Stafford."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"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 a safe-conduct by the bearer unto me; in hope an honourable agreement may thereupon arise between your lordship and, "My lord, your lordship's servant,

"Wexford, Oct. 5, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"My lord, even as I was ready to send out my agents unto you, the lord general of the horse came hither with a relief, 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 do this to trifle out time, but for his present consent; and if I find any long delay in his lordship's returning them back unto me, I will proceed of myself, according to my first intention: to which

men" who dared to send them. He was preparing an answer in suitable terms, when captain Stafford, who had been gained over while in the camp, and was perhaps disgusted and alarmed at Sinnott's folly, agreed to deliver up the castle under his command to the soldiers of the parliament. The latter entered it, so suddenly, that the citizens and soldiers in the town were first made aware of Stafford's treason by seeing Cromwell's soldiers in possession of the castle and turning the guns against them; and then, in great consternation, they deserted the town walls, and retreated to the market-place. The parliament soldiers, seeing the walls without defenders, rushed forward with their scaling ladders, entered the town in great force, and, after a sharp engagement at the market-place, drove their opponents with great slaughter to the water-side, where many of them were drowned in attempting to escape. As at Drogheda, Cromwell's soldiers obeyed strictly the order to spare none who were in arms, and not less than two thousand of the garrison perished in the indiscriminate massacre. The town, which had been in a great measure deserted by its inhabitants, who had carried their goods over the river and fled, was given up to plunder, and the ruin which thus fell upon it was looked upon by the victors as a judgment for some special acts of cruelty which had been there perpetrated on their protestant brethren. "And indeed," says Cromwell in his letter to the parliament, "it hath not without cause been deeply set upon our hearts, that we intending better to I beseech your lordship give credit, at the request, my lord, of your lordship's ready servant,

"Wexford, Oct. 5, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

CROMWELL TO COLONEL SINNOTT.

"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 resolution in case he answer not your expectation in point of time. These are your own concerns, and it behoves you to improve the relief to your best advantage. All that I have to say is, to desire you to take notice, that I do hereby revoke my safe-conduct from the persons mentioned therein. When you shall see cause to treat, you may send for another. I rest, Sir, your servant,

"Oct. 6, 1649. "O. C."

COLONEL SINNOTT TO CROMWELL.

"Sir, in performance of my last, I desire your lordship to send me a safe-conduct for major Theobald Dillon, major James Byrne, alderman Nicholas Chevers, and captain James Stafford, whom I will send to your lordship instructed with my desires; and so I rest,

"Wexford, Oct. 11, 1649. "DA. SINNOTT."

this place than so great a ruin, 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 judgment upon them, causing them to become a prey to the soldier; who, in their piracies, had made preys of so many families, and made with their blood 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 put by them into an old vessel, which being, as some say, bulged by them, the vessel sunk, and they were all presently drowned in the harbour. The other was thus. They put divers poor protestants into a chapel, which since they have used for a mass house, and in which one or more of their priests was found, where they were famished to death." Cromwell, conscious of his severities, was eager to gather anecdotes of this kind as a palliation.

Wexford was an important town, and its reduction was justly a subject of triumph. It was a principal arsenal of the catholics, and the victors came into possession of several ships of war quite or nearly ready for service. "This town," Cromwell continues, "is now so in your power, that the former inhabitants, I believe, scarce one in twenty can challenge any property in their houses; most of them are run away, and many of them were killed in the 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 favour 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."

After the capture of Wexford, Cromwell continued his victorious march to Ross, while Ireton was sent with a detachment of his forces to lay siege to Duncannon. On hearing of his approach, the marquis of Ormond had thrown into Ross fifteen hundred men under the command of major-general Luke Taaffe, with orders to surrender the place when he and his officers should judge it could no longer be defended, and then he retired with his army into the county of Kilkenny. When Cromwell approached, the garrison of Ross, though consisting of more than two thousand men, made little resistance, apprehending probably the recent

fate of those at Wexford. The first breach made by the batteries was a signal for capitulation. Taaffe demanded liberty of conscience for such as should stay in the town, to which Cromwell made answer that "he meddled with no man's conscience; but if by liberty of conscience he meant a liberty to exercise the mass, he judged it best to use plain dealing, and to let him know that where the parliament of England had power that would not be allowed." It was finally agreed that general Taaffe should deliver up the town on no other condition than that he should be allowed to march out with arms and baggage, and accordingly he crossed the river and retreated towards Kilkenny with fifteen hundred men. The rest of the garrison, to the number of six hundred, remained behind, and voluntarily entered the service of the parliament. Thus was the strong fortress of Ross, with a considerable store of ordnance and ammunition, delivered up to Cromwell on the 18th of October.

The attack on Duncannon was not so successful; for the garrison made a brave defence, and in an unexpected sally, made at the suggestion and by the direction of lord Castlehaven, many of the besiegers were slain, and Ireton received orders to raise the siege and join the main army at Ross. Lord Castlehaven gives the following account of this affair, which is but slightly alluded to by the parliamentary chroniclers. The marquis of Ormond, he says, "sent me into the county of Waterford to Passage, over against Ballyhack, to look after the relieving of Duncannon. And for all there were many parliament ships before it, I ventured one morning with a boat, and got into the place to the governor, a brave gentleman, one colonel Wogan, whom my lord sometime before had sent to command; and with him, besides the Irish garrison, about a hundred English officers who had served the king in the wars in England. He, from the highest part of the rampart, showed me how the enemy lay. After I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by sea eighty horse saddled and with pistols, if he would mount them with so many of his English officers, and before day, with them and some foot, make a sharp sally. He liked it extremely, but doubted my part for putting in the horse, it being about three miles by sea. I bade him leave that to me. Having thus concluded, I took my boat, returned, and set myself to my business. The tide serving at the beginning of the

night, and having provided boats, I commanded eighty choice horse to come to the sea side. Where, making the horsemen alight, I caused the horses to be boated, sending some to hold them. They entered the place, and all was executed as designed; great slaughter made, and the cannons seized. For the confusion amongst the enemy was great, by reason that they judged it the falling in of an army from abroad, hearing and seeing horses, and knowing none to be in the fort. Our people retiring before day, the enemy raised the siege in the morning, and marched off."

Cromwell's forces were already weakened by the garrisons which he had been obliged to leave behind him in the towns and forts that had surrendered to his arms, and by the sickness produced by a climate at that season unfriendly to English constitutions, and he found it necessary to send for a reinforcement to Dublin, where many of his soldiers had been left sick who were now recovered. About eight hundred foot and three hundred and fifty horse accordingly marched out of Dublin, under the command of major Nelson, and reached Arklow on Monday, the first of November. The Irish, by the advantage they had in point of intelligence, received information of the march of these troops, and with the consent of Ormond and the commissioners of trust, lord Inchiquin, at the head of near three thousand horse and foot, was sent to intercept them. A messenger from Cromwell had fortunately reached them time enough to put them on their guard, and they followed his directions to march close and circumspectly, and make what haste they could by the sea side to Wexford. They were within seven miles of Wexford when the first alarm of the approach of an enemy was given, and they drew up in haste, in the best order they could, on Wexford strand, having the sea on one side and the rocks on the other. Lord Inchiquin was strong in horse, and, in his anxiety to cut off the parliamentary troops before they reached Wexford, he hurried on with his horse far in advance of the foot, to arrest the progress of the enemy until his foot arrived. Perceiving that the enemy's horse was so much inferior in numbers to his own, he made a furious charge upon them and quickly put them to flight; but they fell back on the foot, which waited steadily the approach of the Irish until they were within pistol-shot, and then they opened a well-sustained fire, which killed and

wounded several of them, and caused the rest to turn round and ride off at full speed. Observing their confusion, the English horse recovered their courage, and supported by a part of the foot, fell upon the Irish horse and put it to flight, and then the whole body marched in safety to Wexford. This battle of Wexford strand, which Cromwell termed "a sweet taste of the goodness of God," was important in keeping up the respect which that great general's successes had impressed upon his enemies, although the loss on either side appears to have been very trifling. Inchiquin, mortified at his defeat, rejoined his foot and returned to Ormond's army, which was posted about Thomastown, between the rivers Barrow and Nore.

Ormond's army had been reinforced by a portion of the Ulster forces, so that he was now sufficiently formidable to talk of fighting the enemy. Owen O'Neill had concluded his accommodation with the king's lord lieutenant, and had marched all his army to join him in the south, leaving Ulster to the parliamentarians; but he was obliged to entrust the direction of the march to his second in command, lieutenant-general Farrell, for he was himself seized with a grievous malady which soon carried him to the grave. The Irish, who looked upon their favourite general with extraordinary reverence, ascribed his death to a pair of poisoned boots, which it was pretended had been sent O'Neill as a present.

When Ireton returned with the troops under his command to Ross, they found Cromwell busy in throwing a bridge of boats over the Barrow to transport his troops into the county of Kilkenny, to the great astonishment of the native Irish, who had never seen a bridge of this description before. Ormond made some preparation to dispute the passage of the river, but Cromwell, with his usual expedition, had transported his troops to the other side before Ormond showed himself, and the latter found it necessary to fall back upon the city of Kilkenny, where he was joined by the remainder of the Ulster troops under general Farrell, and made preparations to oppose the enemy's further advance.

Cromwell lay at this time sick in Ross, and a portion only of his army was sent forward on the 15th of November. They drove the Irish out of Inishoge, a small walled town on the Nore, where they hoped to find a passage over that river, but a sudden fall of rain swelled the stream to such a degree

as to render it impassable. They then continued their march on the south side of the river till they came opposite Thomastown, where there was a bridge, but the Irish had broken it down, and placed a strong garrison in the town, and the parliament's soldiers were condemned to remain idle spectators of Ormond's march to Kilkenny. As the division of Cromwell's army employed on this excursion had nearly consumed its provisions, it was now found necessary to halt. "Whereupon," says Cromwell, "seeking God for direction, they resolved to send a good party of horse and dragoons, under colonel Reynolds, to Carrick, and to march the residue of the army back towards Ross, to gain more bread for the prosecution of that design [forcing Ormond to a battle], 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, whilst they were amazed with the one, he entered 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 on our part. In this place is a very good castle, and one of the ancientest seats belonging to the lord of Ormond in Ireland. The same was rendered without any loss also: where was good store of provisions for the refreshing of our men. The colonel giving us speedy intelligence of God's 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 21st and 22nd of this instant, and, through God's mercy, I was enabled to bear them company."

Cromwell had been encouraged in these bold movements by an important revolution

in the south of Munster. The parliament had still numerous adherents in this part of Ireland, with whom their general was in intelligence, and on whom he counted for support. His original design was to land amongst them, and lord Broghill was now on his way thither. On the 17th of November, in consequence of an attempt to use coercion towards some of the disaffected officers, the garrison and citizens of Cork rose, put out their governor and the Irish, and declared for the parliament.* The example was followed by Youghall, and other towns of the south. The revolt of the cities in the south was of the utmost importance to Cromwell in his present situation, for it afforded him commodious winter quarters to repose his army, already weakened and thinned by war and sickness, which he would otherwise have been obliged to lead back by a tedious march to Dublin.

Intelligence of these events came to Cromwell as he lay at Ross, preparing to march against Kilkenny, where the commissioners of trust already trembled with alarm, and were scarcely restrained from flight by the presence of Ormond and his army. Cromwell had removed his whole army to Carrick on the 22nd of November, and he could not conceal his joy at finding there a passage over the Suir. By noon next day, the whole army was transported to the other side of the river, and on Saturday the 24th, Cromwell appeared before Waterford. Ormond, encouraged by the junction with the Ulster troops, had determined on hazarding a battle before Kilkenny, and he was marching out for that purpose when he was disconcerted by the intelligence of Cromwell's rapid movement upon Waterford. Having left lord Inchiquin with a large portion of his army to recover his own castle of Carrick, Ormond hastened in person with the rest of his army to provide for the de-

* The following account of the revolt of Cork, is given in a letter from colonel Deane to the Speaker of the English parliament, (Carey, Memorials of the Great Rebellion, vol. ii, p. 185). "The 16th of October, at night, colonel Townsend, colonel Warden, and colonel Gifford, (being there prisoners for the business of Youghall,) were ordered to be disposed in three different castles. Next day some of the officers of the town came to these gentlemen that night, and told them they were undone, unless they would stand by them, for they would else be slaves to the Irish. Upon which the three colonels replied, that if they would fetch for each of them a sword and pistols, they would live and die with them; which was done: and the guards, perceiving them coming down stairs armed, cried, 'We are for you

too:' and from thence they marched to the main guard, and they immediately declared with them, upon this general consent, crying, 'out with the Irish!' in which all the townsmen that were English and the soldiers unanimously agreed, and put it presently in execution. They put out the next morning their major-general Starling, and those few that dissented: and since that Youghall hath done the same, as this gentleman informs me, who came from Cork but two days since. And those of Youghall had writ to colonel Gifford (the present governor of Cork) to send colonel Warden with a hundred horse to their assistance; for they had seized on sir Perey Smith, their governor, and Johnson, which betrayed them formerly, and some others, and had secured them in the castle."

fence of that city, and watch the motions of the besiegers.

Colonel Reynolds had been left in Carrick with about a hundred and fifty foot, in addition to his own six troops of horse and one of dragoons. The Irish attacked Carrick with great fury, and we are told that they rushed upon it with such indiscreet haste, that they killed their own trumpeter as he was returning with the answer to their summons. The assailants, however, appear to have shown little skill in conducting the assault; they burnt the gates, but found they were barricadoed with stones; a mine which they dug under the walls only "flew in their own faces;" and after being kept at bay for four hours by the troopers and soldiers of the garrison, who pelted them with stones, they retired with considerable loss. It is said that not less than a thousand of lord Inchiquin's men were slain in this ill-concerted attempt. Lord Castlehaven, who was present at this siege, gives his own version of the attack thus: "Cromwell," he says, "for his better security, left colonel Reynolds with a great party of horse and foot in Carrick to keep the town and the bridge; my lord lieutenant (Ormond) came before this place with his armies, but before he attempted anything, was called away on an alarm that Waterford was in danger, so left the command of his troops to the lord Inchiquin and lord Taafe, who immediately gave orders to storm the place, which was done with great bravery. Now, it was my fortune to come as this begun, not having been with the army in many weeks before, and putting myself in a convenient place to see, it beginning to be dark, colonel John Barry stumbled upon me, and kept me company; after a little time, hearing a great shout, he asked me what I thought of the matter. I answered, that I hoped our people were entered; he smiled, saying, 'You know the town hath a stone wall and round towers, how should men enter having neither ladders, crow of iron, pickaxe, or any other thing else to make a breach?' This being true, after losing some hundreds of brave men, the army had orders to draw off, leaving Reynolds to do what he thought fit, which was soon to follow Cromwell into the county of Cork."

Thus everything seemed to combine in favour of the victorious parliamentarians, and the want of success in their own attempts discouraged the Irish even

more than the successes of Cromwell. Foreseeing that Waterford would soon be attacked, Ormond had, immediately after the raising of the siege of Duncannon, appointed lord Castlehaven to be its governor, and sent him with a thousand men for its defence. But the citizens, with the same fatal jealousy which had been displayed in other corporations, refused him admittance, upon which, after several days' dispute, Castlehaven, in despair, marched away in the night. As the danger approached nearer, the citizens became more humble, and they consented to receive fifteen hundred of the Ulster troops, under lieutenant-general Farrell, as the least objectionable in point of purity of faith. Having thus, as he imagined, sufficiently provided for the security of Waterford, Ormond prepared for his return to Carrick, in the confidence that that place was already in their power, when he received intelligence that they had failed in their attempt, and retired to Clonmel. Thither he followed them with the small body of troops he had with him, by an indirect and tedious march, through a country filled with terror, the inhabitants abandoning their habitations and carrying off such effects as were portable, and peasants and townsmen, men, women, and children, flying in all directions to seek some asylum from the English army.

On his approach to Waterford, Cromwell had sent Ireton with a regiment of horse and three troops of dragoons, "to endeavour 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 than Duncannon; it not being much above musket-shot over where this fort stands, and we can bring up hither ships of three hundred tons, 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." Such is Cromwell's account of the reduction of the fort of Passage, which completed the terror of the citizens of Waterford, while he was further cheered by the intelligence that lord Cork's town of Bandon-Bridge, and the garrison of Kinsale, had revolted to the parliament. But his soldiers were now suffering much from disease, the result of the climate and season, and he was anxious to give them repose.

Ormond had not been long at Clonmel when he received despatches from the mayor

and governor of Waterford, who, although Cromwell had not yet opened his batteries upon them, already, in their terror, talked of capitulating. The marquis once more hastened to their relief, and showed himself with a part of his forces on the northern side of the river opposite the city. Upon which Cromwell, in consideration of the condition of his men, resolved to abandon the attempt on Waterford at present, and drew off his army in the direction of Dungarvan. No sooner were the citizens relieved from their present danger, than they resumed their former obstinacy. Ormond ferried over to propose that the city should send boats to transport his men, that they might harass Cromwell's rear; but they professed to be apprehensive he might take Waterford for winter quarters for his army, and they refused to admit any of his soldiers, except a few more of the orthodox Ulster men. On the second of December, Cromwell took possession of the castle and village of Kilmacthomas, on the river Mahon, about midway between Waterford and Dungarvan. The river here was so greatly swollen by the land floods, that the entire following day was consumed in transporting the foot soldiers, and they were enabled to march only a few miles before night, when they were quartered in the small villages around. On the morning of the fourth of December, Cromwell resumed his usual rapidity of movement, and he appeared the same evening before the walls of Dungarvan, which was regularly invested, while a detachment was sent to take the neighbouring strong castle of Knockmoan. This place was taken by storm, and Dungarvan soon afterwards surrendered at discretion. He was thus enabled to distribute his troops into commodious winter quarters in the revolted cities of the south, and made his head-quarters at Youghall.

Ormond meanwhile was embarrassed by disputes with the factious confederates. The revolt of the southern cities had broken up all confidence between the Irish and their English allies, and Ormond himself was looked upon with suspicion. On his return to Clonmel from relieving Waterford, he was involved in new vexations. The marquis of Antrim, who had pursued Ormond with the most inveterate hatred since he had himself failed in obtaining the lord-lieutenancy, was detected in attempting to corrupt his soldiers, and he secretly inflamed the spirit of disobedience which

existed in the corporate towns. He was compelled to confess that he had forged articles of agreement by which Iniquin was made to engage himself to betray the royalists to the parliamentary commander Michael Jones, in order to throw disgrace upon that nobleman, who was a zealous protestant. When Ormond found it necessary to place his army in winter quarters, and suggested to the commissioners that they should be distributed into the Munster towns in order that they might be more readily collected together in the spring, all, except Kilkenny and Clonmel, refused to receive them. To add to his mortifications, his men now began to desert in considerable numbers. Yet he kept some forces together hovering between Clonmel and Waterford.

One day he was admitted into Waterford with about fifty horse, hoping to persuade the citizens to listen to wiser counsels. Passage Fort, in the hands of the parliamentarians, had become not only a sore in the eyes of the citizens, but a restraint upon their comforts, and the governor of Waterford, Farrell, had concerted with colonel Wogan, governor of Duncannon, a combined attack upon it. Farrell accordingly marched out of Waterford full of confidence, but he was not gone far, before a body of the parliamentarians, under colonel Zanchy, was seen approaching to the relief of their friends in the fort. Ormond urged the citizens to let him bring over a regiment or two of his horse from the opposite bank to Farrell's rescue, but in spite of the imminent danger of their own men, they refused, and only about half their flying foot was saved by Ormond's marching out with his fifty attendants to arrest the pursuers, who halted because they believed that he was better supported. Ormond now represented to the citizens the necessity of reducing the fort of Passage, which he offered to effect if they would allow him to transport his forces over the river, promising that, if the citizens would let them quarter in huts under their walls, they should be no burthen, but should have pay and provisions from the country. The citizens of Waterford, however, remained obstinate, and they not only refused to listen to his proposal, but it was even moved in the city council that they should seize on Ormond's person, and fall on those who belonged to him as public enemies. Upon this, Ormond thought it high time to depart, and finding no encouragement from the towns, he was obliged to

disperse his forces to provide for themselves as they could. Those of Connaught, under Taaffe, retired to their own province; lord Dillon, with the men of Leinster, took up his quarters in Westmeath and in the neighbourhood of Athlone; and lord Inchiquin, with as much of the army of Munster as had not yet deserted, gained the county of Clare. Sixteen hundred Ulster men, under Hugh O'Neill, were admitted into Clonmel; and Ormond himself took up his quarters in Kilkenny. Thence, in disgust, he wrote to the king to acquaint his majesty "how his authority was despised by those great pretenders to loyalty."

Daniel O'Neill, the nephew of Owen O'Neill, a native of Ulster and a protestant, was dispatched with two thousand men to the north to assist lord Ardes and sir George Monroe in recovering the places lately lost in the counties of Down and Antrim. After a long and tedious march, he arrived in Ulster, only to learn that his assistance came too late. On the sixth of December, the two northern commanders had experienced a total defeat from sir Charles Coote on the plains of Lisburne, in which they lost nearly half their army, and all their arms and baggage, and a week after, on the 13th, Coote took possession of Carrickfergus.

Cromwell, meanwhile, was recruiting his army in the south, and new supplies arrived both at Kinsale and at Dublin, while the parliament fleets, under Deane and Blake, rode triumphantly in the harbour of Cork. He had been joined at Youghal by lord Broghill, and they proceeded together to Cork on the 17th of December, where they

were joined two days afterwards by Ireton. Even during the depth of winter they were not inactive, but preparations were made for an early renewal of the campaign, and several small posts were reduced. Innumerable traditionary anecdotes are still current in the south of Ireland relating to Cromwell's actions and movements, most of which probably owe their existence to the imaginative spirit of the people. According to one of these stories, Cromwell ordered the bells to be taken out of all the churches in Cork, and to be sent to the foundry, where they were converted into battering cannon. One of his own party is said to have expostulated with him on a measure which he said would be considered as little short of sacrilege, upon which he replied calmly, and with a pun, "Since gunpowder was invented by a priest, he thought the best use of the bells would be to promote them into *canons*." We are further told that when Cromwell went to Kinsale, the mayor came out to meet him and delivered him the keys. Instead of returning them as usual to the mayor, Cromwell gave them to the governor of the town, colonel Stubber. In explanation, Cromwell stated that, as he had been informed the mayor was a Roman catholic, he judged it not convenient to entrust a place of so much importance to one of that persuasion. It was whispered to Cromwell that Stubber, the governor, was not over strict in any religion. "May be not," replied Cromwell, "but, as he is a soldier, he has honour, and therefore we will let his religion alone at this time."*

Colonel Hewson, whom Cromwell had left in command at Dublin, did not remain

* Stories like these are perhaps too trivial to find a place in sober history. The following, which carries somewhat more of probability in it, and is in itself more curious, was communicated to me by Mr. Crofton Croker, who has noted down that—

"19th August, 1841: Mr. Coppinger called on me at the Admiralty; he told me that his property at Dodges Glin, near Cork, was a forfeiture of King William's time, the possessor having been killed at the battle under sir James Cotter, and that he recollects breakfasting with the grandson of the grantee, who was a miller, and had all the character of a genuine John Bull. The piers of an old gateway, which I remember to have seen, he says, had the date 1641 on them. He further says, that Cromwell took up his residence there while at Cork. The family tradition is a curious one: Mr. Coppinger was travelling abroad, he thinks in Holland, in the reign of James I, and was placed in circumstances under which he became security for a young Englishman, he thinks a brewer, for a debt for which he was arrested. The bills which were drawn by the stranger in Mr. Cop-

pinger's favour in liquidation, upon England, were dishonoured, and there the matter rested; Mr. Coppinger having to make good the payment. In 1649, at the Court of Claims, in Cork, he was recognised by Cromwell, who sent a message to him that he could not decide upon the forfeiture of his property without seeing him. Mr. Coppinger accordingly waited upon his excellency, when Cromwell enquired, 'Is not your name Coppinger?' 'Yes.' 'Were you not at —?' naming the town, and the year. 'Yes.' 'Did you not become security for a young man, whose bills were never honoured, and you had to pay?' 'Yes.' Then, said Cromwell, I am that man, and you will receive your estates without further question, in compensation of these bills.' While Cromwell remained at Cork, he is said to have made Mr. Coppinger's house at Ballyvollane, his headquarters, and there to have kept his Christmas. And that Mr. Coppinger had, or intended to have, a magnificent residence, an evidence exists or existed in the stately piers to which I have referred."

idle during the winter. On the first of January he marched into the county of Kildare, and reduced several of the enemy's garrisons in that quarter, including that of Kildare. These and other successes, of no considerable importance in themselves, kept open the communication with the capital, while the fleet, entire master of the seas, preserved a constant intercourse with England.

Towards the end of January, Cromwell prepared for more important operations, and his movements at so early a period of the year, again struck his enemies with astonishment and alarm. Ormond's headquarters were still at Kilkenny, and against this city the parliamentary general resolved to advance in two directions. Colonel Reynolds, with fifteen or sixteen troops of horse and dragoons, proceeded by way of Carrick, and was followed by a reserve under major-general Ireton. Cromwell himself, with twelve troops of horse, and three of dragoons, and between two and three hundred foot marched from Youghall on the 29th of January, and proceeding by way of Mayallo over the Blackwater, on the 31st took possession of "a castle called Kilkenny, on the edge of the county of Limerick." He marched thence to Clogher, which he garrisoned with a troop of horse and some dragoons; and the castle of Roghill also fell into his hands without a struggle. These posts, with Old Castletown, taken by lord Broghill, laid open to him the White Knight's and Roche's countries, and Broghill was left at Mayallo with a strong force to protect Cromwell's rear against the forces of lord Inchiquin, which lay about Limerick and in the county of Kerry.

From Roghill Cromwell proceeded to the Suir, which he crossed at Rochestown with

* A news-pamphlet of the day, *The Irish Mercury*, gives the following rather ludicrous account of the capture of Fethard:—

"From Rahill his excellency went to Rochestown, where he got over the river Shure in such a nick of time that the least protraction had metamorphosed the foord into a ferry. The same night in a hideous tempest he came late before the town of Feathard, where the governor little dreaming of any storm but that of the weather, was summoned by his excellency. The gentleman at first thought it had been in jest, but the corporation swearing and trembling 'twas in earnest, he concluded from the last as much as from the first that it was so, and by the same action evidencing he was of the same faith like one well versed in his trade, called a council of shakers to know whether it was consonant to the rules of war to summon a towne by candle-light? After a small debate either for the time or sence, they concluded

some difficulty, on account of the floods, and he continued his march to Fethard in the most tempestuous weather. "This town," says Cromwell, "is most pleasantly seated, having a very good wall, with round and square bulwarks, after the old manner of fortification. 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 them 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 which they knew, I sent them, to let them know that we were 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 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 willing to give, because I had little above two hundred foot, and neither ladders, nor guns, nor anything else to force them."* Cromwell's sudden advance had indeed given the Irish what one of the old chroniclers of these events calls "a strong alarm," and so far he had met with very trifling resistance. The night he entered Fethard, the garrison of Cashel, consisting of Ulster foot, fled from that city, and next day the authorities brought the keys to Cromwell, who also established a garrison there.

that whether it were or no (for the thing was left amphibious) it was consonant to the rules of safety to surrender the place, which he did; modestly saying that he had lost his government in a storme, and not tamely as other governors had done, and that by this then condition he had satisfied his engagement to the supreme council, which was, that none of them should live to see the day in which he should lose Feathard; no, nor the sun neither, though it shine on all the world but Woodstreet. We were more troubled to come to, than to come by this town, which my lord lieutenant entered by the same light in which he had summoned it, the late governor entertaining him with a file of healths, but sure he had so much care of his own that he did not drink it, so that his modesty or circumspection lessened him of one cup, but he had drunk of another had he wanted the latter."

Reynolds had in the mean time defeated a body of Ormond's horse, and pursued his victorious course to Callan, where he was joined by Cromwell. "The enemy," Cromwell informed the parliament, "had possessed three castles in the town: one of them, belonging to one Butler, very considerable; the other two had about a hundred or a hundred and twenty men in them; which he (Reynolds) 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 upon 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 Colvill, the place being six miles from Kilkenny."

It appears that Cromwell had been drawn to Kilkenny at this time by the treachery of an officer of the garrison named Tickle, who had secretly promised to open one of the gates to him. But the plot having been discovered, and the traitor executed, Cromwell for the present contented himself with leaving a garrison in Callan and in Knocktopher, which was reduced by Reynolds, and he marched back to Fethard and Cashel, where he established his head-quarters, and proceeded to reduce the garrisons in the surrounding country. While here, he levied a monthly contribution on the counties of Limerick and Tipperary. "I desire," he says in his letter to the speaker, "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 raised 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 but to have 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." Cromwell's demands were not unheeded, and recruits, money, and provisions were poured into Ireland in tolerable abundance towards the spring.

The Irish meanwhile were relapsing into their former dissensions and jealousies, which paralyzed all their attempts at self-defence. The ecclesiastics, who had always been the grand fomenters of turbulence, were regaining their influence, and consequent importance. They imputed all the misfortunes which had recently fallen on their countrymen to the misconduct of the marquis of Ormond, and to their submission in him to a protestant governor, and they declared that they would never be successful until they weeded all the protestants out of their armies. They were supported in all their extravagancies by the marquis of Antrim, who was indefatigable in his endeavours to render Ormond odious to the people. The country was thus filled with discontent and suspicion; to allay which, the clergy, who had raised it, suddenly affected an earnest solicitude, and some twenty of the bishops voluntarily assembled at Clonmacnoise, to deliberate on the state of the nation. It was expected that the result of this self-appointed council would be a protestation against the government of Ormond, and it was looked forward to with general anxiety. But the influence of one of their bishops, Heber mac Mahon of Clogher, who, since the accommodation with O'Neill, had entered into intimate intercourse with Ormond, and appreciated his character and abilities, moderated the temper of his brethren, and defeated to a certain point the intrigues of the marquis of Antrim. It was, indeed, not without difficulty that he prevailed upon them for a moment to lay aside their prejudices against their protestant lord lieutenant; but they finally agreed to a formal declaration that no security for life, fortune, or religion, could be expected from Cromwell, that they forbade all odious distinctions and animosities between old Irish, English, and Scottish royalists, and that they were resolved to punish all such of the clergy as were known to encourage them. This declaration did not produce the effect anticipated from it, for the disaffected

clergy, though publicly silenced by the threats of their superiors, continued to whisper and propagate among the people their charges against the government, which they represented as the cause of all their sufferings; and a population suffering under the burthen of heavy contributions and the mortification of continual defeats, were but too ready to listen to them. Some of the more violent did not even scruple to say that, if they must choose a heretic government, that of Cromwell was preferable to that of Ormond, and to wish success to the arms of the former. Ormond, provoked and dissatisfied at his position, complained to the king of the difficulties with which he had to contend and the ingratitude he experienced, and was authorised to retire from his post whenever he thought it advisable. He only continued, in the hope that Charles's designs in Scotland might make a diversion in favour of Ireland which would restore the spirit and confidence of the confederates. He expostulated with the commissioners of trust, who grasped at the opportunity of giving him further embarrassment, by recommending, as the means of correcting the evil, that the several counties should be directed to send agents to Kilkenny to represent their grievances and propose means for their relief. Had the marquis rejected this proposal, it would have been construed into a consciousness of guilt, and an unwillingness to meet public investigation: to yield to it, was to bring together an assembly of accusers, prejudiced against all his movements, and prepared to throw every obstacle in his way. He chose the latter alternative, and the representatives of the people met at Kilkenny, accused and recriminated, and were in the midst of their deliberations on the supposed grievances which were to form the groundwork of a violent remonstrance, when the sudden approach of Cromwell drove them to Ennis. There they continued their deliberations, which turned out equally vain and fruitless.

Cromwell had advanced to Kilkenny in a dreary season, with none of the materials necessary for forming a regular siege, reckoning solely on the treachery of Tickle, and when he found that the plot was discovered he relinquished the project. Apprehensive of a new attack, Ormond immediately put the city in as strong a posture of defence as circumstances would permit, and, proceeding himself into Clare and the adjacent counties to raise an army sufficient to offer some op-

position to Cromwell's progress, he gave the command of Leinster to Lord Castlehaven, who appointed James Walsh, governor of the castle of Kilkenny, and Sir Walter Butler governor of the city, with a garrison of twelve hundred men under their command.

The troops left in Dublin under Hewson had been extremely active through the winter, and had so far cleared the way by reducing the garrisons in South Leinster, that in the month of February they made preparations for a more important expedition. On the 26th of that month, Hewson marched out with two thousand foot and a thousand horse, proceeded into Kildare, and, after reducing most of the small garrisons held by the enemy in that county, about the end of February he made himself master of the strong fortress of Ballysanon. Cromwell, who had about the same time reduced Cahir, now conceived the design of making a more formidable demonstration against Kilkenny, and he dispatched his orders to Hewson at Ballysanon to continue his march and form a junction with him in the neighbourhood of that city. As lord Castlehaven was watching Hewson's movements, Cromwell further ordered a party of his troops from Wexford to strengthen him, and sent a detachment of the forces under his own command to keep Castlehaven in check. After having captured the fortress of Leighlin-bridge, on the Barrow, which secured the road in that direction with Dublin, Hewson at last joined Cromwell before the town of Gouran. The castle of Gouran was strong, and considered by the Irish of such importance that it was garrisoned with a part of the marquis of Ormond's own regiment, under the command of Colonel Hammond, an English royalist who had been active in the insurrection of Kent which had ended in the tragedy at Colchester. Hammond returned a proud defiance to Cromwell's summons, but his soldiers were so terrified by the batteries of the parliament's army, that they mutinied, and delivered up their officers and the castle on condition of being allowed to march out with their lives. Hammond and all his officers, except one who had favoured the meeting, were shot the day after the surrender, and a priest, who was chaplain to the catholics in the regiment, was ignominiously hanged.

On Friday the 22nd of March, the whole parliamentary army appeared before Kilkenny, and the same day Cromwell sum-

moned the garrison and town.* A plague, by which most parts of Ireland had been infested, raged with great violence in Kilkenny, and had reduced the garrison to less than five hundred men. Yet sir Walter Butler made a brave resistance, and it was not till after Cromwell's troops had been driven back more than once, that the garrison treated for a surrender, and the place was yielded on Thursday the 28th of March. As usual, Cromwell began by attacking the castle; "we find the castle," he says in his account of the siege, "exceedingly 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."

Detachments of Cromwell's army now spread themselves over the country in all directions, reduced many of the smaller towns, and secured provisions and levied

* The following was the summons sent by Cromwell to the governor and mayor of 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 endeavoured to rend yourselves; 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 we entice 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 yourselves. 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 endeavours; expecting a return from you, I rest,

"Your servant,
"23 March, 1649." "OLIVER CROMWELL."

The governor's answer ran thus:—

"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,
"W. A. BUTLER."

"Kilkenny, 23 March, 1649."

† The term *tory*, which now distinguishes a political party in this country, appears to have taken its rise in these wars, and to have been at first a slang term, applied to a party resembling the club-men of our own civil wars; it subsequently became a general appellation for wild freebooters. The first tories seem to have shown themselves in the county of Limerick. The following observations on this name are taken from Mr. Croker's very interesting "Researches in the South of Ireland," p. 52: "During the rebellion of 1641, the name was bestowed on such individuals as at first professed to remain neu-

contributions. On the 1st of April, Hewson marched to Castledermot, where, according to the contemporary parliamentary chronicler, "the enemy had burnt a great part of the castle the day before, and betook themselves to a strong tower, which they had not burnt; colonel Hewson caused great store of straw and other combustible materials to be put to the door, and set on fire, which forced them within presently to cry out for mercy, in which place was taken captain Stirlock, a bloody tory,† three friars, and divers others."

Cromwell himself proceeded to invest Clonmel, which was well garrisoned, and where he experienced a much more obstinate resistance than at Kilkenny. Its garrison consisted, according to the parliamentary accounts, of two thousand foot and six score horse, of the Ulster forces, commanded by Hugh O'Neill. In the first assault the besiegers lost so many men, that

tral in the contention, but who ultimately—perhaps urged by their loss of property and consequent distress—took up arms with a view of reprisal or revenge on those by whom they had been reduced to absolute ruin. English and Irish—Protestant and Catholic—Republican and Loyalist, were alike their common enemies; and Tories, being joined by men of desperate fortunes, united themselves into bodies, and, in fact, became formidable gangs of freebooters, who harassed the regular troops of all parties without distinction. The name, therefore, was one of reproach, and 'Tory-hunting' was almost viewed in the light of a pastime. An old rhyme in allusion to this sport is still orally current in the south of Ireland, and a decided favourite in the nursery collection.

"Ho! Master Teague—what is your story

I went to the wood, and I killed a Tory.

I went to the wood and I killed another,

Was it the same, or was it his brother?

I hunted him in and I hunted him out,

Three times through the bog about and about

When out of a bush I saw his head,

So I fired my gun, and I shot him dead.

"Defoe has accounted for the introduction of the name into England, by telling us that the famous Titus Oates may be considered as its real godfather, and relates the following anecdote respecting it. 'There was a meeting (at which I was present) in the city, upon the occasion of the discovery of some attempt to stifle the evidences of the witnesses (about the Popish plot), and tampering with Bedlow and Stephen Dugdale. Among the discourse, Mr. Bedlow said he had letters from Ireland, that there were some Tories to be brought over hither, who were privately to murder Dr. Oates and the said Bedlow. The doctor, whose zeal was very hot, could never hear any man talk after this against the plot or against the witnesses, but he thought he was one of these Tories, and called almost every man who opposed him in his discourse a Tory, till at last the word Tory became popular.'

Cromwell determined to starve the garrison rather than risk another attack, and he hastily called in the scattered detachments of his army. During the month of March, Henry Cromwell had arrived at Youghall with recruits, and joining with lord Broghill, they kept in check the enemy who might have fallen on Cromwell's rear, and defeated lord Inchiquin in the neighbourhood of Lime-rick. Cromwell now sent pressing orders to lord Broghill to join him before Clonmel, but he had no sooner arrived there, than he learnt that the popish bishop of Ross, one of the greatest supporters of the violent party among the clergy, had raised a body of five thousand men in the county of Kerry, and was actively recruiting for the purpose of raising the siege. Lord Broghill was immediately dispatched with a strong body to disperse the bishop's army, and he reached Cork on the 8th of April, where he learnt that the enemy was at Macroom on the river Sullane, a town and castle of lord Muskerry. Next day he marched to Killecrea, and on the morning of the 10th of April came before the castle of Carrigadrohid, which he found garrisoned by some of the bishop's forces. He left his foot here, to keep the garrison in check, and hurried with his horse to Macroom, which was not far distant. On Broghill's sudden approach, the Irish who were in the castle set fire to it, and retired to the body of their army which lay in the park. Broghill immediately attacked them, and, thus surprised, they almost immediately took to flight, leaving many slain. Among the prisoners, were their leader the bishop of Ross, the high sheriff of Kerry, and several other persons of distinction. The high sheriff was condemned to be shot, but lord Broghill immediately carried the bishop before the castle of Carrigadrohid, which was very strong by its position, and offered him his pardon if he would make the castle surrender, which he is said to have promised he would do. When, however, the bishop was brought within parley of the garrison, instead of counselling them to surrender, he urged them to hold out to the last, upon which, by Broghill's orders, he was immediately hanged. The castle was taken by a ridiculous stratagem. The English took two or three team of oxen, and caused them

to draw some pieces of great timber towards it, which the Irish mistook for cannon, and they immediately surrendered upon articles, by which the garrison were to march out without their arms, but the governor "to be allowed sixteen arms to defend his soldiers from the tories."

Broghill's success encouraged Cromwell and his soldiers, and having drawn his army together, he prepared for a final attack upon Clonmel on the 9th of May, when a breach had been made in the walls by his batteries. The besiegers marched bravely up to the breach, but they met with so warm a resistance, that they were driven precipitately back. On reaching the breach a second time, they found that the fortifications were stronger than they expected, and the enemy having occupied the houses within, which flanked the breach, and every point from which they could annoy their assailants, the contest was carried on with unremitting fury on both sides till night, when the darkness for a while separated the combatants. The inhabitants of the town now sent to Cromwell offering to surrender on conditions, which were granted, and early next morning Cromwell marched into Clonmel, having discovered that, before the town capitulated, the garrison had deserted their works, and fled towards Waterford. The slaughter was great on both sides, and it was acknowledged that Cromwell lost far more men in the attack on Clonmel than in any other action since he landed.

The capture of Clonmel was Cromwell's last exploit in Ireland. He had already received dispatches from the parliament, pressing him to hasten his return, as his services would be required to avert the new storm which was breaking in the north. He surrendered the command of the army to Ireton, his major-general, who already held the appointment of lord president of Munster, and who succeeded him as lord lieutenant; and he embarked at Youghal on the 29th of May. We learn from the proceedings of parliament of the 4th of June, that, "The lord lieutenant of Ireland this day came to the house, to whom Mr. Speaker did, by order of the house, give him the hearty thanks of this house, for his great and faithful services unto the parliament and commonwealth."

CHAPTER XVI.

STATE OF IRELAND ON THE DEPARTURE OF CROMWELL; TURRULENCE OF THE CLERGY; DEPARTURE OF THE MARQUIS OF ORMOND; THE MARQUIS OF CLANRICKARD LORD DEPUTY.



THE ten months of Cromwell's presence in Ireland had produced a strange alteration in the position and power of the confederates. Terror had everywhere taken the place of confidence, and the fortune of their great leader seemed to remain with his troops after his departure. Ulster lay completely at the mercy of the English. Several attempts were made before Cromwell left and immediately after, to embarrass the attention of the army which was subduing Munster, by diversions in the northern part of the island, but they were all defeated by the vigilance of Hewson and Venables. In April, sir Charles Coote had received reinforcements which again enabled him to take the field more actively, and to approach the borders of Westmeath and Connaught. Lord Castlehaven marched up with such forces as he could collect, to keep him in check, but he was obliged to retire before the enemy, when Coote was joined by colonel Venables on the first of May. Castle-Jordan, Kinnegad, Ardmullin, and other places, fell successively into the hands of the English commanders. The surrender of Enniskillen followed soon after, and Hewson and Reynolds having laid siege to the latter, which was situated in the middle of a lake, Castlehaven made an attempt to relieve it, but was defeated, and the fort surrendered. Charlemont was now the only strong place in Ulster left in the hands of the Irish.

An attempt had been made to combine the British royalists of Ulster with the Irish under the marquis of Clanrickard, so as to offer a more solid resistance to the parliamentarians, but this had failed through the jealousies of the two parties. The Irish refused to follow any but a leader of their own election, or to march to battle in the same ranks with heretics, while the British were easily persuaded to refuse their concurrence, in the belief that a new design was formed to extirpate the protestants.

The marquis of Antrim is accused of having been instrumental in spreading reports to defeat this design, lest it should raise the credit of his enemy, Ormond. The latter yielding, now, that the northern Irish should elect a general for themselves in place of Owen O'Neill, their choice fell upon Heber mac Mahon, bishop of Clogher, in which selection they were probably guided or encouraged by Ormond himself. This zealous prelate soon showed that he possessed the courage without the other necessary qualities of a general. His army, according to the parliamentary accounts, amounted to nearly five thousand men, "all Irish or papists," for they boasted that there was not a protestant among them, and among their officers was another prelate, the bishop of Down, who served in the rank of a colonel. They occupied a strong position on a hill near Letterkenny, in Donegal. Charles Coote, with about two thousand five hundred men, collected from the garrisons of the north, marched against him, and provoked him to quit the advantages of his position. Blindly confident in his superiority of numbers, he rejected the advice of his most experienced officers, and marched down to attack his enemies. After fighting with obstinacy for an hour, the Irish were defeated with great slaughter. The routed Irish are said to have been pursued no less than thirty miles, and very few of the bishop of Clogher's army escaped the swords of the victors. The bishop of Down, lord Enniskillen, and a number of distinguished officers and heads of Ulster clans were slain in the field, and many more, among whom was their general, the bishop of Clogher, were captured in the flight. The latter was soon afterwards executed. The surrender of Charlemont, after a brave defence, soon followed this battle; and thus was destroyed all hopes of resistance in Ulster.

In Leinster, Hewson had reduced Naas, Athy, Maryborough, Castledermot, and other places, and Carlow was soon afterwards surrendered to him. Detached parties

in the south were gradually clearing Kerry and Limerick of their Irish garrisons. The war against what were called the tories, was carried on vigorously, though with some ferocity, under colonel Zanchy, who on one occasion, according to the words of the parliamentary chronicler, "hearing of the tories in Kallahy woods, sent captains Thornhill, Ball, and Birkham out, and slew eighty, and brought off some Teagues, who were afterwards hanged." From the same authority we learn that, "the lord Broghill, marching into the west, dissolved the tories." Broghill, who had learnt his rapidity of movement from Cromwell, reduced successively Kilmallock, Kilbolane castle, Kenrickard, and other places; and received the submission of several baronies, which sought from the parliament the security which the confederates could not give them. From his head-quarters in Clonmel, Ireton proceeded to summon the city of Waterford, and Preston, who had taken refuge there and assumed the government, treated with the parliamentarians and surrendered the city on conditions. The fort of Duncannon followed the fate of Waterford. Thus Connaught was the only province that was entirely in the possession of the catholics. Yet as they held the strong and important city of Limerick, in Munster, and the castle of Athlone, which commanded the entrance to Leinster from the west, while the possession of Galway and Sligo gave them a facility of receiving succours by sea, they were still in a position to recover themselves, had they possessed the union and resolution which are, above all things, necessary to overcome such difficulties as they had to encounter.

But instead of uniting in self-defence, the enemies of the parliament were only occupied in mutual disputes and recriminations. Ormond patiently contended with mortifications and disappointments, and, having formed a new scheme for carrying on the war with effect, he cast his eyes upon Limerick, as a place which once secured against the enemy, would protect the country behind, where he hoped within a short time, to raise and model a powerful army. He accordingly went to Limerick, and represented to the citizens the necessity of their receiving a garrison of fifteen hundred foot and three hundred horse. The citizens refused. Ormond, alarmed at this obstinacy, and the consequences which could not fail to result from it, determined to make

every effort to conciliate the different parties who formed the nominal royal party in Ireland. He justly attributed the conduct of the citizens of Limerick to the secret machinations of the clergy, and, having conferred with the commissioners of trust, by their advice he summoned twenty-four of the bishops to Limerick, to confer with them and others of the nobility of the kingdom on the present state of affairs, and to devise together some effectual measures for the advancement of the public service. They obeyed the marquis's orders, and assembled with apparent respect and submission, and Ormond conferred freely with them on the distracted state of affairs. He represented strongly the danger of that disobedience of which the citizens of Dublin had given the example, and above all the impossibility that the nation could be saved, if their chief governor were invested only with a nominal authority without the power to rule. Finally, he desired them to express their sentiments with freedom, if they were dissatisfied with his administration, and insisted that they should either procure a due obedience to him, or recommend some other way of promoting the public good on his quitting the kingdom.

The bishops affected a deference to Ormond's authority, and having consulted together, they drew a paper of remedies "for removing the discontents and distrusts of the people," which they presented to him on the 13th of March. This paper contained ten articles, or recommendations. In the first, the bishops proposed the appointment of a privy council to assist in the government, which was to be formed of peers and others, as well spiritual as temporal, natives of the kingdom, who were to sit daily with the lord lieutenant, and determine all weighty affairs of the country. The second article recommended an exact establishment of the forces, and such arrangements made in regard to the army as might relieve the burthens of the people. The third article recommended "that on the composure of that army, and on garrisoning places necessary to be garrisoned, exact wariness be used, that none against whom just exception may be taken, or who by any probability, considering all circumstances, cannot be so well confided in as others of this nation, be either of the number whereof those established forces shall consist or be put or continued in garrison." According to the next recommendation, no garrisons

were to be appointed except by the commissioners of trust, and such as had been placed without their advice, such as Clare, Clonrand, Ballingary, and Bunratty, were to be withdrawn. The fifth article stated, "That it is a great cause of jealousy and mistrust among the people, that where catholics were settled, or understood to be settled in some of the greatest employments of trust in the army, they have been notwithstanding removed and put by; for avoiding of those causes and grounds of mistrust, the catholics so settled or understood to be settled in such employments are desired to be forthwith restored." The sixth article related to the establishment of courts of justice. The seventh of these articles, which was expressed with more precision, embodied a demand that the receiver-general should account for the sums of money levied since the peace. The three others related to oppressions and extortions, and other offences, committed by officers of the army; to private appropriations of the public money; and to irregular impositions on the people.

Most of their complaints and recommendations were vague, and implied only mistrust in Ormond and in the protestant officers and soldiers; by the first and seventh, which were more precise, they desired to re-establishing themselves in the administration of public affairs, and encouraged the suspicions they had raised among the people of some misapplication of the public money. Ormond's reply was calm and temperate. As to the more indefinite insinuations contained in the paper, he required that particular instances might be specified. With regard to the first article, he observed justly, "We do not understand how the most of the present distresses of the kingdom could proceed from the want of a privy council; nor considering the state of the kingdom, the power intrusted with the commissioners, their abilities, and how freely we communicate with them things of greatest importance, how the framing of such a council can advantage the management of the war, which is now the only matter of state." After pointing out the inconveniences which would arise from such a privy council, he added, "Yet rather than there should be anything wanting that is in our power to satisfy the people, let the particular acts that privy councillors have heretofore done, and are now necessary, be instanced, and as far forth as they shall appear necessary and fit, we shall qualify per-

sons (free from just exception) with such powers." With regard to the accounts of public money, Ormond replied, "This proposition is assented unto, and was never hindered by us, saving as to the disposing of money, wherein we insist upon and shall conform ourself to the articles of peace; and could wish that others besides the receiver-general, accountable for great sums of money both before and since the peace, had been or might be brought to account, for the ease of the kingdom."

During this time, the presence of the bishops appears to have had no influence in pacifying the citizens of Limerick, whom, on the contrary, they have been accused of secretly encouraging in their refusal to receive a garrison. Ormond's expostulations with the city authorities on the subject of receiving a garrison, in spite of the pretended support of the bishops, were vain and fruitless. The citizens refused even to treat the lord lieutenant with the respect due to his office. The commanders of the city guards neither came to him for orders, nor imparted to him those they had received; nor could any of the officers gain admission to him without a licence from the chief magistrate. A catholic lord, who served in his army, was committed to prison for presuming by his order to quarter a few soldiers within the liberties of the city. Ormond left Limerick in disgust, and retired to Loughrea, where he was followed by the bishops.

To the latter, who knew that Ormond had the king's authority to leave the kingdom at his pleasure, his replies to their paper of grievances seem to have been considered sufficiently satisfactory. They replied to them at Loughrea, by a declaration dated the 30th of April, and expressed in the following words:—"We being here met upon your lordship's special letters, and your excellency being pleased to show unto us his majesty's letters dated at his court at Castle Elizabeth in the isle of Jersey, the second of February, 1649, (1650), in answer to others of your lordship of the 24th of December last, sent unto his majesty, by which his majesty signifies his pleasure, that in case of disobedience of the people and contempt of his authority in this kingdom, your excellency should withdraw yourself and his authority; we have conceived ourselves in duty bound, for your lordship's better information of the inclination of this nation, humbly to present unto you, that however your excellency might not have met with a

ready concurrence to some proposals made for advancing his majesty's service, occasioned through some misunderstanding in some few persons and places, yet this country generally, and the nation in it, as they have already by expending their substance in an extraordinary manner, and their lives upon all occasions, abundantly testified their sincere and irremovable affections to preserve his majesty's rights and interests entire unto him; so they will for the future, with the like cheerfulness in attaining those ends, endeavour to overcome all the difficulties which the enemy's power and success have laid in their way. And that we who are here met (and doubt not the same in general is the sense of the nation) will with all care and earnestness endeavour, not only to conserve in the people such their good inclinations; but if any person or place shall be refractory, or decline that obedience to his majesty's authority, we shall contribute our best endeavours to reduce them and make them conformable to the same. And although we may not undertake to remove at present the distrusts and jealousies the people entertain through the want of success in services, the sense of their sufferings, and apprehensions for want of redress of their grievances; yet we hope by the blessing of God in the success of his majesty's forces in this kingdom, when your excellency is pleased to apply befitting remedies to the pressures and grievances of his majesty's subjects, to be able to remove those apprehensions in them. And as your excellency, by an instrument dated at Loughrea the 27th of March last, and presented unto you in the name of the Roman catholic prelates of this kingdom, may observe their hearty affections and inclinations to be obedient unto and cooperate with his majesty's authority in all the ways of his service: so that we who are here met omit nothing within the reach of our endeavours, which shall tend to the same end of maintaining his majesty's authority over us, and his undoubted interest in this kingdom. And in order thereunto we humbly beseech your excellency to appoint commanders in the several provinces to whom those of his majesty's subjects, who by the excitement of the clergy (ready with alacrity to undergo that care) shall be encouraged to take arms, may repair for opposing the power of the rebels now drawing to a body. And the better to enable them thereunto, and for the encouragement of those they shall persuade

to proceed in the service, that a certain settled course be taken, whereby the means to be raised in the country for them, may be applied to their maintenance, and not to any other use. And this is humbly desired by us here met to be immediately settled, to the end that while other matters which concern the redress of grievances, regulating of the revenue, and the carrying on of the war, which require time to be treated of, are in preparation, the people may be brought to a head to resist the enemy and stop their further progress, which we are confident may be effected by the unanimous resolution which we find in all men to put their hands to the work, and to give a signal testimony of their willingness to preserve themselves under his majesty's obedience."

This declaration was signed not only by the bishops present, but by lords Dillon, Mountgarret, Netterville, Taafe, and Muskerry, and by several others of the commanders and commissioners of trust. They still spoke in general terms, and while they omitted all allusion to the rebellious conduct of the city of Limerick, they intimated, though less openly than before, their suspicions of mismanagement on the part of Ormond. To the latter, he made a reply similar to that he had given before, but with regard to the citizens of Limerick he expressed himself more strongly and decidedly. "We think fit," he said, "to mind you. that upon our communicating unto you his majesty's letter of the second of February, we then acquainted you at large with what had passed at Waterford (which being by us represented to his majesty, occasioned his sending the said letter), as, also, that we found the city of Limerick had taken example thereby to affront and condemn his majesty's authority placed in us, and from us, by consent of the representative of the confederate catholics at the conclusion of the peace, derived to the commissioners. Both which you pass over with an extenuation of those disobediences; and by attributing them to some misunderstandings, you seem in a manner to excuse them: whereas we had reason to expect that (suitable to your general professions) you would have resented the particular deportment of those places, and proposed unto us how the contrivers thereof might be brought to justice, and the places reduced to perfect obedience. For as your professions of care and earnestness to endeavour not only to conserve in the people the good inclinations you find in

them, but that if any person or place shall be refractory, or decline that perfect obedience due to his majesty's authority, you will contribute your best endeavours to reduce them and make them conformable to the same, cannot be evidenced or made good by you, but by applying those your endeavours when we give you particular undeniable instances of refractoriness and disobedience; so there can be no instance thereof be more pregnant, nor (if it be persisted in) more destructive to his majesty and the nation, than that of Limerick. To the immediate reducing whereof, we therefore thought, and do now expect, you would effectually apply yourselves. We are well satisfied that the generality of the country and nation who have given the proofs you mention of their sincere affections, to preserve his majesty's rights entire unto him, will persevere therein, if those, upon whose example and advice they very much fix their resolutions, be active and industrious to lead and exhort them thereunto. But we must withal let you know, that we cannot hope that those their good affections and alacrity in defence of his majesty and their own interests, can be successful, if the city of Limerick and all other cities and towns be not in perfect obedience, and immediately put under a military government for military matters, and thereby into a condition of defence and offence. Which to conceal from the people, were towards them as great a treachery as it would be in us a vain rashness, without such obedience first gained, to attempt the opposing the strength and power of the rebels. And therefore we must and do declare, that as the particular refractoriness of the city of Waterford hath more than any other human means contributed to all the successes of the rebels in those parts since our being at Waterford; and as the want of a strong garrison in Limerick (which we long since desired might be received there, but could not prevail) hath been the greatest visible means whereby the said rebels have with small or no resistance gained or destroyed the county of Limerick and other parts adjacent; so the entire loss of the kingdom to his majesty, and the destruction of the nation (which we have no hope to prevent but by strongly and presently garrisoning and fortifying the said city), must be imputed to the obstinacy of that city, if it shall persist therein, and to whosoever encourages or contrives with them therein."

Ormond, was, however, now sufficiently convinced of the insincerity of those with whom he was treating, and he placed little faith in their words. While they were addressing him in the language we have described, and affecting respect for his person and an anxiety to support him, even before he left Limerick, they had made a discreditable attempt to sow jealousy between him and lord Inchiquin. They told the latter that they expected no success under the conduct of Ormond, because he was not of their nation, and was so indulgent to English interests and Englishmen, that he little regarded them or theirs; but if his lordship, who was of the most ancient and noble extraction of Ireland, had the supreme command, then all would be well. At the same time they assured Ormond, that the waywardness and dissatisfaction of the people proceeded from their aversion to Inchiquin, who had always prosecuted the war against them with rigour and animosity, and had defiled himself with the blood of the religious at Cashel, and of whom they could have no assurance, since his principal confidants betrayed the towns of Munster; but if he would dismiss Inchiquin, and disband his troops, then, they said, the whole nation as one man would be at his disposal. The two noblemen disclosed to each other what had been said to them severally, and thus the plots of their enemies were overthrown. Wearied, however, with the importunities of the commissioners of trust, he did disband the greater part of Inchiquin's forces, and Ormond and Inchiquin agreed secretly in employing an agent to treat with Cromwell for the admission of the whole protestant party to protection. Other circumstances soon occurred to show how little trust could be placed in the pretended zeal of the clergy for the public service. The Irish population in Leinster submitted in great numbers to the enemy, who thus derived support from their contributions. Lord Castlehaven, who commanded in that province, made application to the bishops that they should put a stop to these desertions by excommunicating all who were guilty of them. But they refused, not from any reluctance to use the arms of the church, for they had been too lavish of them, but from evident disinclination to the king's service.

Ormond was now so much disgusted with the conduct of the people with whom he had to act, that he resolved to take advan-

tage of the king's permission to quit the kingdom, and leave Ireland to its fate. He was prepared to put this design in execution, when he had received the declaration of the Irish prelates and leaders on the last of April. The alarm caused by the belief that he would leave them, and the resolute manner in which he spoke of the conduct of the citizens of Limerick in his reply next day, rendered them more tractable, and on the 2nd of May they addressed him in a more submissive tone, made him fair promises, and sent the archbishop of Tuam and sir Lucas Dillon to Limerick, to urge the citizens to render obedience to Ormond and receive his garrison. Some acts of the citizens themselves encouraged him to hope that his remonstrance had at last been effective. He suspended his embarkation, and drew the few forces he had around him to Clare within twelve miles of Limerick.

Here he received a submissive letter from the magistrates, inviting him to enter the city, and "settle" the garrison. He consented, upon condition, that he should be received with all the honours formerly shown to lord lieutenants; that he should have the command of the guards, and the giving of the watch-word and orders in the city; and that quarters should be provided within the city for such guards of horse and foot as he should carry in, who were to be part of the garrison. The magistrates demurred only on the reception of Ormond's guards, and he approached the city in the belief that their objections would be overruled. But when he came near the gates, he received intelligence that a seditious friar named Wolfe had raised a tumult in the city to oppose his entrance, and that the insurgents, after having gained possession of the keys and set a guard upon the gates, had plundered his lodgings, and seized the stores he had collected there which they disposed of at their pleasure. The marquis of Ormond, enraged at this insult, wrote to the mayor for redress, but the only reply he received was that Hugh O'Neill was governor of Limerick. O'Neill replied to the same demand, with more truth, that he was but a cypher, as the power was in the corporation. The bishops, though they pretended to condemn these outrages, refused to excommunicate the rioters, and they even interceded with the marquis in favour of O'Brien, a principal leader of the mob.

With Limerick thus obstinately rebellious, it was impossible for Ormond to collect an army, or to keep it together, on either side the Shannon, and he retired towards Connaught. His disgust was increased when he learnt there that Galway had followed the example of Limerick, and refused to admit any garrison which was not appointed and commanded by the magistrates. Ormond's condition became thus daily more precarious, and harassed by the clamours of the clergy and their faction, he resumed his preparations for leaving Ireland. The bishops now took less trouble to mask their designs of usurping the government, and on the 1st of August he received a letter, dated the 24th of July, and signed by the popish archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, informing him that in the present "sad condition" of affairs, the four archbishops had resolved to call a meeting of the Irish prelates, to meet at a place called Jamestown on the 6th of August, to concert measures "for the amendment of errors and recovery of this afflicted people." They added, in language at once insulting and imperious, "If your excellency shall think fit in your wisdom to send one or more persons to make proposals for the safety of the nation, we shall not want willingness to prepare good answers."

On the second of August, Ormond, then at Rosecommon, replied to the letter of the archbishops, and then he declared his sentiments more freely than he had ever done before. "We do," he said, "with much grief acknowledge, that this nation is brought into a sad condition, and that by such means as (when it shall be known abroad, and by story delivered to posterity) will indeed be thought a fable. For it will seem incredible, that any nation should so madly effect and violently pursue the ways leading to their own destruction, as this people will appear to have done; and that, after the certain ruin they were running into was evidently and frequently discovered unto those that in all times and upon all other occasions have had power to persuade or compel them to whatever they thought fit. And it will be less credible when it shall be declared (as with truth it will be), that the temporal, spiritual, and eternal interest and safety even of those that had this power, and that have been thus forewarned, did consist of making use of it to reclaim the people, and direct them into the ways of preservation. To be plain, it cannot be desired but the disobedience we

have met with (which we at large declared unto many of you, who with divers others of the nobility and gentry were assembled at Loughrea in April last), was the certain ready way to the destruction of this nation; as by our letter of the first of May to that assembly we made appear. Ancient and late experience hath made evident what power those of your function have had, to draw the people of this nation to do what they thought fit. Whether your lordships have been convinced that the obedience, which we desire should be given to his majesty's authority in us, pursuant to the articles of peace, was the way to preserve the nation, we know not, or whether your lordships have made use of all the means at other times and upon other occasions exercised by you, to procure this necessary obedience, we shall not now determine. Sure we are, that since the said assembly, not only Limerick hath persisted in the disobedience it was then in, and aggravated the same by several affronts since fixed upon the king's authority, but Galway hath been reduced into like disobedience. For want of due compliance from those places, but principally from Limerick, it hath been impossible for us to raise or employ an army against the rebels. For to attempt it any where on the other side of the Shannon but near Limerick, and without the absolute command of that city to secure it, could be no other than the certain ruin of the design in the very beginning of it; the rebels' power being such, as to dissipate with ease the foundation that should be laid there. And to have done it on this side the Shannon was impossible, since the groundwork of the army must be raised and supported from thence; which whilst it was in forming would have exhausted all the substances of these parts, and not have effected the work. For want of such an army, which (with God's assistance) might certainly have been long since raised, if Limerick had obeyed our orders, the rebels have, without any considerable resistance from abroad, taken Clonmel, Tercoghan, and Catherlagh (Carlow), and reduced Waterford and Duncannon to great and (we fear) irrecoverable distress. The loss of these places, and the want of any visible power to protect them, hath doubtlessly induced many to contribute their substance and personal assistance to the rebels; from which, whether they might have been withheld by church censures, we know not, but have not heard of

any such which issued against them. And lastly, for want of such an army, the rebels have taken to themselves the contribution which might considerably have assisted to support an army and preserve the kingdom. If, therefore, the end of your consultation at Jamestown be to acquit your consciences in the eyes of God, the amendment of all errors, and the recovery of this afflicted people as by the letter giving us notice of your meeting is preferred, we have endeavoured briefly to show that the spring of our past losses and approaching ruin arises from disobedience; and it will not be hard to show that the spring of those disobediences arises from the forgeries invented, the calumnies spread against government, and the incitements of the people to rebellion, by very many of the clergy. That these errors are frequently practised, and fit for amendment is no more to be doubted, than that, without they be amended, the affliction of the people will continue, and, as it is to be feared, end in their utter destruction; which if prevented by what your consultation will produce, the happy effect of your meeting will be acknowledged, without questioning the authority by which you meet, or expecting proposals from us, which other than what we have formerly, and now by this our letter, made, we hold not necessary."

The bishops saw, in this indignant remonstrance, only a mark of disrespect to their order. On the tenth of August, two agents (the bishop of Dromore and the dean of Tuam) were sent from Jamestown, to the lord lieutenant, with the following letter signed by the assembled prelates. "May it please your excellency, we received your excellency's letter of the second current, where to our grief and admiration we saw some expressions that seem meant for casting a blame upon us of the present sad condition of the kingdom, which we hope to answer to the satisfaction of your excellency and the whole nation. In the mean time we permit this protestation, as we are christian catholic prelates, that we have done our endeavour with all earnestness and candour for taking away from the hearts of the people all jealousies and diffidencies that were conceived the occasion of so many disasters that befel the nation; and that in all occasions our actions and co-operations were ready to accompany all your excellency's designs for preservation of all his majesty's interests in this kingdom. Whose

state being in the present desperate condition, we thought it our duty to offer unto your excellency our sense of the only possibility we could devise for its preservation, and that by the intervention and expression of my lord Dromore and Dr. Charles Kelly, dean of Tuam, who shall clearly deliver unto your excellency our thoughts and good intentions as to this effect, praying your excellency to give full credit to what they will declare in our names in this business."

The message, of which the bishop's agents were the bearers, was nothing less than an order to Ormond to resign the government and quit the kingdom, concealed on the pretext that they found "now in their consciences no other expedient or remedy for the preservation of the nation and of his majesty's interests therein, more prevalent than your excellency's speedy repair to his majesty, for preventing the ruin and desolation of all;" and, as an indirect intimation of their distrust in him, they recommended the "leaving the king's authority in the hands of some person or persons faithful to his majesty, and trusty to the nation, and such as the affection and confidence of the people will follow, by which the rage and fury of the enemy may receive interruption."

Ormond's position was now extremity difficult. He had no means of punishing the insolence of the ecclesiastics, for he was surrounded with none but catholics, who shrunk from the idea of obedience to a protestant, when they were to be employed against their own clergy. He was thus obliged to act with caution. The commissioners of trust expressed astonishment at the folly of the prelates, and by their advice he summoned the latter to confer with him at Loughrea on the 26th of August. But they refused to attend to his summons; and after expostulating with their agents the bishops of Cork and Clonfert, he made an answer to their address, declaring that he would not remove from the kingdom until forced to quit it by evident necessity. But the bishops rushed headlong in their course, and, without waiting for Ormond's answer, they published what they called "a declaration of the prelates and dignitaries of the secular and regular clergy, against the continuance of his majesty's authority in the marquis of Ormond, for the misgovernment of the subjects, the ill conduct of the army, and the violation of the peace;" in which they magnified their own zeal and services, and

complained of abuses in the expenditure of the public money; of the improvidence and ill-conduct of Ormond, especially in the battle of Rathmines; of his partiality to protestants and hostility to the catholic faith; and of the misrepresentations he had made to the king. They threatened to present articles of impeachment against him to his majesty, and enjoined the people to obey no orders but those of the congregation of clergy, until a general assembly should be convened. In support of this declaration the bishops published a solemn sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to the lord lieutenant, or give him subsidy, contribution, or obedience.

The Irish were not long before they experienced the consequences of this rash violence. The enemy was daily advancing his conquests. Detachments of Ireton's army were gradually reducing the country round Limerick, which city would evidently be soon blocked up; while Ormond, with the undisciplined forces he could raise prepared to make desperate efforts to hinder the parliamentarians from passing the Shannon. His alarm was suddenly excited by attack in another quarter. Ireton in person, forming a junction with sir Charles Coote, marched to invest Athlone. When the marquis of Clanrickard, drew out his forces to hurry to the relief of that important post, the clergy, reckless of everything but their own power, caused the sentence of excommunication to be published at the head of his troops, and discharged them from all obedience to government. The commissioners of trust and all the moderate leaders of the Irish were struck with consternation when they looked forward to the consequences of such misguided zeal, and they expostulated with the clergy. But the latter, who had seized upon the ascendancy of which they had been deprived upon the fall of the nuncio's authority, and who began now to raise troops and execute other functions of government, were deaf to the voice of reason, and only at length consented with reluctance to suspend the sentence of excommunication during the expedition made for the relief of Athlone. The spirit which guided them at this moment is apparent from the following remarkable letters. The first was addressed by the bishop of Clonfert and the dean of Tuam to the officers of the army on the 16th of September. "Yesterday," they say, "we have received an express from the rest of our congregation

at Galway, bearing their sense to suspend the effects of the excommunication (proclaimed by their orders) till the service of Athlone be performed, fearing on the one side the dispersion of the army, and on the other, having received most certain intelligence of the enemy's approach unto that place, with their full force and number of fighting men, and thereupon would have us concur with them in suspending the said excommunication. As for our part, we do judge that suspension unnecessary and full of inconveniences which we apprehend may ensue, because the excommunication may be obeyed, and the service not neglected, if people were pleased to undertake the service in the clergy's name, without relation to the lord of Ormond, or any that may take his part. Yet fearing the censure of singularity in matters of so high a strain against us, or to be deemed more forward in excommunicating than others, also fearing the weakness of some (which we believe the congregation feared), we are pleased to follow the major vote, and against our own opinion concur with them, and do hereby suspend the said censure as above. Provided always, that after that service performed, or the service be thought unnecessary by the clergy, or when the said clergy will renew it, it shall be presently incurred, as if the said suspension had never been interposed." The other letter was sent on the 21st of September, to the officers of the army, who were drawing together their forces to resist the enemy if he should attempt to pass the Shannon, from the congregation or committee of the clergy, who had established themselves in Galway, and who addressed them thus: "Our very good lords and sirs, the colonels Mr. Alexander Mac Donnell, Brian O'Neill, and Randal Mac Donnell, like obedient children of holy church, have offered themselves to put up for the clergy, and that before publication of the declaration and excommunication. God will bless their good intentions. They go now to join with you on this side the Shannon, and by making one body to put forward our cause. This is the best way we can think of, to encourage the well-affected, and curb the malignant and obstinate. The lord bishop of Killaloe being taken prisoner by the lord lieutenant, the cavaliers would have had him forthwith hanged, if his excellency had given way thereunto. His excellency is giving patents to as many catholics as are

excommunication-proof. Ireland is an accursed country, that hath so many rotten members. Though things go hard with us, God will bring the work to a good end. When you meet with those colonels, confer of what service to take in hand. *Est periculum in mora.*"

Thus were the clergy setting up an army of their own, independent of and opposed to the king's lord lieutenant. They were playing the madmen on the very brink of destruction; for the enemy was only kept from passing the Shannon and overrunning the whole of Connaught by the forces which remained under Ormond and Claurickard, and these were ordered to desert their leaders. At this crisis, a new event occurred to give embarrassment to Ormond. Charles II. was now in Scotland, and had on the 16th of August, published his celebrated declaration against popery, in which he acknowledged his father's sin in marrying into an idolatrous family, and among other things declared his utter abhorrence of the peace concluded by his father with the Irish papists, and which he pronounced to be void, on the ground that it was unlawful to make peace with "bloody rebels." Charles was led to this declaration not more by the necessity of conciliating the Scots, than by his disgust at the refractory turbulence of the Irish.

When this declaration was known in Ireland, the clergy openly talked of withdrawing their allegiance from the king, and returning to their ancient confederacy. Ormond saw the use which would be made of it, and he affected to doubt its authenticity; but when these doubts could no longer be entertained, and he received private letters from the king, who, with his father's insincerity, represented that it had been forced upon him by his necessities, but that he wished it not to be considered binding, Ormond addressed himself to the commissioners of trust, declaring his intention to uphold the peace until his majesty's real intentions could be known. "We find," he said to them, "that his majesty's declaration is principally grounded upon the unlawfulness of concluding the peace with this nation; and the breaches on the part of the nation are mentioned but in general terms, and by the by; so that however the affronts put upon his authority have been many, and obstinately persisted in to this day, and that in such places whereupon evidently depends the preservation or loss

of the whole kingdom to the rebels, whereof we have several times given notice unto you, and followed the ways advised by you for reclaiming the said places without any success; yet considering the declaration gained from his majesty is without hearing what could be said by the nation in their own defence, and such as involves it generally without exception in the guilt of rebellion; and that even those that have with greatest insolence invaded the royal authority, and endeavoured to withdraw the people from their allegiance, do now pretend that they will make their complaint against us to his majesty, thereby implying that they will submit to his judgment; we have thought fit to let you know, that notwithstanding the said declaration, by some undue means obtained from his majesty, we are resolved by all means it shall please God to offer unto us, and through all hazards, in behalf of this nation, to insist upon and assert the lawfulness of the conclusion of the peace by virtue of the aforesaid authorities, and that the said peace is still valid, of force, and binding to his majesty and all his subjects. And herein we are resolved, by the help of God, to persist, until that we and such as shall in that behalf be entrusted and authorized by the nation shall have free and safe access to his majesty, and until upon mature and unrestrained consideration of what may on all sides be said, he have declared his royal pleasure upon the aforesaid affronts put upon his authority." Ormond stipulated, in return, that all the acts, declarations, and excommunications issued by the bishops assembled at Jamestown should be revoked, and that the clergy should give assurance they would not attempt the like in future; that the commissioners of trust and all magistrates should disavow the proceedings of the clergy; that Ormond should be allowed to make his free residence in any place at his pleasure; that he should immediately be admitted to garison such places, and in such manner, according to the articles of peace, as he should find necessary for the defence of the kingdom; and that a course should be taken to find means for supporting him according to his state and the condition of the kingdom.

In reply to this communication, the commissioners expressed their readiness to concur with Ormond's wishes, their disapproval of the conduct of the clergy, and their willingness to proceed to Galway to expostulate with them. They added, as a

suggestion, "Albeit we know that by those censures of the bishops met at Jamestown, his majesty's authority was invaded, and an unwarranted government set up, contrary to the laws of the kingdom; and that we are assured, no subject could be justly warranted by that excommunication to deny obedience to his majesty's authority in your excellency; yet being of opinion that a public declaration of this kind, in this conjunction of affairs, ought properly, and would with more countenance and authority move from an assembly than from us, and that, by such a public declaration now from us, we should wholly obstruct the way to prevail with the prelates to withdraw those censures, and likewise endanger what union there is at present in opposing the common enemy, and prejudice the hopes of a more perfect union for the future, wherein the preservation of the nation doth principally consist; we do therefore, humbly beseech your excellency to call upon an assembly of the nation, from whom such a declaration as may be effectual in this behalf, and may settle those distractions, can only proceed. Yet if, in the mean time, and before the meeting of that assembly, those censures now suspended shall be revived, we will endeavour to suppress their influence upon the people, by such a declaration as shall become loyal subjects and men entrusted to see all due obedience paid to his majesty's government over this kingdom."

Ormond yielded to the wishes of the commissioners, and summoned a general assembly to meet at Loughrea on the 15th of November. In the meanwhile they sent their agents to the bishops at Galway, who, on the 5th of November returned an answer breathing all the fierce spirit which they had shown when the papal nuncio was in the height of his power. They declared their intention of paying no further obedience to the king's authority, and of returning to the confederacy. "We have perused the king's declaration," they said, "disavowing the late peace, and are of opinion, for ought to us appearing, that the king hath thereby withdrawn his commission and authority from the lord lieutenant. This is clearly proved out of a branch of the said declaration, taking away and nulling all commissions granted by him. In that declaration the king will have no friends but the friends of the covenant. Hence it is evidently inferred, that his majesty's authority is taken away from the lord lieutenant,

unless he be a friend to the covenant (as we conceive he is not); and if he be, he is not our friend, nor to be trusted by us in having authority over us. In the same declaration, the Irish nation, as bloody rebels, are cast from the protection of the king's laws and royal favours; it may not therefore be presumed that he would have his authority kept over such a nation to govern them. We do join with you in that you represent, to wit, there is no safety to be expected from covenanters or independents for the catholic religion or this nation; if that of the peace be proved the only safety, we are for it. However we conceive the benefit thereof is due to us, having made no breach of our part." In his observations upon this article, Ormond remarked, with some justice that, "if they would make it their business to seek for arguments to keep the king's authority over them, they might perhaps find many, and these as convincing as those they have found to dispute it out of the kingdom;" and, on the concluding statement, he said, "If they that contrived this paper have made no breach of the peace on their part, we have lost much labour in the fore-passed discourse; but we believe we have proved they have made many, and those the highest it was possible to make, and surely they must be very partial on their own side, if they think the benefit of a thing they reject is due to them."

"We are of opinion," the bishops added, "and did ever think all our endeavours should be employed to keep the king's authority over us; but when his majesty throweth away the nation from his protection as rebels, withdrawing his own authority, we cannot understand this mystery of preserving the same with us, and over us, or how it may be done. Whereas you say, that many of those considerable, will instantly make their conditions with the enemy, if the king's authority be taken away by himself (as by his declaration it is), and not driven away by the subject; in such case, when the people may not hold it, likely they will not agree with the parliament for not having it. We are of opinion the best remedy (the king's authority being taken away, as was said) of meeting this inconvenience of the people's closing with the parliament, is returning to the confederacy; as it was intended by the nation, in case of breach of the peace on his majesty's part. This will keep a union amongst us, if men will not be precipitantly guilty of breach of

their oath of association; which oath, by two solemn orders of two several assemblies, is to continue binding, if any breach of the articles should happen of his majesty's part. The king's authority and the lord lieutenant's commission being recalled by the declaration above said, we are of opinion the lord lieutenant hath no such authority to leave [*i. e.* to a deputy]. If we must expose lives and fortunes to the hazard of fighting for making good that peace, seeing the danger and prejudice is alike, to defend that or get a better peace, why should we bind ourselves within the limits of those articles so disavowed?"

The remainder of this paper consists chiefly of invective against Ormond, whom they charged with being the cause of the loss of so many of their churches, with partiality to the protestant religion, with being a hindrance to their receiving countenance from catholic princes abroad, and with discouraging foreign trade. They declared, "That the soldiers, by the ill success of his conduct have not the heart to fight under him," and that they "found the people generally in great fear to be lost under his government; and we are of opinion that the greater part of the people will agree with the parliament, if the authority were continued in him, despairing of defence under him."

The conclusion of these recriminations of the bishops was this:—"The best way offered unto us in this pressing exigent for the union of the nation, and keeping them from agreeing with the enemy, is, that the marquis of Clanrickard (in whom, according to the sense of the congregation at Jamestown, we desired the king's authority should be left, before the coming of the king's declaration) may govern the nation with the consent of all parties and the king's authority from the lord lieutenant, which he conceives is in him until an assembly; and to that end, that a free and lawful assembly be made to sit, to judge upon the people's preservation, and to decree and order what shall be best and safest for the defence of the nation, touching the king's authority to be kept over them, the peace to be asserted and made good, or to renew the association, or anything else they shall find best and most expedient. To this we willingly submit. For we never intended to hinder assemblies, or to give law to the people. All we endeavoured was to defend the altars and souls entrusted to us. As we

are of opinion the soldiers will follow the marquis of Clanrickard, and the people obey him, so will we contribute our best endeavours to that effect. We further give assurance hereby, that if a free and lawful assembly, upon due consideration of their own state and condition, shall find it the best way for their safety and preservation to make agreement with the enemy, as we intend never, by the grace of God, to grant away from us by an affirmative assent our churches and altars (if forced from us, we are blameless); so will we not hinder the people from compounding with the enemy for the safety of their lives and estates, when no way of defence is appearing, though upon such agreement we see that we alone shall probably be the losers of sees, estates, churches, altars, immunities, and liberties. But in such contracts with the enemy, if any shall happen (which God avert!) we shall pray and conjure the catholics of Ireland, that that of the Maccabees be recorded of them to future ages, *Erat enim pro uxoribus et filiis itemque pro fratribus et cognatis minor sollicitudo, maximus vero et primus pro sanctitate timor erat templi.*"

It was thus evident that the clergy, who now led the people, had finally broken with the marquis of Ormond, and he again made his preparations for departure. The general assembly met at the time appointed; but it was soon seen that it was ruled by the influence of the bishops. On the 2nd of December, when he was ready for embarking, Ormond addressed a long letter to the assembly, containing a statement of what had passed between him and the prelates, and a defence of his own conduct; and after exhorting them to unity and obedience, he concluded with the following strong declaration:—"We desire," he said, "that when you find we are anything sharper in our expressions than suits with the respects you have to these prelates and other clergymen, you would then likewise consider the provocation they have given us. And that as to compass their ends, they have not forbore falsely to charge us with the highest crimes imaginable, and with the greatest defects and failings that can render a man of our condition and profession contemptible; so it was in our defence necessary for us to show that this judgment was not given of us by a grave congregation of advised, temperate, and loyal persons, but by factious, rash, violent, and disloyal

men, assembled without authority, transported with spleen, arrogance, and ambition, taking advantage of the ill success themselves are guilty of, to declare things contrary to truth, and contrary to the sense and desire of many learned and pious men of their own profession, that are born down and awed by their tyranny; the truth and justification of which judgment is disavowed by some who are mentioned in the subscription, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their procurators, without their assent or knowledge."

The assembly seems to have been aware of the extremity into which it was now driven, and alarmed at the prospect of being left without a ruler; and, on the 7th of December, the general assembly voted a declaration worded in less recriminating language: "Whereas," said this declaration, "the archbishops and bishops, met at this assembly, have, of their own free accords, for removing of jealousies that any might apprehend of their proceedings, declared and protested, that by their excommunication and declaration at Jamestown in August last, they had no other aim than the preservation of the catholic religion and people, and did not propose to make any usurpation on his majesty's authority, or on the liberties of the people; confessing it belongs not to their jurisdiction so to do, upon consideration of which, their declaration and protestation, and their professions to that purpose in this assembly, and of his excellency's letter, dated 10th of November last, recommending unto us, as the chief ends for which this assembly was called, the removing of all divisions, as the best way for our preservation; we, the lords spiritual and temporal, and gentry, met in this assembly, conceiving that there is no better foundation and ground for our union, than the holding to and obeying his majesty's authority, to which we owe and ought to pay all dutiful obedience, do hereby declare and protest, that our allegiance to his majesty is so inherent in us, that we cannot be withdrawn from the same; nor is there any power or authority in the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry or people, clergy or laity of the kingdom, that can alter, change, or take away his majesty's authority, we holding that to be the chief flower of the crown, and the support of the people's liberty, which we hereby protest, declare, and avow, and also do esteem the same essentially, inviolably, and justly due from us, and the chiefest mean, under

God, to uphold our union and preservation; and do unanimously beseech his excellency, in his great affections to the advancement of his majesty's service, and his hearty desires to this nation's preservation, to which he hath relation of the highest concerns, blood, alliance, and interest, to leave that authority with us in some person faithful to his majesty and acceptable to the nation; to which person, when made known unto us, we will not only afford all due obedience, but will also offer and propose the best ways and means that God will please to direct us to, for preservation of his majesty's rights and people's interests and liberties, and for begetting ready obedience in all places and persons to his majesty's authority."

In accordance with the wishes and feelings thus expressed, Ormond had determined on appointing the marquis of Clanrickard his lord-deputy. He now announced to the assembly and to that nobleman, that he appointed him only in the trust that their professions of allegiance to the crown implied a full obedience to its deputy, and he charged him not to accept the government on other terms. He then embarked in company with lord Inchiquin, colonels Vaughan, Wogan, and Warren (who had all distinguished themselves in the wars) and about twenty other attendants, and set sail for France.

Ormond was no sooner departed, than the assembly addressed themselves to the marquis of Clanrickard, begging that he would immediately assume the authority which the lord lieutenant had imputed to him. When he stated the conditions only upon which he could accept the ungrateful office, they engaged in general terms to render him full obedience. But he demanded a promise in more explicit terms, and this led to considerable discussion in the assembly, the bishops being unwilling to engage themselves too far. At length, on the 24th of December, the assembly agreed to the following declaration: "Although this assembly have endeavoured by their declaration of the seventh of this month, to give full testimony of their obedience to his majesty's authority, yet for further satisfaction, and for removal of all jealousies, we do further declare, that the lords spiritual or temporal, gentry or people, clergy or laity of this kingdom, shall not attempt, labour, endeavour, or do any act or acts to set free or discharge the people from yielding due and perfect obedience to his majesty's authority, invested in the lord marquis of Clanrickard,

or any other governor or governors of this kingdom; and in case of any such labour, act, or endeavour, by which any mischief might ensue by seducing the people, we declare, that no person or persons shall or ought to be led thereby; but by their disobedience on any such grounds, are liable and subject to the heavy censures and penalties of the laws of the land in force and practised in the reign of Henry VII. and other catholic princes. Nevertheless, it is further declared, that this is not meant or intended by anything herein contained, that this nation will not insist upon the performance of the articles of peace, and by all just means provide against the violation of the same. And inasmuch as his majesty is at present (as we are informed) in the power of a presbyterian part of the Scots, who declared themselves enemies to this nation, and vowed the extirpation of our religion, we declare, that it is not hereby intended to oblige ourselves to obey or observe any governor that shall come unduly nominated or procured from his majesty by reason of or during his being in an unfree condition, that may raise disturbance of the present government established by his majesty's authority, or redound to the violation of the articles of peace."

When this declaration had been voted in the assembly, the bishops, aware that their conduct would not bear a retrospective examination, prevailed in adding an explanatory clause to the effect, "that by the word *ought*, expressed in the said declaration this day voted in this assembly, it is not meant or intended to look back or have a retrospect into any former proceedings of the clergy." Yet when Clanrickard, still dissatisfied, proposed more explicit clauses for his own protection, they were rejected immediately. The clergy would not agree to a clause binding them not to "set free or discharge the people upon any pretence whatever from yielding obedience to the power and authority entrusted by his majesty in any governor of this kingdom, during the continuance of his commission, or the powers and authority from thence derived." When he expressed his dread of some subterfuge couched under the expressions, relating to "Henry VII. and other catholic princes," he was assured that this was only intended to secure a certain degree of protection for the catholic clergy; and he was entreated by the more moderate members of the assembly to agree to such a declaration as the clergy were willing to

subscribe, rather than, by quarrelling with them, give them an occasion for breaking up the assembly and condemning its actions, which would increase rather than diminish their power. Perceiving the truth at least of these apprehensions, and aware that the clergy in their blind obstinacy were ready to give up all to the parliamentarians rather than bind themselves in dutiful obedience to the king, Clanrickard at length consented to assume the office of lord deputy with the above declaration.

The spirit which now guided the councils of the clergy was soon exhibited in the debates of the assembly. Clanrickard had no sooner assumed the office of lord deputy, than a warm discussion was raised in the assembly by the arrival of agents from Ireton, who urged the assembly to treat with the parliamentarians, suggesting that they would obtain better terms by treating for the whole nation, than if they allowed themselves to be destroyed in detail. The proposal was at first rejected unhesitatingly; but the question was soon afterwards, by the influence of the clergy resumed, and, to the astonishment of the more moderate part of the assembly, many of the ecclesiastics gave it their earnest support. The new lord deputy remonstrated energetically against such a measure, and he was supported by most of the nobility and leading gentry of the assembly, some of whom ex-

pressed their indignation with such warmth, as to declare openly that it was "now evident that these churchmen have not been transported to such excesses by a prejudice to the marquis of Ormond, or a zeal for their religion; their purpose is, to withdraw themselves entirely from the royal authority. It is the king and his government which are the real objects of their aversion; but these we will defend at every hazard; and when a submission to the enemy can be no longer deferred, we shall not think it necessary to make any stipulations in favour of the secret enemies of our cause. Let those men who oppose the royal authority be excluded from the benefits of our treaty." The truth of the reproach that the clergy were desirous of throwing off the royal authority—or, as one of them openly expressed it, to relinquish "that idol of Dagon, a foolish loyalty"—was evident enough; but the wish to treat with Ireton arose perhaps only from a sudden fear, which they laid aside, when they found the proposal was unpopular, and they resorted to other means of counteracting the efforts of Clanrickard, whom, as opposed to their schemes of ambition, they now looked upon with as much hatred as they had exhibited towards Ormond. The clergy talked publicly and in the assembly of reverting to the old confederacy.

CHAPTER XVII.

TREATY WITH THE DUKE OF LORRAINE; PROGRESS OF THE WAR; CAPTURE OF ATHLONE AND LIMERICK; DEATH OF IRETON; FINAL REDUCTION OF THE CATHOLICS.



HE evident object of the clergy in these intrigues was to raise themselves to the supreme power, and to preserve that power by placing it under the authority of the pope or some other catholic prince of the continent, who should be persuaded to give his assistance in rescuing them from their present danger. For this purpose they cast their eyes on the duke of Lorraine, who was at that moment taking

a particular interest in the affairs of Ireland, for reasons which it will be necessary to explain. This prince, as a matter of policy, had married his cousin-german, who was heiress general of the duchies of Lorraine and Bar; but subsequently, captivated with the beauty of Beatrice de Cusance, widow of the count of Cantecroix, he married that lady, although his first duchess was still living. In the warmth of this new attachment, the duke of Lorraine was anxious to prevail upon the pope to pronounce his first marriage void, and legitimate his children by the countess of Cantecroix. At

first his solicitations met with little success, and he was looking for some occasion to signalize his zeal in the service of the church in such a manner as to gain favour at Rome to enable him to effect his purpose, when the affairs of Ireland were brought under his attention.

The first opening of the negotiations on this subject have not been very distinctly recorded, but it appears that, before Ormond's departure from Ireland, and while the king was intent upon his expedition to Scotland, he had made an attempt to raise money by proposing to the duke of Lorraine to mortgage to him the fort of Duncannon for twenty-four thousand pounds. This treaty failed on account of some misunderstanding as to the way in which the money was to be paid, or, more truly, on account of the insufficiency of the security, for Duncannon was already threatened with a siege. But the duke now began to profess an extraordinary zeal for the interests of the catholic religion in Ireland, and declared his willingness to support the papal power in that island.

While the duke was in this humour, lord Taaffe was sent to Brussels with letters of credence from the duke of York, earnestly pressing him to give his assistance in supporting the king's interest in Ireland, and offering, as security for such sums of money as he should advance, to place in his hands any place in that kingdom then in the power of the catholics. It appears that Galway was now the place selected. Probably in the course of these negotiations, the duke had become impressed with the ambitious hope of obtaining the sovereignty of Ireland, for he suddenly changed from a reserved and evasive policy with regard to advancing money, to an extreme of liberality. He made great promises to lord Taaffe, of the substantial assistance which he would now furnish, and as an evidence of his good intentions, advanced him five thousand pounds for the immediate purchase of arms and ammunition. This supply was rendered by circumstances of more importance than was expected, for the arms and ammunition arrived in the bay of Galway at the moment of the discussion in the assembly on the question of treating with Ireton, and had no little influence in deciding the clergy to relinquish their policy on that question. The bishops now formed their own private designs on the duke of Lorraine, and they sent as their agent the bishop of Ferns, one

of their most violent partisans, to treat on their part with that prince.

The latter, in his negotiations with lord Taaffe, continued to manifest the utmost zeal in the cause of the Irish catholics, and talked even of going in person to their assistance, with such an army as must secure his success. But he began to intimate his expectations that a degree of authority must be acknowledged in him which was quite inconsistent with the sovereignty of king Charles. Lord Taaffe felt embarrassed, and he evaded the difficulty by proposing that the duke should send an agent into Ireland to treat with those who might then be in authority there, for he was not then aware of the marquis of Ormond's departure. The duke of Lorraine agreed to this proposal, and chose for his ambassador Stephen de Henmin, abbot of St. Catherine, who landed at Galway about the end of February, 1651. No person could have been chosen for this mission more acceptable to the Irish catholic clergy, and with them he, from the first placed himself in the most intimate communication.

Yet, as a matter of form, the abbot on his arrival presented his letters of credence to the marquis of Clanrickard, whom he found installed in the office of lord deputy, and to whom he intimated the friendly intentions of the duke, and his wish to enter into negotiations for the relief of Ireland. To avoid all occasion for clamour on the part of the clergy, Clanrickard at once agreed to appoint a committee, composed of bishops, nobles, and gentry, to confer with the duke of Lorraine's agent, receive his proposals, and report them to him, with their opinion and advice as to their acceptance. The duke's proposals were of the most extraordinary description, and evinced the ambitious designs which influenced his conduct; he stipulated that, in return for his assistance against their enemies, the Irish were to accept the duke of Lorraine and his heirs and successors as *protectors of Ireland*; and, while resident there, they were to have the supreme command of the army, the power of convening general assemblies, and other powers pertaining to royal authority. An empty reservation was made in favour of the rights of the king and of the subjects; and this state of things was to end when the Irish had disbursed all the money the duke should expend in the undertaking.

The bishops so entirely influenced the committee to which these extravagant pro-

posals were made, that, scorning all communication with the lord deputy, they proceeded to debate upon them without reporting them to him; and, in order to carry on their own designs without interruption, the committee of its own act excluded those of its members who were most moderate and loyal, and introduced others in their places. The lord deputy complained of the irregularity of their proceedings, and treated the proposals of the duke's envoy with disdain; but he was astonished when he heard the bishops declare that they ought to be acceded to, as the only choice left of saving the nation. Clanrickard insisted that the prelates who were of this opinion, should reduce it to writing, and place their signatures to it; but they first hesitated, and then refused. The dispute rose higher, and the marquis declared that the proposals were an insult to the king his master, and he refused to give the abbot an audience previous to his departure. The latter became now alarmed for the success of the duke's designs, and thought that he had perhaps gone too far. He moderated his demands, and finally consented to treat for a loan of twenty thousand pounds on the security of Limerick and Galway, referring all articles relating to the protectorship to be negotiated at Brussels. Sir Nicholas Plunkett and Geoffrey Browne were deputed to treat, in conjunction with lord Taaffe, on this subject; and they were expressly instructed to act only according to the instructions they should receive from the queen, the duke of York, and the lord-lieutenant (Ormond).

The bishops also resolved to send their agent to the prince of Lorraine, and they chose for this purpose the bishop of Ferns, who was received with more favour than the agents of the lord deputy. When they reached Brussels they found that lord Taaffe had gone to Paris, to obtain further instructions from the queen and the duke of York, and the delay thus occasioned was favourable to the intrigues of the episcopal agent. These were not only practised in his communications with the duke, but he employed them on Plunkett and Browne, and the following letter addressed to them at Brussels will show best the spirit which now actuated their party and their feeling towards the marquis of Clanrickard:—"I do," he said to the lord deputy's envoys, "with all sincerity offer mine own opinion what is to be done by you in this exigent (which is), to the end the agreement you

are making with his highness the duke of Lorraine, become profitable to the nation, and acceptable in the eyes of God; that you would immediately, with humble hearts, make a submission unto his holiness in the name of the nation, and beg the apostolical benediction, that the light of wisdom, the spirit of fortitude, victories, grace, successes, and those blessings of God we one time enjoyed, may return again to us. The necessity of doing this is the greater, that the person (Clanrickard) from whom you come with authority, is for several causes excommunicated *a jure et homine*, and is at Rome accounted a great contemner of the authority and dignity of churchmen, and persecutor of my lord nuncio and some bishops and other churchmen. Some of his own letters come fair for the proof hereof. You may be pleased to call to mind that he (though much and often moved thereunto) never joined with the confederate catholics, until he found the opportunity of bearing down the pope's nuncio, and had the lord of Inchiquin (who not long before dyed his hands in the blood of priests and innocent souls in the church or rock of St. Patrick in Cashel) so close with him in society of army. The nation hath now no cause to joy in that conjunction of those two stars. Do you think God will prosper a contract grounded upon the authority of such a man, if some other way be not found of reconciling him to us. That therefore what is prophane may be holy, and what is rotten sound, say in the name of the nation, with the prodigal child, *surgam et ibo ad patrem, et dicam ei, pater, peccavi in cælum et coram te*; and even immediately go to his holiness's internuncio in this city, to make this happy submission, *quia nescit tarda molimina spiritus sancti gratia*. This being done, go on cheerfully with your contract with this most catholic prince, who, did he rightly know the business, without such submission, would never enter upon a bargain, to preserve or rather restore holy religion in a kingdom with agents bringing their authority from a *withered accursed hand*; and God will send his angels of strength and light before that people, at least many of them who are lying in darkness and shackled with the irons of excommunication."

These wild commination: seem to have produced their effect, especially on Plunkett, who, in spite of the protest of Browne, joined with the bishop in concluding a treaty with the duke in the name of the

Irish nation, and the signature of lord Taafé was affixed to it in his absence. By this smuggled treaty the duke of Lorraine was to be vested with royal power, under the title of "protector royal of Ireland." The second article stated that, "Because religion is the prime end and subject of the treaty, all is to begin with an imploring application to the pope for his paternal benediction and help, that he will not be wanting in things spiritual or temporal; in consideration whereof, it is protested that constant perpetual obsequiousness of duty and faithfulness shall be paid to his holiness and the apostolic see." The duke was to resign his protectorate as soon as he had "restored the kingdom and religion to its due pristine estate," but not till he had been previously reimbursed all that he should have expended in the undertaking. On his part he undertook "to expel out of Ireland heretics, enemies to the king and his religion, and to recover and defend all things belonging to the faithful subjects of Ireland." The duke was to have the sole and absolute exercise of military power in Ireland, and the appointment of offices "at his own pleasure, and in his own person, unless he in his absence substitute some other catholic person;" he was, further, to have the power of calling assemblies, and of dissolving them; the appointment of a deputy; and the management of the public revenue. The bishops were so anxious for the welfare of their brethren on the other side of the channel, that they inserted an article, expressly stipulating that, "when the work is done in Ireland, by consent of a general assembly, the duke promises to afford assistance to the king against rebelling adversaries in the other kingdoms." The Irish were to deliver into the duke's hands as securities, the towns and castles of Galway, Limerick, Athenry, Athlone, and Waterford and Duncannon, when the latter were recovered from the enemy.

This treaty was dated on the 12th of July, 1651, and it was formally announced to the marquis of Clanrickard and the corporation of Galway by letters from the duke on the 10th of September. It was met with an indignant protest from the former, who formally disowned the proceedings of the Irish agents, as totally at variance with their instructions, and derogatory to the king's honour. This gave the duke an excuse for delay in furnishing the promised supplies; he continued to temporize with the Irish

and with the king, until he had gained all he wanted at Rome; and then he refused to proceed any further in the Irish treaty, alleging to the Irish that he could not treat with them but with the consent of their king; and to the king, that he had nothing in Ireland to treat for.

The clergy, however, were transported with the prospect of the treaty concluded through their agency, and rashly embarked in new projects of ambition. Under pretence of returning to their confederacy, they held synods to consider the state of the nation; declared the duke of Lorraine protector of Ireland; and excommunicated all who should oppose him. They held secret consultations, and determined on establishing a new form of government, by a supreme council, which was to consist of nominees of the prelates, who were to rule the country under the direction of the clergy. To support these plans, they had even drawn up a sentence of excommunication against the marquis of Clanrickard and all who should adhere to him. But their ambitious projects were suddenly overthrown by a danger to which they seem to have become blinded.

The English army, paid and furnished, had recruited its strength during the winter, and was ready as usual for an early campaign. Ireton determined to commence with the siege of Limerick, and he marched with the main body of his forces against that place. To invest the city on all sides, it was necessary to march into Connaught, which was still entirely in the power of the Irish, and to capture Athlone. Sir Charles Coote, with the army under his command in Ulster, was directed to perform this service. With two thousand horse, and an equal number of foot, Coote marched against Sligo; but when the whole attention of the Irish of Connaught was occupied with the danger of that place, he suddenly drew off his army, and forcing his way over the Curlew mountains, presented himself before Athlone. Clanrickard, in the midst of faction and discontent, saw the importance of this place, and made an attempt to relieve it, but too late, for it surrendered before he could collect his forces, and Coote marched towards Galway.

On Ormond's departure from the kingdom, two of the old commanders who had served zealously under him, lords Castlehaven and Muskerry, remained at their posts, the former, who, to use his own

expression, had remained in Ireland only to keep up "a bustle" till the fate of the Scottish expedition were decided, was left governor of Leinster and Munster, and he chiefly appears to have directed the military operations of the Irish. Castlehaven had seized the two important passes over the Shannon from the counties of Limerick and Tipperary, that of Killaloe, and the still more celebrated one of O'Brien's-bridge, the latter still retaining the name, although the bridge had disappeared; and he lay with his army on the other side of the Shannon opposite Limerick, to give assistance to that city. Clanrickard, in the utmost alarm at the march of the enemy against Galway, sent a pressing message to lord Castlehaven for assistance, and that nobleman immediately marched with four thousand men to join him. He had not gone far before he received intelligence that the enemy had overpowered the party which defended O'Brien's-bridge, and made themselves masters of that pass over the river. Castlehaven's army was filled with consternation, and dispersed in all directions; and, to add to the distress of the royalists, Killaloe was abandoned by Fennell, the officer to whom its defence was entrusted, and thus, Portumna having been already surrendered to Coote, all the chief passes over the Shannon were in possession of the English.

Ireton now invested Limerick, and commenced the siege in form. That city, with a strange infatuation, persisted to the last in its obstinate opposition to the wishes of the lord lieutenant and his deputy to garrison it. When Clanrickard, aware that all the hopes of his party depended on the preservation of this place, offered to enter it with an army and share the fate of the citizens, his proposal was rejected with disdain; and they pretended to be confident in their ability to defend themselves. As the enemy approached, they consented to receive some troops of their own choice, and under their own control, and they took for their commander Henry O'Neill, who had already distinguished himself by his brave defence of Clonmel, but all real power was reserved in the hands of the corporation.

Ireton, who was anxious to put an end to the war, now pursued a policy of indulgence towards his enemies, and by means of the Irish who had compounded and submitted, he kept up a constant communication with the city. At the beginning of July, he "took the castle on the Weare, which the

warders deserted, and betook themselves to the river; but finding they were continually shot at by the English, they came on shore in two parties, the one to the west side, where colonel Tuthil's regiment was, a captain whereof promised them quarter; nevertheless, they were by Tuthil's order stript and knockt in the head; whereat Ireton was so enraged, that he caused Tuthil to be tried by a council of war, and though he excused it by his opinion that an inferior officer had no power to give quarter whilst his superior was upon the place, yet both he and his ensign was cashiered. And when Ireton understood that the other party of the Irish that landed on the east side in colonel Ingolsby's quarters had been kindly used and not so much as stript, he dismissed them gratis, without exchange or ransom, and sent them into the city with a handsome message, expressing his detestation of breach of faith, and offering what further satisfaction they desired; but they were very well pleased with the justice he had so generously done them, and so that matter ended." By acting in this manner, Ireton conciliated the inhabitants of Limerick, and they listened more readily to those who went about insinuating that the independents, now securely established in power, were tolerant in matters of religion, and possessed little of the persecuting spirit of their presbyterian rivals. The influence of these representations, joined with the terror of many of the citizens, was so great, that the city had not been closely besieged more than three days before they began to talk of treating. But the bishops and more turbulent of the clergy, who foresaw that they would be included among those excepted from pardon in case of surrender, used their utmost endeavours to counteract all motions for capitulation, and Henry O'Neill revived the spirit of the citizens by his own exertions against the besiegers, and by assurances that relief would speedily be sent by their friends.

The latter had now few troops in the field, and those discouraged and scattered. Lord Muskerry, however, gathered a strong body of men in the county of Kerry, and was hastening towards Limerick, when he was met by lord Broghill. This nobleman commanded a strong force, consisting chiefly of horse, to cover the siege and scour the surrounding country, and he no sooner heard of the proceedings of lord Muskerry, than he marched against them. He passed the Blackwater near a place named Knockna-

clashy, in the immediate presence of the enemy, and met there some Irish gentlemen, under protection, who said that they had come thither out of curiosity, because there was a prophecy amongst them that the last battle in Ireland should be fought at Knock-naclashy, which they imagined now was on the point of being fulfilled. Broghill asked them who, according to the prophecy, was to have the victory, to which, shaking their heads, they replied, the English. Broghill immediately marched over Knocknaclashy against the Irish, who retired before him, until he himself returned, in the belief that they would not risk a battle. But they suddenly turned, and fell upon his rear, and the battle was accidentally fought on the very spot indicated in the prophecy. The Irish were much superior in numbers, and fought with obstinacy, but they were at last routed with great slaughter, and pursued to such a distance from the field, that it was not possible to collect them again in any considerable body. When the intelligence of this victory reached the camp before Limerick, Ireton ordered three volleys to be fired by his whole army in triumph.*

The garrison of Limerick, under O'Neill, continued still to make a resolute defence, and, in sallies, killed many of the besiegers. The season of the year moreover was now approaching when the severity of the weather, and the consequent sickness in Ireton's army, would probably compel him to raise the siege. But there was still a strong party among the citizens who wished to treat with the parliamentarians, and these were countenanced by the magistrates, a number of whom assembled tumultuously, resolved on treating, and declared their intention of agreeing to any exceptions that might be made of particular persons. The bishops were alarmed for themselves; they declared loudly, that to treat was nothing less than to deliver them up to slaughter, and they placed on the church doors bills of excommunication against all who joined in such impious courses. But these had now lost their effect, and colonel Fennell, the same who had yielded up the pass of Killaloe,

placed himself at the head of a tumultuous body of soldiers and citizens, and seized upon two of the principal gates, where he was supplied with ammunition by the mayor. He there turned the cannon on the town, insisted on capitulating, and sent commissioners to Ireton. The latter immediately granted terms, by which the soldiers of the garrison were to lay down their arms and march out unmolested, and as many of the citizens as liked were to be permitted to remove with their effects. Thus was Limerick surrendered on the 29th of October. It was computed that not less than five thousand persons had died in the city during the siege, chiefly of the plague. Thirteen hundred soldiers marched out according to the articles of capitulation. Twenty-four persons, including the popish bishops of Limerick and Emly, with others of the clergy, and some of the citizens who had been most violent in supporting the faction of the nuncio, were excepted from pardon. The bishop of Limerick escaped; but among those executed were the bishop of Emly, Wolfe (the friar who had raised the tumult to oppose the entrance of the marquis of Ormond into the city), and colonel Fennel, who was tried for several murders that were laid to his charge. Geoffrey Browne, who was returned from Brussels, also fell into Ireton's hands, and was put to death. O'Neill was tried by a court martial, and condemned to death; but Ireton was with difficulty prevailed upon, at the expostulations of some of his officers, to agree that he should be spared.

Sir Charles Coote had, in the mean time, obtained some successes over the Irish, and he marched into the county of Clare to join Ireton, who, having appointed sir Hardness Waller governor of Limerick, left that city on the 4th of November to proceed against Galway. Clare surrendered without opposition, and from thence Ireton sent his summons to Galway. The citizens, in their first alarm, were on the point of capitulating, when Ireton caught the infection which then prevailed throughout Ireland, and of which he died at Limerick on the 26th of November.

* "There are many things observable of this battle," says Coxe, "besides what is already mentioned. 1. That it was the last battle that was fought in that war, according to the Irishmen's prophecy. 2. It was as fair a day, both before and after the fight, as ever was known; but during all the time of the conflict, there was as great a storm of thunder, lightning, and rain, as had happened in many years before. 3. That amongst the baggage

were taken a peck full of charms; some of which had it thus written upon them, 'This is the print of our lady's foot, and whoever wears it, and says twenty-one Ave Marias, shall be free from gun-shot.' And the like charms were to free them from pike or sword, as the party desired it. And lastly, that a bold horse of the lord Broghill's being twice wounded in this battle, became afterwards so cowardly, that he was fit for nothing but the coach."

The people of Galway now resumed their courage, and, having taken general Preston as their commander, they applied to lord Clanrickard for assistance, who immediately repaired to them, and summoned a meeting of the nobility, gentry, and prelates, to meet in that city, to concert measures of defence. Ludlow, who had been appointed to the chief command by the parliament's commissioners in Dublin, prepared to join with Coote in advancing upon Galway at the commencement of spring. During the winter he issued strict orders against supplying the enemy with arms or provisions, proclaiming all enemies who remained in their quarters, and threatening with the utmost severity all who, having once submitted, should withdraw from protection.

In the dismay which now spread among the Irish, multitudes submitted daily, and it was evident to all that their cause was at its last gasp. In February, when Coote and Ludlow drew near to Galway, the assembly met there, prevailed upon Clanrickard to follow the example of an assembly previously held in Leinster, and offer a submission in the name of the nation. This was refused; and the Irish were told, that those who would capitulate could be admitted only to treat for themselves, or for the towns and places under their command. In the midst of these accumulated disasters, the clergy continued to talk of renewing the original confederacy, and pursued their seditious practices against the marquis of Clanrickard and his authority, as though there were no enemies to alarm them. Everything was thus thrown into confusion at the moment of greatest danger; Preston fled by sea from Galway, and on the 12th of May, 1652, the citizens, without even consulting Clanrickard, surrendered to Ludlow almost at the first summons.

The Irish war might now be considered at an end, as the Irish no longer held possession of any place of importance. Roscommon and Jamestown, the latter celebrated as the scene of the conspiracy of the prelates against the marquis of Ormond, had been surrendered to Reynolds on the 27th of April; and of all the Irish garrisons in Munster, one only held out, that of Ross, a castle on an island in a lough in the county of Kerry, which was looked upon as by its position impregnable. But Ludlow caused a small ship to be made, and carried over the mountains; and it was no sooner, to the great astonishment of the Irish, set afloat

in the lough, than the castle surrendered. Clanrickard still made head in the north, and, being joined by some forces raised in Ulster, he made himself master of the castles of Ballyshannon and Donegal; but they were recaptured, and he was driven to take shelter in the isle of Carrick, where he made conditions with the parliamentarians, and was allowed to reside some time in their quarters, with permission to transport himself and three thousand Irish soldiers into the service of any prince at amity with England. But it appears that he did not live to carry into effect the last part of the agreement.

The war in Ireland was now virtually at an end, and to the government was left only to seek out and punish those who had shared in the crimes which distinguished the commencement of the rebellion, and to distribute the spoils. Ludlow's appointment to command the army of Ireland was but temporary, and the parliament of England was now occupied with the question of nominating a successor to Ireton. The choice fell on Lambert, who was preparing for his departure, when a new question was brought under debate, which seemed to alter his prospects. Cromwell still held in his own person the higher office of lord lieutenant, but his commission of three years was soon to expire, and some proposed that it should be renewed instead of sending Lambert as his deputy. They probably wished to remove Cromwell from the scene of political intrigue, at a moment when great changes were evidently in progress; but Cromwell, who had his own designs, declared his wish to be relieved of the burthen. He said that he was of the opinion of those who thought the title of lord lieutenant belonged rather to a monarchy than to a republic, and he proposed that the office of lord deputy should be alone retained, and that that should be conferred on Lambert. This gave rise to a new debate, and the parliament finally rejected even the smaller title of lord deputy, and decided that Lambert should have no higher title than that of commander-in-chief of their forces in Ireland. As Cromwell probably foresaw, Lambert took offence, and refused to accept the command, which was given to Fleetwood, who had recently married Ireton's widow, and had thus become Cromwell's son-in-law.

Fleetwood landed in Ireland towards the end of August, and found the war nearly extinct, and the Irish everywhere submitting to the parliament. Two acts had been

passed in England which were now to be put in effect; one for confiscation of all the lands of rebels, the other for adjusting the claims of adventurers and vesting them with their Irish estates. The rebels themselves were divided into two classes; those who were accused of having taken part in the atrocities which marked the commencement of the rebellion, and who, if convicted, were declared incapable of pardon, and their estates were entirely confiscated; and those who had only assisted in the war, who were to forfeit two-thirds of their estates and be banished from Ireland. Among those who were excepted from pardon for life and estate, were the marquis of Ormond, the earl of Roscommon, lord Inchiquin, and Bramhall, the protestant bishop of Derry.

Fleetwood held the supreme command of the army, but in the civil government he was associated with four commissioners of the parliament, Edmund Ludlow, Miles Corbet, John Jones, and John Weaver, who remained generally at Dublin. They began their administration by erecting a high court of justice to try those who were accused of having taken any part in the massacres, the horror of which was still fresh in people's memories, and was kept up by political pamphlets and other popular publications. Commissions to hold courts of this sort were sent to various provinces, and the first was held at Kilkenny, on the fourth of October, in the same building which had formerly served as the house of session of the supreme council. So many, however, of the authors of those outrages had been cut off in the course of this long war, and so many had perished by pestilence or fled their country, that not more than two hundred persons were found guilty throughout the whole island. Lord Mayo, in Connaught, was convicted of having ordered the massacre of the English, at Shrute, on the 13th of February, 1642, and he was shot on the 15th of January, 1653, although the evidence which made him a party to the massacre was not of the clearest or most unexceptionable kind. Colonel William Bagnal was similarly condemned and executed in Leinster. Lord Muskerry was brought to trial on the charge of having murdered several Englishmen, but he was honourably acquitted, and allowed to embark for Spain.

These inquisitions brought again into note one of the personages who, after acting a most prominent part in the beginning of the war, seemed to have disappeared entirely

from the stage, until now he unexpectedly reappeared. This was Phelim O'Neill, who had continued to act an inferior part, without honour or credit, till, in the last extremities of the power of the catholics, he had raised a small force, and rendered some assistance to the marquis of Clanrickard. After having experienced repeated defeats from the English, O'Neill was obliged at last to conceal himself in a retired island, whence he was dragged forth by lord Caulfield, the heir of the nobleman of that name who had been murdered by O'Neill's followers, and, as was said, by his orders, at the commencement of the rebellion. Phelim O'Neill was tried at Dublin, and he neither deserved nor obtained mercy. But, as it had been said, that he acted under a commission from the king, and that he had shown that commission to his followers, an attempt was made to induce him to avow the truth of this allegation. He confessed having made use of such a commission, but he asserted that it was forged by himself, and that he had never received any commission or order from the king. He said that when he seized the fort of Charlemont, he found there a patent with a broad seal attached to it, and that he had caused the seal to be detached from it, and fixed to a pretended commission which had been written under his dictation in the king's name, and he produced in court the man who had been employed to stitch on the cord of the seal. The judges were still not fully satisfied, and repeated attempts were made to induce him to confess further, for which purpose his execution was delayed for some time, and a promise was made to him that he should be restored to liberty and to his estate if he produced sufficient proof that he had received such a commission from the king; but he persisted to the last, and upon the scaffold, when he was privately appealed to for a statement of the truth, he stood forward and said aloud, "I thank the lieutenant-general for his intended mercy; but I declare, good people, before God and his holy angels, and all you that hear me, I never had any commission from the king for levying or prosecuting this war." Phelim O'Neill was the only one who suffered in Ulster.

On the 26th of September, 1653, it was publicly declared, in a proclamation by Fleetwood and the parliament's commissioners, that the rebellion was subdued, and the Irish war ended. The parliament thus came into the possession of a country wasted

and depopulated to an extraordinary degree, with the great mass of the land entirely at its disposal. Every exertion was made to supply the necessity of the moment, and alleviate the misery consequent upon such a long struggle, by allowing grain and cattle to be transported from England free of duty, and by raising money to succour the wounded and disabled, and the widows and children of the slain. The army which had served under Cromwell and since his departure, was paid off in grants of forfeited lands. In this manner a moiety of nine principal counties was distributed, and the other moiety was given to the adventurers, who had contributed money for carrying on the war. A portion of lands in Wicklow was all that was reserved for those who had struggled on against the rebellion before the arrival of Cromwell, and had been neglected since. Connaught was reserved entirely under certain qualifications to the Irish, who were to be transported thither from other parts of the country, and they were to confine themselves within the Shannon, so as not to interfere in any way with the new English settlers. They were to be kept in awe by a circle of strong English garrisons. The counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork, with all the lands of bishops, deans, and chapters, were reserved by parliament to be afterwards disposed of at their pleasure. Courts were established at Dublin and

Athlone, to hear and adjudge claims which might interfere with the rights of the new proprietors, that by settling these, the latter might be relieved from the fear of future litigation. They had also to determine the qualifications of the Irish who were to be transplanted into Connaught, and the allotments of land to be given to them; and such questions, with others which came equally within their jurisdiction, gave rise to disputes and jealousies, which rendered these courts slow in operation. It was thus that much time was wasted in unprofitable discussions, before the new plantations were regulated. In the middle of these difficulties, intelligence arrived of the revolution in England, which placed Cromwell at the head of affairs, under the title of lord protector. Fleetwood and the army zealously supported the new order of things, but they had to contend with the opposition of many fanatics and violent republicans who had been sent over with employments into Ireland; and it was not without much difficulty that the commissioners and principal officers who formed a sort of council, resolved, by a majority of one voice, to proclaim the protector. Ludlow, whose violent republican zeal was wounded by Cromwell's seizure of the supreme power, resigned his office as a commissioner, and retained only his command as lieutenant-general of the army.

CHAPTER XVIII.

IRELAND UNDER THE PROTECTORATE; PREPARATIONS IN IRELAND FOR THE RESTORATION.



IRELAND might now be said to be subdued much more correctly than that term could ever be applied to it before. The sincere republicans looked upon it as in every respect a conquered country, regarding

its population as papists and barbarians, whom it was their duty to treat with severity, if not to exterminate, and they looked chiefly to the division of the spoils. Cromwell had to contend with some of the most obstinate of the violent republican party, who had been placed in influ-

ential posts in Ireland, but as he gradually overcame these, his own policy was here, as elsewhere, conciliating and indulgent. The period of the protectorate was one of peace, and much was done with the view of healing the wounds of the civil war.

Cromwell's first step towards this end, was to send his son Henry into Ireland, to sound the dispositions of the army, and to reconcile men's minds to the new form of government. On men like Ludlow he made little impression, and he returned with a full conviction of the necessity of removing the violent republicans from all share in the

government. He saw that the commissioners of trust misgoverned the country, that they were intent only on furthering their own interests, and that their only acts were orders for the distribution of lands, in doing which they defrauded the state by reserving large portions for themselves. He beheld the misery which the bitter animosity of the English settlers against "Irish papists" was bringing on the country, the universal desolation of the latter, and the absence of all justice from the courts of judicature. The first struggle with the republicans arose out of the election of members for parliament. By the new constitution of the government, the three kingdoms were consolidated into one state, and were to be represented in one parliament. Ireland was to be represented by thirty members, and the commissioners, when consulted on the best manner of carrying the election into effect, suggested that the country was not yet reduced to the settled condition in which a free election would be safe, and recommended that the thirty representatives should be summoned to parliament by writ. Ludlow expressed great indignation at this attack upon popular liberties; he had withdrawn himself from the councils of government, but he now came forward again, and exhorted the commissioners not thus shamefully to resign the substantial rights of freemen, showing them at the same time, how little was really to be apprehended from the elections if carried on without restraint. Fleetwood yielded to these exhortations, and appointed the number of members to be returned by the counties and cities, and, by the influence and directions of the commissioners, most of the persons nominated by them were elected. After this service had been effected, Cromwell, acting probably on the recommendations of his son Henry, put an end to the authority of the parliamentary commissioners, and appointed Fleetwood lord deputy for three years, assigning him a new council to assist in the administration.

Cromwell's designs for the amelioration of the condition of Ireland now began to be developed. He sent the council written instructions for the improvement of the interests of the commonwealth in Ireland. The council were, in the first place, to suppress idolatry, popery, superstition, and profaneness; to encourage godly and gifted ministers of the word; and to execute the laws against the scandalous and malignant. This phraseology, which was required by

the spirit of the time, was sufficiently general to admit of very wide interpretation and explanation; but under Cromwell's officers, it appears not to have been enforced with rigour. They were further instructed in general terms to provide for the advancement of learning, and to attend to the revenue with diligence and economy. Other articles of Cromwell's policy showed, more especially, consideration to the natives; and Fleetwood's council was authorized to dispense with the orders of the late parliament and council of state for transporting the Irish into Connaught, if it should be considered advisable for the public service. The violent republicans in Ireland, who were on the watch for every occasion to agitate against the protector, exclaimed against the indulgence shown towards the Irish, whom they regarded only as the worst of rebels and papists. They represented the new form of government as a return towards a monarchical power. They encouraged the discontent of the army, caused by the protracted delay in putting them in possession of their portions of the forfeited lands, which the favour shown to the Irish made them fear to lose altogether; and their representations, joined with a rather extensive feeling among the soldiery in favour of a democratic republic, had so much effect on the army in general, that when Cromwell sent orders for the recall of a detachment into England to strengthen him against some attempts of the royalists, the soldiers mutinied, and refused to march, exclaiming that they had been raised to fight against Irish rebels, and not against their friends in England.

The protector was provoked at this rebellious feeling, and determined immediately to suppress it. Pamphlets had been printed and distributed in Ireland, inveighing fiercely against the new government in England, and some of them were ascribed to Ludlow, who was now generally regarded as the chief leader of the malcontents. Cromwell wrote to Fleetwood, directing him to require Ludlow to surrender his commission, and, if necessary, to send him prisoner to England. But the sturdy republican refused to obey, and declared that he would only give up to a free parliament what he had received directly from the parliament. After much discussion, he was induced to promise that he would go to England and present himself before the protector, and that in the mean time he would commit no act against his

government. But now apprehensions appear to have arisen in Cromwell's mind from the effects of Ludlow's presence in England, and he dispatched express orders for detaining him in Ireland. Shortly afterwards Ludlow's regiment was disbanded, as a step towards diminishing his influence.

Henry Cromwell was now employed again as a military officer, to exert the spirit of conciliation in smoothing the turbulence of the English soldiery in Ireland. He found them discontented and refractory, and ready to join in any violent measures dictated by the republican agitators; but his amiable qualities gradually gained upon them, and he reconciled them effectually to the interests of his father. From 1655 to 1657, Henry Cromwell held the post of commander-in-chief of the army, and was assisted in governing Ireland by three commissioners, Matthew Tomlinson, Miles Corbet, and Robert Goodwin, to whom was afterwards added William Steel. On the 17th of November, 1657, the sole government of Ireland was placed in the hands of Henry Cromwell, with the title of lord lieutenant. The period of his rule was distinguished only by the quiet and gradual progress of improvement, and Ireland seemed to be returning to peace and prosperity. In 1655 the corporation of London was again put in possession of the county and city of Londonderry, which had been granted to them by James I., and had been violently torn from them by his successor, in consequence of a not very just sentence of the odious star-chamber.

The death of Oliver Cromwell opened a field for new intrigues among all the political parties which still existed undiminished in zeal or animosity. At first Richard Cromwell received the strongest assurances of support from Ireland, and his brother, Henry Cromwell, was confirmed in the office of lord lieutenant for three years. Richard Cromwell summoned the thirty members chosen to represent Ireland, to attend his parliament. This was the occasion for a new dispute with the republicans, who, knowing that these thirty members were devoted to the present form of government, protested against them, and insisted that the ancient law of the land should be observed in the election of an Irish parliament. The court found this opposition much greater than was anticipated, and they only prevailed over it with difficulty. It was evident that a great change was impending, and the

party out of power was beginning to prepare for it. The agitation was soon increased by the arrival of sir Charles Coote, with the news of the dissolution of Richard Cromwell's parliament, and of the intrigues at Walingford House. Henry Cromwell exerted himself with the utmost vigour to preserve the country in peace, and to support the power which had been raised by his father, but which was now escaping from the grasp of his family. His exertions were soon put an end to by the restored rump parliament sitting in London. He sent some proposals relating to the civil and military government of Ireland for the consideration of the council of state, which referred them to the parliament. The latter seem to have resolved on taking up the consideration of Irish affairs exactly where they had been left before the election of Cromwell to the supreme power. They passed some resolutions for the benefit of the adventurers and soldiers, and then determined that the government should be again entrusted to commissioners. Henry Cromwell was recalled; Ludlow was again appointed commander-in-chief of the army; and two of the original commissioners, John Jones and Miles Corbet, with Matthew Tomlinson, and major William Bury, were given him as colleagues in the administration.

The conduct of Henry Cromwell in these circumstances was, in every respect, honourable and dignified. He declared to Fleetwood, "that although he could not promise so much affection to the late changes as others very honestly might, because he could not promote anything which inferred a diminution of his late father's honour and merit, yet he had such a tenderness for peace as to be content with the present government; and, therefore, thought it his duty to prevent those fears and jealousies which might give occasion to interrupt the public peace, by resigning his charge to any one whom they should send to receive it." In spite of this declaration, the new commissioners, who feared his abilities and his known popularity in Ireland, came prepared to take possession of their authority by force, and sir Hardress Waller was employed to surprise the castle of Dublin. But he was admitted at once without opposition, and Henry Cromwell, who had ruled Ireland with so much integrity, that he had not laid by sufficient money in his private purse to defray the expenses of his voyage to England, retired to a house in the Phoenix park.

Ireland, thus withdrawn from the protectoral government of the house of Cromwell, became immediately the field of a new struggle between the republicans and the royalists.

Among the most active of the latter, though they worked as yet only in secret, were the lord Broghill and sir Charles Coote, who possessed respectively great influence in the south and north. Broghill, according to his own account, had exerted himself to the utmost to support Richard Cromwell in power; but, on his deposition by the rump parliament, he retired to Ireland for his own safety. There he was looked upon with the utmost suspicion, and he and sir Charles Coote were among the officers of the army dismissed by the commissioners on account of their suspected leaning towards the royalist party. Broghill now proceeded more resolutely in his intrigues to promote the restoration of Charles II., and Coote, who had been a parliamentarian chiefly from motives of interest, was led by similar feelings to follow the same course. Broghill's own account of his proceedings on this occasion will be best given in the words of his biographer.* "Soon after this," he says, "the council of state, which the army had set up, sent seven commissioners to look after the affairs of Ireland, viz., Steel, the lord chancellor, Ludlow, sir Hardress Waller, &c., who were ordered in their instructions to have a particular eye upon lord Broghill, and to take any occasion of securing him; he being the only person they imagined might practise against their government. Lord Broghill, seeing how things were, and finding that all former methods of bringing back the king had failed, and his lordship having a considerable power in his hands, and being well beloved in Munster, and respected elsewhere; likewise seeing the usurper's power now breaking, if not broken; thought it best to get over all or most part of the army in Ireland to his majesty's cause, and therefore his lordship sent to Monk in Scotland to join with him in the design. Lord Broghill had the greatest command in all Munster; and sir Charles Coote (afterwards earl of Montrath) had a great power in the north, and so had Monk in Scotland. But while he was busied with these thoughts, there came a summons to him from the new commissioners, for the government of Ireland, to appear speedily

before them at the castle of Dublin. His lordship's friends all advised him not to go up, but to stand upon his defence. But my lord not knowing his own strength, durst not break out yet into open defiance, but resolved to take with him a troop as a guard. When his lordship came to Dublin, he left his troop in the suburbs of that city, and went to the commissioners to know what their pleasure was. He happened to meet chancellor Steel first, who, by way of kindness, told him in private that the government were jealous of him; and though he could not tell the particulars they would charge him with, yet he thought in the general they would require him to give in good security not to stir against their government, and therefore desired him to be wary. His lordship thanked the chancellor, and went away. The next day the three commissioners met in council, and sent for lord Broghill to come before them. His lordship obeyed their commands, and, when he was come, they all told him plainly, that the state was jealous that he would practise against their government, and therefore they had orders to secure him, either by confinement or special bonds; but because he had carried himself worthily in subduing the Irish, and was a man of great interest and honour, they thought it just to send for his lordship without confining him, to desire security that he would not practise anything against their government. Lord Broghill asked them what security they required? They answered, that as he had a great interest in the province of Munster, they desired he would engage that no commotion should arise there; or if his lordship would not enter into that engagement, they must desire him not to take it amiss if they confined him to the castle. My lord quickly apprehended the snare that was laid for him, and therefore desired some time to consider of their proposals. But they replied, they could give him no time. My lord then asked them, whether they would give the sole power of all Munster into his hands, so as he might be able to punish offenders, and suppress any who offered to rise in arms; but if they would not allow him that power, it would be impossible for his lordship to be accountable for those over whom he had neither power nor command. On the other hand, if they would invest him with that power, he would engage to be

pher, which is marked by such evident inaccuracies, that little faith can be placed in it.

* His private chaplain, Thomas Morrice. I have not made much use of the narrative of this biogra-

accountable to them for the province of Munster. This motion of his lordship's mightily surprised the commissioners, who desired him to withdraw a little to the next room, till they had considered of it; and after some consultation they resolved to dismiss him, only requiring a general promise upon his honour that he would live peaceably and quietly. So, when his lordship was called in again, the chancellor, in the name of all the rest, told him that they had considered of what his lordship had offered, and would not put any engagement upon him; but, as he was a man of honour, they would trust him, without requiring any more from him than what they did from other officers, viz., that he should do what he could to keep the province quiet. Thus they dismissed him, and in a few days his lordship returned to his own house in Munster; where he no sooner arrived, but he employed all his interest in carrying on his former project, of making a party for the king's restoration; and to that end sounded all his own officers, who were desirous and earnest for it; and then dealt with others who were not immediately under his command. And his lordship having now secured all Munster, he sent trusty messengers to sir Charles Coote, to engage him to do in the north the same that his lordship had done in the south; which he readily undertook, and accomplished; with which good news lord Broghill immediately despatched a letter to the king, then at Brussels, by his lordship's brother, the lord Shannon, inviting his majesty to come into his kingdom of Ireland, and land at Cork, assuring him that he should there be received, and that he had got all the army of the south, as sir Charles Coote had that of the north, in readiness to declare for his majesty. Lord Shannon embarked in Cork haven for Flanders, and in a little time arrived at Brussels, and presented the letter of invitation to the king, who received it with great joy, and gave immediate directions to have all things in readiness for his transportation; which in four days was done, and his majesty was just taking horse to come to Calais, in a disguise, in order to his going to Ireland; but in that moment letters came from England with such prosperous accounts as put a full stop to his journey to Calais."

Meanwhile Broghill was drawn by the almost indiscreet zeal of sir Charles Coote into action sooner than he had himself intended. On the dissolution of the rump

parliament, Ludlow was recalled to London, and colonel John Jones and the other commissioners were appointed to command the forces in Ireland. Jones and his fellow-commissioners supported the temporary government of Lambert and his officers, and rested in perfect confidence that the Irish army was at their devotion, when Broghill and Coote, who had been joined by lord Montgomery, sir Theophilus Jones, sir Oliver St. George, sir Audley Mervyn, and other men of confidence, determined on a desperate attempt to seize the power in Ireland. Broghill's biographer says they were driven to this step by the certainty that the commissioners had obtained some knowledge of their designs against the government. The chief conspirators assembled at Dublin on the pretext of preventing a petition for a general council of officers to deliver their sentiments on the present state of affairs. The petition was, as they no doubt looked forwards to, rejected. So little was the government prepared for what followed, that they surprised the castle without difficulty, made Jones their prisoner, and seized two other commissioners, Corbet and Tomlinson, as they were returning from a conventicle totally unprepared for resistance. They then declared for a free parliament, a cry which nobody misunderstood. Sir Charles Coote, who was in Connaught, secured the town and fort of Galway, placed a new governor over them, and having collected a strong body, consisting chiefly of the old English who were most attached to the exiled royal family, surprised Athlone, and marched to Dublin, where he impeached Ludlow and the commissioners of high treason. Drogheda in the north, and Limerick in the south, with Clonmel, Youghal, Carlow, and most of the considerable garrisons, were secured by the royalists with equal facility, and they all declared for a free parliament. These events occurred in the month of January, 1660. The council of officers who now assumed the government of Ireland, pretended to consent to a petition of the mayor and aldermen of Dublin, and executed the design they had previously resolved upon of summoning a convention of states.

These proceedings gave the greatest alarm to the council of state in England, which ordered the convention in Dublin to be dissolved, and threatened to proceed vigorously against the conspirators. Ludlow proceeded to Dublin by sea, in the hopes of reducing

the conspirators to obedience to the then ruling powers, but, instead of listening to him, the council of officers made an attempt to seize him. Aware of his danger, instead of venturing on shore, Ludlow went to Duncannon, and from thence attempted to gain over the commanders of several garrisons by his letters. But his efforts proved vain, and Ludlow was recalled to England by the influence of Monk over the parliament.

The officers in Dublin meanwhile paid no attention to the orders which came to them from England, but they publicly declared their abhorrence of the proceedings of the republicans since the English civil war, and especially of the judgment and execution of king Charles. They then proceeded to secure the army, and being provided for the payment of its arrears, they boldly published their declaration for a full and free parliament. These proceedings, however, met with opposition from sir Hardress Waller, who, himself a confirmed republican, was alarmed at the rapidity with which events were marching to the restoration of the monarchy. He had sat as one of the judges on the king's trial, and had everything to fear from the change which seemed now approaching. He had been admitted to the council of officers, and took part in their debates; and when they were preparing a violent remonstrance to be transmitted to the English parliament, he made an artful proposal that the council should remove its sitting into the castle. This motion was rejected, for the officers suspected with good reason that it was a mere contrivance to effect the seizure of their persons. Defeated in this plan, Waller and some of his partizans seized upon the castle, and proclaimed openly their intention of arresting the officers, and bringing them to punishment for their rebellion against the government. The conspirators were for a moment thrown into consternation, until sir Charles Coote and sir Theophilus Jones, mounting on horseback and riding through the streets and shouting out for a free parliament, so far worked upon the passions of the multitude, that a tumultuous multitude followed them to lay siege to the castle, which, after five days' resistance, was compelled to surrender. Waller was sent a

prisoner to England, along with the commissioners Jones, Corbet, and Tomlinson.

Having thus succeeded even beyond their expectations, the conspirators began to give way to divisions among themselves, lord Broghill heading a party who wished, in restoring the king, to stipulate for a confirmation of estates to the adventurers and soldiers, while his more impetuous companion, sir Charles Coote, headed another party who insisted on receiving him without any previous condition. The dispute might, under other circumstances, have been productive of disastrous consequences to the cause in which they were both embarked. But they had no outward enemy of any force to contend with; and Broghill, fearing that his caution and coldness might injure him with the king's party, which was now evidently victorious, gave into the opinion of Coote, that the interests of the nation should be submitted to the king without restriction. On the seventh of February, the convention met, with sir James Barry for their chairman. Its first act was to order a fast and humiliation for the sins of the people, among which was enumerated the "murder" of the king. On the 16th of the same month, the council of officers published their declaration for a full and free parliament, with the re-admission of the excluded members in England; and the convention published a similar declaration on the 12th of March. The body of the nation now caught a flame of loyalty, and nothing was heard but the voice of exultation for the prospect of a speeded restoration of the royal power. A few violent fanatics on one side, and some of the old Irish, with their popish primate on the other, alone ventured to declare against the king. The declaration of Breda was accepted by a vote of the convention, on the 14th of May; and king Charles was proclaimed with every demonstration of joy in all the great towns of Ireland. By another vote, the convention presented twenty thousand pounds to the king, four thousand to the duke of York, and two thousand to the duke of Gloucester; and then it adjourned till the first of November, leaving a standing committee to govern the nation in the meantime.

BOOK VI.

IRELAND FROM THE RESTORATION TO THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER I.

DIFFERENT PARTIES AND INTERESTS ARISING OUT OF THE RESTORATION; DECLARATION AND ACT OF SETTLEMENT.



THE hasty and incautious manner in which the restoration had been effected in Ireland, opened a wide field for factious contention. Those who had benefited by the events of the interregnum, were the men to whom the king owed his restoration, while a large proportion of those who had been losers were the old and tried friends of his family. They were each divided into a number of lesser parties and interests, all jealous of one another, and eager for their own exaltation. But the two great factions opposed to each other with feelings of most acrimony, were the old Irish catholics, who had been wholly or partially deprived of their lands in consequence of their rebellion, and the English protestants whose services had been rewarded with allotments of the lands thus forfeited, or, in other words, the soldiers and adventurers. The Irish party, overlooking their own acts and very dubious allegiance in the late wars, considered themselves only as the royalists, and they looked upon the others as mere rebels who had gained their ascendancy for a while by the murder of their king. The English looked upon the Irish with a feeling of contempt as rebels against the state, and papists in religion; and, with the advantages arising from possession, they pleaded their present services in restoring the king.

The Irish, as they had done on so many occasions before, injured their cause by their own violence. Always sanguine in temper, they never doubted for a moment that the king would restore them to all they

had lost; and, impatient of delay, and eager to enjoy their triumph, they waited no process of law, but, even before the king had been proclaimed, many of them re-possessioned themselves of their patrimonial lands by force, and drove out the new settlers. So early as the month of May, 1660, these turbulent proceedings had become so general, that the convention was obliged to issue, on the 20th of that month, a proclamation against them. These outrages were eagerly seized upon by the English, who represented them as, and perhaps thought them, the preludes to a new rebellion, and the Irish catholics were looked upon with suspicion and treated with rigour. Agents, sent from the protestant party, carried to England aggravated reports of their conduct and designs, so that, before the king landed, the act of indemnity was so prepared as to exclude all who had had any hand, not only in plotting or contriving, but in aiding or abetting, the Irish rebellion which had commenced in 1641, and lasted under various forms during more than ten years. This amounted, in effect, to an exclusion of the whole Romish party from grace; and the feeling which dictated it was so strong, that it was with some difficulty those who framed the act would admit an exception in favour of the marquis of Ormond and the other protestants of Ireland, in the clause which provided that the act should not extend to restore to any persons the estates disposed of by authority of any parliament or convention. On the other hand, the severe ordinances against the Irish catholics made under the rule of the protector and parliament, were executed with rigour; they were not allowed to pass from one province to another; many of them, on suspicion of disaffection, were thrown into

prison; their letters were intercepted; and they were forbidden to hold meetings together. On the king's arrival at London, he was immediately assailed with apprehensions of a rebellion in Ireland, and, upon representations from parliament, he was induced to publish a proclamation for apprehending and prosecuting all Irish rebels, and commanding that adventurers, soldiers, and others, should not be disturbed in the possession of manors, houses, or lands forfeited by the Irish, until evicted by process of law, or till further order should be taken therein.

It was evident that at present the protestant party had gained possession of the royal ear; but that party was itself divided into shades and fashions. The convention and their agents who attended at the English court, anxious to secure, against all risks, the interests of the soldiers and adventurers, pressed for the immediate appointment of an Irish parliament, which they knew must be composed entirely of their own friends. The king, who was not yet at leisure to consider so many difficulties, replied that a parliament should be called in due time. It was, however, necessary to make immediate arrangements in several matters relating to the Irish government, and especially with regard to the church. The king yielded to the request of the convention, that all inappropriate and forfeited tithes and glebes in the king's disposal might be granted to the clergy, and that all escheated lands exempted from the payment of ecclesiastical dues might hereafter be made liable to them; but it was necessary to know what was the church and who were the clergy, for the presbyterians were strong, especially in the north, and some of their ministers had obtained possession of churches in Dublin and the surrounding country. These petitioned the king earnestly that their form of church government might be established in Ireland, and they were supported by a large body in the army, who also were preparing a petition.

The episcopalian clergy were alarmed at these proceedings, and sought the protection of the marquis of Ormond, who represented to the king that episcopacy and the liturgy were still part of the constitution of Ireland, and persuaded him to fill up the ecclesiastical preferments of that country with men of worth, learning, and zeal for the established church. The want of a great seal—the new one had not yet been prepared—was the cause of some delay in making

out the patents for these new preferments, and the prelates could not therefore be immediately consecrated. This delay was ascribed by the opponents of episcopacy, who seem to have still placed some confidence in Charles's former declaration in favour of the covenant, to the king's secret scruples, and their agents were busily employed in getting up a new petition, which was drawn up and promoted by the officers of the army. The Irish government, which on the king's return had been nominally placed in the hands of Monk as lord lieutenant, and lord Roberts as deputy, was in reality exercised, they being absent in England, by two officers with the title of commissioners of government, who were sir Charles Coote and major William Bury, and to these the petition was referred to be sent over to England. Coote, who seems to have had no conscientious scruples to hinder his full conformity with the ruling powers, was in favour of the episcopal church, while Bury, who was inclined to the presbyterians, countenanced the petition. But, fortunately for the former party, when the document was closely examined, it was found to contain some expressions, which the petitioners had in their zeal for the presbyterian form of church government inadvertently adopted, betraying a secret aversion to monarchy; and these, when pointed out by Coote, so much alarmed major Bury, that it was agreed, without further discussion, the petition should be suppressed. Thus ended the hopes of the presbyterians. At the end of the year the Irish administration was transferred to three lords justices, who were the lord chancellor sir Maurice Eustace, lord Broghill, who had now been created earl of Orrery, and sir Charles Coote, who had been raised to the peerage with the title of earl of Montrath. Their appointment was immediately followed by the consecration of twelve bishops, which was performed in St. Patrick's church in Dublin, on the 27th of January, 1661, with so much pomp, that it was looked upon as a public triumph over the presbyterian party, as it was a proclamation of the establishment of the episcopal church in Ireland. The presbyterians were not, however, entirely discouraged by this defeat, and religious disputes and divisions among the protestants themselves continued for some years to add to the difficulties of Irish politics. But it was the struggle for power between the two great parties of the old Irish and the new

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