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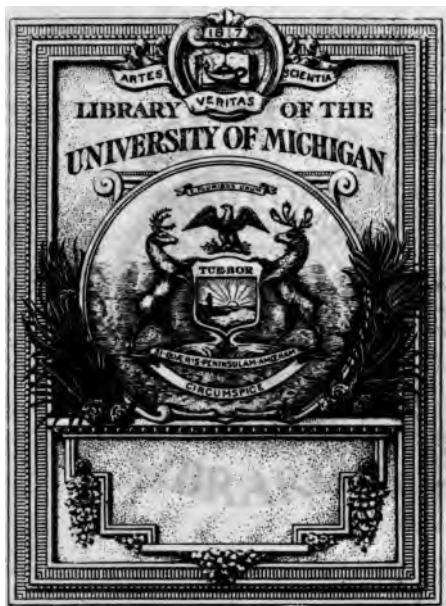
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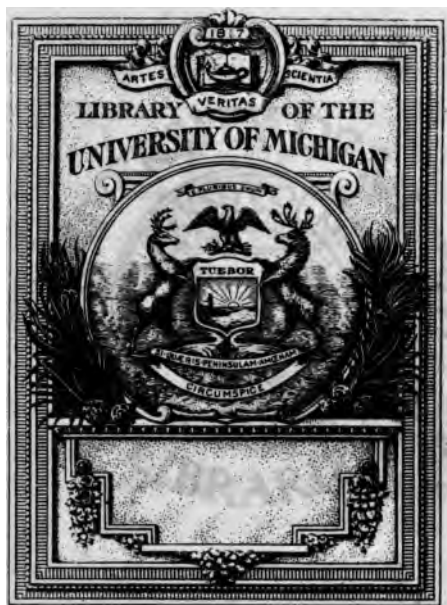
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THE  
**EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN'S**  
**MEMOIRS;**

OR, HIS

**REVIEW**

OF THE

**Civil Wars in Ireland;**

WITH HIS OWN

**ENGAGEMENT AND CONDUCT THEREIN;**

CONTAINING ALSO AN

**APPENDIX AND POSTSCRIPT.**

ENLARGED AND CORRECTED BY HIMSELF.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

**HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE AUTHOR'S FAMILY AND LIFE;**

COMPILED FOR THIS EDITION.

**Dublin:**

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## PREFACE,

THE noble author of the following MEMOIRS lived in times wherein the generality of men have written as desperately as they fought; rather conformably to the dictates of their passions and party-interest, than to those of justice or reason. His lordship viewed those times in all their horrors; more terrible, indeed, than those of *Rome*, in the days of *Cicero*, when all the laws of common equity were woefully marred, public justice wantonly insulted, and the *best* citizens of the republic despoiled and butchered by the *worst*. Why affairs wore still a worse aspect, during our civil contests, is not hard to be accounted for. In *Rome*, truth was neither gagged nor fettered: *through the want of our ecclesiastical materials*, it could not be proscribed or interdicted, like those who laid down their lives in defence of it. *Sylla* and *Cæsar* had the infamy of triumphing over the republic; but history, even in their own days, triumphed *over them*, and did justice to *their opposers*: tyranny was established; but posterity had the satisfaction, and it was their own fault that they did not take the advantage, of *seeing* by what follies, of *marking* by what arts, and of *feeling* by what vices, their fathers were reduced from a state of freedom to a state of servitude and thralldom. The case was quite the reverse in the days of my lord *Castlehaven*: indeed, for a whole century *before* his time, and *since*, it hath been mostly so. Men in power, who improved every species of political evil to the aggrandizement of party, by which they triumphed and prospered, lent their authority for stamping the basest untruths into currency,

and whilst some facts were *too glaring* to be controverted, this stern authority stepped forward to sanctify them, and to ascribe the perpetration of the most wicked acts to the highest efforts of virtue and patriotism : nor was this all ; it bound up the *pens* of historians, as effectually as it disarmed the *hands* of those it ruined ; and whoever had virtue enough to call the acts of this authority in question, (*for no man, or party, could call it to account ;*) was reputed equally criminal with those, who were deepest in the rage and civil wars of the times. This conduct of men in power my lord *Castlehaven* saw, and experienced, in his own case : he found it much more cruel and detestable in the case of others, *not excepting that of his lawful sovereign.*

To examine into the causes which rendered the *Roman* proscriptions *less malevolent* than *ours*, would be edifying : Their *ends* were the *same*, no doubt ; but the *means* were different. In the *one case*, an advantage could not be taken, which lay open in the *other*, for punishing the writers of history. In *Rome*, no set of men in power *could call religion to their assistance* ; or pretend, that the miseries of the times were owing to their *heterodoxy of parties* : this, in part, saved *Rome* : but in the *Britannic Isles* the case was otherwise, as before observed ; and men grew *truculent and bloody*, in proportion to the *heat of their zeal*. Here it was advanced, *audaciously* advanced, that the fanaticism of *this*, and the superstition of *that* mode of worship, nay, the heterodoxy of *both*, occasioned the calamity of the times : this was far from being the truth of the case. In fact, it was owing primarily to the ambition of men, who made their *several religions* bend to their *secret principles* ; instead of making *those principles* yield to what religion prescribed : for no religion (no *Christian* religion, I hope) ever licensed the commission of moral evil in the world. But indeed, when this religion

of the gospel, or rather the faulters of this or that scheme of faith, began to defend the grossest impieties, by giving *good names to bad things*, and causes the *most laudable* to effects the *most wicked*, and all this under the sanction of theological systems; then, and then only, was the mass of civil rage fermented, beyond any degree which *heathen* violence, in the worst of times, could afford.

If these truths were sufficiently adverted to; if it were considered how much mankind have been *embittered and wasted*, by the translation of power from *one* religious party to *another*, much peace, much humanity, would ensue; much ignorance would be obviated, and error (worse than ignorance) would vanish: the quarrels about religion would be mostly at an end. Instead of labouring our whole lives to detect the errors in the religion of *others*, we would seriously and usefully employ part of the time in the detection of those in *our own*; an examination extremely wanted, but, I doubt, equally remote; if we wilfully acquiesce in the fallacious conviction, that *our own* containeth no heterodox articles; such a conviction is really the more productive of evil, as it *infers* that infallibility so boldly claimed in the Church of *Rome*.

Let us now apply these truths to the subject of the following *Memoirs*; a civil war kindled in the heart of our country, and carried on to all the extremes of seduction and violence!—That *in the neighbouring Isle* began *first*; and, if it did not lay the train here, it at least applied the match which fired it off. My lord *Castlehaven*, like a judicious historian, lays the cause of *ours* in the perpetual animosities between the *English* and *Irish*, ever since the first settlement and hostilities of the *former*, in the reign and under the conduct of *Henry II.* He saw, how little the submission of the *old Irish* to the *English* government availed

them ; how, for *four hundred years before the reformation*, no laws, nor constitution of civil polity, was allowed them, notwithstanding their frequent solicitations for the same, *from the PLANTAGENET race* ; how, during that *long period*, they have been devoted to all the calamities of anarchy and slaughter ; how, in the reign of *that worthy monarch JAMES I.* (the first of the *Stuart* line) the *innocent* were confounded with the *guilty*, (if any guilt there was,) and six entire counties confiscated from them, and planted with colonies from the *Lowlands of Scotland* ; finally, how the governors here, in *lord Castlehaven's* own time, (*PARSONS* and *BORLASE*,) sought *every means*, and defended every act, which might force such exasperated spirits into rebellion ; how *these governors* took occasion to frighten those men with the terrors of extirpation, by threatening unheard-of violence to their consciences ; and how industriously all avenues of redress, all approaches to the royal presence, were, for a considerable time, rendered inaccessible to this devoted people. Thus was the war declared ; and thus were hostilities begun ; when a party in the *North*, headed by a few of the dispossessed gentry, began very violent acts, in *November, 1641*, and soon after entered the *English pale* ; warranted for so doing, (as they thought,) not only by the violence offered them by the governors, but by the example of the *Scottish fanatics*, who invaded *England*, in the year before : with this difference, however, that *they* took up arms *for the Monarchy* ; which the *others*, by a *solemn covenant*, resolved to *overturn*. That these insurgents were guilty of cruelties unwarranted by honour, or humanity, or religion, is certain ; and that they, who *exasperated* them into all this, were the *true authors* of all the bloodshed on both sides, is equally so. In such a tragedy, the party, who hath the *least* power to offend, suffers the *most* : the confederate Catholics, who detested these barbarities, and who, in truth, hated their

*Irish* brethren, (from the feuds of former times,) suffered by the massacre more than the insurgents themselves, whose outrages were confined only to a few counties, not to the whole kingdom, as my lord *Clarendon* very *unfairly* (to give it the softest epithet) represents them.

The time is approaching, when the entangled threads of these affairs will be wound up, in one straight clew of true history: until that arrives, the *memoirs* of the noble and excellent peer before us must be a valuable present to the public.



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HISTORICAL NOTICES

OF THE

AUTHOR'S FAMILY AND LIFE.

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**JAMES TOUCHET**, Earl of *Castlehaven* and Baron *Orier*, in *Ireland*; and Baron *Audley*, of *Heleigh*, of *Staffordshire*, in *England*, the author of the Work here presented to the public, deduces his origin from a long line of illustrious ancestors, deservedly ennobled for their valorous achievements and invariable loyalty to their legitimate sovereigns, and for their steady adherence to the religion of their forefathers. By the records of *Battle Abbey*, it may be seen, that *Touchet* was one of those *Norman* chiefs who, in 1060, attended *William* the Conqueror, and assisted that fortunate adventurer in wresting the crown and sovereignty of *England* from *Harold*, by the decisive overthrow at *Hastings*. The family name evidently points out the place of its residence; as *Touchet* (pronounced *Toochay* by the *French*) is still a cognominal town of some note two leagues south of *St. Mortain*, in the department of *La Manche*, which includes the western district of ancient *Normandy*. This town is not to be confounded with another place and name, nearly similar in sound, called *Les Touches*,



about six leagues to the east of *Nantes*, in *Bretagne*, whence the infatuated fury of religious intolerance expatriated the venerated and benevolent family of the *La Touches*, about the commencement of the last century, and caused them to seek an asylum in *Ireland*.

*Orme*, or *Ormus Touchet*, the progenitor of lord *Castlchaven*, was, with many other *Norman* chieftains, allowed princely possessions, whereon to build fortresses in the *English* shires, immediately bordering on *Wales*, for controlling or subjugating the valorous *Cambrians*, who, for many centuries, were in a state of hostility with those *Norman* invaders. *Orme's* children, *Matthew* and *Hugh*, signalized themselves so, in those *Cambrian* contentions, that they obtained many grants in the subsequent reigns; whereby this *Matthew's* grandson endowed the abbey of *Leicester*, with the lands of *Essewell*, and other donations.\*

*Henry Touchet*, the third in descent from the above *Matthew*, obtained from *Nicholas de Verdun*, a chieftain of great power, who died in 1232, among other landed possessions, the manor of *Aldetheleigh*, *Alidethely*, *Aldethley*, or (as at last softened down by oral utterance) *Audley*, which has since remained in the family. It is situated in *Staffordshire*, and with the manor of *Heileigh*, *Hethley*, or *Helley*, in the same county, *Red-castle*, in *Shropshire*, and many other large landed estates

\* Collins's Peerage, which by collation with the Testa de Neville, &c., will be found in many particulars erroneous.

in the conterminous districts, the spreading branches of the family have hitherto enjoyed. Of both the above counties *Henry* was sheriff from 1216 to 1220. To this *Henry*, also, Sir *Hugh de Lacy*, earl of *Ulster*, made large grants of lands in *Ireland*, through whose influence *Henry's* son, Sir *James de Aldethly*, or *Audley*, was lord justice of *Ireland* in 1263,\* or, according to *Harris*, in 1270.

*William de Audley*, the grandson of *Henry*, was in great estimation at the court of *Edward I.* For his services in the *French*, *Scotch*, and *Welch* wars, he obtained additional grants of lands in various shires from the crown. In this chieftain's time it was, that Pope *Boniface the Eighth*, perverting the sense, and wresting the texts of the Gospel to favor his own ambitious purposes, attempted to usurp the power, and vest himself with the sovereign authority, as well in temporals as in spirituals, over all the monarchs of *Christendom*. For this purpose, he sent forth his briefs to the kings of *France*, *Scotland*, and among the rest, to *England*. *Edward*, the then king of *England*, convened his nobles, and answered *Boniface's* brief, "denying the Pontiff's jurisdiction over temporal matters in his realms of *England* and *Scotland*, adding withal, that he, and his barons and subjects, were determined to defend, with all their might, the liberties, customs and privileges, of their country and ancestors."† This answer from the

\* According to a MS. genealogy in the possession of P. L. the Compiler of this Life. † Rymer's *Foedera*.

Roman Catholics of *England* in that dark age to *Boniface*, still on record, is signed by the king and barons, and among the rest, by “*William Touchet*, “lord of *Lewenhales*.”

To the succeeding branches of this family the princes of *England* were equally bountiful till the time of *Henry VII.* when *James*, lord *Audley*, joined the *Cornish* men in their insurrection against that prince, for which *Audley* suffered decapitation, on *Tower-hill*, in 1497. In 1533, however, *John Touchet*, his son, was restored to his dignity and estates of *Audley*, by *Henry the Eighth*.

This nobleman's grandson, *George Touchet*, baron *Audley*, after serving long in campaigns on the continent, where he was of such consequence as to be made governor of *Utrecht*, came to *Ireland*, and was wounded at the battle of *Kinsale*, December 24th, 1601.

For his singular services while residing in *Ireland*, and through the influence of Sir *James Marvyn*, or *Mervyn*, of *Fountell*, in *Wiltshire*, whose daughter, *Lucy*, lord *Audley* married, he experienced his sovereign's bounty in a particular manner. In the 3d year of *James the First's* reign, lord *Audley* obtained a grant in perpetuity, and common soccage of extensive farms and townlands in the counties of *Wexford*, *Kildare*, *Tipperary*, *Carlow* and *Cork*. “The scite, &c. of “the late priory or monastery of the Blessed “Lady of *Connall*, in the county *Kildare*, with its

“ churches, rectories, chapels and tithes ; the late  
 “ monastery or manor of *St. Evinus*, alias *Rosglass*,  
 “ in same county, with all the tithes of the lands  
 “ thereto belonging ; the preceptory of *Clonnel*,  
 “ with tithes in county *Tipperary* ; the scite of  
 “ the late monastery or carmelite friary of *Laugh-*  
 “ *linbridge*, with all appurtenances, spiritual and  
 “ temporal, in the county of *Carlow* ; the scite  
 “ of the late priory of *Roscarbrie*, alias *Roshilla-*  
 “ *rie*, with the rectorial tithes of *Roscarbrie*, &c.”\*

Also in the eighth year of that reign, his lordship being then privy counsellor, obtained an additional “ grant of 500 acres in the barony of  
 “ *Orier*, in the county of *Armagh*, and to his lady  
 “ and self 2000 acres in same county, with 3000  
 “ in the county of *Tyrone*, to hold to the heirs of  
 “ their bodies, remainder to his heirs. The lands  
 “ in the county *Armagh*, created the manor of  
 “ *Stawbridge*, with 600 acres in demesne ; and the  
 “ lands in county *Tyrone*, created the manor of  
 “ *Hcly*, with 900 acres in demesne ; a power to  
 “ create tenure, and to hold courts-baron, &c.”  
 His children also partook of the royal dispensations, as we find that Sir *Mervyn*, his son and heir, had “ a grant in 1610 of 2000 acres in  
 “ county *Tyrone*, created the manor of *Stowry*, with  
 “ 600 acres in demesne, a power to create tenures,  
 “ and to hold a court-baron.” And Sir *Ferdinando*, his younger son, received 2000 acres in same county, “ created the manor of *Touchet*, with 600

\* Lodge's MS. Collections from the Rolls, &c. in the Record Tower.

“ acres in demesne, a power to create tenures, and  
 “ to hold a court-baron, &c.”

To Sir *Mervyn*, his heir, lord *George Audley*,  
 “ in consideration of £500 per annum during his  
 “ own and lady’s life, made over his whole estate  
 “ in *Ireland*, with all his lordship’s stock of cattle  
 “ and corn, and his chattles, &c. &c. excepting  
 “ only all his utensils and household stuff, one  
 “ coach, and harness or furniture for horses, mus-  
 “ kets, callivers, powder, arms and other ammu-  
 “ nition, a brown bay horse, lately bought from  
 “ Sir *Mervyn Touchet*, two colts lately brought  
 “ out of *England*, a hunting gelding, a pyde  
 “ mare, bought of *Henry Gynes*, and a black  
 “ gelding, with certain cattle bought of *Edward*  
 “ *Blount*, Esq. and Sir *Mervyn* further agreed to  
 “ pay to Sir *Ferdinando Touchet*, knight, second  
 “ son of the said lord *Audley*, an annuity of 100  
 “ marks, *English*, in the *Middle Temple-hall, Lon-*  
 “ *don*; and after his lordship’s death, to make  
 “ over to Sir *Ferdinando*, his heirs and assigns,  
 “ lands in *England* or *Ireland*, to the clear yearly  
 “ value of £100.”\*

In fine, *George*, lord *Audley*, was, by patent,  
 of the 14th year of *James I.* dated 14th *February*,  
 1616, raised to the dignity of an *Irish* peer, and  
 created earl of *Castlehaven*, in the county *Cork*,  
 and baron *Orier* in that of *Armagh*. His lordship  
 was also made governor of the barony of *Omagh*,

\* Anno Svo. 5ta. pars dorso Rot. Jac. 1mi. See MSS. in Record Tower.

in the county *Tyrone*. For which appointment the reasons are set forth in the patent, which are that,

“ The barony of *Omagh*, county *Tyrone*, being  
“ very much haunted and frequented with thieves,  
“ robbers, wood-kerne, and other loose and lewd  
“ people, which did not only hinder the civil  
“ plantation of that barony well begun by *George*,  
“ earl of *Castlehaven*, but did also annoy and in-  
“ fest the whole country round about ; the king,  
“ for the repressing of them, from time to time,  
“ thought fit to appoint a special commander in  
“ and over the said barony, and to arm and  
“ strengthen him with a special and extraordinary  
“ authority. And for as much as the said *George*,  
“ earl of *Castlehaven*; having an estate and interest  
“ in the greatest part of that barony, and altoge-  
“ ther residing there, his majesty thought him the  
“ fittest person to have such a special authority  
“ granted unto him for his service in those parts,  
“ and appointed him his majesty’s special governor  
“ and commander of, and in the said barony of  
“ *Omagh*, by patent, dated 14th *February*, 1616.”\*

By lady *Lucy Mervyn*, lord *Audley* had two sons, *Mervyn* his heir, and *Ferdinando*, both knighted by king *James*, and five daughters ; the second of whom, *Eleanor*, was married to Sir *John Davis*, knight, his majesty’s attorney general in *Ireland* ; and the fifth or youngest, named *Christiana*, to Sir *Henry Mervyn*, knight.

\* 14 J. 1. S. p. d. R. 19. MSS, ut Supra.

Sir *Mervyn Touchet*, knight, succeeded to his father's titles in 1608, and married, first, *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress to *Benedict Barnham*, alderman of *London*, by whom he had three sons and three daughters, viz. *James*, his heir; *George*, who became a Benedictine friar; and *Mervyn*, who succeeded to his brother *James's* titles and estates; Sir *Mervyn's* daughters, by his first wife, were, *Lucie*, *Dorothy* and *Frances*.

Sir *Mervyn*, lord *Audley*, next married *Anne*, eldest daughter of *Ferdinando Stanley*, earl of *Derby*, and widow of *Grey Bruges*, lord *Chandos*.

Amongst the most heinous, shocking and enormous crimes that ever disgraced or degraded the human character, none stands on record so debasing, disgusting and detestable, as those perpetrated by lord *Audley* in his unnatural behaviour to this lady, and to his youngest daughter *Lucy*. Parents have ever been the genuine guardians of their childrens' morals; but *Audley* compelled his daughter, at the innocent age of 13, to prostitute herself to the embraces of his servant. Husbands have ever been protectors of their wives' chastity, but *Audley* aided his repugnant servants in forcing his consort to violate her chastity in his own bed. This monster, to fill up the climax of his iniquitous life, instead of cohabiting with his fair lady, kept up an unnatural connexion with his own male servants. For all these unmanly enormities, he was taken up in *Wiltshire*, brought

from the goal of *Salisbury*, the chief town of that county, to the *Tower*, tried by his peers, and on the evidence of his daughter, wife, and four servants, whom he excited to those execrable crimes, was beheaded on *Tower-hill*, May 14th, 1631. Two of those infamous panders to this mad monster's unnatural passions, able-bodied men, who might have resisted, or run away, (as might his consort too,) *Brodway* and *Fitzpatrick*, were convicted on their own depositions at his trial, and suffered death soon after.

*James Touchet*, his son by the first wife, succeeded to his *English* and *Irish* titles of *Audley* and *Castlehaven*. Soon after which, we find that he had a grant from *Charles I.* which states that, "In performance of certain agreements, made 22d December, between *James*, earl of *Castlehaven*, lord *Audley*, late deceased, who was attainted of certain felonies, and *Richard*, earl of *Portland*, high treasurer, *Francis*, lord *Cottington*, chancellor of the exchequer, as also in execution of a decree of the court of exchequer, in a certain affair between the attorney-general on the king's part, and the said, now earl; and that the said earl may be the better able to support and maintain himself and his wife *Elizabeth*, (daughter of *Grey Bruges*, lord *Chandos*) whom at the king's instance he had taken again, and the issue they should have, a grant was made to said *James*, earl of *Castlehaven*, and his heirs, in 1608, of the estates, lands, advowsons, &c. in the county of *Wilts*, county of *Dorset*, &c. in *England*, and in the



" county of *Cork*, &c. in *Ireland*; and his heirs of  
 " the manors, capital houses, &c. of *Compton-*  
 " *Basset, Whitcombe, Bishopstrove, &c.* in *Wiltshire*;  
 " manor of *Stalbridge*, and advowson of its church  
 " in *Dorsetshire*, &c. and of *Dods-Castle*, 6 caru-  
 " cates of land; *Castle-manor* and island of *Rosstrene*,  
 " with 9 carucates thereto belonging; *Castlehaven*  
 " castle with *Horse Island* and 9 carucates; *Ross*  
 " priory or *Ross-Carberry* mansion-house, with a  
 " moiety of the impropriate rectories of *Beerehaven*,  
 " *Cape Cleare, Keel-coe* and *Affadowne*, and all the  
 " estate, whatever, of his late father, attainted, in  
 " the aforesaid premises, to hold to him and to his  
 " heirs by the same rents, services and tenures, as  
 " they were held before said attainder.—*Anno nono*  
 " *Caroli primi.*"\*

Respecting the time of lord *Audley*, our au-  
 thor's birth, mode of education, or conduct during  
 his juvenile days, few are the notices handed down.  
 From the style and phraseology of his *Memoirs*, it  
 is evident he was educated in *France*, whither  
 we must suppose him to have been sent on his  
 father's second marriage, in order that he should  
 have no control over his unnatural conduct to his  
 family. *France*, at that time, was in a state of  
 internal rebellion. In 1620 began the nine years  
 civil war with the *Hugonots* in that distracted  
 country. In these our author was instructed in  
 the art of war, to which he was particularly at-  
 tached. He came home and married early in life.

\* Vide MSS. in the Record Tower, *ut supra*.

His consort, *Elizabeth*, was daughter of *Grey Bruges*, lord *Chandos*. Whether she was the step-daughter of *Elizabeth*, his father's lord *Audley's* second wife, who was widow of lord *Chandos*, the writer cannot determine. But from the above grant of king *Charles*, it is evident that our author and his lady were not upon the most happy terms of conjugal felicity, as it is therein expressly asserted, that "*it was at the king's instance he had taken her again*"—an interference which indicates, that our author and she were previously to that in a state of separation; by her, however, he had no issue.

After his father's ignominious end, our author, now lord *Audley* and *Castlehaven*, lived mostly on the continent, as an active officer in the service of such of the belligerent powers as were in alliance with his own monarch. That his character in the military line was held in estimation, is evident, from king *Charles's* writing expressly for him to *Rome*, in order to attend him in his expedition against the rebellious *Scots* in 1638. The royal army our author joined at *Berwick-on-Tweed*, it consisted of about 16 or 17,000 men, "of the finest "and best appointed in Europe." What oceans of blood would have been then prevented by his majesty, had he not there agreed to a pacification with the *Scots* rebels? How easy then would have been the conquest and subsequent subjugation of an army of "10 or 12000 horse and foot, of "which the *Scottish* forces were then composed?"

the twentieth man of which, says *Audley*, " would not have passed muster among any armies he had since seen." A decisive blow at that time would have frustrated the designs of the Puritans in *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, and kept himself from decapitation.

After this impolitic pacification with the *Scotch* rebels, our author " passed the time as well as he could till 1640," when his extreme fondness for military operations stimulated him to go to the continent, where he volunteered into the allied army, then confederated against *France*. This war, however, soon after the surrender of *Arras*, a place bravely defended by *Owen Roe O'Neill*, till compelled to yield for want of supplies, was terminated by a treaty of peace, between *Charles* duke of *Lorrain*, and the *French* king, 29th *March*, new stile, 1641. After this our author returned to *England*, and attended parliament there, till lord *Strafford's* execution. Finding the tide of politics against royalty, and the puritanic faction growing daily more powerful, he withdrew to his estates in *Ireland*, and fixed his residence at *Maddenstown*, a few miles south of the town of *Kildare*.

As the earl of *Leicester* was, at that eventful period, made lord lieutenant of *Ireland* on *Wandesford's* decease; to the state of that unhappy island the distracted situation of *England* at the time prevented his lordship from paying the least attention. Sir *John Borlase*, and Sir *William Par-*

sons, therefore, the unprincipled abettors of *Stratford's* unconstitutional measures, as being members of his council, were now vested with the delegated power of lords justices. Those time-serving adventurers now adopted the creed and politics of the puritanic faction of *England*; they thirsted after *Irish* estates, and anticipated, by embracing the parliamentary side, the general confiscation of *Irish* loyalists' property. Towards obtaining this end, a rebellion was absolutely necessary. This actually broke out in the north of *Ireland*, in two months after *Castlehaven's* removal thither. The parliament was then sitting, and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his lordship and other loyal peers and commoners of both houses, it was then prorogued, and their offers to quell the few insurgents then in arms in the north, disdainfully rejected by the justices, who were often heard to say, "the greater the rebellion, the more abundant would be the forfeitures." His lordship, after repeated application to the lords justices, with a proffer of his services to put down the insurgents, was at last informed by them, that though an *English* man, yet as a papist, he was unfit to be trusted even with arms to defend his own house.

*Castlehaven's* mansion at *Maddenstown*, was then an hospitable asylum. The duchess of *Buckingham*, earl of *Antrim*, and many loyal personages, both Catholic and Protestant, fled there for refuge. To the protection afforded them by his lordship, the Protestants bore ample testimony after, by their voluntary affidavits,

Whoever recollects or reads the various transactions of the partial insurrection of 1798, in this country, will easily form an idea of the sufferings of innocent persons in 1641. Exercising the works of mercy, expressions of sympathizing pity for a fellow-creature innocently suffering under the torture, nay, the mere indulgence of remaining neutral, and being spared by the rebels; such were the frivolous criterions of judging of mens' loyalty, and the sure causes of being brought to the torture, or hanged or shot. Sir *John Read*, an *English* officer of his majesty's privy council, for his interference, and daring to take a petition to his majesty, from the Catholics of the pale, was put to the rack on the 23d of *March*, 1641, being the day after *Hugh M'Mahon's* torture; at the same time *Patrick Barnewall*, a venerable gentleman of 66, notwithstanding his having a safe conduct from *Ormond* and Sir *W. Parsons* himself, was, on his arrival at the castle, submitted to the rack, though his innocence was subsequently acknowledged by the justices themselves.

Lord *Castlehaven*, by an act of hospitality toward *Ormond*, after his victory near *Kilrush*, near *Maddenstown*, over lord *Mountgarret's* forces, was now the subject of puritanic persecution. His mediation for the Catholic lords of the pale for leave to petition the throne, and his requesting permission for himself to leave the kingdom, were his greatest crimes. He was privately indicted for high treason. On having intimation of

this procecdure, he immediately presented himself before the lords justices, who, having no evidence, (for they only expected by those means to frighten him, as they did many others, and force him to become a rebel,) and on his pressing to be tried, resolved, after some debate among themselves, that he should be confined to the house of Mr. *Woodcock*, sheriff of *Dublin*. While here, he petitioned, remonstrated, and justified his conduct—yet all in vain. They would not even admit him to bail.

Still hanging, racking, and barbarous treatment, recruited the ranks of rebellion, with numbers of the most loyal subjects. The judges from the bench delivered, as part of their charge, “that the jury must not be over scrupulous, as common fame was evidence enough to find a bill of indictment.” No mode was left untried to find evidence against his lordship. One *Bird* being examined before Sir *Robert Meredith*, yet not answering their expectation, on being asked his religion, answered, that he was a Protestant, “Oh!” replied Sir *Robert*, “by thy answers thou seemest to have a little of the Pope in thy belly.” After being repeatedly remanded from the inns to the castle, “where the inhumanity of *Manwaring* the gaoler, made confinement there a second hell,” his lordship thought it high time to look to himself.

To his own desperate situation he considered a passage in *Strafford's* trial as peculiarly applicable.

*Strafford* insisting on justification of his cause, Master *St. John* replied, that "to hares, deer, "and innocent creatures, laws were to be afforded ; "but, as to wolves, foxes and such, any means "might be adopted for their destruction." This determined his lordship in his resolution, and though "he waved the wolf's malignance, he "made use of the fox's craft and prudence." Contemplating seriously on the state of the country, "that the house of lords comprized no more than "five or six of the old temporal peers, while clerks, "clerksmen and placemen, composed the representatives of the *Irish* commons—that they suspended *Poyning's* law, whereby they freed themselves from the interference or control of the "*English* Privy council." Taking these matters into consideration, he meditated his escape.

A trooper, named *Ledwich*, was left wounded at *Kilrush*. To him his lordship ordered that particular attention should be paid by his domestics at *Maddenstown*. This grateful man constantly came to see his lordship while in confinement. Though of different principles, as to politics and religion ; yet to him his lordship communicated his intention. *Ledwich* engaged to have horses prepared outside the city at a certain hour and place ; which being punctually provided, he came, and with his assistance, his lordship stepping out unperceived by his keepers, mounted the horses, and departed from *Dublin* by the road of *Templeogue* towards *Wexford*. His intention was to go to *France*, but disappointed in

a vessel, he set forward to *Kilkenny*, where he joined the Catholic confederates ; upon considering that the parliamentarians and their abettors here acted as rebels to the cause of his majesty, and shewed, by their execrable conduct, that they looked up " to nothing else than the destruction of monarchy, the establishment of puritanism, and the " extirpation of the Catholics of *Ireland*." Thus, after twenty-two weeks close confinement in *Dublin*, his lordship was made general of horse by the confederates, under *Preston*, their commander in chief.

Sir *Arthur Loftus*, his lordship's seeming friend, as soon as his escape was announced at the Castle, pursued, with what forces he could get, went to *Maddenstown*, and set it on fire, after killing some of the servants, and despoiling the mansion of all its valuables.

With the Catholic confederates he acted from 1642 till the peace with *Ormond*, in 1646, when, availing himself of the king's indulgence, his lordship, for ever after, adhered with inflexible attachment to his majesty's fortune and cause. From *Ireland* he after this set off to *Charles's* court, at *St. Germain's*, and, with his consent, his lordship volunteered into the army then at *Landrecy*, where he distinguished himself, till ordered by his majesty, in 1648, to repair with the marquis of *Ormond* to *Ireland*. Under *Ormond* he acted as lieutenant-general of cavalry, till the total reduction of the island by the parliamentarian forces under *Cromwell*; and, after the surrender of *Galway*, May 12, 1651,



he returned to the continent, and, with his majesty's permission, entered into *Condé's* army against *France*, till the termination of the war.\*

At the restoration, he came to *England*, where he experienced his majesty's protection and bounty, was restored to most of his *Irish* estates, by a decree in the Court of Claims, *May* 15, 1663, and granted also, soon after this, an annual pension of £500, to be paid his lordship, his heirs, or assigns, out of the *Irish* quit-rents, till he should receive at one full and entire payment the sum of £5000. The order for this pension is dated *December* 9th, 1678. By a king's letter to the lord lieutenant, the duke of *Ormond*, in 1679, it was ordered, that the pension, for his lordship's accommodation, should be made payable from the quit-rents of 2297 acres of land in the barony of *Carbury* and county *Cork*.†

Whether from a propensity for a military life, or in order to avoid the storms which threatened those of the Catholic persuasion in *England* and *Ireland* with more calamities, he again took to arms. He entered a volunteer aboard the combined fleets of *Britain* and *France* against the *Dutch*, who, though defeated off *Harwich*, on *June* 3d, 1665, yet came against those confederated navies with renovated vigour on the first of *June*, 1666, and continued one naval engagement for four days. Those me-

\* The above Narrative of his lordship's suffering in *Ireland*, being the substance of his remonstrance, addressed to his majesty *Charles II.* may be seen in "*Desiderata Cur. Hib.*" or in the last edition of *Curry's Memoirs*, which supersedes the necessity of publishing that Tract here.

† *Vide MSS.* in the Record Tower, *ut supra*.

morable testimonials of *Dutch* valour hastened the peace of *Breda*, which was concluded between the grand *monarque*, *Lewis*, Fourteenth, and the other belligerent powers, *July* 10, 1667. His lordship also took an active part in the war which soon after broke out against *France*, when that power invaded *Flanders*. In this campaign he was colonel of an old *English* regiment, towards recruiting which he took over 2,400 *Irish* and *British* with him. In 1673 he again took to the field, and commanded a body of *Spanish* foot, and had also under him ten *Irish* regiments engaged in that service. On marshal *Turenne's* retaking *Bois-le-duc*, and the subsequent surprise of *Comerchy*, his lordship was taken prisoner there, and being presented to *Turenne*, was instantly liberated on parole. This was a few days before the death of that illustrious general, who was killed by a cannon ball, near the town of *Saltzbach*, *July* 27, 1675. After this his lordship continued with the allied army, and distinguished himself, as did also lord *Ossory* and the duke of *Monmouth*, in its various operations of marches, sieges, and battles, till the suspension of arms, and the subsequent peace ratified at *Nimeguen*, *July* 21, 1678.

From the machinations of *Shaftsbury*, and the party who wished to excite another persecution against the Catholics of *England*, by the fabrication of Popish plots, pretended conspiracies, and meditated assassinations, lord *Castlehaven* came to *Ireland*, and died at his sister's house in *Kilcash*, county of *Tipperary*, *October* 11, 1684.

His lordship dying without issue, was succeeded by his brother *Mervyn*, whose elder brother *George*, being a Benedictine friar, was on that account superseded. To *Mervyn*, lord *Audley*, succeeded his son *James*, who, dying in 1700, left the titles and estate to his only child *James*, the twelfth lord *Audley* and sixth earl of *Castlehaven*. After his death, his two sons, *James* and *John*, were successively earls, and, the last dying without issue in 1777, the *Irish* title became extinct at the same time.

Our author's three sisters, after their father's ignominious death, and the breaking out of the civil wars in *England*, came to *Ireland*. *Lucia*, the first, after the death of her first husband, *Amptel* or *Anketel*, her father's servant, as before observed, after her coming to this country, married *Gerald Fitzmaurice*, brother to the lord of *Kerry*. *Dorothy*, our author's second sister, was married to *Edmond Butler*, lord viscount *Mountgarret*; and *Frances*, the youngest sister, married *Richard Butler*, brother to *James*, duke of *Ormond*, who then resided at *Kilcash*,\* near *Carrick-on-suir*.

Lord *Audley* is one of those who was rather necessitated to become an author. Amongst the writers that aspersed the conduct of the Catholics in *Charles* the Second's reign, there were some who traduced the character, and misrepresented the

\* This venerable mansion, for so many centuries the magnificent residence of the Butler family, and attractive theme of travellers and tourists, was prostrated in 1800, and the materials sold for a trifling consideration to Mr. James Power, a merchant in Carrick-on-suir, by Lord Ormond, the present representative of that once princely family !!!

motives of his lordship. Against those calumnies he was compelled, in vindication of his conduct, to draw up a brief memorial, addressed to his majesty. In 1680, according to Harris, or, as in the postscript to the appendix, in 1683, there appeared a duodecimo volume, entitled, *Memoirs of James, Lord Audley*—his engagement and courage in the wars of *Ireland*, from 1642 to 1651, published in *London*. This being a surreptitious edition, without the author's permission or corrections, and it being animadverted upon by lord *Anglesea* and other party writers, his lordship prepared a copy of the work from his manuscripts, which he published under the title of *Castlehaven's Memoirs; or, Review of the Civil Wars of Ireland*, enlarged and corrected, with an Appendix and Postscript, printed in 8vo. *London*, 1684. Of the *Memoirs*, thus corrected, there was a small edition, consisting of but a few copies, printed by JER. CALWELL, at the Bible in *Broad-street, Waterford*, in the year 1753. Some years before the publication of the above, his lordship wrote a small tract, entitled, "A short and true Account of the material Passages in the late War between the *English* and *Dutch*." This was of the duodecimo size, and printed in *London* in 1671.

The horrid massacre of the Protestants in the escheated counties of *Ulster*, and the sanguinary wars which continued without much intermission during the ten subsequent years, form a most important and interesting epoch in the history of *Ireland*; and though not more than 174 years have

elapsed since that calamitous event happened, yet, notwithstanding the multiplicity of accounts of the transactions of that period, both in print and manuscript, few can be depended on as impartial, authentic or true. *Temple, Petty, Clarendon, Cox, Bortase*, and numerous other writers, in books, pamphlets, and anniversary sermons, have minutely detailed, and pathetically described, the sufferings of Protestants at that time. Thirty-two folio volumes of manuscripts of *attested* affidavits on that subject are still preserved among the archives of Trinity College; yet most of those accounts are considered by *Nelson, Carte, Warner, Gordon*, and numerous other unprejudiced Protestant authors, as partial, exaggerated and untrue. With regard to the number of unhappy sufferers on this calamitous occasion, what misstatements and misrepresentations! "From 150,000 to 30,000, and less," says Mr. *Gordon*, "have the numbers been conjectured by historians. A calculation by *Warner*, whose history of this rebellion is FULL, FAITHFUL, AND FOUNDED ON POSITIVE EVIDENCE AND STRICT INQUIRIES, rose only to about 4000 slain by violent hands, and 8000 by ill usage. Massacres were also committed," continues the same honest historian, "by troops employed against the rebels; and, doubtless, many thousands by indiscriminate carnage, suffered for the guilt of others. Both parties inflicted and sustained inutterable calamities—and the posterity of both ought so to profit from the experience of recorded events, as to live in

“ that Christian unity, without which neither of  
“ them can be happy.”\*

Respecting the causes that predisposed the Catholics of *Ireland* to this rebellion, lord *Castlehaven's* statement is considered, by all unprejudiced writers on *Irish* affairs, to be luminous, circumstantial and concisé. After that proem he begins his narrative of the various military movements of the confederated Catholics' armies, under *Preston*, himself, and *O'Neil*, against *Ormond*, *Cromwell*, and *Ireton*, &c. His lordship, however, principally confines himself to the relation of those skirmishes, sieges and battles, in which he was personally engaged. He also gives a summary account of the proceedings of the supreme council and Catholic assembly in *Kilkenny*, during the time of his being associated to that body. In the short appendix and postscript with which the work concludes, his lordship takes a short, yet comprehensive view of the wars between *France* and the powers confederated against her—his lordship's observations on the defects of an army—the want of union among generals—the difficulty of commanding a cordial co-operation of confederated forces—the dangerous consequences of insubordination among soldiers, will, in this awful crisis of military evolutions, be found both interesting and important. In the narration of all those transactions in which he was personally engaged, his lord-

\* Vide page 412 of vol 1, of the “ *History of Ireland*,” by Rev. JAMES GORDON, of Boro-lodge, co. *Wexford*, &c. &c.

ship speaks of himself with the utmost diffidence, modesty and reserve. These Memoirs have therefore been held in estimation by all unbiassed historians since, as a candid, clear, and comprehensive statement of the civil and military transactions of that period.

At a time so eventful of sudden revolutions as the present, the perusal of this work will be particularly useful for avoiding the errors of our ancestors, and the recurrence of similar disasters among our countrymen, whose magnanimous conduct, in their military career on the continent, has gained them the admiration of surrounding nations.

May the omnipotent enlighten our rulers, to cultivate our union, to invigorate our national spirit, and to establish and continue to our descendants the solid blessings of liberty and peace.

*P. Lynch,*

Sec. Gael. Soc. Dubl.

No. 16, GREAT SHIP-STREET,  
APRIL 14, 1815.

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*Testa de Nevill*, mentioned in page x of this Life, is the title of two very ancient M.S. books in the *English Exchequer*, containing inquisitions, grants, &c. from 1228 to about 1350. From these, abstracts have been made and published under the auspices and inspection of the Record Commissioners of England, instituted in 1800 by his Majesty. A similar commission was appointed here in 1810, with power to employ persons properly qualified for the preservation, arrangement, transcription, indexing, &c. &c. of the public Records of *Ireland*—and also for printing such documents as may be found necessary. Already have above 16 royal folio volumes from *British Records* been published in *London*; where also a volume of similar size from our *Irish repositories* has been printed; thus, by the co-operating labours of those two boards, facilities never before enjoyed, will be afforded not only to the legal profession; but also to literary gentlemen in general, for illustrating and ascertaining, as far as our records reach, the history, topography, and statistics of the *British isles*.

THE  
EARL OF CASTLEHAVEN'S  
MEMOIRS,

OR HIS

*Review of the Irish Wars.*



**OF** all the practices used of late to involve the nation in a general combustion, and once more to set us all together by the ears, as nothing is more unchristian, so none can be of more dangerous consequence to the public, than the peoples' rubbing up old sores, and reproaching one another (when they promise to reform, and become peaceable subjects) with their past crimes, or the names of parties and factions, to keep the breach still on foot. It



has always been so destructive of the peace and quiet of all commonwealths, that there can be no hopes of a lasting settlement, while this animosity continues. Hence it was, that immediately upon his majesty's most happy restoration, it was thought of absolute necessity by the representative wisdom of the nation, by king, lords and commons, to pass an act of oblivion of all crimes till then committed; and by certain penalties to stop the peoples' mouths from using any words of reproach, tending to revive the memory of their past calamities. But such is the licentiousness of this libelling age, and so great is the malice, and so prodigious the impudence of some wicked men, whose charity extends no further than their interest, that, while themselves are the greatest criminals, they exclaim against others, as unworthy to live. Of this we have several instances in divers books and pamphlets, by them published these forty years past, and some, with no good design, reprinted since these last troublesome times. But they have exceeded all others, and out-done even themselves, in the tragical stories they give us of the *Irish* insurrection in the year 1641, which they have so strangely misrepresented to the world, and, with such fiction and invectives, traduced the whole nation, that

wherever they are believed, an *Irishman* can pass for no other than a monster in nature.

'Tis true, the *Irish* insurrection can never be justified ; and had *they alone* been concerned in such crimes, it were very reasonable and just (if prudence as well as charity did not oblige us to forget and forgive) to have them exposed to the world, and set forth in the blackest colours: but when their neighbour-nations were at least equally criminal, 'tis no more equity in any man to rail against them in particular, than it is prudence in a magistrate to shut up only one house when the plague is universal,

I must aver, I little expect to have any occasion, this time of the day, to speak or write any thing on this subject, when I hoped all was forgiven, and happily buried in oblivion. But finding myself mentioned afresh, not without some new aggravations, by these worthy authors of *slander* and *lies*, as having had a part in the *Irish* rebellion ; though, lest they should do me some justice, they are not pleased to tell how I have been used before I was brought to it, nor how I carried myself while of that party, nor yet what I have since done to expiate my offence, by serving with all possible zeal and

fidelity the late and present king, ever since the peace *there* concluded in 1646 ; I find myself under a necessity to say something in my own defence, setting forth the truth of my story in as brief and plain a method as possible, to obviate the false and malicious calumnies of these *forging scribblers*.

But before I go farther, I must desire the reader to make some difference between the first beginners of the rebellion, and those that afterwards carried on the war under the title of *The confederate Catholics of Ireland*. And to shew what grounds there is for this distinction, I shall here give a short account of the rise and progress of that insurrection, and begin with my conceptions of the motives and inducements, the Lord *Mac Guire*, Sir *Phelim O Neil*, and others, their accomplices, had to enter into that wicked conspiracy.

After the *Scots* had rebelled against the king in the year 1638, though they soon laid down their arms on the pacification at *Berwick*, where I was, yet the fire was but smothered for that time, not altogether extinguished. For in the year 1640 it broke out with greater violence than before, when they invaded *England*,

fought and beat the king's troops at *Newburn*, and, advancing, took *Newcastle*.

On this alarm the king came to *York*, where he assembled his great council of all the peers of the kingdom, amongst whom I was one; and by their advice the treaty at *Rippon* was set on foot, where a suspension of arms was concluded with the *Scots*, on condition to pay them above £25,000 per month, to the great discredit of the *English* nation. All this time the king was importuned with petitions from most counties of *England*, for a speedy parliament; to which his majesty agreed; and having dissolved his great council of peers, he ordered that unfortunate parliament to be summoned, which met at *Westminster*, the third day of *November* following.

Great were the peoples' expectations concerning the resolutions of this new parliament; having in about twelve years before seen none, but that short one of *April* preceding, which, lasting but two and twenty days, spent for the most part in idle preliminaries and declamatory harangues, came not to any issue touching the public affairs of the nation. The king, at the opening of this session, set forth how the *Scots*, without any cause or provocation, came

in an horrible manner armed into *England*, were then gnawing the bowels of the kingdom, and like so to continue, unless speedily prevented by his, and their joint concurrence. In order, therefore, to reduce these gentlemen, he gives both houses all possible assurance of his readiness to concur with them in any thing they could find effectual for settling the peace and redressing the real grievances of his subjects. But this, and many other such gracious condescensions, served only to increase the flame among the factions, who now, instead of voting the *Scotch* army *rebels* and *traitors*, not only stiled them *dear brethren*, but bestowed on them £300,000 for their kindness, and voted Mr. *Gervase Holles* to be expelled the house, for saying, upon their debate, how this money should be paid, "That the best way of paying them was by arms to expel them out of the kingdom." Neither was this all, The *Scots* are no more caressed on the one hand, than the king's ministers and friends are run down on the other; and the more the good king gave way to their madness, and yielded to their most unreasonable demands, in hopes they would at last become sober, and mind their duty, the more insolent and imperious still they grew; as if nothing

but the total subversion of the government could in any measure satisfy their ambition ; which, though they carried smoothly for some time, till they had got themselves first made *triennial* and at last *perpetual dictators* ; and, by sending the bishops to the tower, had robbed their prince of twenty-six votes at once, and of a great deal more by passing the bill of *attainder* ; yet nothing was more visible in all their proceedings, than their ill designs against the monarchy, and thereupon the approach of a sudden rupture between the king and the factious part of both houses.

The Lord *Mac Guire*, Sir *Phelim O Neil*, and others of the *Irish* nation, dissatisfied with their own condition, and consequently weary of the government there, thought this conjuncture very seasonable for their purpose ; and like the ass in the fable (who, by imitating the fawning dog, expected to get into his master's favour, but was soundly bastinadoed for his folly) doubted not, by taking the like method, they should fare no worse than the *Scots*, in the redress of their grievances. And therefore, that they should not lose the advantage of so fair an opportunity, they quickly put their heads together, and concluded that

on the 23d of *October*, 1641, they should surprise the castle of *Dublin*, the chief magazine of the kingdom ; and, upon their good success in that attempt, endeavour to take in the rest. But Providence timely discovered this wicked conspiracy, and the plotters fell into the pit themselves had dug for others : *Mac Guire* and *Mac Mahon* were taken, and, being sent into *England*, were executed at *Tyburn*, and the rest forced to retire into woods and mountains to save themselves from the hands of justice.

Now the *Irish* offered me, while I was among them, several reasons (besides these mentioned) why they would at this time enter into such a horrid combination against their natural sovereign. But these following, I think, are the most considerable.

1st.—They observed, that by the governors of that kingdom they were generally looked upon as a conquered nation, seldom or never treated like natural or free-born subjects : and for their further excuse, said, besides, that a discontented people, while thus used, are very apt to think they are no longer obliged, than they are forced to obedience ; but may, by the same way they had lost, when able, regain their liberty.

2dly.—It grieved them extremely, that, on the account of *Tyrone's* rebellion, as they said, six whole counties in *Ulster* were in a lump escheated to the crown, and little or nothing restored to the natives, though several of them never joined with *Tyrone*, but a great part bestowed by King *James* on his countrymen.

3dly.—It did not a little heighten their discontent, that in the Earl of *Strafford's* time, there was a great noise of entitling the crown to the counties of *Roscommon, Mayo, Galway, and Cork*, with some parts of *Tipperary, Limerick, Wicklow* and others: and, they averred, and experience tells us, where the peoples' property is like to be invaded, neither religion nor loyalty is able to keep them within bounds, if they find themselves in a condition to make any considerable opposition; and so brought in the saying of those resolute ambassadors of the *Privernates*, who, though reduced to such a very low condition, that they came to beg peace of the Senate of *Rome*, yet being asked what peace should the *Romans* expect from them that had broke it so often? they boldly answered (which made the Senate accept of their proposals) *if a good one*, it shall be faithful and lasting; but, *if bad*, it shall not hold



very long. For think not, said they, that any people, or even any man, will in that condition, whereof they are weary, continue any longer than of necessity they must. *Liv. lib. 8.*

4thly.—They found that, since the sitting of this parliament, great severities were used against the Roman Catholics in *England*; and both houses solicited, by several petitions out of *Ireland*, to have those of that kingdom treated with the like rigour, which, to a people so fond of their religion as the *Irish*, was no small inducement to make them, while there was an opportunity offered, to stand upon their guard.

5thly.—They saw the *Scots*, by pretending grievances, and taking up arms to get them redressed, had not only gained divers privileges and immunities, but got £30,000 for their visit, besides £850 a day for several months together. And this precedent encouraged the *Irish* so much at that time, that they offered it to *Owen O'Conolly*, who discovered the design, as their chief motive of rising then in rebellion; which, said he, “ \* They engaged in,

\* *O'Conolly's Exam. Octob. 22. 1641. Borlase's History of the Irish Rebellion, pag. 21.*

“to be rid of the tyrannical government that  
 “was over them, and to imitate *Scotland*,  
 “who by that course had enlarged their  
 “privileges.”

Lastly.—They foresaw the storm draw on, and such mis-understandings daily arise between the king and parliament, as portended no less than a sudden rupture between them, which made these male-contents believe the king, thus engaged, partly at home, and partly with the *Scotch*, could not be able to suppress *them* so far off; and therefore, rather than hold out, would grant them any thing they could in reason demand, at least, more than otherwise they could expect.

Much to this purpose, Mr. *Howel* writ of the original of the rebellion, in his *Mercurius Hibernicus*, in the year 1643, whose words, because an impartial author, and a known Protestant, I will here transcribe, in confirmation of what I have said, and for the reader's further satisfaction.

“The *Irish* hearing, said he, how well their  
 “next neighbours had sped, by way of arms,  
 “it filled them full of thoughts and apprehen-

“ sions, of fear and jealousy, that the *Scotch*  
 “ (than whom no nation upon earth is in that  
 “ perfection, and with greater antipathy hated  
 “ by the *Irish*) would prove more powerful  
 “ hereby, and consequently more able to do  
 “ them hurt, and to attempt ways to restrain  
 “ them of that connivance which they were  
 “ allowed in point of religion. Moreover they  
 “ entered into consideration, that they also had  
 “ sundry grievances, and grounds of complaint,  
 “ both touching their estates and consciences,  
 “ which they pretended to be far greater than  
 “ those of the *Scotch*. For they fell to think,  
 “ that if the *Scotch* were suffered to introduce  
 “ a *new* religion, it was reason they should not  
 “ be punished in the exercise of their *old*, which  
 “ they glory never to have altered. And for  
 “ temporal matters, wherein the *Scotch* had no  
 “ grievances at all to speak of; the new plan-  
 “ tations, which had been lately proposed to  
 “ be made in *Connaught*, and other places;  
 “ the cancelled lands and defective titles, which  
 “ were daily found out; the new customs  
 “ which were imposed; and the incapacity  
 “ they had to any preferment or office in church  
 “ or state, with other things, they conceived to  
 “ be grievances of a far greater nature, and  
 “ deserved redress much more than any the

“ *Scotch* had. To this end they sent over com-  
 “ missioners to attend the parliament in *Eng-*  
 “ *land*, with certain propositions; but they  
 “ were dismissed hence, with a short and un-  
 “ savoury answer, which bred worse blood in  
 “ the nation that was formerly gathered; and  
 “ this, with that leading case of the *Scotch*,  
 “ may be said to be that first incitements that  
 “ made them rise.

“ 2dly.---In the course of human actions,  
 “ we daily find a true rule, *exempla movent* ;  
 “ examples move and make a strong impression  
 “ upon the fancy; precepts are not so powerful  
 “ as precedents. The said example of *Scotland*  
 “ wrought so powerfully upon the imagination  
 “ of the *Irish*, and filled them (as I touched  
 “ before) with thoughts of emulation, that they  
 “ deserved altogether to have as good usage as  
 “ the *Scotch*; their country being far more be-  
 “ neficial, and, consequently, more importing the  
 “ *English* nation. But these were but confused  
 “ imperfect notions, which began to receive  
 “ more vigor and form after the death of  
 “ the Earl of *Strafford*, who kept them under  
 “ so exact an obedience, though some censured  
 “ him to have screwed up the strings of the  
 “ harp too high; that the taking off that

“ Earl’s head may be said to be the second  
 “ incitement to the head of that insurrection  
 “ to stir.

“ 3dly.—Add hereunto, that the *Irish*  
 “ understanding with what acrimony the  
 “ Roman Catholics in *England* were proceeded  
 “ against, since the sitting of our parliament,  
 “ and what further designs were on foot  
 “ against them, and not only against them,  
 “ but even for reversing the Protestant religion,  
 “ which some shallow-brained schismatics  
 “ throw into the same scales with popery ;  
 “ they thought it was high time for them to  
 “ forecast what should become of them, and  
 “ how they should be handled in point of con-  
 “ science, when a new deputy of the parlia-  
 “ ment’s election (approbation at least) should  
 “ come over. Therefore, they fell to consult  
 “ of some means of timely prevention: and  
 “ this was another motive (and it was a  
 “ shrewed one) which pushed on the *Irish* to  
 “ take up arms.

“ Lastly.—That army of 8000 men, which  
 “ the Earl of *Strafford* had raised to be trans-  
 “ ported into *England*, for suppressing the  
 “ *Scotch*, being by the advice of our parlia-

“ ment here disbanded, the country was an-  
 “ noyed by some of those straggling soldiers,  
 “ as not one in twenty of the *Irish* will go  
 “ from the sword to the spade, or from the  
 “ pike to the plow again. Therefore, the  
 “ two marquesses that were ambassadors here  
 “ (then) from *Spain*, having propounded to  
 “ have some numbers of those disbanded forces,  
 “ for the service of their master ; his majesty, by  
 “ the mature advice of his privy council, to pre-  
 “ vent the mischiefs that might arise to his  
 “ kingdom of *Ireland*, by those loose cashiered  
 “ soldiers, yielded to the ambassadors’ mo-  
 “ tion, who sent notice thereof to *Spain* accord-  
 “ ingly, and so provided shipping for their  
 “ transports, and impressed money to advance  
 “ the business ; but as they were in the height  
 “ of that work (his majesty being then in  
 “ *Scotland*) there was a sudden stop made of  
 “ those promised troops, who had depended  
 “ long on the *Spaniards*’ service, as the *Spa-*  
 “ *niards* had done on theirs. And this was  
 “ the last, though not the least, fatal cause of  
 “ their insurrection : all which particulars,  
 “ well considered ; it had been no hard mat-  
 “ ter to have been a prophet, and, standing  
 “ upon the top of *Holy Head*, to have foreseen  
 “ those black clouds, ingendering in the *Irish*

“ air, which broke out afterwards into such  
 “ fearful tempests of blood. Out of those pre-  
 “ mises, it is easy for any common understand-  
 “ ing, not transported with passion and pri-  
 “ vate interest, to draw this conclusion: that  
 “ they who complied with the *Scotch* in their  
 “ insurrection; they who dismissed the *Irish*  
 “ commissioners with such a short unpolitic  
 “ answer; they who took off the Earl of  
 “ *Strafford's* head, and afterwards delayed the  
 “ dispatching of the Earl of *Leicester*; they  
 “ who hindered those disbanded troops in *Ire-*  
 “ *land* to go for *Spain*, may be justly said to  
 “ have been the true causes of the late insur-  
 “ rection of the *Irish*.”

Thus concludes this learned and ingenious  
 gentleman, who, as being then his majesty's  
 historiographer, was as likely as any man to  
 know the transactions of those times, and, as  
 an *Englishman* and a loyal Protestant, was  
 beyond all exception of partiality or favour of  
 the Papists of *Ireland*; and therefore could  
 have no other reason, but the love of truth  
 and justice, to give this account of the *Irish*  
 rebellion, and make the *Scotch*, and their  
 wicked brethren in the parliament of *England*,  
 the main occasion of that horrid insurrection.

Neither was this the single opinion of Mr. *Howel*, but the common sentiment of all honest and knowing men, confirmed even by the dying words of our royal martyr, in the twelfth chapter of his *Icon Basil*, where he says, “Certainly, it is thought by many wise  
 “men, that the preposterous rigour and un-  
 “reasonable severity, which some men carried  
 “before them in *England*, was not the least  
 “incentive that kindled and blew up into those  
 “horrid flames, the sparks of discontent,  
 “which wanted not pre-disposed fuel for re-  
 “bellion, in *Ireland*; where despair being  
 “added to their former discontents, and the  
 “fears of utter extirpation to their wonted op-  
 “pressions, it was easy to provoke to an open  
 “rebellion, a people prone enough to break  
 “out to all exorbitant violence, both by some  
 “principles of their religion, and the natural  
 “desires of liberty; for to exempt themselves  
 “from their present restraint, and to prevent  
 “those after-rigours, wherewith they saw them-  
 “selves apparently threatened by the covetous  
 “zeal and uncharitable fury of some men,  
 “who think it a great argument of the truth of  
 “their religion, to endure no other but their  
 “own.” *And again*; “I believe it will at  
 “last appear, that they who first began to em-



“ broil my other kingdoms, are in great part  
 “ guilty, if not of the first setting out, yet of  
 “ the not timely stopping those horrid effusions  
 “ of blood in *Ireland*.”

’Tis plain, therefore, (though other motives were not wanting to render many of that nation ill affected to the government, and prepare them for violence,) the unexpected success of the *Scotch*, and daily misunderstandings between the king and the parliament in *England*, gave at this time birth and life to the *Irish* rebellion : for I must confess, I myself am now, as I have been long since, upon serious reflections, abundantly convinced, that however the circumstances of *this time gave life and birth to that rebellion of Ireland*, yet the design of it had been laid partly at home, but chiefly abroad in foreign parts, even several years before the troubles either of *England* or *Scotland* began ; and that the original, true and great motive indeed thereof, was no other than that *fatal one*, which for so many hundred years from *Henry II.* to the beginning of King *James’s* reign, had been not only the very source of all the dangerous rebellions of that country, but the very *bane* and *ruin* of its people on all sides for so many ages. The

national feud, I mean, betwixt the *mere Irish* (as the ancient *Milesians* are called) and the latter *Irish*, or colonies of *English* extraction among them ; and the unalterable persuasion of the former, that the *English conquest* of that country was but mere usurpation, without any just title ; and that the right both to the supreme sovereignty, and proprietorship too, of all the lands of *Ireland*, still remained, according to the ancient *Brehon laws* of that country, (which, say they, had never been legally repealed or antiquated, and consequently also according to the laws of God,) in the surviving heirs of the more ancient natives, the *Milesians*. It is true, that forty years continual and flourishing peace in all obedience to the *English* laws there, from the last of Queen *Elizabeth* to 1641, seemed to carry a fair outside, as if all those national former animosities and pretences had been utterly extinguished. But alas ! the old leaven still fermented inwardly of one side ; and among that side, the fire was but covered under hot embers. The earls of *Tyrone* and *Tirconel*, and the councils of *Spain* and *Rome*, and the *Irish* monasteries and seminaries, in so many countries of *Europe*, and very many of the churchmen returning home out of them, and chiefly the titular

bishops, together with the superiors of regular orders, took an effectual course, under the specious colour of religion, to add continually new fuel to the burning coals, and prepare them for a flame on the first opportunity ; which, whoever did not see in the beginning of this rebellion, (as many did not,) by observing what extraction, or what names all the first appearers in it were of ; and how, particularly, of the whole hundred that were designed for seizing the castle of *Dublin*, there was not so much as one person of *British* blood, extraction, or name among them ; might nevertheless, and without the help of a multiplying glass, most clearly see it in the procedure of the war. Certainly it is my opinion, 1st, That whole and great, and most numerous parties exclaiming every where, both at home (in *Ireland*) and abroad in other countries, against the *very first cessation* concluded with the king's lieutenant, the marquess of *Ormond* ; and in foreign courts representing those confederates that conclude it, not only as falsely assuming the name of *Irishmen*, but as really favouring the schism and heresies of *England* :—2. Their forcing after, at the end of three years more, both the representatives, and whole body of the *Irish*

confederates, to reject, so scandalously and perfidiously as they did, the peace of 1646:—  
 3. Their opposing so long, and in such manner as they had done, the peace of 1648, till it was too late to retrieve it, or submit to it; were such arguments, as, upon serious reflection, might convince any unbiassed person what the primary grand design, and original source of that rebellion, was; and also what the natural end of it must have been, if success had answered the expectation of the great contrivers in their plot for seizing the chief magazine of the kingdom, the castle of *Dublin*.

And yet, I must withal acknowledge, there has been, from the very beginning of the rebellion, a considerable number of those very ancient *Milesians*, that, upon all occasions, sided still with such other confederate Catholics, as endeavoured all they could to bring back the whole nation to their former obedience to the king and his laws. In that number the lord viscount *Muskry* (after earl of *Clancarthy*) with his whole party, the *O'Callaghans*, and some other gentlemen thereof (men of note in *Munster*) were eminent. To whom (after the *Nuncio's excommunication*,

published against those that obeyed the *cessation of arms*, concluded with the lord of *Inchiquin*) many others also of the said *Milesians*, in other provinces, joined themselves, to shew their consent to the peace of 1648, and, consequently, their obedience to the king. Among these, besides the lord of *Iveagh*, *Alexander Mac Donall*, and others, even that unfortunate gentleman, Sir *Phelim O'Neil* himself, was one; though after all, I must likewise acknowledge, that because the far greater number of the *Milesians*, at least the stronger party of them, were on the other side; whose wilful obstinacy rendered at long run all the endeavours and returns of honest men wholly insignificant and fruitless, whether to the king or themselves, or to defend their country from being utterly subdued, at the end of three years more, by the parliament forces,

But lest any should think otherwise, either of the different inclinations and endeavours of those parties, among the *more ancient Irish* themselves, or of that very original design, and source of the rebellion, which I have nakedly given, according to my own later thoughts of both; yet forasmuch as I put here no stress at all on such matters, I pass them over; and only

at present aver, that whatever the primary grand design, whatever the source of this rebellion was, or might have been, it is, notwithstanding, in all appearance, beyond dispute, that (as I have said before) the unexpected success of the *Scotch*, and the daily misunderstandings between the king and the parliament in *England*, was, what gave it birth and life at this time, viz. on the 23d of October, 1641. As for the *massacre* that ensued, it was certainly very barbarous and inhuman, though I cannot believe the tenth part of the *British* natives (reported by Sir *John Temple* and others of the same kidney, to have been murdered by the *Irish*) lived then in that kingdom, out of cities and walled towns, where no such *massacre* was committed. I am certain in Sir *John Temple's* muster-rolls, of whom the subsequent scribblers borrowed all their catalogues, there are not 15,000 persons to be found, though it is manifest, that, in divers places, he repeats the same circumstances twice or thrice over, and mentions hundreds, as then murdered, that lived many years after; nay, some even this day alive. Nevertheless, it is very certain, that there have been great cruelties committed upon the *English*, though, I believe, not the twentieth part of what is ge-

nerally reported. But the truth is, they were very bloody on both sides, and though some will throw all upon the *Irish*, yet 'tis well known who they were that used to give *orders* to their parties, sent into enemies quarters, to spare neither man, woman or child. And the leading men among the *Irish* have this to say for themselves, that they were all along so far from favouring any of the murderers, that not only by their agents (soon after the king's restoration) but even in their \* remonstrance, presented by the lord viscount *Gormanstown* and Sir *Robert Talbot*, on the 17th of *March*, 1642, the nobility and gentry of the nation desired, that the murders, on both sides committed, should be strictly examined, and the authors of them punished, according to the utmost severity of the law: which proposal, certainly, their adversaries could never have rejected, but that they were conscious to themselves of being deeper in the mire than they would have the world believe.

This is plain matter of fact, and the consequence of it so obvious, that, notwithstanding all the groundless clamours of some, who

\* *Borlace's History*, page 58.

loudly cry out against the *Irish*, but speak not a word of their own rebellion, I must do that kingdom so much justice as to declare, that I can no more believe the leading part of the nation did ever design, much less encourage, the barbarous cruelties there committed, than I can be persuaded, that the lords and commons, who first made war against the late king in *England*, did from the beginning intend to imbrue their hands in his sacred blood. Yet still I think them inexcusable, because I see no great difference, whether a man kills another himself, or unchains a fierce mastiff, that will tear him to pieces. I cannot therefore but believe the contrivers and abettors of the *Irish* rebellion guilty of the *massacre* that ensued, though committed by the rude rabble, no less than those that raised the late rebellion in *England* are guilty of their prince's blood, as if they had actually been regicides: though the army on the one hand, and the rabble on the other, did the work, which their first movers, who unchained them from their obedience to the laws, were not able to hinder.

As for the generality of the nation, whatever the *northern* rebels gave out to the contrary, to encourage their party, and induce



others to join with them; 'tis manifest, they knew nothing of the design before, nor favoured it after it was discovered; as appears by their solemn protestation in parliament, on *November 16, 1641*, when meeting, according to their prorogation, in the castle of *Dublin*, and this rebellion being laid before them by the lords justices, Sir *William Parsons* and Sir *John Borlase*, in order (as they said) to find out some effectual means to reduce the rebels, and bring them to justice; both houses immediately declared their abhorrence to the rebellion, and agreed *nemine contradicente* to the following protestation.

“ \* Whereas the happy and peaceable state  
 “ of this realm hath been of late, and is still  
 “ interrupted by sundry persons ill-affected to  
 “ the peace and tranquillity thereof; who, con-  
 “ trary to their duty and loyalty to his majesty,  
 “ and against the laws of God, and the funda-  
 “ mental laws of this realm, have traitorously  
 “ and rebelliously raised arms, seized upon  
 “ his majesty's forts and castles, and dispossessed  
 “ many of his faithful subjects, of their houses,  
 “ lands and goods, and have slain many of  
 “ them, and committed other cruel and inhu-

“ man outrages and acts of hostility within  
 “ this realm : the said lords and commons in  
 “ parliament assembled, being justly moved  
 “ with a true sense of the said disloyal and re-  
 “ bellious proceedings and actions of the per-  
 “ sons aforesaid, do hereby protest and de-  
 “ clare, that the said lords and commons,  
 “ from their hearts, do detest and abhor the  
 “ said abominable actions, and that they shall  
 “ and will, to their utmost power, maintain the  
 “ right of his majesty’s crown and government  
 “ of this realm, and the peace and safety there-  
 “ of, 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 do not repent of their afore-  
 “ said actions, 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 the council  
 “ of this realm, shall be set down ; the lords  
 “ and commons do further protest and declare,  
 “ that they will take up arms, and will, with  
 “ their lives and fortunes, suppress them in  
 “ their attempts, in such a way as, by the au-  
 “ thority of the parliament of this kingdom,

“ with the approbation of his most excellent  
 “ majesty, or his majesty’s chief governor or  
 “ governors of this kingdom, shall be thought  
 “ most effectual.”

Thus both houses of parliament (the true representative of the nation’s loyalty) unanimously declared their readiness to prosecute and suppress the rebels; and in order to bring them speedily to condign punishment, having with all possible zeal and alacrity, offered their lives and fortunes to the lords justices, they fell immediately to consider of the most effectual means to do the work. But this way of proceeding did not, it seems, square with the lords justices’ designs, who were often heard to say, *That the more were in rebellion, the more lands should be forfeited to them*; and therefore, in the very heat of the business, they resolved upon a prorogation; which the parliament understanding, the lord viscount *Cos-telloe* and myself were sent from the lords’ house, and others from the commons, to the lords justices, to desire the continuance of the parliament, at least till the rebels (then few in number) were reduced. But our address was slighted, and the parliament the next day prorogued, to the great surprise of both houses,

and the general dislike of all honest and knowing men.

This encouraged the rebels, and vastly increased their numbers in divers places of the kingdom. Freedom of *rapine* and *murder* drew such numbers of men together, that the few desperate malecontents, who began the tragedy, in a short time became a formidable army, and were at length so bold as to besiege *Drogheda*, about twenty miles from *Dublin*; to the succour of which Major *Roper*, marching with 7 or 800 men, was in a great mist (near *Gillianstown*) set upon by the rebels, and defeated; whereupon they forced the country round about (as the *Scotch* the year before did the northern parts of *England*) to a weekly contribution, for the payment of their army, which afterwards was, by the lords justices, made a great crime; though in the north of *England* the like was thought known by the king, as if the contribution favoured and encouraged the rebellion.

The members of parliament, in this disorder, retired to their several habitations in the country; so did I to mine, but had not been long at home, when I received a letter, signed

by the viscounts *Gormanstown* and *Nettervil*, and by the barons *Slane*, *Lowth* and *Dunsany*, with an inclosed one to the lords justices, which these noblemen desired me to send, and, if possible, to get their lordships' answer. The letter was very humble and submissive, desiring only they might have permission to send their petitions into *England*, to represent their grievances to the king: wherefore I sent it inclosed to the lords justices, who were silent as to theirs, yet answered mine, though little more than a cover; in which they said, these were rebels and traitors, and advised me to receive no more letters from them. I readily submitted, nor do I know to this hour how that letter came to my hands.

All this while, parties were sent out by the lords justices and council from *Dublin*, and most garrisons throughout the kingdom, to kill and destroy the rebels; but the officers and soldiers took little or no care to distinguish between rebels and subjects, but killed in many places promiscuously men, women and children; which procedure not only exasperated the rebels, and induced them to commit the like cruelties upon the *English*, but frightened the nobility and

gentry about, who, seeing the harmless country people, without respect to age or sex, thus barbarously murdered, and themselves openly threatened as favourers of the rebellion, for paying the contribution they could not possibly refuse, resolved to stand upon their guard. Nevertheless, before they would attempt any thing against the government, they sought several ways to get their petitions conveyed to the king, and at length prevailed with Sir *John Read*, a *Scotchman*, and one of his majesty's servants (then going for *England*) to undertake it; who coming to the Marquis of *Ormond*, upon his march towards *Drogheda*, was (on what suspicion I know not) by him sent to the lords justices to *Dublin*, and, not concealing what he carried, by them imprisoned, and soon after put to the rack. Much about this time was the like done to *Patrick Barnwell*, of *Kilbrew*, a man of 66 years of age, but upon what account I cannot tell; only I have been told, his crime was, that he came in upon the lords justices proclamation of pardon to those of the *Pale*, that would in ten days submit themselves; and was so wise as not to consider, that \* freeholders (as being more criminal than the rest, because

\* *Borlase's History*, page 30.

of their estates) were by the lords justices expressly exempt out of that proclamation. As to *Read*, several questions were put to him ; and, among the rest, he was much pressed to tell, how far the late king and queen were privy to, or concerned in the *Irish* rebellion : this is notoriously known ; but I have it more particularly from my brother, Colonel *Mervin Touchett*, who heard it from Sir *John Read* himself, as he was brought out of the room where he was racked.

This did not a little inflame the reckoning ; and it was a great addition to their discontent, that the king referred the whole business of *Ireland* (whereby they thought he deserted the protection of his people) to the parliament of *England*, who thereupon passed such wild votes and ordinances, as tended to the utter extirpation of the natives of that kingdom ; not only declaring, on *December* 8, 1641, that they would never give consent to any toleration of the \* popish religion in *Ireland*, or in any other his majesty's dominions ; but enacting further, in *February* following, when few of any considerable fortune or estate were concerned in the rebellion, that two millions and

\* *Borlase's History*, page 34.

five hundred thousand acres of profitable land in *Ireland*, besides bogs, woods, and barren mountains, should be assigned to adventurers for small proportions of money, (which ~~was~~ afterwards employed to raise armies against the king in *England*,) to reduce the rebels of that kingdom. But the greatest discontent of all, was about the lords justices proroguing the parliament, (the only way the nation had to express their loyalty, and prevent their being misrepresented to their sovereign,) which, had it been permitted to sit for any reasonable time, would, in all likelihood, without any great charge or trouble, have brought the rebels to justice : for the war that afterwards ensued, was headed and carried on principally by members that then sat in parliament. And to say these members were all along concerned in the rebellion, or engaged with the first contrivers of it, is to make them, not only the greatest knaves, but the veriest fools on earth, since otherwise they could not have been so earnest for the continuance of the parliament, whilst sitting in the castle, and under the lords justices' guards, who, upon the least intelligence, which could not long be wanting, had no more to do but to shut the gates, and make them all prisoners, without any



possibility of escape, or hopes of redemption.

Thus the contagion spread itself by degrees over the whole kingdom, and now there's no more looking back, for all were in arms, and full of indignation; there was fighting almost in every corner, and, unfortunately for me, one encounter happened in the sight of my house, at *Maddingsstown*, between the marques of *Ormond*, commanding the *English*, and the lord viscount *Mountgarrett* the *Irish* forces, where the latter was defeated. This encounter goes by the name of the battle of *Kilrush*, fought the 15th of *April*, 1642. The *English* were not above 3000 men strong, but were bold and expert troops, well officered, with some commons; the *Irish* were more in number, but ill armed, and but newly formed into bodies.

After this defeat, my lord of *Ormond* being to pass with his army just by my gates, some of his officers of my acquaintance came galloping before, assuring me his lordship would be with me in half an hour. Hereupon I bestirred myself, and having two or three cooks, a good barn-door, and plenty of wines, (besides

my own family, I had with me the duchess of *Buckingham*, the marques of *Antrim*, her husband, and the lady *Rose*, Mr. *Daniel's* sister,) we patched up a dinner ready to be set upon 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 published through the army, that it was a mighty feast, prepared for my lord *Mountgarrett* and the rebels. This, through the *English* army, passed for current, and I believe did me no small prejudice with the lords justices, as shall appear in the sequel of my story, which I shall now pursue with a letter I received from my brother, Col. *Mervin Touchett*, upon this occasion.

“Hearing your lordship is now writing  
 “somewhat again of your concerns in *Ireland*,  
 “during the late war: though I, as one that  
 “was with you there in the beginning of the  
 “troubles, and therefore possibly might re-  
 “mind you of some passages more in my know-  
 “ledge than yours, have before written to  
 “you on that subject; yet now remembering  
 “some things I had then omitted, I add them  
 “here,

“ When the rebellion broke forth in the  
 “ *North*, you were in *Munster*; and on the news,  
 “ you immediately repaired to *Dublin*, to the  
 “ lords justices, Sir *William Parsons* and Sir  
 “ *John Borlase*, where you acquainted them  
 “ with your willingness to serve the king  
 “ against the rebels, as your ancestors had for-  
 “ merly done in *Ireland*, on the like occasions :  
 “ to which they replied, your religion was an  
 “ obstacle. There being then a parliament in  
 “ that kingdom sitting, you were resolved to  
 “ see the event, sending me to your house at  
 “ *Maddingsstoun*, in the county of *Kildare*, to  
 “ secure and defend it, in case there were any  
 “ rising in those parts. Upon my coming, I  
 “ found many poor *English* stripped, whom I  
 “ took into the house and relieved, defending  
 “ them in the best manner I could. Some time  
 “ after, the parliament being dissolved, you  
 “ desired of the justices a pass to go for *Eng-*  
 “ *land* ; but they refusing, you acquainted  
 “ them, that your estate there was not in a  
 “ condition to maintain you in *Dublin* ; and  
 “ desired that you might be supplied with some  
 “ money for your subsistence, until such time  
 “ as you could apply yourself to the parliament  
 “ in *England* for a pass to bring you over ;  
 “ which they denied. You pressed them then

“ to direct you what course you should steer ;  
 “ to which they replied, Go home, and make  
 “ fair weather. You took this advice, and  
 “ being come, my lord of *Antrim* and my lady  
 “ duchess of *Buckingham* soon followed ; and  
 “ you were very well pleased with so good  
 “ company to spend your provisions. But in  
 “ a short time the *Irish* came, and drove  
 “ away a great part of your stock to a village  
 “ near. It being night, you desired me to  
 “ take your servants, and endeavour the re-  
 “ covery ; which I did, bringing with me two  
 “ or three of the chiefest conductors of that  
 “ rabble. This enraged the *Irish* so much,  
 “ that you conceived I was not safe there ; and  
 “ therefore sent me to *Dublin*, to attend the  
 “ justices’ orders, and assure them of your  
 “ readiness to return on a call, they sending a  
 “ convoy, which they promised to do, as oc-  
 “ casion required. When I went from you,  
 “ you thought it necessary that I should take  
 “ with me all the poor *English* that were  
 “ saved ; and to let them go with the carts,  
 “ which were loaded with wool for *Dublin* ;  
 “ leaving only one of them, who was a sadler,  
 “ then my lord of *Antrim*’s servant. In the  
 “ passage, near *Rathcoll*, the rebels fell upon  
 “ them, and barbarously killed some, and

“wounded others; myself and one more  
 “escaping by the goodness of our horses. But  
 “a servant of mine governing the carts, and  
 “being an *Englishman*, they took; and whilst  
 “they were preparing to hang him, Sir *John*  
 “*Dungan’s* eldest son, *Walter Dungan*, came  
 “forth from his father’s house with a party,  
 “and rescued him, with the rest of those that  
 “were left alive, and brought them safe to  
 “*Dublin*, where I was got.

“In a few days after, the marques of *Or-*  
 “*mond* sent out a party towards the place  
 “where this murder had been committed. I  
 “went with them, and coming near, we met  
 “Sir *Arthur Loftus*, governor of the *Naas*,  
 “with a party of horse and dragoons, having  
 “killed such of the *Irish* as they met.

“But the most considerable slaughter was  
 “in a great straight of furze, seated on a hill,  
 “where the people of several villages (taking  
 “the alarm) had sheltered themselves. Now  
 “Sir *Arthur* having invested the hill, set the  
 “furze on fire on all sides, where the people  
 “(being a considerable number) were all  
 “burnt or killed, men, women and children.  
 “I saw the bodies and furze still burning.

“ The sadler that I had left in my lord of  
 “ *Antrim's* service, some time after met me,  
 “ complaining, that coming from *Dublin* he  
 “ had been taken by the rebels, by means of a  
 “ boy that served your lordship, and if I would  
 “ not give him forty shillings (being damnified  
 “ so much) he would complain. I told him  
 “ that the boy he mentioned was no servant of  
 “ yours, but kept for charity, and to whip the  
 “ dogs out of doors ; being blind of an eye,  
 “ and lame of a leg. He replied, that although  
 “ he was blind and lame, he had a note from  
 “ my lord of *Antrim*, to have him apprehended  
 “ by those that were neither blind nor lame ;  
 “ which he gave to them, who took him  
 “ prisoner, and carried him to the garrison of  
 “ *Leixlip*, kept by the rebels. I bid him do  
 “ what he pleased ; for I would not give him  
 “ one farthing.

“ The next I heard of it was, that he had  
 “ complained ; and that your lordship was in-  
 “ dicted for high treason. Upon which I made  
 “ my addresses to the lords justices again, to  
 “ let them know, they had not kept their words  
 “ with me, in suffering this clandestine pro-  
 “ ceeding against my brother ; but, however, I  
 “ I would go and fetch you ; and to that pur-

“ pose desired them to let me have a party of  
 “ horse, but that they refused. I then came  
 “ down to you with some of my friends, and ac-  
 “ quainted you with what had past: you an-  
 “ swered, that you knew nothing of it, and  
 “ went immediately with me ; where you ad-  
 “ dressed yourself to my lord of *Ormond*, as I  
 “ did myself in your behalf to the lords justices  
 “ and council, to acquaint them that you were  
 “ come. They replied, that they could say  
 “ nothing to it till you appeared before them,  
 “ which you did the next day ; and then they  
 “ ordered you to come the day following ; at  
 “ which time, without calling you in, they  
 “ committed you to Mr. *Woodcock's* house,  
 “ one of the sheriffs of *Dublin*.

“ Now, I, seeing this rigorous usage towards  
 “ you, with such bloody doings on all sides,  
 “ and having been refused a pass for myself to  
 “ go to *England*, made a shift to go away in a  
 “ small boat, and go directly to the king at  
 “ *York*, and petition him, that you might be  
 “ sent for over to be tried here by your peers.  
 “ But his majesty's answer was, that he had  
 “ left all the affairs of *Ireland* to the parlia-  
 “ ment. Upon which I went to *London*, and  
 “ petitioned the parliament to the same effect.

" Their answer was, That they could do no-  
 " thing without the king, of which I gave you  
 " an account by letter. This was the last cor-  
 " respondence I had with you, being after that  
 " continually serving his majesty in *England*.  
 " But the king coming from *Newark* to *Ox-*  
 " *ford*, he sent me with dispatches to my lord  
 " lieutenant, and ordered me to go to you, and  
 " use my endeavours to persuade you to hasten  
 " a peace. You received the commission very  
 " agreeable, saying, that from the beginning of  
 " the war you had always laboured for a peace,  
 " and that you hoped it would soon be done.  
 " Before I returned, I saw it proclaimed.  
 " And it goes by the name of *the peace of forty-*  
 " *six.*"

*London, July 6, 1683.*

Thus you have seen by my brother's letter,  
 how, and upon what account, I was made a  
 prisoner by the lords justices, and no hopes  
 left me of any relief from either the king or  
 parliament of *England*; but was, after twenty  
 weeks imprisonment, ordered to be removed  
 from the sheriff's house to the castle. This  
 startled me a little, and brought into my  
 thoughts the proceedings against the earl of  
*Strafford*, who, confiding in his own innocence,



was voted out of his life, by an unprecedented bill of *attainder*. Besides, I heard nothing, almost whilst I was in prison, but rejoicings at the king's misfortunes, and the ill success of his arms, then engaged in actual war with his rebellious subjects in *England*. The lords justices, and most of the council, were too plainly of the parliament faction; and the marques of *Ormond*, whom I knew most faithful to the king, fell desperately sick of a fever, not without some suspicion of poison, and was then given over by his physicians. Hereupon I weighed well my own circumstances, and, concluding that innocence was a scurvy plea in an angry time, I resolved to attempt an escape, and save myself in the *Irish* quarters, which I effected in this manner.

After the battle of *Kilrush*, there was one *George Ledwidge*, an *Irish* trooper, of the marques of *Ormond's* army, left wounded at my house; who, being recovered, (in acknowledgment of kindness received,) often visited me in prison. I found so much fidelity in this man towards me, that I trusted him with my design, and desired his assistance. The trooper, overjoyed to hear I had that confidence in him,

declared he was ready to venture his own life to save mine, and would value no danger to free me from that restraint. With this, I immediately gave him money to buy me three horses for myself and two servants, with saddles and pistols, and ordered him to have them ready at a certain place against next morning. This he punctually performed; and the night following, just as the maid was to shut the door, it being somewhat dark, I slipt into the street, leaving my two men in the house, and appointing where they should find me in the morning. About nine of the clock they came out of the house, and bid the maid make no noise, pretending I was not well, and had not rested that night. They no sooner came to me, the guards of the town withdrawn, and the patroles come in, but I sent them before with the trooper's son to get our horses ready, the trooper and myself soon following; but I, as his man, carrying a saddle under my arm. To be short, we mounted all on horseback, marched as troopers carelessly out of town, and took our way by *Temple-Ogg*, through the mountains of *Wicklôw* towards *Kilkenny*. But before dinner, my escape was discovered by the people of the house, and, on notice given to the lords justices, I was pursued by a party of

horse, taking their way to my house, at *Maddingstown*. In the night they invested it, but not finding me, (after they had possessed themselves of what they could find,) they killed many of my servants, and burnt my house: this I saw as I passed by, and had notice by the way, that *Castlehaven* also was seized by the *English*, and all I had there pillaged and destroyed,

On my arrival at *Kilkenny*, I found the town very full, and many of my acquaintance all preparing for war. To this end, they had chosen amongst themselves, out of the most eminent persons, a council, to which they gave the title of *The supreme Council of the confederate Catholics of Ireland*, and formed an oath of *association*, by which all were bound to obey them. They had made four generals for the respective provinces of the kingdom; *Preston*, of *Leinster*; *Barry*, of *Munster*; *Owen Roe O'Neil*, of *Ulster*; and one *Burke*, of *Connaught*; and being to give commissions, they caused a seal to be made, which they called the seal of the council.

I was sent for to this council to tell my story, where I gave them a particular account of my

adventures ; and being asked, what I intended to do ? I answered, to get into *France*, and from thence into *England*. Hereupon they told me their condition, and what they were doing for their preservation and natural defence, seeing no distinction made, or safety, but in arms ; persuading me to stay with them, as I was beloved in the country, had three sisters married amongst them, was persecuted on the same score they were, and ruined so, that we had no more to lose but our lives. I took two or three days to think of this proposition, and to examine the *model of government* they had prepared against the meeting of the general assembly, and most particularly their oath of *association*, which was as followeth :

#### THE OATH OF ASSOCIATION.

“ I, A. B. do profess, swear, and protest before God,  
 “ and his saints and angels, that I will, during my life, bear  
 “ true faith and allegiance to my sovereign lord, *Charles*,  
 “ by the grace of God, king of *Great Britain, France*  
 “ and *Ireland*, and to his heirs and lawful successors ;  
 “ and that I will to my power, during my life, defend,  
 “ uphold and maintain, all his and their just prerogatives,  
 “ estates and rights, the power and privilege of the par-  
 “ liament of this realm, the fundamental laws of *Ireland*,  
 “ the free exercise of the *Roman Catholic* faith and re-  
 “ ligion throughout this land ; and the lives, just liberties,  
 “ possessions, estates, and rights of all those that have taken,

“ or that shall take this oath, and perform the contents  
 “ thereof; and that I will obey and ratify all the orders  
 “ and decrees made and to be made, by the supreme council  
 “ of the *confederate Catholics* of this kingdom, concerning  
 “ the said public cause: and I will not seek, directly or  
 “ indirectly, any pardon or protection, for any act done,  
 “ or to be done, touching this general cause, without  
 “ the consent of the major part of the said council:  
 “ and that I will not, directly or indirectly, do any act or  
 “ acts that shall prejudice the said cause, but will, to the  
 “ hazard of my life and estate, assist, prosecute and  
 “ maintain the same.

“ Moreover, I do farther swear, that I will not accept  
 “ of, or submit unto any peace, made, or to be made,  
 “ with the said *confederate Catholics*, without the consent  
 “ and approbation of the general assembly of the said  
 “ *confederate Catholics*. And, for the preservation and  
 “ strengthening of the *association* and *union* of the king-  
 “ dom, that upon any peace or accommodation to be  
 “ made or concluded with the said *confederate Catholics*  
 “ as aforesaid, I will, to the utmost of my power, insist  
 “ upon and maintain the ensuing propositions, until a  
 “ peace, as aforesaid, be made, and the matters to be  
 “ agreed upon in the articles of peace be established and  
 “ secured by parliament.

“ *So help me God, and his holy Gospel.*”

Having spent some time on these thoughts,  
 and at last taken my resolution, I returned to  
 the supreme council, thanked them for their  
 good opinion of me, and engaged myself to run  
 a fortune with them. Whether anger and re-

venge did not incline me to it, as much as any thing else, I cannot certainly resolve. This I well remember, that I considered how I had been used, and seen my house burning as I passed by; besides, that I was a light man, with no charge, and without any hopes of redress from the king, who was then engaged in the intestine war. Now, being thus a confederate, and having taken the oath of *association*, they made me one of the council, and general of the horse under *Preston*.

The first assembly met the 24th of *October*, 1642. It differed little from a parliament, but that the lords and commons sat together. They approved, without delay, all the council had done, and settled a *model of government*, viz. That at the end of every general assembly, the supreme council should be confirmed or changed, as they thought fit. That it should consist of twenty-five, six out of each province, three of the six still resident; the twenty-fifth was myself, with no relation to any province, but to the kingdom in general. Every province had a provincial assembly, which met on occasions: and each county had commissioners for applotting money within themselves, as it came to their shares, on the general

applotment of the province. Many other things there were as to government, but these are the most remarkable.

The general assembly being ended, the supreme council sent envoys to the king of *France*, Mr. *Rochford*, and after him Mr. *Geofrey Barron*: to the king of *Spain*, F. *James Talbot*, an *Augustine Fryar*: to the Pope, first, Mr. *Richard Belling*; after him the bishop of *Ferns*, and Mr. *Nicholas Plunket*. Besides those, they had residents with all these princes, but they were generally churchmen.

The king of *France* first sent them in return Mr. *La Monarie*, to whom succeeded Mr. *Du Moulin*, and after him Mr. *Talloon*. The king of *Spain* first sent Mr. *Fuysot*, a *Burgundian*, to whom succeeded the count of *Beerhaven*; after him *Don Diego de'los Torres*. The Pope sent one *Starampo*, priest of the *Oratorian* order, who remained till the coming of *Rinuccini*, archbishop and prince of *Fermo*, in quality of *Nuncio*. All this while the generals were not idle, and mine took in *Burras*, *Fert-faulkland* and *Birr*, in the King's county; where I was with him, and had the good for-

tune to begin my command in the army with an act of charity; for going to see the garrison of *Birr*, before it marched out, I came into a great room, where I found many people of quality, both men and women.

They no sooner saw me, but, with tears in their eyes, they fell on their knees, desiring me to save their lives. I was astonished at their posture and petition, and having made them rise, asked what the matter was? they answered, that from the first day of the war, there had been continual action and bloodshed between them and their *Irish* neighbours, and little quarter on either side; and therefore, (understanding that I was an *Englishman*,) begged I would take them into my protection. I knew there was too much reason for their fears, considering they were to march two or three days through the woods of *Iregan*, and waste countries, before they came to *Athy*, their next friend garrison. I went therefore to the *general* immediately, and got to be commander of their convoy; and, to make sure, I called out 300 foot and 200 horse, in whom I had most confidence, and carried off the people, who were at least 800 men, women and children, and, though sometimes attacked, I deli-



vered them with their baggage safe to their friends.

Our next undertaking was on the 5th of Oct. 1642, Col. *Monke*, (since made duke of *Albermarle*,) having relieved *Ballynikill*, a castle in the Queen's county; General *Preston* overtook him near *Timachoo* in his retreat, and pressed him so, that he was forced to fight. In number they were pretty equal, about 1500 horse and foot each, without cannon: but the business was soon over, and not many killed before we were routed: and, had the enemy pursued, (it being a plain country, and no garrison near,) we had certainly lost most of our foot. This check made us pretty quiet till towards the spring following: then the marques of *Ormond*, lieutenant general of the *English*, marched from *Dublin*, at the head of 3000 horse and foot, and some cannon, and, coming through the county of *Wexford*, besieged *Ross*, a considerable town, seated on the river *Barrow*. To relieve this place, General *Preston* hastened with an army of 5 or 6000 horse and foot, but no cannon; and having sent 1500 men, commanded by Lieutenant General *Purcell*, into the town, he marched himself to *Temple-Wodigan*, about two miles from *Ross*,

the principal pass by which the marques of *Ormond* must retreat, if he raised his siege, as he did soon after the succour got in ; and finding *Preston* before him in battle, knew not well what to do, being in an enemy's country, and scant of provisions. The pass was at least half a mile through a bog, where no more than four horses could march in a-breast, with water in some places up to the belly. But *Preston* had not the patience to expect the enemy coming to him, which they must do or starve, but went over this pass to them, and put himself under as great disadvantage as his enemy could wish. The marques of *Ormond* took hold of this unexpected advantage, and gave *Preston* no time to form his army into battle, but charged still as they went over, besides what he did all along with his cannon ; till at length (after a considerable loss of men killed and taken prisoners) we were wholly routed and defeated. This goes by the name of *the battle of Ross*, fought *March 18, 1642.*

The marques being returned to *Dublin*, jealousies and discontents broke out between him and some great ones there, which gave *Preston* leisure to raise another army, and besiege the aforesaid *Ballynikill* ; where having

intelligence that Col. *Crawford* was besieging *Ballybrittas*, a castle belonging to the viscount *Clamnaleer*, he sent me with a party of 1500 horse and foot to relieve the place ; whereupon *Crawford* drawing off, in passing the river *Barrow*, had his thigh broke in a skirmish with a musket shot. As *Ballynikill* was surrendered, I returned and conveyed that garrison to, as I had done the other at *Birr*, safe to their friends.

After this, I remained at *Kilkenny* with the supreme council, and *Preston* with his army went into *Westmeath* ; of whose absence the enemy's garrisons in the county of *Carlow* and *Queen's* county taking advantage, they alarmed the county of *Kilkenny*, to the very gates of the city. To oppose these, I was commanded by the council to gather what forces I could, to succour and secure the country. I quickly got together about 2000 men, with some pieces of cannon ; and though the enemy retired, yet I marched on to *Ballynury*, in the county of *Carlow*, and took both *that* and *Clohgrenan* ; where the county of *Wexford* regiment mutinied, but being soon reduced, and some examples made, served well for the future.

I marched thence to the *Queen's* county, and besieged *Ballynehanan*, commanded by the *Grimes*, a valiant people, with a strong garrison : but a great breach being made, when we expected they would surrender, word was brought us, that a strong party was coming by the way of *Athy* to relieve them. I was not well at the time of this alarm, but lay upon my bed in my tent ; yet made no great matter of it, knowing the succour could not be considerable. But the viscount *Mountgarret* being abroad, he sent me word they were coming on in great haste, and stronger than I thought, both in horse and foot, and were then near the end of the *Tougher* ; which was a great way cut through a bog, and I believe about half a mile in length. Now, I had a strong guard of horse and foot at my end of the *Tougher*, with a line thrown up before them ; so that I judged the danger was not great : however, I got on horseback with 400 horse ; and, as I came to my guards, seeing some of the enemy on the *Tougher*, in their march towards us, I commanded them to follow me to meet the enemy, thinking to have fought them upon the *Tougher* ; but they, seeing us advancing, retired, and (while I was passing the *Tougher*) formed on a plain two musket shot off again ;

but when they perceived I was preparing to charge, they drew off again, and did not stand me till they had got through a gap in a ditch, with water up to the belly; which having passed, they lined the ditch with musqueteers, drawing up their horse and foot close by to defend the gap. Sir *Walter Butler*, with his squadron, begun the fight; but he being wounded in the ditch with a pike through his thigh, his men fell off, and a second squadron charged, and did the like. But the enemy seeing more squadrons coming on, they took their advantage in the smoke to run away, which we could not see till the smoke was over. Then we followed, but could not engage them till they recovered *Athy*, which was not far off. I guessed them to have been about 300 horse, and about 7 or 800 foot. Their succour being thus beaten in their view, the besieged garrison yielded on condition to march out with their arms. While this place was putting in order, I went with a party of horse to *Beleadams*, a castle about a mile distant, belonging to Sir *John Bowen*, provost-marshal, an old soldier, and my long acquaintance. I sent to speak with him, and, after some kind expressions, told him, I must put a garrison into his castle. He flatly denied me, and calling

for his wife and two very fair daughters he had, desired only one favour, that in case I was resolved to use violence, I would shew him where I intended to plant my guns, and make my breach. I satisfied his curiosity, and asked him what he meant by this question? because, said he, (swearing with some warmth,) I will cover that part, or any other your lordship shoots at, by hanging out both my daughters in chairs. 'Tis true, the place was not of much importance ; however, this conceit saved it.

All this while, my lord of *Inchiquin* was master of the field in *Munster*, having won some battles, beat the *Irish* in all parts, and in a manner subdued the whole province to four or five towns ; and with these too he was now going to work, beginning with *Kilmalock*, in the county of *Limerick*, having set down before it with an army of 7000 men. This alarmed the general assembly then sitting at *Kilkenny*, but most particularly those of that province, who, after many councils among themselves, concluded, at last, to ask succour of the general assembly, though they saw but little hopes of any in that exigency, for *Preston* was far off with the army. Wherefore, opening themselves more clearly than perhaps they

would have otherwise done, they laid claim to me, as having my earldom and estate in their province, though I was an officer of *Leinster* ; alleging further, that their *general* was old and unfortunate, and that if I had the command, all would join in the defence of their country, and take new courage. I was present at this proposition, and though I had ambition and vanity enough, yet having no prospect of success, I thanked them for their good opinion of me, but heartily opposed their motion. But my lord *Muskry*, since made earl of *Clancarthy*, (my great friend, and of that province,) desired the assembly to command me by virtue of the oath of *association*. This they did, and ordered that my commission (under the seal of the confederates to command in chief for that expedition) should be immediately dispatched. I submitted, and being asked what troops were near at hand? I answered, I knew of none but my own life-guard of horse ; 'tis true, I had observed many straggling horse in town, but they would not be brought together without money. Some money was then given out, and by ten of the clock the next morning, I had engaged about eighty horse, and put them under the command of *Garret Talbot*, brother to Sir *Robert Talbot* :

these, with my life-guard, commanded by Captain *Fitzgerald*, commonly called *Garret Garrough*, made in all 120 horse, and with them I marched, accompanied with my lord *Muskry*, and some others of the province, to the frontiers of *Münster*, where I met about 120 horse more, most of them gentlemen, and formed into a squadron. But at *Cashel* I was received by the *General* of the province, *Barry*, Lieutenant-General *Purcell*, and some other officers, with 700 foot. That night I had intelligence that the lord of *Inchiquin* had raised his siege, and marched with 4 or 5000 men into the county of *Kerry*, but had sent Sir *Charles Vavasor* with 16 or 1700 horse and foot to take in *Clohlea*, a castle then belonging to the *Condons*; I marched immediately towards him, and before night encamped within three miles of him, a mountain only between us. My brother, *Richard Butler*, of *Kilcash*, brother to the now duke of *Ormond*, was sent out the same night to discover the enemy; and, in the morning, word was brought to us that the castle was taken, the garrison, after quarter given, put to the sword, and my brother engaged. On this I lost no time, but marched in all haste with my horse to his succour; which, joined with his, made but 240 or 250 at



the most. The foot marched after, but the old *general* moved so slowly, that I had defeated the enemy before he came within two miles of the place. The manner thus.

Sir *Charles Vavasor*, though he had taken the castle, remained still in his camp, till seeing me, on the top of the mountain above him, come to succour mine that were skirmishing, he drew to arms; but being amongst hedges and ditches, and the castle between us, I could not come at him, till he marched towards *Castle-Lyons*; where, in a large plain, he drew up his men: but I going by the advantage of a great valley, came into the plain unseen, almost as soon as he; and having ordered three or four squadrons of boys, on horseback, to possess the ground from whence I came, I lost no time in the charge, and quickly defeated his horse, who, to save themselves, broke in on the foot, and put them into disorder: their cannons were useless, being past the black water. This, (with God's blessing,) and a great shower of rain, gave me the victory, with little or no loss. Sir *Charles*, that commanded, with several other officers, remained prisoners; their cannon and baggage taken, and all their foot defeated; but their horse,

for the most part, escaped. This happened on a *Sunday*, the 4th of *June*, 1643.

Now having left the best advice I could for the improving this advantage, I took leave of the general, with others of the province, and returning to *Kilkenny*, gave the *assembly* an account of what had past, in order to their future commands. Soon after the *assembly* being broke up, and a supreme council chosen to govern in their absence, I returned to *Kilcash* (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 marques of *Ormond*, setting forth his being appointed by the king to hear our grievances, and to treat for an accommodation. The trumpet was quickly dispatched with some slight answer; which coming to my knowledge, I repaired to *Kilkenny*, where the council was returned; and on information, finding what I had heard was true, I sent for Sir *Robert Talbot*, Sir *Richard Barnwell*, Col. *Walter Bagnell*, and such others as were in the town well affected, and leading men in the *assembly*, though not of the council, and having acquainted them with what I understood, I told them, 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, to 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 wholly to themselves; and therefore to require that they would send immediately a trumpet of their own, with a letter to the marques 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 and redress our grievances. This we put in execution, and gained our point without much resistance.

The marques of *Ormond* being thus brought into a treaty, the confederate commissioners met at *Suganstown*, near the *Naas*, as his excellency had appointed, in order to a cessation of arms. At which time all parties laboured to get what they could into their possession. Colonel *Monke*, (after made duke of *Albermarle*) marched into the county of *Wicklow* to take in the harvest, and possess some castles there. I was commanded by the council to make head against him; and having rendez-

voused my troops, consisting of about 3000 horse and foot, at *Ballynikill*, in the county of *Carlow*, notice was brought me, that Colonel *Monke* was marching away in haste to the assistance of the lord *Moore*, then facing *Owen Roe O'Neil*, near *Portlester*. Finding, therefore, now I had nothing to do, I thought it worth my while to endeavour the taking in *Dollarstown*, *Tully*, *Lacagh*, and other castles in the county of *Kildare*, between the rivers of *Barrow* and *Liffey*. I began with *Dollars-town*, (a place about a mile from *Kilcae*, where I had a garrison,) and marched from my camp with 3 or 400 horse, and about 300 foot; and coming before the place in the evening, (for it was no more than six or seven miles,) I sent a trumpet to the master of the castle, Mr. *Dade*, who had been long of my acquaintance. The gentleman immediately came to me upon summons, and I gave him reasons why he should put the place into my hands.

He consented; but as the men, appointed to garrison the place, were marching towards it, one Lieutenant *Burres*, who came but that afternoon from *Athy*, debauched the soldiers within, and persuaded them to shut the gates, and bid me defiance. This I saw was no fault

of the gentleman, whom I kept with me that night, and lodged at *Kilcae* ; but I immediately dispatched an express to *Kilkenny*, for three good battering pieces. Next morning I returned to my camp at *Ballynikill*, and the day following my guns being come as far as *Carlow*, I sent in the evening a party of horse and foot, with orders, before day, to invest the place. The morning following I arrived myself, with the rest of my forces and the cannon, and, without summoning, began to batter ; and having made a breach, stormed the place, and set fire to the gates ; but the gentlemens' wives, and some others, were suffered first to come out. The rest, especially Mr. *Burres*, and his comrades, suffered as they deserved.

Having mastered this place, in the evening I dispatched a party of horse and foot to invest *Tullagh*, which they did before day. In the morning I arrived myself, and having planted my guns, summoned the place, and had it yielded by Sir *George Wentworth*, then governor, on condition, that both horse and foot might march out with their baggage.

Having thus taken this castle, and left a garrison to secure it, I encamped on a heath

called the *Curragh* of *Kildare*, from whence I summoned all the castles thereabouts, and had them yielded; only whilst I was thus encamped, Colonel *Chidley Coote*, governor of *Lacagh*, came to me, and though he had nothing to secure his return, yet on conditions I let him go; and after appearing before his place, had it according to our agreement.

This done, I repassed the *Barrow* at *Munster-Even*, marched into *Leix*, and took three or four small places. But as I was going on, I had advice from the commissioners at *Sugans-town*, that they had, on the 15th of *September*, 1643, concluded a *cessation of arms* with the marques of *Ormond*, to which I submitted.

After this, a treaty went on for a peace, and in a short time all was agreed, except a *cessation* for churches, and the splendid exercise of religion, as in *France* and *Spain*. This was much insisted upon by the confederate commissioners, and as resolutely refused by my lord of *Ormond*, who alleged, that the king (by agreeing to such an article) might endanger the loss of his whole party in *England*; and, in truth, it would have signified little to the confederates; for their security chiefly con-

sisted in keeping up the king, and having force enough in their own hands, which would have been sufficiently left them, though 20,000 of their men had been sent into *England*, along with the 10,000 men of my lord of *Ormond*, sent out of *Leinster* and *Munster* of the *English* troops in those provinces. For at this time, as all agreed to the *cessation*, except the *Scotch* in *Ulster*, so they would have submitted to any peace that should have been concluded between my lord of *Ormond* and the *confederates*; and, thus united, the *Scots* and the rest of the parliament party would have been soon forced to a submission. It was certainly a great folly, and a prodigious instance of blind zeal in the *Irish* clergy, to stand thus out with the king, after such repeated professions of loyalty, and so many battles lost by their *generals* in the four provinces of the kingdom, who had not all this time gained one single victory from the beginning of the confederacy, nor any colour of success, but what little advantages I gained, as you have already seen.

Besides, it was very visible that the *confederate Irish* could subsist no longer than the war lasted between the king and parliament; and if upon any terms the king and they agreed,

whether he forced them to a submission, or was forced to comply with their insolent demands, as there was no possibility for the *Irish* then to hold out, so they could not in reason expect any mercy from either; but Major General *Monroe*, some time before, arrived in *Ulster* from *Scotland* with 10,000 new *Scots*, to whom Sir *Robert Steward* joined with 5 or 6000 of the old *Scots*, natives of that province; and also some *English*, under the command of Sir *Audley Mervin*. Sir *Theophilus Jones*, and others, would not submit to this cessation, but forced General *O'Neil* to such great streights, (who had been, but a little time before, defeated by that party, in the encounter where *Con O'Neil*, and many others, were killed,) that in the beginning of the winter (leaving his troops and *Ceareaghts* to shift the best they could for themselves) he came to the general assembly, held at *Waterford*, where he set forth the lamentable condition of his people, desiring the assistance of the other three provinces, and, in the name of his own province, undertaking to join to their forces 4000 foot and 400 horse; but withal declaring, that otherwise he, with his forces and *Ceareaghts*, should be obliged to save themselves in the other provinces. This last point of *Owen*



O'Neil's speech (besides their persuasion, that the *Scots* would not fail soon to follow and visit them) made the assembly come to a quick conclusion, and agreed to send 6000 foot and 600 horse out of the other three provinces. But it coming to the question, who should be the 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 to be drawn; then at the table where the clerk sat, every member of the *general assembly*, one after another, with a pen, puts 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 which were bishops,) being upon their oath to overlook this marking. Now, contrary to *Owen O'Neil's* expectation, who had designed this generalship for himself, by which he would be *generalissimo*, I happened to be chosen, which *Owen-Roe* took extremely to heart, as I have reason to believe. However, he carried it fairly, and came to congratulate and wish me good success; giving withal great assurances of his performance, and readiness to serve me to the utmost of his power.

Next day a commission was sent me with orders to prepare all things for this expedition; which I did, and made some inquiry into the matter. But the farther I looked into it, the worse I liked it; for I considered I was now to make a war, not only in a country where we had never been, but where we had not so much as one city or walled town, and the enemy had many.

That by all intelligence, I found the *Scot* could draw into the field 16 or 17,000 men. That if *Owen O'Neil* should perform, and deal fairly with me, yet all I was to expect did not exceed 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. That having no towns in *Ulster*, we should be forced to bring all our provisions from the other provinces, where I had my magazines. That I must depend upon *Owen O'Neil* 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, as I was to make an offensive war. I had also this consideration to discourage me, that although our parties had commonly the better, yet our army had always the worst. This was experienced in several

battles and rencounters ; and the reason thereof was clear and obvious. For most of all the great towns in the kingdom were the enemy's, and garrisoned ; and of the few we had, there was none but *Kilkenny* would receive a garrison. So that at our leaving the field in winter, as the enemy returned into their garrison, where they were with their officers kept in discipline, ours were dispersed all over the kingdom, into little villages, and odd houses, never seeing an officer till the next campaign ; and, therefore, came to their rendezvous in the beginning of every field, like new men half changed. And for the horse, they were 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 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 with all possible means, and seek to make my war by parties and surprises. Now, having time enough 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 were possessed of *Castle-carrow* and *Castle-*

*barr*, the former commanded by one *Bourk*, the latter by the lord *Mayo*. I took with me 2000 men, passed the *Shannon* at *Fort-Faulkland*, and, by the marques of *Clanrickard's* permission, marched through his country. These castles made little resistance, and being yielded, I sent my party under the command of Sir *James Dillon* into the county of *Roscommon*, to reduce the *Armesbys* and some others that held garrisons there, and would not submit to the *cessation*. When he had done this work, which he had quickly dispatched, he returned into *Leinster*, and lodged the troops as he was ordered. But I went straight to *Kilkenny*, to put all in order for the next campaign; yet still with some mistrust of *Owen O'Neil's* performance. Wherefore I desired and prevailed with the council to grant me 400 horse and dragoons more, in case I could raise them, as I did without charge to the country.

The first rendezvous I made in order to this field, was about midsummer 1644, at *Granard*, in the county of *Longford*; where I had appointed 3000 horse and foot, with two or three field pieces, to meet me; intending there to have expected the coming up of the whole army,

which might be in four or five days time, for *O'Neil* was near encamped at *Portlester*, and the rest marching as ordered. My spies that met me at this rendezvous, and came in haste, agreed they had left the enemy near a certain mountain, threescore miles off; that they were 17,000 strong, with one and twenty days provision, no cannon nor other baggage, and were ready to march. I thought myself pretty secure for that night; but before day, one from *Cavan* (which was but twelve miles distance) assured me, he had left the whole army of the enemy 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*, having ordered the rest of the army to come thither; and at that instant commanded a colonel with 5 or 600 foot, and 100 horse, to defend the bridge of *Fienagh*, that I might not be pursued: 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 shewed themselves the next day before that bridge; but 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 our foot could do nothing, but, through fear to kill their own, left bridge, castle and all, free for the enemy. However, it availed them little ; for, finding me well posted, though *O'Neil* was of another opinion, their provisions shrunk, and being at least twelve days march from their own country, they stayed not to give me further trouble, but hastened homewards.

I was now at leisure to call on General *O'Neil* for his 4000 foot and 400 horse, being resolved to follow the enemy, and try my fortune in *Ulster*, as I was designed. He excused himself, by reason of the continual alarms in his country, that he could not at present make good his word ; yet assured me, that as soon as I came into the province, I should have no reason to complain. On this assurance, I marched on with my 6000 foot, and 1000 horse and dragoons ; and *O'Neil* joined with me about 200 horse and 3 or 400 foot ; his *Ceareaghts* marching with us, and drew me on as far as *Toimeragaoh* ; where having intelligence that the enemy had re-victualled themselves, and were returning to encounter

me, I pressed *O'Neil* very hard to make good his word ; but he plainly told me, he could not do it; alleging, that his people we all amongst the *Cearaghts*, and every one looking to save what he had. In this sad condition I blamed my own weakness, that I was persuaded with fair promises to come so far into an enemy's country, and with such a handful of men to oppose a powerful army ; however, I was resolved to see the enemy, then encamped at *Dromore-Iveagh* ; and therefore taking such guides as *O'Neil* would give me, and leaving the command of the camp to him in the evening, I marched with my 1000 horse and dragoons, and 1500 foot, towards *Dromore*. 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 sun-rising when I came within two miles of their horse-quarters. Nevertheless, though I lost my design, yet still I was resolved to see my enemy ; and to this end (perceiving some of their horse at grass) I drew up my men under a hill, near a little river, where there was a stone bridge, and sent a party to take those horses ; which they did, and brought them to me. But the

enemy's 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. During this dispute, I perceived a party of foot coming over a great plain ; then I galloped down myself, with some officers and more horse, and forcing the bridge, I had the cutting off that party of foot, and took their commander, Captain *Blare*, prisoner : whilst this was doing, 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 flight. In short, before this bickering 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 the camp, I acquainted *O'Neil* 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 very large plain joined to it ; on the one side runs the *Black-water*, and near the fort a bridge over



it, the rest surrounded with bogs and moorish grounds. My horse lay encamped at *Benboarb*, on the other side of the river. At the same time that I came into this place, *Monro*, with his army, arrived at *Armagh*, about two or three miles distant, and there encamped and fortified themselves. Thus neither of us being able to engage the other, we lay in a pretty good correspondence, and the small war we had was chiefly in cutting parties and convoys.

During this idle time I went often to see my horse-quarters, and being one day merry with the officers, several soldiers came about us, and in a pleasant way, I asked them what they would give to come to a day's work with the enemy? They answered, they would be glad of it, if their doublets and skins could be made proof against the lances of the *Scots*, of which they had many squadrons. Having found this apprehension, I passed off the discourse, and that night dispatched an express to *Wexford*, where I had a magazine, to bring me thence so many defensive arms as might cover two ranks of my horse; which being come, and every day finding more difficulties, I resolved to march away; for my provision came much

harder to me than the enemy's did to them; and *O'Neil* began to be very weary sometimes of assisting me with cows; so that after two months I resolved the endeavouring to gain my own country, seeing no hopes of any forces from *O'Neil*: 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 *Toineragaoh*, by which the enemy's provisions came. Having finished this way, and knowing their days, I took time to pass over most of my horse and some foot, shewing them beyond the *Tougher*, as if that night I intended straight for *Toineragaoh*, 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 *Monro* understanding, and finding I lay easier for my provisions than he did for his, raised his camp, and marched home.

It being now late in the year, and *Monro* retired, I sent a party of horse and foot to bring off my cannon, and what I left in the fort of *Charlemont*, and so marched to *Fineagh*; where I met commissioners from the *supreme council*, to receive the army, and lodge them on the three provinces, together with 1500 *Ulster* men, who, on my orders, came to me out of *Connaught*, being of no army, but endeavouring to live by strong hand, which I would not admit. Thus ended the *Ulster* expedition, like to be so fatal to the confederate Catholics of *Ireland*, through the failing, or something else, of General *Owen Roe O'Neil*. 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.

Having thus left the army with commissioners, on muster above 8000 strong, (for I had been recruited with several companies,) I took my way to *Kilkenny*, ill pleased that the treaty of peace was delayed so long; and designed not to stir from the council till I saw it concluded. But coming there, I found the *supreme council* in great consternation; for the lord *Desmond*, governor of *Duncannon*, which

commanded the harbour of *Waterford*, was declared for the parliament; as also my lord *Inchiquin*, in *Munster*, who before had not only submitted to the *cessation*, but sent a considerable number of his troops, and himself followed soon after into *England* to serve the king, where, having some disgust, as it is said, because the presidency of *Munster* was given to the earl of *Portland*, he returns and declares for the parliament, commanding, by their commission, as president of *Munster*. These of *Waterford* especially pressed the taking of *Duncannon*, making great offers to the council of large assistance: *Preston* is named for this work, it being within his province, and is sent thither with 3 or 4000 men, miners, and a good train of artillery. I had the curiosity to see this siege, and will relate the particulars, because the only one in form I saw in *Ireland*.

He made no line of circumvallation, fearing no succour that could come on the land side; 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 ditch before the rampier; for it had no counterscarp or bastions, but was fortified in reddant. Those within

made a good defence, and lost nothing in six weeks, only the besiegers had made a lodging on the edge of the ditch. At this time two or three parliament frigates arrived with succour of men, ammunition and provisions, and came to anchor within less than cannon shot of the *fort*: but before they could man out their boats, so terrible a storm arose, that in eight or ten days none could come ashore. Whereupon those within being in despair, and pressed with want, were forced to yield.

All this while my lord of *Inchiquin* over-run *Munster*, and coming to *Cashel*, the people retired to the *Rock*, where the cathedral church stands, and thought to defend it. But it was carried by storm, and the soldiers gave no quarter; so that, within and without the church, there was a great massacre, and, amongst others, more than twenty priests and religious men killed. Towards the spring the *supreme council* ordered me to go against *Inchiquin*, and to begin the field as early as I could. The enemy in this province had always been victorious, beating the confederates in every encounter, having never received any check, but in that I mentioned at *Cloghleagh*: so that every gentleman's house or castle was garrisoned, and

kept the country in awe. To begin, therefore, this field, I made my first rendezvous at *Clonmel*, and the army encamped not far from it. Thither came *Dean Boyle*, now lord chancellor of *Ireland*, and then married to my lord *Inchiquin's* sister; his business was to persuade me to spare *Doneraile*, and other houses and castles not tenable. I answered, that I desired it as much as he, though hitherto they had annoyed the country, equally as if they had been strong. I told him, in short, I had orders to take all I could, and such as I thought not fit to garrison, to destroy; yet if he pleased to cause the garrisons to be drawn out, and by letters from the owners to put them into my hands, I would appoint some few men unto them with commanders, in whom I most confided, and would make it my business to intercede to the council to preserve them. The *Dean* and I parted good friends: but whether he could prevail or no with my lord *Inchiquin*, or the owners, I know not; but I heard no more from him.

Soon after, that is, about the fifth of *April*, 1645, I marched to *Caperquin*, my army consisting of about 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with some cannon; and having viewed the place, I

soon perceived where they mistook that besieged it the year before, and after much time spent with great loss of men, were forced to quit it: there being a town and castle that commanded it, they attacked the town, and I, on the contrary, the castle, which yielded; the town could not resist; *Dromanne* likewise fell into my hands. Whilst I was ordering these places, a trumpet came to me from the lord *Broghill* (since made earl of *Orrery*) to let me know that he was on the great *Coney-warren*, near *Lismore*, where he should be glad to see me. The trumpet pressed my answer, but I kept him with me, and immediately marched towards my lord; but upon my coming near, he drew off, and marched away.

From thence I wrote a letter to the commander of *Lismore*, a house of my lord of *Cork's*, I think one Major *Poer*, to endeavour to persuade him to put that place into my hands, and gave him many reasons why I desired its preservation, as if it were my own. But he answered, that his honour was above all; that he would hold it to the last, and doubted not of timely succour; so I left Major *Poer*, and marched to *Mitchilstown*, which, after some shot of cannon, was surrendered. Then hav-

ing intelligence that 6 or 700 horse were come over the *Black-water*, marching towards me, and at that time drawn up on a hill in the great plain of *Roche's* country, I marched with the army towards them, not knowing but that my lord *Inchiquin* might be near with his forces. But these horse, when we were all in sight, retired, whereupon Lieutenant-General *Purcell*, with several other officers and gentlemen of the country, who had viewed them near at hand, came galloping to me, saying, that the enemy were packing away, and pressed me to let him have my horse; for they had them so sure, that they could not possibly escape. I made some difficulty of the matter, but they said it was because I knew not the country; yet I knew so much, that, yielding to their desires, I should be exposed in a great campaign country, with an army of foot and cannon, without horse. Nevertheless, after all (which I count certainly amongst my other follies,) I suffered myself to be persuaded, and marched away with my horse in great haste. I followed slowly, and coming to the *Black-water*, near the ford of *Fermoy*, drew my foot and cannon into an old *Dane's fort*, Ireland being full of them; and having stayed there a good while, and hearing no news of my



horse, I began to be uneasy. But remembering that I had a guard of horse on some beef that was for the provision of the army, I sent for them, and at the same time unexpectedly came to me *Garret Garrubh*, with my old life-guard of horse out of *Leinster*, these and those, making in all about one hundred: having first ordered 1500 foot to stand in readiness, I marched with them to see what became of the troops sent with *Purcell*; and finding, by the track, that my horse had passed the *ford*, and taken their way towards *Castle-Lyons*, I followed. Being come near the top of the hill, above the *ford*, I left those few I had with me drawn up, and with some officers went myself to a height to discover. Then I saw all the enemy formed in a great plain, with a scrub of wood before them, and my horse in haste marching through to charge, having with them 100 commanded foot. But the enemy seeing the squadrons broken as they came on the plain, gave them no time to form, but charged and defeated them.

On sight of this disorder, and the enemy pursuing, when they came near me, I advanced, crying out to my own men, that they should rally behind me. The enemy seeing

these fresh horses, and not knowing but the army might be near, pursued no further, but drew up. The 1500 foot that I sent for soon came to me; on sight of which, the enemy retiring to *Castle-Lyons*, I followed; but it being now dusk, I could not engage them. Hence I marched to *Mallow* and took it, but with some shot of cannon, and left a garrison in it. *Doneraile* and *Liscarrol* made no resistance. *Mill-town* stood out, so that I thought it would cost some trouble. But whilst the batteries were preparing, 2 or 300 boys belonging to the army, that used to form themselves in battalions, having got crows of iron, pick-axes, and other instruments, a little before sun-set, fell on the place, intending, I suppose, only to have taken the cows and sheep within a court, which was walled: but success carried them further; and, with the help of some soldiers, they took the castle by strong hand. So all that side of the *Black-water* being cleared, I sent the army for 15 days into quarters of refreshment, and I went myself to *Kilmalock*, and other places, where I kept my magazines. In the mean time, my lord *Inchiquin* having taken *Rostellan*, besieged *Ballymartyr*, a castle belonging to his uncle, *Edmund Fitzgerald*, seneschal of *Imokilly*.

My army being come together, I marched to succour it; but there being a flood in the *Black-water*, I was hindered for two days; so that when I came in sight of the place, I found it taken, burning, and the enemy retreating, some to *Cork*, others to *Youghall*, &c.

Having thus lost my design of succouring *Ballymartyr*, and that which I wished most, engaging the enemy, I stayed two or three days encamped near this burnt castle, thinking what to do. At length I got intelligence that Colonel *Henry O'Brien*, (brother to the lord of *Inchiquin*,) and Lieutenant-Colonel *Courtney*, with several other officers, were come by boat to *Rostellan*, to make merry; that the tide falling, their boats were aground, and so would continue till high-water. On the certainty of this I lost no time, but sent immediately a party to seize the boats, lying more than a musket shot from the castle, following as fast as I could with the army; which being come up, I presently fell to the work, planted my guns on the batteries made by my lord *Inchiquin*, not yet destroyed, and in the morning the place yielded on discretion. Hence I marched to *Castle-Lyons*, which, after some battering, yielded; I advanced towards *Lismore*, but *Coney-Castle*

lying on a pass in my way, and sending (on summons) a defiance, I encamped before it, thinking to plant my guns that night ; but the boys eased me of that trouble, and before it was dark, took it, as they did the former, by storm. Hence I wrote again to the governor of *Lismore*, to put that place into my hands, that I might turn the army another way, having as much kindness for the owner as he could have ; but not prevailing, I invested it ; and having ordered the batteries, and Lieutenant-General *Purcell* to command, and try if he could have better success with that place now, than when he had formerly besieged it ; and so rode to *Kilkenny*, as not willing to be present at the destruction of a house, where I formerly had received many civilities ; at my return, five or six days after, I found the place yielded, and the garrison marching out. After this, being encamped at *Tallow*, intelligence was brought me that Colonel *Mac William Ridgeway* was gone from *Cork* into the county of *Limerick*, with a great party of horse and foot. I marched immediately with all my horse, and 1500 foot, straight for *Cork* ; coming near, I left my foot to make good my retreat, and about an hour in the night arrived near the gates, and put myself on the way to *Mallow*, by which *Mac*

*William* was to return; and gently marching on, we met some of the enemy, whom we charged, and, with little or no opposition, killed some, and took others; but the night being extreme dark, we could do no execution. In this blind scuffle, Captain *James Brown*, brother to Sir *Valentine Brown*, a brave gentleman, was slain. By the prisoners we found that their commander, *Mac William Ridgeway*, had been killed that day by a shot out of a castle in *Roche's* country. Which way they had taken to return with the body, we could not find. We marched a little forwards, but it being so dark that nothing could be done, I returned with my party to *Tallow*, and marched the army towards *Youghall*. All the castles on the way submitted on easy terms: I will only take notice of one, because of the accident, though I have forgot the name of the place; I remember it was a castle that yielded early in the morning without resistance. Now, presently after it was surrendered, the weather being very fair, I went a hunting, leaving Colonel *Henesey* to see the quarter made good; which was to march with their arms, bag and baggage. But the soldiers having been used to take places by strong hand, and so enriching themselves by plunder, would have done the like by this, though it had con-

ditions. To prevent this outrage, the colonel and several other officers went into the castle, joining with the garrison in its defence : but the foot nevertheless fell on, and there was great shooting on both sides. I wondered what the matter was, and fearing that the lord *Inchiquin* had attempted something, I returned in great haste. The soldiers seeing me coming sooner than they expected, ran into the woods adjoining. When I came to the castle, and Colonel *Henesey* had related the matter, I made the garrison march out according to their conditions. Then I began to inquire after my mutineers, and caused the trumpets to sound and drums to beat, for drawing all to their arms : it was some time before the gentlemen could be brought together ; and having at last put both horse and foot in order of battle, I went from battalion to battalion, telling them their fault, and what the consequence might have been, and concluded that they all merited death ; which they acknowledging, I added that some justice must be done, and asked them whether they were content, for example sake, to deliver two out of each battalion, as it should fall amongst them by lots ? they agreed ; but when they came to be shot, I thought the number too great, and made them throw again for two only, which suffered.

But to return to our story: from this castle I marched to *Youghall*, and encamped loosely before it, thinking to distress the place; and towards the sea, near *Crocker's* works, I sent Major-General *Purcell* with 1500 men, and some small pieces, to hinder succour that might come by sea. Whilst this was doing, I went with a party in the night, and two pieces of cannon, and passed the *Black-water* at *Temple-Michael*, and before day had my two guns planted at the ferry-point, over against *Youghall*, and within less than musquet shot of two parliament frigates: at the second shot one blew up, but some days after the enemy made a sally from *Crocker's* works, and ill-treated Major-General *Purcell*, taking one of his guns.

Now, by way of digression, I must tell you, that about this time (midsummer 1645) there arrived in the west of *Ireland* *Rinuccini*, archbishop and prince of *Fermo*, in quality of *Nuncio*, sent by Pope *Innocent* the Tenth to the confederate Catholics, and coming near the coast, was chased by a parliament frigate, commanded by one *Plunkett*; but as he was ready to board him, he saw his kitchen-chimney on fire; which, to quench, he was forced to lie

by, and so gave the *Nuncio* an opportunity of gaining the shore, to the great misfortune of the confederate Catholics, and many other good and valuable interests.

Soon after this there came a fleet of boats, and larger vessels, sent by my lord *Inchiquin*, from *Cork*, with supplies of men and provision, and succoured the town ; on which I marched off, and trifled out the remainder of that campaign in destroying the harvest ; only a party of my men attempted to plunder the *great island*, near *Barry's court* ; but being ill guided in passing, and the sea coming in sooner than they expected, their design failed. Besides, there were of the enemy, that opposed their coming on dry land, and Captain *Thurlagh O'Brien* was killed by a loose shot out of a castle in the island.

Now, it being the latter end of *November*, the snow falling, I retired to *Caperquin*, and commissioners being come to lay out winter-quarters for the army, I left it, and repaired to *Kilkenny*, where I found the council in great debate, and much divided concerning the *peace*, which their commissioners had fully concluded with my lord of *Ormond*, at *Dublin*,



and wanted nothing but to have their agreements approved by the supreme council. Many days the dispute held after my coming to them ; and at length, we that were for the *peace*, finding ourselves the greater number, pressed the putting it to the vote ; on which one of the contrary party, seeing it could not be refused, proposed, that as we all pretended to be for the king, and differed only in the way of best serving him, to put us right, we should do well to desire a certain *English* nobleman, then in town, and lately come from *England*, to give us his opinion in the matter, which he did in the afternoon, absolutely against the peace, if the *Nuncio* did not approve it ; which was not to be hoped for. Thus all our endeavours, that were for it, came to nothing ; and I, for my part, immediately laid down my command of *Munster*, and would act no more. Many reasons I had besides this that drove me to despair : for though, on the first *cessation*, if the *peace* had followed in any reasonable time, we might probably have kept up the king ; yet now the matter was much changed, since the coming of the *Nuncio*, and *Inchiquin's* revolting with the *English* army, and the towns under his command, from the king's authority, and declaring for the parliament. This, together with the

underhand acting of the earl of *Glamorgan*, newly come from *England*, gave much trouble to the marques of *Ormond*, in his endeavours for establishing the *peace*. The earl of *Glamorgan* pretending large commissions from the king, by colour of which, he had entered into several secret treaties with the *Nuncio's* party, very contrary to what the lord lieutenant had been doing, gave such hopes to the confederates, that they would give no ear to what the lord lieutenant had proposed. Besides, the confederates, since the arrival of the *Nuncio*, had fallen into great factions and divisions, and, amongst others, began to renew the fatal distinction between the old *English* and ancient *Irish*.

On my quitting the command of *Munster*, the earl of *Glamorgan* (since made marques of *Worcester*) was chosen in my place, on promises that he would contribute out of his own purse great sums of money towards the service of that province. In order to this, he gave great commissions for the raising many regiments, giving winter-quarters on the province, with promise of satisfaction. But my lord *Inchiquin*, towards the spring, sent along by sea, from *Cork*, 500 foot and 150 horsemen,

with saddles, and all sorts of arms, for horse and foot; who, entering the *Shannon*, seized *Bunratty*, in the county of *Clare*, a castle belonging to the earl of *Thomond*, where he found a brave stable of horses and mares, on which he mounted all his horsemen. The earl of *Glamorgan*, to keep in this garrison, ordered some troops to *Six-mile-bridge*, between *Limerick* and *Bunratty*, but were beaten by that garrison. The earl, after this, rendezvoused his whole army at *Clonmel*; to which rendezvous my lord of *Muskry* came, and some difference falling out between those two noblemen, my lord of *Muskry* took the command of the army to himself, and with it besieged *Bunratty*. To this siege the supreme council soon followed; the place held out five or six weeks; but not two days after, the attack was changed to the side of the moorish land towards the *Shannon*.

I must now tell you, that the lord *Inchiquin*, on the certainty of *Bunratty's* being besieged, and the whole army of *Munster* engaged, marched into the county of *Limerick*, and having no passage over the river *Shannon* to go to its succour, thought, by diversion, to oblige my lord *Muskry* to draw off, by

burning, plundering, and destroying the country, even to the gates of *Limerick*.

In this city the supreme council sat at that time, whither I was coming, by chance ; they sent for me, and having sufficiently declared to me the ill condition they were in, (for Sir *Charles Coote* was acting in *Connaught*, the same part that my lord *Inchiquin* played in *Munster*;) they desired my assistance, and prayed that I would head some horse they had appointed to rendezvous near *Cloghnotsy*, a house of Sir *Edmond Fitzharris*, seated in the mountain that runs between the counties of *Cork* and *Limerick*.

These were but 500 old horse, commanded by *Mac Thomas* ; the rest, which they reckoned 1500 more, were to consist of gentlemen, and such as they brought with them : I excused myself, as well as I could, alleging, that since my quitting the command in *Munster*, I had laid aside all thoughts of war, and that I came there as a passenger in my way to see the siege of *Bunratty*, having neither equipage nor horse for service ; but on their promises to furnish me with these and other necessities, I was at length overcome by their persuasions,

or rather pity of their condition. My condescension was immediately published for the encouragement of the gentry; and the next day I went to the rendezvous, where I found the 500 horse with *Mac Thomas*, and as many gentlemen, with their dependants, as made 500 more, which I immediately formed into squadrons, and drew against my lord *Inchiquin*, and kept as near him as I durst; so that now he marched and encamped pretty close. This lasted four or five days, till at length my lord *Inchiquin*, finding this check hindered him from destroying the country, retired to his garrisons, and I went to the siege.

All this while a treaty of *peace* with my lord of *Ormond* went on, though much opposed by the *Nuncio*, and the *national congregation of the clergy*, gathered by his orders at *Waterford*, where they met the four archbishops, and most of the bishops and heads of religious orders in the kingdom.

The *Nuncio* and this *congregation* went so far, as to declare the confederate commissioners (treating with the lord lieutenant, and all others that should submit unto the peace in hand) perjured and forsworn, threatening them with

thunders of excommunication in case of persisting. This, with some secret concessions they had gained from the earl of *Glamorgan*, in favour of their religion, not discovered till found in the archbishop of *Tuam*'s pocket, after he was killed in a fight near *Sligo*, divided the confederate Catholics into two factions; the one called the *Nuncio*'s, the other *Ormond*'s party. Yet, notwithstanding, the treaty went on, and concluded in an agreement, called *the peace of forty-six*, which being proclaimed at *Kilkenny*, the lord lieutenant came thither, accompanied with many noblemen and others, besides 1200 foot and 200 horse, as a guard. The supreme council received him with all due respect, and surrendered their government to him.

But this sun-shine lasted not long, when the news was brought, that those of *Limerick* had rejected the *peace*, declaring for the Pope's *Nuncio*, and affronted the king at arms, going to proclaim it; that *Clonmel* shut their gates on the same score. General *Roe O'Neil*, being proud of a late victory he had gained over the *Scots*, in *Ulster*, declared also for the Pope's *Nuncio*. *Preston*, general of *Leinster*, being at *Birr*, in the King's county, looked very

cloudily, yet held correspondence with the lord lieutenant, withal excusing his attendance, on pretence of some indisposition.

The *Nuncio* being now at *Waterford*, at the head of the *national congregation*, and having, by his threats of excommunication, thus broken us, the lord lieutenant, by advice of the commissioners of trust, (which were men named by the confederates to see the peace observed,) sent me to try if I could persuade the *Nuncio* to let the peace go on. But all I could do was in vain, he declaring his resolution to oppose it to the utmost, with other expressions relating to blood, not becoming a churchman.

Being returned, and having acquainted the lord lieutenant with what had passed, and seeing him still fixed on his design of marching into *Munster*, I was somewhat troubled; and finding Colonel *John Barry* (a man in much credit with his excellency) at *Lucas Dillon's* lodgings, I discovered to them my apprehensions concerning my lord lieutenant's intended march into *Munster*; by setting forth the malice I found in the clergy's party, and how they grew daily stronger by the revolt of troops

and towns unto them ; that *Owen O'Neil* was a declared enemy, and at the head of a victorious army, and might certainly, if we marched further, cut off our retreat ; that the lord's party, for number, were not considerable, and that the supreme council were dissolved on the proclamation of peace, and, consequently, of no authority to make good the public faith ; with much more to this effect, concluding the march very dangerous.

They promised to discourse this with the lord lieutenant ; but whether they did or no, or if they did, whether his excellency would believe so much falshood to be amongst men, as was then designing against him, I cannot tell ; but in two or three days after, he began his march for *Munster*, and coming to *Carrick*, (a house of his own,) word was brought him there, that *Mac Thomas* had declared for the *Nuncio*, and was drawn up near *Clonmel*, with 3 or 400 horse. I was sent to him by his excellency, as thinking my interest might have gained something on him, because he had served most of the wars under my command. When I came, and delivered him my message, he answered, that he was engaged with the *Nuncio*, according to his conscience, and would



not quit him. I acquainted his excellency with this answer, and added, that I saw no hopes of reclaiming this man; yet the lord lieutenant went on, and took his way towards *Cashel*; *Mac Thomas* marching for the most part in sight of us,

As we came near the town, and made some halt, his excellency received advice, I think from my lord *Dillon*, residing at *Athlone*, that *O'Neil* was marching against him with all the force he could make; whereupon my lord was pleased to call me to him, and telling me his intelligence, asked my opinion, what was best to be done. I gave it quickly, that he should immediately march back the shortest way, and endeavour to gain *Loughlin-bridge*. This he did accordingly, but passing near *Kilkenny*, he sent his brother, Sir *George Hambleton*, and myself, to let the magistrates of that city know, what intelligence he had from all hands; however, if they pleased, he would come to them with the party he had, and venture his fortune with them. They received the message with all due respect, and answered, that if he pleased to come to them, they would serve him with their lives and fortunes, though they did believe it should be the loss of him and them

together. On our report, his excellency kept on for the gaining *Loughlin*, where there was a bridge that crossed the river *Barrow*, a fort at the end, on the county of *Carlow* side, commanded by Colonel *Walter Bagnall*. Having gained this point, we lost no time in our march to *Dublin*, where, coming near, 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. As we came into the suburbs, his excellency honoured me with the carrying of the sword before him through the city, for which I can give no other reason, (besides his own goodness,) but that I had always been a promoter of the peace, and the only man of the confederate Catholics that came with him, and never left him in these adventures.

The *Nuncio* now thought all his own, committed to prison such of the late supreme council, and others, as he called, of *Ormond's* party, and having got his forces together, commanded by *O'Neil* and *Preston*, as generals under him, he marched them in one army (though, for their better conveniency, they took two different ways) towards *Dublin*; they were noised

so numerous, and so powerful, that, in good earnest, the people, officers and soldiers, did not know what to make of it, and shewed apprehensions enough. His excellency, perceiving this, as it was too plain, called for me, and we discoursed the whole matter. I took the boldness to give my opinion, which was, that this army of the *Nuncio* could no longer subsist in any place, than they found provisions where they came; that neither of those generals had any magazines during the war; that they undertook this matter in confidence of the plenty they should find in his quarters; that I thought it was a thing of too great hazard to oppose them in the field, and yet, if they were not stopped, they would come on, and at least live upon him till they had eaten all: lastly, that on consideration of the whole, I thought it best to prevent their coming too near, which could not be done by any other way, than by destroying the quarters. His excellency was of the same opinion, and, therefore, sent orders immediately to all people within eight miles of the town, to bring in whatever they had, giving them three or four days time for it; and what was found abroad, after the day prefixed, particularly forage and mills, parties were ordered to burn and destroy them. This

was all effected before the *Nuncio* and his army were come to *Kilcullen-bridge*. Yet, notwithstanding this discouragement, they advanced as far as *Leixlip* and *Newcastle*; both which places, lying within three miles distant of one another, and six from *Dublin*, they made their head-quarters, *Preston* at *Leixlip*, and *Owen O'Neil* at *Newcastle*; the *Nuncio*, with his council, remaining at *Suganstown*, some six miles further off. But not being able to live long on the air; for from their own country, they expected not much, and the continual rains having raised the river *Liffey*, and all the bridges being broken, hindered what was coming to them: and great jealousies (even more than the ordinary ones) arising betwixt the two generals, and betwixt the *Nuncio* also and *Preston*, they returned several ways in greater haste than they came.

The quarters being destroyed, and *Athlone* betrayed to the *Nuncio*, by *Dillon*, a friar, and the harbour of *Dublin* blocked up by parliament men of war, the marques of *Ormond* was forced to retreat: and, of the two, chose to apply himself to the parliament of *England*; during which treaty, his excellency was forced to march into

the county of *Westmeath*, and other parts, to feed his people, where we were not much at our ease, for *Owen O'Neil* continually alarmed us.

Now all being agreed for the delivery of the places, under the marques's command, to the parliament commissioners, of which Mr. *Annesley* (since made earl of *Annesley*) was chief, I took my leave of his excellency, resolving to go to *France*, though with much grief of heart to leave this noble lord, who had shewed so much loyalty, justice, and steadiness in his proceedings, during these transactions, even from the meeting in *Suganstown*, to the conclusion of the peace, made with the confederates; and now again, to the giving up of his government to the parliament, for which, I doubt not, but he shall remain in story, as he deserves, a fixed star, by whose light others may walk in his steps: this was the effect of breaking the *peace of forty-six*; and let the failure of that peace lie at whose door it will, it is no rashness to say, that story hardly mentions any one thing that had so fatal a consequence. For if that *peace* had gone on, the king had presently been supplied with great forces out of *Ireland*, both of *English* and *Irish*; and pro-

bably might have prevented the ensuing mischiefs that shortly after happened, both to him. and to all his loyal subjects throughout his dominions.

The *Irish* had a more particular ill fate than the rest, by this breach of faith ; but they soon discovered their error, and did, not long after, earnestly endeavour to make amends, the best they could, by a second and very solemn agreement, called *the peace of forty-eight* ; which their commissioners signed, and themselves confirmed, and sealed with the blood of many thousands of their best men, who lost their lives to maintain it, refusing, in the mean time, advantageous offers of peace (and that even to the very last) made to them by the parliament ; yet, since his majesty's most happy restoration, all their estates (some very few excepted) do, by the act of settlement, remain with the conquerors,

The marques of *Ormond*, having performed agreements with the parliament, left *Ireland*, and, after some time spent in *England*, went for *France*. At *St. Germain's* he attended the queen and prince of *Wales*. But it was not long before my lord *Inchiquin*, having some discontent

given him by the parliament, entered into secret treaties with the lord *Taaff*, (since made earl of *Carlingford*,) and other principal leaders amongst the well-affected *Irish*, who, since the rejection of the peace, had lost two great battles; the one at *Dungan's* hill, near *Lynch's* knock, under General *Preston*; the other at *Knocknanoss*, under my lord *Taaff*: and looking on these great losses on their side as heavy judgments of heaven, to punish the late unparalleled breach of *faith*, they began to be as weary of the *Nuncio*, as my lord *Inchiquin* was of the parliament. Wherefore, after some time spent in treaties between them, both parties concluded a *cessation of arms*. The *Nuncio*, then at *Kilkenny*, did what he could to hinder this *cessation*, but not prevailing, retired in discontent to *Kilminchin*, in the Queen's county, a country entirely possessed by *O'Neil's* troops, who had fortified *Athy*, the fort of *Lease*, and all other places capable of strength, and provided what was needful. Yet the *Nuncio*, for all his haste out of *Kilkenny*, did not omit to leave behind him an interdict on all places, and an excommunication against all persons, that should adhere to the cessation of arms, made with my lord *Inchiquin*. But seeing this had no effect, after a time, he left *Kilminchin*, and

went to *Galway*; where finding the townsmen, for the most part, approving the cessation, he put an interdict on the churches and chapels there, causing the doors to be shut up; but the archbishop of *Tuam* got them to be opened by force, which caused such a bustle, that a man or two were killed in the tumult.

The *Irish* and *Inchiquin's* party, now in cessation of arms, they concluded to contrive the marques of *Ormond's* return, and, upon his arrival, to declare for the king. To this end, agents were sent from the confederates to *France*, viz. the marques of *Antrim*, the lord viscount *Muskry*, and *Jeoffry Brown*, Esq., who acted so effectually, that upon their offers, the queen and prince of *Wales* dispatched the lord lieutenant for *Ireland*, and, accordingly, he shipped at *Havre de Grace*, in a states man of war, and landed at *Cork*, myself and many others attending him. My lord *Inchiquin* was then with his army in the field, but came to him in a short time. I went before to *Kilkenny*, whither his excellency came soon after, and a new treaty was set on foot between him and an assembly of the *Irish*, then sitting in town. But the matter being of great weight, the assembly used all means to be rightly informed



of their condition, and therefore required the bishop of *Ferns* and Sir *Nicholas Plunket* (lately returned from *Rome*) to declare faithfully what might be expected from the Pope and court of *Rome*; they very ingenuously gave an account of all that passed in the negotiation, with the Pope and his ministers, concluding that no assistance or supplies were to be expected from that side. Hereupon the assembly named commissioners to draw up such articles as might be proposed to the lord lieutenant, in order to a peace.

After some days, his excellency and the commissioners came to a full agreement, which the assembly approved, and it goes by the name of *the peace of forty-eight*. What agreement there was between his excellency and my lord *Inchiquin*, I know not; but am sure that *Inchiquin* demanded of the lord lieutenant, and obtained all *Munster* for the recruiting and strengthening his army. The peace of *forty-eight* thus concluded, the *Nuncio* shipped himself for *France*, and so to his own country, after he had broken the confederacy, and imprisoned most of the supreme council, with others that would not submit unto him; and also had been the cause of shedding the

blood of many thousands, slain in fighting his battles and parties; all which concluded with the extirpation of the *Irish* nation, together with the destruction of the Catholic religion, in that kingdom. And the satisfaction the confederates got by this disorder was, the *Nuncio's* confinement to his archbishopric, after the Pope had checked him with these words only, *you behaved yourself rashly*. From the excommunication, the supreme council assembly, in behalf of themselves and the whole nation, appealed to the Pope, and so it remains to this day.

But to my own story: I am to tell you, that in the peace of *forty-six*, there was an article by which it was left to the confederate Catholics to name certain persons for general officers, to whom the lord lieutenant was to give commissions.

Now, I having served them long, as has been seen, and the articles being confirmed in this *peace of forty-eight*, they named me, as they had done in the former, to be general of the horse of the whole kingdom, which his excellency approved of, gave me his commission accordingly, and soon after sent

me into the Queen's county, with 5000 foot and 1000 horse, with some cannon, to reduce the *fort* of *Lease*, otherwise called *Maryborough*, of *Athy*, and other garrisons, possessed by *O'Neil's* people. Those troops for the most part were commanded by Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, Colonel *Treswell*, and other *English* officers, men that had always followed the lord lieutenant's fortune; and had been recruited and reinforced out of their winter-quarters at *Kilkenny*, and some counties about it.

With these, having well executed my orders, and reduced those garrisons, I marched to *Loughlin-bridge*, and there encamped, giving an account to his excellency of what had passed, and that I would expect there his further orders. But I was not many days before the lord lieutenant, the lord *Inchiquin*, lieutenant general of the army, the lord *Taaff*, master of the ordnance, Mr. *Daniel O'Neil*, governor of his excellency's guards of horse, with other generals, and the whole army of my lord *Inchiquin's*, and some *Irish* regiments, joined us.

With this army, and a good train of artillery, we passed the river *Barrow*, and that night encamped in the county of *Carlow*, where

something passed in point of command, that gave me ground to judge myself not well dealt with ; besides, I was harassed by my marches and labours in the Queen's county. In consideration of which his excellency, at my request, gave me leave to retire for some days to refresh myself, and his excellency marched on, and invested *Dublin*. I returned to *Kilkenny*, where, being arrived, I found the whole city in an uproar ; the occasion and issue of which take as followeth ;

One father *Caron*, at that time commissary general of the *Recollects* all over *Ireland*, being in *Kilkenny*, to reform the abuses of his order there, was by the commissioners of trust desired to remove one *Brenan*, and six or seven more, out of the *Franciscan* monastery of that town, and send them elsewhere to be kept under discipline. Their reason was, that these men were notoriously known to be still most violent sticklers for the ways of the *Nuncio*, and that they made it their business to incense the people anew against the peace, to alienate them from the government, and draw them wholly to *Owen O'Neil*, who yet stood out against all agreement with the king.

To satisfy so just a demand of the commissioners, father *Caron* appoints a day for *Brenan* and his associates to depart *Kilkenny*, and go to the several other convents, which he had appointed for them. And because he found, by their answers, they were resolved not to obey him, the commissioners of trust, upon notice thereof, more effectually resolved to force their obedience to his commands, by sending them away, conducted by guards, (yet by guards of *Roman Catholic* soldiers,) to the convents appointed them by their superior. On this resolution of the commissioners of trust, *Brenan* and his refractory brothers, having timely notice, and seeing no remedy, but by the interest they had in the town, three or four of them being natives, as one, by name *Rooth*, was brother to the major; besides, confiding in the common people, whom they had already possessed with many lies; but above all, persuading themselves that no Catholic durst attempt to violate the sanctity of their habit, or the privilege of their profession, by laying violent hands upon them; and Protestants they knew very well there were none in the town: what do they conclude at last? even very religiously to raise dangerous tumults, and that by a most false and malicious invention.

When the day appointed was come, these unruly *regulars*, by themselves and their emissaries, inform the heads of the rabble abroad, that the commissary and father, *Peter Welsh*, with five or six more of their company, had privately introduced a number of my lord *Inchiquin's* Protestant *Irish* soldiers into their convent, and clothed them like friars, on purpose to seize at night those few religious men that remained unalterable in their obedience to the *See apostolic*; and either to draw them into the river *Neoir*, that ran by their garden, or waft them over by boat, and put them to a more cruel death elsewhere, in some unknown place.

This lie did so inflame the meaner sort in the town and suburbs, (already pretty well prepared by other malicious inventions,) that upon a sudden many of them forced their way into the monastery, cursing and exclaiming against those that would turn away their friends.

Then arming themselves with what came next to their hands, with all the fury imaginable, they attacked a little castle, whereinto the commissary with his company withdrew to save themselves. At this time I came to town,

accompanied by Sir *George Hamilton* and four or five gentlemen, with about a dozen horse, three trumpets, and some footmen; and, being informed of the matter, I galloped presently with those of my company to the place, had a charge sounded, and fell among the rabble, and firing off pistols, and crying, *kill, kill, kill*. The multitude hearing the trumpets, and seeing the fire, (for it was now growing dark,) and knowing my voice, were surprised, and thought themselves betrayed, as knowing the army to be far off, in their march to *Dublin*, and therefore immediately routed and ran away; though they had brought them in the castle so low, that, to speak within compass, they could not hold out a quarter of an hour longer.

The fathers being thus relieved, after four hours defence, I inquired who governed this siege, and found that seven or eight friars of the convent, and, above all, the forementioned *Brenan* and *Rooth*, were the chief contrivers of this tumult. I sent for these incendiaries, and whilst I was reasoning with them, the town-major, one *Archer*, with a hundred musqueteers, came to my assistance, and presently followed the mayor and aldermen; whom after

I had roundly rattled for suffering this disorder, I commanded them to lay hold of those friars, and carry them prisoners to the castle: at which they staggering, and this *Brenan*, a sturdy friar, presuming to say, he would fain see what man durst touch his habit; I laid hold on him, saying, *lies the enchantment there?* and then the mayor, town-major and the rest, carried them away prisoners to the castle, as I had ordered.

Now, after a while, that I had diverted myself with hunting, and other recreations in the country, I repaired to *Limerick*; and while I stayed there, I caused all the people of that city and country (either by fair or foul means) to bring in what remained due to the king of their applotment, and got together about ten thousand pounds, which I delivered to Sir *George Hamilton*, treasurer of the army.

The lord lieutenant now wrote to the commissioners of trust, sitting at *Kilkenny*, to let me know that I should now come to the army, and all difficulties concerning command should be removed to my satisfaction. I obeyed, and Sir *George Hamilton* and myself, with our ten thousand pounds, went straight to the



army, which we found in their march, removing from the *Phoenix* side of *Dublin* to *Rathmines*, where they encamped.

But my lord *Inchiquin* soon after acquainted his excellency, with some letters he had received from his officers in *Munster*, that *Cromwell* was to land in that country; which, if true, he feared all his towns would revolt, if not prevented by his speedy repair thither, with all, or at least the most part of his army, and desired his excellency's consent, that he might march away with 1100 horse to secure the province. This his excellency imparted to me, which surprised me extremely, being sure the whole army was too weak for the work in hand. Nevertheless, my lord *Inchiquin* marched away with his 1100 horse, and you may imagine, many more; which in great measure gave way to the defeat that soon after happened before *Dublin*.

Not long after this, *Cromwell*, with his army, landed at *Dublin*, marched to *Tredath*, and took it (with all the towns in them parts) by storm; and those within (near 3000 men) he put all to the sword. The lord lieutenant being not able to make head against him,

retired with what troops he had to the county of *Kilkenny*, where my lord *Inchiquin* came to him, and in a short time made up a pretty good army ; for besides my lord *Inchiquin's* forces, many *Ulster* regiments of foot joined them: *Owen O'Neil* having by this time (though too late for himself and the king's service) come in upon articles, which he signed upon his death-bed, after he had been rejected by the parliament.

*Cromwell* having thus carried all before him about *Tredath*, returned to *Dublin*, to refresh his army, yet stayed not many days, but took his march by the sea side, through the county *Wicklow*, to besiege *Wexford*. My lord *Inchiquin* was sent to oppose him, and met him on the strand toward *Glascarrick*, in the county of *Wexford*, and fought him, but was defeated.

The lord lieutenant being with his army come to *Ross*, and fearing that *Wexford* (now besieged) was not sufficiently manned to hold out, till he had got an army together to raise the siege, or fight *Cromwell*; I, as knowing the town and country about it, offered to attempt the relief of it. His excellency accepted of my good will, and ordered me as many regiments

of *Ulster* foot as made 1500 men, and appointed 200 horse to escort us. I took a great compass, and came before day to the ferry, near Sir *Thomas Esmond's* house, called *Bal-lintreman*, who, as I remember, was along with me upon this expedition. Then leaving the horse for my return, I passed that arm of the sea in boats, and having delivered the foot to Sir *Edmund Butler*, (the governor,) I took the same way homewards as I came.

The town, thus manned, was impregnable as to *Cromwell* by force; yet he took it by the advantage of a castle that was betrayed unto him, by the governor, *James Stafford*. This castle was strong, and stood about 3 or 400 paces from the wall. The communication with the town could not be cut off, so that the danger was least there, if treachery had not been in the case. But the castle being betrayed, it mastered all that part of the wall, whereupon *Cromwell's* forces entered, and made almost as great slaughter as at *Drogheda*.

The lord lieutenant then, with his army, retired over the river of *Ross*, and encamped on the county of *Kilkenny* side, from whence his excellency sent me to *Passage*, in the county

of *Waterford*, over against *Ballyhack*, to look after the relieving of *Duncannon*, besieged by some of *Cromwell's* people. I think *Ireton* commanded; and though there were 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 the lord lieutenant some time before had sent thither to command, and with him, besides the *Irish* garrison, about 100 *English* officers who had served the king in the wars of *England*.

This gentleman, from the highest part of the rampier, shewed me how the enemy lay, and after I had well considered all, I offered to send him that night by sea 80 horses, with saddles and pistols, if he could mount them with so many of his *English* officers, and before day make a sharp sally with them and some foot upon the enemy. He liked the proposal extremely, but doubted much my performance, it being about three miles by sea. I desired him to leave that to me, and assured him, he should shortly be satisfied of what I undertook.

Having thus concluded, I took my boat, returned, and immediately set myself to my busi-

ness, that I might lose no time, because the tide served in the beginning of the night ; and having provided boats, I commanded 80 horse to go to the sea side, caused them to be boated out of hand, and sent them away.

They came all to *Duncannon* safe and undiscovered ; all was executed as designed, great slaughter made, and the cannon seized ; for the confusion amongst the enemy was great, by reason that they judged it the falling in of an army from abroad, seeing horses come against them, and knowing of none in the fort : our people retiring before day, the enemy raised the siege in the morning, and marched off.

His excellency, after this, made me governor of *Waterford*, whither I went in with 1000 men, but the town would not admit them entrance. Whereupon, after several days dispute, despairing of success, I marched away in the night. All this while the armies were not idle ; for *Cromwell*, after the reddition of *Wexford*, came to *Ross*, and making a breach, took it. There he passed the river, and marched through the county of *Kilkenny* to *Carrick*, and crossing the river *Shure* into the county of *Waterford*, marched on into the county of *Cork*, where all

my lord *Inchiquin's* towns opened their gates to him. But *Cromwell*, for his better security, left Colonel *Reynolds* with a great party of horse and foot in *Carrick*, to keep the town and bridge which is over the river *Shure*.

Towards the evening, the lord lieutenant came to this place with his army, but before he attempted any thing, was called away, on an alarm, that *Waterford* was in danger; and left the command of his army to my lord *Inchiquin* and lord *Taaff*, who immediately gave orders to storm the place.

This was done with great valour, but wanting materials to make a breach in the wall, or to scale it, they were, after some hours, forced to draw off, having lost some hundreds of men. I was present at this action, but few knew it. The more particular actings of the armies, I must leave to the relation of those that know better, for I was seldom with them, but employed up and down, as you see. The persons principally entrusted by the lord lieutenant, for the government of the army, were my lord *Inchiquin* and my lord *Taaff*, till the spring following.

Then *Cromwell* began to move again, having drawn his forces together, and had gained one Captain *Tickle* to secure him a gate or two of *Kilkenny*, and to betray into his hands the lord lieutenant, myself, and some others, when he should think fit. The plague strangely raged there at that time, as it had for a long while in our towns thereabouts; and *Cromwell* having left his garrisons in the county of *Cork* in good order, was advanced into the county of *Tipperary*, in his way to the siege of *Kilkenny*: I having nothing to do, went early one morning a fox hunting, as I was accustomed all the winter. The lord lieutenant joining me, said, he would see what we did, and being a little further out of town, he began to tell me how he had discovered the treachery of *Tickle*, *Cromwell's* approach, and his design to besiege this city. After some discourse, it was not long before my lord came to the point, and told me, it was resolved in council, that he should immediately repair into the county *Clare*, and from thence to the adjacent counties, and endeavour the raising of an army, to attend the motion of *Cromwell*; and that in his absence he should appoint me to command in chief in the province in *Leinster*.

Any man may judge how I was pleased with this honour; but my obedience (though I thought myself lost by it) obliged me to a submission, and cast myself at my lord's feet to dispose of me as he pleased: the commission, with all necessary orders dispatched, his excellency, with his generals, and *commissioners of trust*, left *Kilkenny*, and went straight to the county of *Clare*.

I lost no time in this juncture, but bestirred myself with all possible diligence, making Major *James Walsh* governor of the castle, and Sir *Walter Butler* of the city; and having done all I could to furnish it with men, provision, and ammunition of all sorts, I marched out myself, leaving the garrison about 200 horse, and 1000 foot strong.

*Cromwell* was moving from *Cashell* on his march to *Callen*: I went to *Carlow*, hoping to have met there such troops, from all parts of the province, as I had ordered, but was disappointed; for those quartered in the higher part of the dividend, under the command of the lord *Dillon*, entirely failed, being about the number of 2500 foot, and 6 or 700 horse, and in their stead I received a letter from his lordship, as if he were



sending them in great haste, but they never came, though I often repeated my orders.

These, and some other troops not appearing, I knew not well what to do ; for I had but 800 foot of the province, and an *Ulster* regiment of 1200 more. Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, commissary-general of the horse, was with me ; and his regiment, with the lord lieutenant's, commanded by Colonel *Trestwell*, and some other troops, made up near 1000 horse.

At this time an *Irishman* was brought unto me, taken by some of my guards, who, being to be examined, desired to speak to me alone ; which being granted, he produced a piece of yellow wax, in form almost round, which he was to swallow on occasion ; within it there was a note from Colonel *Hewson* to *Cromwell*, intimating, that he, with his forces, were upon their march from *Dublin*, but desired his orders, in respect that I lay in his way. Having copied the note, I rolled it in the wax as I had it ; and the fellow having assured me of his return, with *Cromwell's* answer, I let him go on his way. Within two or three days after he returned, and delivered me another piece of wax, as the former, with *Cromwell's* orders to *Hewson* in-

closed, which I kept; however, *Hewson* held on his march, and passed the river *Barrow*, eight or ten miles below me.

Now, though I was not of strength to meddle with these armies, yet I made some advantage of my intelligence; for whilst they were joining, I marched to *Athy*, a town with a bridge, eight miles above me, on the same river, where *Hewson* had a magazine, with 700 men in garrison, and coming before it an hour before sunset, I took it by storm, with all the garrison prisoners, at discretion. But the place not being tenable, I slighted it, and not knowing what to do with my prisoners, I made a present of them to *Cromwell*, desiring him (by letter) to do the like to me, if any of mine should fall into his power.

But he little valued my civility, for in a very few days after he besieged *Gowran*, where Colonel *Hammond* commanded, and the soldiers mutinying, and giving up the place, with their officers, he caused *Hammond*, with some *English* officers, to be shot to death: and having thus gained *Gowran*, and cleared all other places in the county, he fell to work, and besieged the very town of *Kilkenny*; whereupon

I took my march to *Ballyraggett*, within seven miles of him ; but finding myself too much exposed there, I marched to *Ossory*, and made my head-quarter in *Castle-town*, (a place belonging to Mr. *Fitz-patrick*,) whence I sent to the lord *Dillon* to come to me with all the forces he had. He gave me still fair promises, (as before,) but never came. Then, with the advice of Sir *Thomas Armstrong* and Colonel *Treswell*, I resolved, with my party, to enter *Kilkenny*, which was easy to be done, the side where the river runs being open. But when I came to my rendezvous, my *Ulster* regiment appeared not, but were marched away to their own country, alleging, they came to fight against men, but not against God. Their meaning was, because of the plague, which raged then in *Kilkenny*.

This design being thus broken, and a great breach made in the wall near the castle, which had been assaulted two or three times, and no hopes ever to be succoured, I sent orders to the governors to make conditions when they thought fit, and both to join at the same time, though the castle might hold out two or three days longer than the town.

*Cromwell* being thus master of *Kilkenny*, I retired into the King's county; where, understanding that *Carlow* castle was besieged, I appointed a rendezvous, intending to attempt the succour: but coming to the place, I found not half my foot; the rest were marched into *Munster*, I knew not by whose orders.

Now, finding myself thus used, and reflecting on some other hardships put upon me since the peace of 1646, in despair of success, I left *Leinster*, and went to the lord lieutenant in the county of *Clare*, where I rendered him an account how I had been disappointed, to the end he might do as he thought fit.

I had not been long there attending his excellency, when *Ireton* sat down before *Limerick*, on the county of *Limerick* side, leaving *Thomond's* side open. His excellency repaired thither, and being come near the end of the bridge, he sent to the mayor, to let him know he was there with some troops, and ready to enter with him for the defence of the place. The mayor having consulted his brethren, made excuse, as if he had no need of relief.

Several messages passed to and fro, till at length his excellency, losing all patience, declared unto them, that, if they would not receive and obey him, he would leave the kingdom. But seeing all would not do, he called me aside, and told me he was in good earnest, and would be gone; but commanded me to stay, and keep up a bustle as long as I could, it being the king's service. I was very unwilling to stay behind, seeing he took with him my lord *Inchiquin*, my lord *Taaff*, Colonel *Daniel O'Neil*, and others, his friends. But the sound of the king's service so charmed me, that I abandoned my own judgment, and submitted to what his excellency should order.

He then gave me a commission to be commander in chief of the province of *Munster*, and the county of *Clare*, having already that of *Leinster*, and of general of the horse for the whole kingdom. Thus qualified, his excellency gave me possession of his troops there in their arms, together with his life-guards, to serve me as they had done him, in all about 2000 foot and 1000 horse. His excellency, for my better encouragement, assured me, that he would leave a commission for my lord *Clanrickard* to be lord deputy.

Now, my lord being gone, and not suffering me to accompany him more than a mile, I went into the town, addressed myself to the mayor and aldermen, and told them how I was left, and asked them, whether they were pleased with it, or would obey me in that station? they took some time to consult; but at length submitted to my pleasure. Whereupon, immediately I visited their walls, and at the same time took a view of the enemy, whom I judged to be very loose and exposed, if vigorously assaulted; and therefore resolved, in the beginning of the night, to draw my troops into town, and a little before day to make a sharp sally. On what intelligence I know not, but *Ireton* raised his siege, and marched off that very night.

This done, I returned my troops to their quarters, and remained myself in the town, till I had sent orders to all officers, commanding in the several provinces, and particularly to my lord *Muskry*, then in *Kerry*, whom I desired to make himself as strong as he could, and that I would soon be with him, to increase his forces. In order to this, I passed the *Shannon* in the night, about twelve miles below *Limerick*, with 2000 men; and though the

river was full of parliament ships, and two miles over, yet I had not the least loss, but landed safe in *Kerry*, near *Drumbeg*, took *Listowhill*, and marched till I came to my lord *Muskry*, at *Tralee*. Having acquainted his lordship with what had passed, and ordered what I would have done, particularly in raising of forces, I left my men with him, and returned to *Ennis*, my residence, in the county of *Clare*.

From thence, after some refreshment, I went to *Portumna*, to visit the marques of *Clanrickard*, who bid me very welcome. After dinner, I desiring to retire myself for an hour or two, he brought me to my chamber, and asked whether it would not be troublesome that he stayed a little with me? I answered no, but the contrary; for my point was to get him to take the government, by accepting the commission left by the lord lieutenant; yet I spoke nothing of it, hoping that he would begin, which he did.

The passages on this subject are too tedious to be related; but before we parted, I got him to send to the commissioners of trust, then sitting at *Loughrea*, for his commission, and

declared, he would take upon him the government. Whereupon, to lose no time, I gave him the best account I could of the forces in the kingdom, as well friends as foes: for he, during the war, had been no more than a spectator, beloved and respected of all, and might have so continued, had not his great loyalty drawn him to take up this commission, (which was little less than to sacrifice himself and his,) only to give the king time to try his fortune with *Cromwell*, whose armies were then near *Stirling*, in *Scotland*, encamped not far asunder, as the king's letters (brought by *Dean King*) to us imported. We agreed, at this meeting, that his lordship should immediately raise 1000 horse, as an addition to the standing forces in *Connaught*, and that I should march with my 1000 horse out of the county of *Clare*, by *Limerick*, to the *Silver-miles*, in the county of *Tipperary*, and be at such a day at the rendezvous, where I should meet with 1500 foot he would send me, and a good officer.

I complied punctually with my orders; and the mayor of *Limerick*, as I marched through the city, on demand, gave me 100 foot. The alarm of my march was soon known to Sir *Hardress Waller* and my lord *Broghill*, both



lying near *Kilmallock*, with great forces. They pursued me in all haste, and I marched on to our appointed rendezvous, but could hear no news there of the 1500 foot I was promised. Having lost this anchor, I was put to my shifts ; the enemies coming on, I had no other way but to trust myself into the next fastness, and save myself as well as I could ; but there was a castle of the *O'Meahers* that stood in the way, possessed by the enemy, and there being no other passage, I sent to the adjacent villages, and got together crows of iron, pickaxes, and what else could be found necessary, and fell storming of the castle, and in three or four hours took it. In this place I kept the 100 men I had from *Limerick*, to secure the pass, and being now pretty safe, I lodged that night at my ease : here Colonel *Fitzpatrick* came to me, who had for some time kept in those fastnesses, with a good party of foot and some horse. My men being well refreshed, I took the plain country near *Burras*, and, after entering the woods, at the foot of the mountain *Sleave Bleuma*, I met Sir *Walter Dungan*, then commissary-general of the horse, as was ordered. He brought with him only 300 horse ; and I, finding myself still pursued with horse and foot, besides what were gathering round from all sides, ordered Sir *Walter* to

return from whence he came, and to stop all the forces I had sent for, as well from *Ulster* as *Leinster*; thence with my 1000 horse I marched into *Connaught*, passing by the bridge of *Athlone*, and posted to *Loughrea*, where the lord deputy then was, with a general assembly sitting in his house. At my coming into his chamber, I found about a dozen principal men of the assembly deputed to him, setting forth the desperate condition of the nation, with the impossibility much further to hold out : besides, that there were now come to the town Mr. *John Grace*, and Mr. *John Brien*, commissioners from the parliament, or their commander in chief, offering greater conditions than was reasonably to be expected, as the case stood.

Whilst this address was making, my lord was glad to see me come in, and ordered them to repeat what they had said. I seemed much scandalized at the ill timing of their proposals, and therefore declared my dislike to them. Then by my lord's permission (weary and dirty as I was) I went down into the assembly, (being a member, as a peer of the kingdom,) and expressed my detestation of what they had in hand, demonstrating, that if the 1500 men, command-

ed by Colonel *Bourk*, had not failed to meet me as they promised at the rendezvous, I had probably now been master of the field; besides, that the noise of a treaty would destroy all that could be hoped for from the endeavours against *Cromwell*: that his majesty (as his own letter, both to my lord deputy and myself, signified) made no doubt, if he could gain forty-eight hours march towards *England* before *Cromwell*, but his business was done; because all were ready to join in his assistance; and therefore conjured us not to harken to any treaty with the enemy. Then I set forth the state of the forces of the kingdom on all sides, and concluded very severely against the two parliament commissioners; so that they hastily packed out of town, and the assembly let the matter fall.

*Reynolds* now besieged *Tekcrahan*, in *Meath*, and the lord deputy came to *Tirrell's* pass, about eight miles from it, with 2000 foot and 700 horse; where a council of war being held, I proposed that our horse should alarm the enemy, whilst the foot attempted through the bogs to succour the place: it was by all alleged impossible to be done; for coming near the place, there were two necks of land that did almost meet, and between them there was

a great way, or *Tougher*, with a large ditch of water on each side, which must be crossed, and that, in all likelihood, the enemy would plant their guns at both ends of this *Tougher*, and bring the strength of their army to defend that passage, there being no other way; seeing we had no force to attack them on firm ground. I heard all this, and knew it very well, yet did not agree to the impossibility of entering the place; and therefore addressing myself to the lord deputy, I begged pardon, if I guessed at the thoughts of the officers there present; which was, that I, being general of the horse, might well advance this undertaking, for I was to be with the horse, and so to have no share in the danger. But to shew the contrary, I desired his excellency to give me the command of that party of foot, and I would venture to relieve the town, through the bog, while the horse alarmed the enemy on the other side.

It being thus determined, I entered the bog, which was eight miles long, with my 2000 foot, and his excellency took his march with the horse, as was agreed. Coming in sight of this *Tougher*, the enemy was expecting us, as we had supposed; for they saw we march

ing from my first entering into the bog. Then I put my men into the best order I could, in three divisions ; two to attempt passing the *Tougher* ; the third, commanded by one Captain *Fox*, to stand still, and face two or three battalions that were drawn on my right hand, fearing they would fall on my flank or rear. Then I marched on with my two divisions towards the *Tougher*, but coming within shot, they racked me with their cannon, and great vollies of small shot. Nevertheless, I advanced still, and my men fought it on the *Tougher*, with handy-blows, and these that defended it retired to their horse, which stood drawn up at each end of the *Tougher*, on firm land. Seeing this going so well, I looked back, and saw my third division (which was to stand still) coming after me. I ran to it, crying to the officer that commanded, to attack the battalions, which he was ordered to look after.

On this, he turned to his men, and spoke something in *Irish* that I did not know, and marched 2 or 300 paces in such a fashion, that I could not tell whether he intended fighting or running away. At last he did run away, and all his party followed, which, when the two divisions that had passed the

*Tougher* saw, they marched on into the place, and I was left alone, only some gentlemen with me, and by the favour of the night (for now it began to be dark) I got off, and by the next morning returned to *Tyrrell's* pass. My lord deputy had all the story before my coming, and got the captain secured that had caused this disorder, who, being tried by a council of war, was condemned, and shot to death.

After this, *Ireton* knowing our weakness too well, and that we only kept a bustle, till the king and *Cromwell* had decided their quarrel, he again sat down before *Limerick*, with a powerful army, on the county of *Limerick* side. I marched with what forces could be drawn together, encamped at *Kilal-low*, to observe his motions. He kept a guard on his side of the river, as I did against him at *Brien's Bridge* and *Castle-Connel*. We lay in this manner a long time; he attempted nothing on the town or river, which was not fordable in any place.

The lord deputy was at this time at *Galway*, and writ to me in all haste to come to him.

On my arrival, he told me, that the abbot of

St. Catherine was in the harbour, and in his company many officers, with a quantity of arms, ammunition, and other materials of war; that they were sent by the duke of *Lorrain*, who pretended, by some agreement, to be protector royal of the kingdom of *Ireland*, with power over all our forces and places, and to continue that title and dominion till after the war ended, and he reimbursed all his expences, and his damages satisfied. I was much startled at the news; for though I struggled to keep up a bustle, yet I never intended to buy it so dear, as to give any footing, or the least pretence or title to any foreign prince; and having heard out his lordship, I took the boldness to ask him, how far he was concerned in this matter. He protested before God, and upon his honour, he never gave commission for any such treaty; and as to the thing, he knew no more than what he had told me, more than, that the general assembly, then sitting in town, were in great joy for this succour, and pressed him earnestly for the reception; but I found him entirely against it.

Being thus satisfied, I desired him to leave *the matter to me*, and let me deal with the

assembly. I went therefore immediately, and found them on the debate, to which I spoke in my time ; and, with much detestation of the thing, declared all *traitors* that were on such terms for receiving this succour, and that I would hear no more of it, but return to my forces, knowing what I had to do. The lord deputy was much pleased with this round discourse, and publicly approved it : so the abbot, with what he had, set sail, and returned from whence he came,

At my return (which was without delay) to *Kilallow*, I found all quiet ; and whether *Ireton* had information of this passage I know not, but by a trumpet I received from him a letter, four sides of paper, close written in a small hand ; the drift was, to set forth the justness of the parliament's proceedings, their great power, how short a time I could subsist, what ill company I was with, and threw what dirt he could on the king I served ; but concluded with great value of my person, pitying my condition, and offering, if I would retire and live in *England*, I should not only enjoy my estate, but remain in safety with esteem and favour of the parliament. This letter I shewed immediately to *F. Peter Walsh*, whom I had always found



faithful to the king, and a great lover of his country. By his advice, and by the same trumpet, I answered all his points, and rejected his proposition as to every particular, desiring him withal to send no more trumpets with such errands. From this time there was an end of all messages and letters between us.

All this while, *Ireton* remained still and quiet, without action or attempt, expecting the coming of Sir *Charles Coote* on my back, or the fall of the river; both came together, and besides that, a third unlucky accident. For some days past, I kept a guard towards *Connaught*, when *Ireton*, by treachery of the officer, one Captain *Kelly*, made himself master of a pass, called *Brien's-bridge*; whilst I was hastening with some troops to oppose him, having left the defence of the pass at *Kilallow* to Colonel *Fennell*, he cowardly or treacherously quitted it, and with his party fled into *Limerick*, where, upon the reddition of the town, which was not long after, *Ireton*, with more than his ordinary justice, hanged him. Some say he was carried to *Cork*, and there pleaded for his defence, not only this service, but how he had betrayed me before *Youghall*; but his judges would not hear him on his

merits, but bid him clear himself of the murders laid to his charge.

Now, having letters from the lord deputy of Sir *Charles Coote's* approach, I hastened to him with what troops I had left, viz. about 300 horse, and found him drawn into *Loughrea* with his forces; not being able to keep the field against *Coote*, who was twice his number, yet did not think fit to attack him, and was gone by, before my coming. About this time, *Athlone* gave up to the enemy, and so did *Limerick* to *Ireton* some weeks after. In the mean time, the lord deputy and myself, with what troops we had, retired towards *Ger-Connaught*, under the covert of the river that runs by *Galway*, and so shifted up and down, till Sir *Charles Coote* came before it on *Loughrea's* side, and had taken a castle a little above it on the river. Then we retired into *Galway*, where we had not been long before we heard of the king's defeat at *Worcester*.

A man now would think this noble lord had discharged his part; yet his zeal carried him further; for he dispatched me from *France* to the king, by way of *Ennis-bo-Finn*, (for the river of *Galway* being full of parliament ships,) with orders to set out the ill state of his

majesty's affairs in *Ireland*; how the enemy carried all before them: yet, nevertheless, to serve his majesty, he intended, after *Galway* would be lost, to make a mountain war, and to give the rebels trouble for some time, if his majesty would but send him some small succour, which he demanded, and appointed me to return with to *Ennis-bo-Finn*; a fit place for a magazine, it being a large island, lying off *Ger-Connaught*, three miles into the sea, in which we had a strong garrison. 'Tis surrounded with rocks, and has but one entrance, where there is a pretty good harbour for frigates and small men of war. Here I shipped myself, and landed at *Brest*, ordering the frigate that brought me, commanded by Captain *Antonio Vandersip*, of *Burges*, to expect my orders. We had a sharp fight at sea with an *English* ship, but foul weather parted us, and no great hurt was done, but the bishop of *Down* killed in the cabin, 'tis thought by the wind of a bullet, or fear; for he had not the least sign of hurt, and lived near a quarter of an hour.

Being landed, I took post for *St. Germain's*, where I found the king, queen mother, and my lord of *Ormond*. I delivered my letters of credence, and in a day or two had my au-

dience. They seemed to take it to heart, and consulted cardinal *Mazarine* and the chief ministers. But the truth is, the king of *France's* affairs were at that time in so much disorder, by reason of the civil war, that nothing could be done. With this answer, the king gave me a letter to the lord deputy, acknowledging his good services, and ordering he should make the best conditions for himself and his party that he could, and expect a better season.

Wherefore, having thus discharged my commission, and seeing no hopes of success in *Ireland*, I discharged my frigate, and, with the king's permission, engaged myself in the service of the prince of *Conde*, who was then joined with the *Spaniards*. But first, I sent by a safe hand his majesty's letter to my good lord *Clanrickard*; of whom I have said so much already, that I need add nothing but my own esteem for his worthy memory, as a pattern of loyalty. Between my leaving him and his laying down arms, I can give no account of his adventures, but have heard that he was driven to great extremity.



## APPENDIX.

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IN the year 1638, being at *Rome*, I received a letter from the late king *Charles I.* requiring me to attend in his expedition against the *Scots*, then revolted and in arms. Two days after I took post for *England*, and near *Turin* fell into an army, commanded by the marques *de Leganes*, governor of *Milan*, for the king of *Spain*, who was marching to join another army, then besieging that place. But the siege was soon raised, and I went into the town, where I found her royal highness the duchess of *Savoy* in great disorder, as if she had got no rest for many nights. On taking leave of her, she gave me a musket bullet, much battered, to deliver to her sister, the queen of *England*, that came in at her window, and missed her narrowly.

Arriving at *London*, I followed the king to *Berwick*, whom I found encamped with a good army near it, the river *Tweed* before him; for the number, to this hour, I never saw a better, and as I was told, and believe, it could be no less than 16 or 17,000 horse and foot, with a good train of artillery. Soon after my arrival there was a pacification; the next day, I dined with *Lesly*, a general of the *Scots*; he shewed me his army in battalia, in number about 10 or 12,000 horse and foot; but as to the horses

arms, the twentieth man could not have passed muster amongst any armies I have since seen.

After this, I passed my time as well as I could at home, till, in the year 1640, the king of *France* besieged *Arras*. On the news, I went for *Brussels*, and thence followed the prince cardinal (governor of the Low-countries) to *Doway*; his army intrenched near the town, expecting the coming up of others, especially the troops of the emperor, commanded by *Lamboy*; and those of *Lorraine*, by the duke of *Lorraine* himself. All being arrived, the whole army marched, and coming to *Monte St. Aloy*, near the enemy's line, encamped on the right by it: many great parties were sent out for the hindering of convoys, but they came so strong that little good was done upon them. The king of *France* being at *Amiens*, took care of all, whilst monsieur *Millerie*, grand master de l. artillery, pressed the siege. Much time was trifled in this manner by the *Spaniards*; at length they attacked the line, but were beaten off. Then jealousies and discontents began amongst the great ones, which daily increased, and the rear band beaten, where their lieutenant-general, the count de *Bussue*, was killed.

The hopes of raising the siege grew desperate, and at length the town was rendered to the *French*: *Owen Roe O'Neil* (afterwards general of the province of *Ulster*, for the confederate Catholics in *Ireland*) commanded within.

The blame of not succouring this place was laid on *Don Philip de Silva*, general of the horse, under the prince cardinal. He was afterwards made prisoner in *Spain*, on suspicion, as having betrayed the undertaking; but was after released, laying the fault on the first minister, then governing that monarchy, under king *Philip IV.* as having done all by his orders, being the Conde Duke.

Having seen this action, I returned for *England*, and sat in parliament till the cutting off of the earl of *Strafford*, and then I went for *Ireland*, where I had an estate; and whilst I was there, broke forth the rebellion of 1641, which kept me in war and trouble till the peace of 1646, as hath been seen. Then I went for *France*.

Coming to *Paris*, and hearing that *Landrisie* was besieged by the archduke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low-countries*, and that a *French* army was gone to the succour, I had the curiosity to see that action; so I bought horses, and followed.

Being come to the army, in two or three days after we embattled before the line, and so near, that the enemy's cannon killed many men and horses in our lines. I was in the first line, a right-hand man in prince *Rupert's* troop, commanded by Captain *Somerset Fox*, the prince serving as lieutenant-general. Now, it beginning to be dark, all were fitted for attacking the line; and just as we expected the word to advance and fall on, we had orders to retreat in the silentest manner possible, without the least touch of drum or trumpet. However, the enemy discovering it, came out, and did us some mischief in the rear, and would have done more, if prince *Rupert*, that commanded them, had not acted his part well. By what I could hear, as the cause of this sudden change, the two marshals, *Gastian* and *Ranso*, that commanded, could not agree on the work they had in hand.

I returned to *Paris*, and remained there, attending the queen and prince of *Wales's* orders (who were at St. *Germain's*) till the year 1648; then I went for *Ireland* with the marques of *Ormond*, lord lieutenant, serving the



king against the *Nuncio*, council, and other his majesty's enemies, till 1651, after the battle of *Worcester* was lost, and *Cromwell* conqueror of the three kingdoms, and the king fled into *France*, whither I followed, and, with his majesty's leave, engaged in the prince of *Conde's* service, (then joined with the *Spaniards*,) first, for a troop of *gens d' arms*; soon after for a regiment of horse; but neither were ever mounted, though I had the men ready in *Paris*, as was ordered.

Whilst I was thus, I came soon enough to the rampart to see some part of the fight in the suburbs of *St. Anthony*, which began early in the morning, *July 2*, 1652; the king of *France* looking on from the hill of *Saronne*. The prince of *Conde* hardly had time to barricade the avenues, where he was attacked by *Monsieur de Jurain*, commanding the king's army, with a force much greater than his; the fight was very bloody, and had been fatal to the confederates, had not the activity, besides the valour and conduct of this brave prince, prevented it, by riding from barrier to barrier, where his men were most pressed. Thus he entertained the fight till about noon, that by means of *Mademoiselle d'Orleans*, the gate of *St. Anthony* was opened for their retreat into the city.

After this the confederates had all freedom in *Paris*, till about the 12th of *October*, 1652. The prince of *Conde*, duke of *Lorraine*, and the rest of the confederates, left *Paris*, and that night came to their army at *Dammartin*, and took their march towards *Lafete*, *Moline* and *Fines*. I marched with them, though as a single man.

The first place the prince of *Conde* took (these troops joined) was *Ratele*, which he besieged, *Oct. 27*, 1652, took the out-works the 28th, the town the 29th, and the

castle November 2d; the governor, Monsieur *Rale*, *Chateau Porsine* was besieged at the same time, yielding Oct. 28th, making little resistance; then St. *Menehout* was invested, the prince of *Conde* and duke of *Lorraine* commanding, and rendered November 13, 1652; St. *Maur*, commander. This place cost dear both in men and time, by the mistake of the true attack, which discovered, and the batteries changed, did not resist twelve hours.

About this time the duke of *Orleans's* troops left us, the duke having made his peace,

November 23, 1652, the prince took *Barleduke*, after some days siege, and a breach made, Monsieur *de Fougé*, lieutenant-general of the *Lorraine* army, was there killed with a musket shot, viewing the breach. *Comerçy* castle and town, about the same time, was surrendered to the prince, without much trouble.

The castle of *Voyde*, after some days siege, was yielded, December 9, 1652, to the prince.

Now the marshal *de Turenne*, having gotten a good army together, came near us, and besieged *Barleduke*, which in a few days he regained; and whilst this was doing, surprised the town of *Comerçy*, where myself, with many others, were taken prisoners; but the count *de Fiesque*, who commanded, being in the castle, maintained it. Monsieur *Marole*, governor of *Tunvile*, who did this feat, the next day brought me to the quarters of Monsieur *de la Ferte*, who gave me leave, on my parole, to visit the duke of *York*, in the quarters of Monsieur *de Turenne*. His royal highness, at my request, got me to be exchanged, so I returned to the prince, and the officer exchanged went to the marshal *de la Ferte*, of whose army he was; this

campaign ended with our having taken *Veruience*, after a breach made, which was the 29th of *January*, 1652.

*April 23*, 1653, the prince of *Conde* arrived in *Brussels*, and was lodged in the palace. The campaign following, *September 5*, 1653, we besieged *Roeroy*; the 7th, the line of circumvallation was begun, and finished the 11th; the trenches opened the 12th; the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Germans*, had each an attack; the 22d, the three nations were lodged on the counterscarp. Sharp sallies were made, with some loss to the besiegers; however, they held their ground, and fastened a mine to one of the bastions, which was ready to spring the 26th. The next night the mine was sprung, and a breach made in the face of the bastion, something too near the point; however, our people lodged themselves, and the enemy retrenched in the bastion; but not being able to make it good, the garrison, much weakened with the loss of men, killed and hurt, was surrendered *October 1*, 1653. I never knew bombs annoy any place so much as this. From the first day of this siege to the last, nothing but rain, with ill weather; and that which was worse, the prince of *Conde* desperately sick all the time: however, though he lay in his bed, nothing of consequence was done but by his advice; though the archduke *Leopold* commanded in chief. The governor of the place was the chevalier *Montague*, who, as I remember, was brought out wounded. The duke of *Lorraine's* troops, commanded by the count of *Luniville*, assisted in this siege; at which the duke seemed to be ill pleased, for he was angry with *Luniville*, and rebuked him severely.

*February 26*, 1654, the duke of *Lorraine* being in *Brussels*, and his army near the town, was arrested by the count *de Garrisie*, (master de camp general,) so ordered by the archduke *Leopold*, and conveyed to the castle of

*Antwerp*: but prince *Francoys*, of *Lorrain*, being at *Vienna*, was sent for, which appeased the officers, especially when he arrived at *Brussels*, which was the 9th of *May* following. All this time, besides the quality of marshal de camp, I had the particular command of nine or ten *Irish* regiments, making 5000 men; and the campaign coming on, the prince ordered me to make a detachment of 1000 of the choicest men I had, dividing them into fifties, commanded by lieutenants; only one fifty might have a captain, and then to deliver them to the count *de Briote*, marshal de camp, which I did, though with much murmur of the colonels and other officers, concluding never to see their men again, which fell out true, being to be sent as far off as to *Clermont*, *Stenay*, and other places.

Next campaign began with the king of *France's* besieging *Stenay*, which he did *June* 9, 1654. The *Spaniards* thought to raise this siege, by attacking another place, and besieged *Arras*, investing it the 3d of *July*, 1654; Monsieur *Moudieux*, governor: the lines of circumvallation finished the 9th, not so large by two leagues as when the *French* took it; the 12th or 13th, the trenches were opened; though the chevalier *de Crequi*, with some hundreds of horse, had entered the town. The 6th or 7th of *July*, some other attempts were made to put in succour, but none hit to any purpose. It is certain our army was no way provided or sufficient for the work, to man so large a line, and furnish the attacks; which were two, one of the *Spaniards*, the other the prince of *Conde's*. The *Lorrainers*, commanded by prince *Francoys*, had no attack. The ground was such, that the ditch of the line, in most places, could hardly be made of any depth; to supply which defect, eight or ten rows of great holes were made before it, with stakes, like pallisades, beaten into them. While we were carrying on our attacks, with much art

and valour, Monsieur *de Turenne*, with a small army, posted himself at *Montriporeux* and *Vitrey*, about a league from our line, almost in the way to *Doway*; from whence much of our provisions and other things came.

But when *Stenay* was yielded, being *August* the 6th, the count *de Camille* governor, and the marques *de Fabert* commanding the army that took it; the king with his army marched and posted himself near mount *S. Aloy*, not far from our line; so that in truth we were in a manner now besieged, but quickly put out of our pain. For soon after, being the 24th or 25th of *August*, an hour before day, our line was alarmed round, attacked really in two or three places, and forced in a short time. Thus *Arras* was relieved, and our army retreated to *Cambray*; after this *Quency* yielded to the *French*, so this field ended.

I do not remember any thing remarkable that passed in 1655, but the 15th of *June* 1656, Monsieur *de Turenne* invested *Valencienne*; to the succour of which *Don John*, governor of the Low-countries, having gotten his army together, marched; the prince of *Conde*, with his army, joined; they posted themselves, the first of *July*, at *Farmars*, a league from the town, and very near the enemy's line, where they intrenched. *June* 28th, the *French* opened their trenches with two attacks from the two armies of *Turenne* and *la Ferte*. Much scuffling there was at this siege, between the town and the enemy; many brave sallies were made, and as gallantly opposed; several works taken by the *French* and regained by the garrison. The governor, the duke *de Burnaville*, caused sluices to be opened, which raised waters in the enemy's camp, and much hindered the communication between the two armies of *Lorraine* and *la Ferte*; till one morning before day, being *July* the 16th, *Don John* and the prince of *Conde* fell on

the enemy's line, alarming it on all sides, and where they attacked it really entered, though it cost much blood on both sides; many prisoners were taken of the *French*, one of which was the marshal *de la Ferte*.—*Valencienne* thus relieved.

July 21, 1656, the *Spaniards* and prince of *Conde* invested *Conde*; Monsieur *de Passage*, governor: August 8th, they finished their lines of circumvallation, and the place being vigorously attacked, was rendered August 17th.—Here ended this campaign.

The next field was begun by the same prince and army, besieging *St. Gilaine*, March 16, 1657; Monsieur *de Chomburge*, governor. The story is not worthy to be remembered, for the place was betrayed by some of the garrison, and so rendered March 22d. Soon after, being May 20, 1657, the marshal *de Turenne* invested *Cambray*, and took his posts for the siege, but the prince of *Conde* being at *Boseu*, near *Monts*, marched immediately with 4000 horse, and the 29th, in the evening, came near the enemy's camp; the next morning, an hour before day, fell on Monsieur *de Turenne's* quarters, broke through into the town, and relieved it: however, the *French* lost no courage, but the 26th of August following, besieged *S. Venant*; and about the same time *Don John*, the duke of *York*, and prince of *Conde*, besieged *Ardres*; and for the better dispatch, the 28th they made a general assault, taking all the out-works, and fastened mines to the walls in three places. But *S. Venant* yielding sooner than was expected, the princes were forced to raise the siege. ●

*Mardike* was besieged by the *French*, September 29, 1657, and taken in five days.

The next campaign begun *May* 14, 1658, when the marshal *d'Aumont*, attempting to gain *Ostend* by intelligence and surprise, was taken himself in his own net. The particular relation is pleasant; but it having been often printed, I'll let it alone. Now, though this marshal of *France* fell into this misfortune, *Monsieur de Turenne* did abundantly recover the honour; for the 24th of *May*, 1658, he besieged *Dunkirk*; *Don John*, the duke of *York*, and prince of *Conde*, with all the force they could make, came to the succour, and it seems, with confidence that *Turenne* durst not appear without his line, for otherwise they would not have come near so ill provided, most of their horse being gone to forage, or scattered up and down, and their cannon not arrived. But *Monsieur de Turenne* failed them; for knowing they came from *Furnes*, he marched to meet them.

On the *Downs*, thus they encountered the 14th of *June*, 1658, and, after much fighting, the honour of the field remained to the *French*. Yet the town held stoutly, though the succours were beaten; for it never capitulated till the 14th of *July*, that their brave governor, the marques *de Lede*, was wounded mortally, of which he died; so the town yielded the same day.

The *French* being in this humour of conquering, *Monsieur la Ferte* besieged *Graveling*, the 27th or 28th of *July*, 1658; it capitulated the 28th of *August*, and was rendered the next day.

Soon after this, the prince *de Liège*, general of the horse for the king of *Spain's* army, being routed near *Ipres*, he, with part of his horse, saved themselves in the town, on which the *French* besieged them, and in four or five days the town was yielded, being *September* the 24th;

the prince and garrison, as I think, remaining prisoners of war.

October 27, 1658, the *French* took *Comines*, which made some resistance.

Now, a suspension of arms concluded *May*, 9, 1659; being followed with the *Pyrenean* peace, signed *November* 17, 1659, put an end to the war which had so long raged.

From this time there was no more war in this part of the world, till the king, after his restoration, broke with the *Hollanders*, and much fighting there was at sea; in some of which I have been, though but a volunteer. Thus, and following the court, I passed my time till the year 1667, that the *French* invaded *Flanders*; the mar-ques of *Castle-Rodrigo*, governor.

Thither, by his majesty's command, I went with 2400 men, a recruit for the old *English* regiment, of which I was made colonel; and about *June* 15, 1667, with some of them landed at *Ostend*, the rest soon following. These men were immediately thrown into towns, as *Newport*, *Lille*, *Courtrey*, *Oudenard*, &c. But before my coming, the king of *France* had seized *Armentiers*, *Charleroy*, *Bergen*, *St. Winoke*, *Faurnes*, *Ath*; and in four or five days after took *Tourney*, which resisted three days. Till about this time the *Spaniards* did not know themselves absolutely to be in the war; for their troops often met the *French*, and parted as friends. Then *Monsieur de Turenne* besieged *Doway*, *July* 1st, and had it the 6th.

*July* 18, 1667, *Courtrey*, with the citadel, was taken by the *French*, having made some resistance; but *Oudenard*, at the same time, made little or none.



*August 5th*, the king of *France* having for some days attempted the taking of *Dermond*, left it, after the loss of many men, as reported: but the king soon after besieged *Lille*, opening the trenches before it, *August 19th*. It yielded the *27th*, after most of the out-works taken; the count *de Broy*, governor.

Now the count *de Marcine*, master de camp, general for the king of *Spain*, was at this time in *Ipres* with a considerable body of horse, and some foot, of which I had 6 or 700 of my regiment, he pretending to succour *Lille*. But on the news of its reddition, he marched away with all his horse, hoping to recover *Gaunt*, but whether by reason of the ill ways and foul weather, or other hinderances, came short; for the *French* horse and dragoons were gotten before him, and encamped near *Mary-kirk*, not far from the town, on *Holland's* side of the cut river that goes between *Gaunt* and *Bruges*; and the last of *August*, early in the morning, (having no right intelligence of the enemy,) fell in amongst the *French* horse.

Thus surprised, and marching on dikes, he was forced to fight for it, and as men caught, in this manner, after some dispute, was routed; many of his men and officers killed and taken prisoners; himself narrowly escaping. The *French*, thus encouraged, fell on *Alost*, midway between *Brussels* and *Gaunt*, and being assaulted, it was rendered *September 9th* or *10th*, 1667.

Now, to save what was left of the *Low-countries*, there was no other remedy, (for army we had none,) but by the mediation of the neighbouring princes to gain a suspension of arms, published *March 6*, 1668, and was to hold till the last of the month; then there was a second suspension of arms, which began the *15th* of *April* following, and

was to last to the end of *May*. But the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* concluded *May* the 2d following, which put an end to our trouble; for it cannot be called a war.

After this the marques of *Castile-Roderigo* stayed not long; but the constable of *Castile* succeeded, in whose time all was quiet.

Since the peace of *Aix*, the *Spanish Netherlands* enjoyed a shew of quietness, till about *October 4, 1673*. Then at a meeting between the count de *Monterey*, governor of the *Low-countries*, and the prince of *Orange*, at a village near *Antwerp*, called *Galmethat*, within half a league of the priory of *Huybergnen*, *Spain* was engaged in a new war against the *French*, both parties seeming inclined to a breach.

I do not know all the reasons, but for a long time each complained of infractions: the *French*, that the *Spaniards* had assisted the prince of *Orange* in his attempt for the surprise of *Charleroy*, in which he failed, sent off their troops to man certain towns belonging to the states of *Holland*, as *Boisleduc*, *Bergen-op-zoom*, and other places; that their troops were assisting the prince of *Orange*, in the taking of *Naerden*, near *Amsterdam*, &c. The *Spaniards* complained, that the king's countries were eaten up, and destroyed by the marching of *French* troops through them; especially when the king of *France*, with his army, entered about *Bruges* and *Gant*, marching at discretion, fearing no enemy till he came to *Brussels*, where he encamped on all sides several days. After this refreshment, he continued his march to *Maestricht*, which he besieged *June 11, 1673*, and took it the 30th. That the prince of *Conde* had for several weeks lain with an army eating and destroying the country of *Alost*.

Now, on the breaking out of this new war, the marshal *de Belford*, who commanded for the king of *France*, in *Holland*, had orders to draw all his forces thence, and march to *Maestricht*.

This alarmed the count *de Monterey*, fearing that he would take *Roermond* in his way. So he sent me to command there, being general *de Battle*. But the marshal spared me, and picked up *Arleux*, a small town two leagues from me, seated on the *Roer*; being passed, he joined the prince of *Conde*, near *Maestricht*, and alarmed *Stevenswert*, a regular place and tenable, when there is no want within it; in an hour's time I received two orders from the count *de Monterey*, brought by two reformed officers, sent express, requiring me, on sight, to march with the count of *Mansfield* and 500 of the *Germans*, in garrison with me, and to endeavour the getting into *Stevenswert*, where I was to command, and if I were worsted in the attempt, to save myself, and such as remained after the fight, to *Venlo*. I received these orders as I was at dinner, about one of the clock, and got into the place with my men by six of the clock that evening, though it were 3 or 4 leagues, for the place was not invested, as the count *de Monterey* thought; however, these armies kept us in doubt four or five days, till at length the prince of *Conde*, having taken the castle of *Argente*, they besieged *Newliny*, May 20, 1674, a fort belonging to the king of *Spain*, on the river *Meaux*, seated between *Itège* and *Maestricht*: it was surrendered May 23d. After this, the prince of *Conde*, having trifled some time in marching up and down, came with his army to *Pieton*, a strong post in its nature, by reason of the meeting of the two rivers *Samber* and *Pieton*; but withal, he was strongly intrenched, and had much cannon on his batteries and cavaliers.

About the 15th of *July*, 1674, *Dinant*, with the castle, was surprised by the Imperialists, commanded by the count *de Souch*; and the 22d following they passed the *Meaux*, near *Namure*, to join the prince of *Orange*, and the other confederates.

Now, all being together, after several campings, they came to *Nivell*, hoping to draw the prince of *Conde* from his intrenchments, to a fair battle, shewing themselves in battle before him. Several days passed thus. Then they marched from *Nivell*, *August* the 9th, and the next day encamped at *Seneff*, *Jeluy*, and other places thereabouts. All this while the enemy never appeared, though by coming near, many occasions were offered. Seeing nothing could prevail, *August* 11, 1674, the prince of *Orange*, with the confederates, very early in the morning marched off, intending to encamp between *Marymont* and *Binch*. But being to pass within a league of the enemy's camp, they made a detachment of 5000 horse and dragoons, for the better security of the rear. In the march, the *Imperialists* had the van-guard, the *Hollanders* the battle, the *Spaniards* consisting of sixteen squadrons of horse; the rear-guard now having marched some time in this manner, about ten or eleven of the clock in the morning, being *Saturday*, the enemy began to appear, attacking the river, and though well disputed, carried all before them for some hours, till the *Germans* turned, and joined with some of the *Holland* army not broken, gave a stop to this furious beginning, and brought it to a bloody battle. Both sides bragged of victory, though neither had much cause. The fight ended *Sunday* morning, and that night the confederates encamped where they were to have been the night before; and the prince of *Conde* returned to his retrenchment at *Picton*.

The prince of *Orange* being a stranger, and having left

himself and army to be guided by a general that pretended to know the country, was brought so near the prince of *Conde's* retrenchment, that in going off his rear, was exposed, and so accordingly it was attacked. But next day, after the battle, the prince complained much, and fell very heavy on the general, who advised this march ; but it was too late.

These were the most powerful armies that had been seen in *Flanders* these many years. The confederates did much surpass in number, though the prince of *Conde's* army, in most mens' judgment, exceeded 40,000 horse and foot. The report of the slain and wounded is various, but they may be taken at 8 or 10,000 of both sides. I know not which lost most ; but the quality exceeded the number. Amongst many other brave men were slain, the marques *de Assentar*, master de camp, general for the *Spaniards* ; and Sir *Walter Vane*, major-general, serving the *Hollanders*.

The prince of *Orange*, after this battle of *Seneff*, lost no time, for *September* 17th following, he had formally besieged *Oudenard*, (the sieur *de Rospine*, governor ; ) and having much advanced his trenches, had notice of the prince of *Conde's* approach, with his army increased, the marshal *de Humers* having joined to him 8 or 10,000 men. On this the confederates drew most of their men out of the attacks, but remained within the line until the next morning, and then, with the favour of a dark mist, quitted all, left the siege, and got to *Gaunt*, I know not how, but certainly in great confusion, after the loss of many men. Much blame was laid on the count *de Souch* ; whether he were faulty or no, he soon, with his army, returned for *Germany*, and the prince of *Orange* posted for *Grave* (long besieged by general *Ravenholt*, a *Holland*

commander,) and took it about *October 22*, 1674; the army of the States-general left *Flanders*, and returned to their country.

The king of *France* began his campaign the year 1675, with the siege of *Limburgh*. The prince of *Orange* and duke of *Villa-Hermosa*, then governor of the *Low-countries*, assembled their armies near *Lovain*, and marched in all haste to its succour, though in miserable weather. They passed the *Meuse* at *Roermond*; but before they could arrive at the enemy's camp, the place was yielded *June* the 20th, after a very good defence; the prince of *Nassau*, governor of it and the province.

The army of the confederates, much shattered, and in disorder with so terrible a march, being returned to *Aerscot*, encamped there, and near about for a long time, till being refreshed and recovered, they began their march towards *Monts; Binch*, without the armies coming to it, yielded to a party sent by the prince of *Orange*, *August* 31, 1675.

The campaign of the year 1676, began with the king of *France's* besieging *Conde*, which he did *April* the 19th. The prince of *Orange*, and duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, marched to its succour; but coming near, found it rendered the 25th of the same month, not being able to resist longer the several assaults the *French* made.

The king of *France* not contenting himself with *Conde*, sent his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, and the marshal *de Crequi*, to besiege *Bouchain*, which they did *May* 5, 1676; and the king, to cover the siege, encamped at *Keverine*, facing towards *Monts*; the river before him. On this intelligence, some days after, the prince of *Orange*, and duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, being with their army en-

camped near *Monts*, marched, and on bridges of boats, before day, passed *L'Escaulte*, within cannon shot of *Conde*, leaving it on the left hand; and not losing time, about ten or eleven of the clock that morning, being *May* the 9th, gained the height between *Valencienne* and the abbey of *Bone Esperance*. But coming there, we found the king of *France* on a height, embattling his army before us, about half a league distant, all plain between the two armies, and just in the way between us and *Bouchain*; so near we were, that the cannon killed from one army to another.

Thus posted, those that were not of the great council, thought of nothing but immediately to fall on, and I myself was one of those; for it being my fortune that campaign to command the king of *Spain's* foot, I made many speeches to them, preparing them for a battle, fitting them with powder, and all things needful. But the day past, we lay on our arms all night, and in the morning had orders to encamp, throwing up the line before us; *Bouchain* (monsieur *Drouhte*, governor) seeing this succour, did its part; but at last, being over-pressed, the place yielded the 12th or 15th of *May*; yet the king, at the head of his army, stood facing us five or six days more, till *Bouchain* was put in order, and all lines and trenches levelled. Then the 19th of *May*, before day, after his drums and trumpets had done their parts, he marched off from his camp at the farm of *Hurtisbe*, and that night encamped near *Bouchain*; the next day marched for *Doway*. These were great armies; each counted at least 50,000 men; but whatever they were, I am sure they were no lessened by so long lying near neighbours.

After this the prince of *Orange* marched from his camp of *Mon d'Ansin*, near *Valencienne*, *May* the 21st, and after

several campments, came to *Nivelle*, from whence, the 8th of *July*, with a detachment of his army, and some others that met him, the 11th or 12th of *July* he invested *Maastricht*; the 19th the lines of circumvallation were finished; and the 20th he began to make use of his cannon, opening his trenches by two attacks; one was the bishop, prince of *Osnaburg's*; the other the prince of *Orange's* own; *Wick*, on the other side of the *Meuse*, was not attacked.

Now, while this siege was carrying on, the duke *de Villu-Hermosa* marched with the army of *Holland* and his own, the 26th of *July*, to *Marykirk*, near *Gaunt*; and *Aire* having been besieged, for some days, by the marshal *de Humers*, the duke marched to *Deinse*, where he heard that the fort *Link* was taken, and soon after *Aire*. The cause given why this strong place held out no better, is, that a magazine of powder blew up by some accident; on which the *Burgers* (more strong than the garrison) seized the governor, the marques *de Warny*, and compelled him to demand a treaty.

This having broken the duke's measure, for he designed to have ventured for the succour of *Aire*, his excellency marched immediately, following the count *de Waldike*, who was gone before him with the *Holland* army, and encamped between *Lovain* and *Brussels*; his excellency encamped near *Mechlin*; but *August* the 20th he left his camp, and in some days both armies came to *Tongeres*; and soon after appeared the van of the *French* army, so that he had no more time than to call a council of war, where, having heard the relation given by count *de Waldike*, newly come from the siege, but not being above two leagues distance, all gave their opinions unanimously, for the present raising the siege, and that the



duke and *Waldike* should let the prince know so much : accordingly the next day the siege was raised, the enemy putting in succour.

The prince then drawing off, all our enemies being joined, were put in battle on a height, about a half league from the line. But Monsieur *de Schomberg* having relieved the place, marched another way, and encamped that night on the hill of *St. Peter's*. I was in the trenches before the siege was raised ; but did not judge the town so pressed as was generally said, without it had some want within, that I knew not ; for there were many hard pieces to be gained before miners could be fastened to the wall, or any attackable breach made with cannon.

This was by much the bloodiest siege that ever I saw. The *Reingrave*, with a great part of the men that made the prince's court, were killed, and more hurt ; the prince himself shot in the arm ; all the regiments strangely diminished ; the cannon was lost ; for coming from *Holland* by the river of *Meuse*, when it was pretty full, now it being much fallen, it could not be brought off. By what I saw of the line of circumvallation, I would rather have chosen to fight in a plain field than behind it ; for it was not of strength sufficient ; neither was the army of force to man it, and go on with their attacks, without the prince had drawn into his line the army commanded by the duke *de Villa-Hermosa* and *Waldike*. That possibly might have changed the scene, though the communication would have been very hard, between them of *Wick-side*, with those before *Maestricht*, because of the river *Meuse*, which above and below must have been passed on the bridges of boats. From the first of the siege I never heard the garrison counted at less than 5 or 6000 men. I shall not venture to give a judgment of the men killed and wounded ; but certainly the number was great.

The dividing the army was in my opinion ill advised, neither party being of strength to do the work designed for it, whereas united it might have either carried *Maastricht*, or hindered the taking any other place. And for all the prince's exposing himself and army to the utmost danger, yet some there were that did not afford him a good word, but the contrary.

After the raising this siege, the prince of *Orange* sought by all means to engage the *French* in a battle; yet about September 7, 1675, Monsieur *Schomberg* passed the river of *Mahaine* in the view of our right wing, uninterrupted; but the prince was in the left wing, near a league distance, and hardly knew any thing till all was passed. About three days after, the prince and duke *de Villa-Hermosa* encamped the army about *Giblow*, the quarter of the court in the town, and Monsieur *de Schomberg* with his army, about a league from us, in a fast country, but very great plains just before him. The next morning early the prince put his army in battle on this plain, in sight, and very near the enemy, but *Schomberg* stirred not.

Now, after some hours wearied with standing, the prince with his army marched off, leaving the *Spaniards* and *Germans* in the rear, which soon after that began to move; Monsieur *Montal*, with a great body of horse and dragoons, marched through *Giblow*, from whence we parted, and fell on in the flank and rear, doing some mischief, causing great confusion among us. And had this party been well seconded by Monsieur *Schomberg*, it might have proved a second *Senef*; for the prince of *Orange* with his army was far off, and many of his horses gone to forage. In a day or two after the prince went for the *Hague*, and the duke *de Villa-Hermosa* with *Waldike*

marched to *Waver*, in order to put an end to the field of 1676.

This year 1677, the field opened with the count *de Nancres* attacking the fort, called the *Three Holes*, near *Vilverde*, on the cut river that goes between *Brussels* and *Antwerp*; but was beaten off the 24th of *February*.

The 6th or 7th of *March*, *Valencienne* was besieged by the king of *France*; he opened his trenches the 9th, and the 17th the town was taken by surprise, about nine of the clock in the morning. The story is strange, for half an hour before this accident, and the 8th day the trenches opened, the enemy had not gained a foot of ground: the *French* entered by the gates, which they found open; for the governor, the marquis of *Risburge*, a brave soldier, was in his bed dangerously wounded, and the town was governed by a council of war. Thus encouraged, the king besieged *Cambray*, about the last of *March* following, and the 3d or 4th of *April* the town yielded; after the garrison, by orders of the governor, had killed all their horses, being as I have heard near 1000, then with the governor they retired into the citadel, which was fiercely attacked; but the king having a mighty force, divided his army, and with one part, his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, besieged *St. Omer's*, *March* 28, 1677. On which the prince of *Robeck*, governor, sent pressing letters to the prince of *Orange* (then encamped in the *Pais de Wast*, near *Gaunt*) to hasten to his succour.

The prince of *Orange*, on this, and his great zeal for the service, did what he could to put his army in order, having none but his own with him; and the 11th of *April*, after hard marching, coming to *Castles*, found the duke of *Orleans* had quitted the line to meet him, and was in

battle before him. Then the two armies engaged, and the battle was well fought on both sides for a long time ; but the detachment sent from *Cambray*, by the king of *France*, turned the scales.

This, together with the prince's fighting on ground he knew not, and where he met with rivers and defiles, or narrow ways that he never heard of, was the cause of his overthrow.

Soon after this (*April 17th*,) the citadel of *Cambray* was rendered ; *Don Pedro Saval*, governor of it, and the town ; and *St. Omer's*, about the 28th of *April* following, was likewise rendered.

This did not abate the courage of the prince of *Orange* ; for *August* the 4th following, (almost in the view of as good an army as that he commanded) he besieged *Charleroy*, a place seated on the river *Sambre*, strong by nature, and fortified with all the art imaginable ; a garrison of 4 or 5000 men, a brave governor, the count *de Montal*, no want within, but rather abundance of every thing ; very hard to make a good line of circumvallation, for besides the rockiness of the ground, one part of it must be commanded by a hill, that could not be secured but by an army without, near as strong as any that might come for the relief ; a great wood that runs several leagues in length, and in breadth near half a league, joins to this line ; through this there are great ways or lanes cut, where two or three squadrons might march in breast ; but the stumps and some fallen trees remain still, so that the horse or man could hardly pass but in paths ; the place not attackable but on one side, by reason of the *Sambre* that runs by it, which must be passed by bridges of boats ; the communication very difficult.

Thus the prince lay besieging this place, while the duke *de Villa-Hermosa* with an army was encamped on said hill, till the duke of *Luxemburgh* came with his army, and encamped within little more than cannon shot of the wood, in a great plain, over against our camp; I mean that camp commanded by the duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, who lay without the line, for the defence of the forementioned hill: on this encampment of the duke of *Luxemburgh*, many councils of war were held, by the great ones of the confederates: the duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, and the *Spanish* generals, were for passing the wood, and engaging the enemy, But the prince of *Orange*, and his generals, judged it not practicable, and further, impossible to succeed with the work in hand, this powerful army so near. Whereupon the prince resolved to raise the siege, which he did in good order, *August 14, 1677.*

The reason given by the chief confederate generals, for advising or consenting to this siege of *Charleroy*, is, that for so many days, both armies had been encamped near together in the country of *Alost*; but the *French* could not be brought to a battle. Now the confederates, finding themselves very strong, fell on this design, hoping to gain their end, in besieging this important place, by the enemies coming to its succour.

This might hold pretty well, if the confederates had pursued their point, when the *French* came as they could wish. For the duke of *Luxemburgh* with his army passed the *Sambre* at *La Busiera*, and so kept on his march, till he came to the encampment near the wood, which took up at least two days; in all which time he could not well have avoided fighting, if the confederates had sought it, by marching to meet them.

This failure is hard to be excused. Much blame was laid on the prince of *Orange* for not passing the wood, and attacking the *French* in their camp, which if he had done, according to all reasons of war, he had lost his army, for the *French* would never have given him time to have put his army in battle, but fight him by piece-meals as he appeared out of the wood. Besides, his battalions and squadrons must needs have been disordered in their march through the wood.

The generals that were for fighting, alleged that the *French*, by reason of a little river before them, were so encamped that their right wing could not succour their left. But such an encampment is hardly credible, it being in a great plain, where they had choice of encampment.

It was further given out, and spoken publicly, that the prince raised the siege on some letter or message the king of *England* sent him, and brought by the earl of *Ossory*. Now, to my own knowledge, and to the view of all the army, the earl of *Ossory* came to the prince some days before *Charleroy* was invested, so that this message or letter might have prevented the siege, rather than to have raised it. Besides, if the king of *England*, moved by interest of state, should have sent such letter or message, is it to be imagined that he would have employed the earl of *Ossory*, who was one of the bravest men of his time, and, if he had a fault, too fond of glory? Thus you see in what ill station the prince of *Orange* was.

As we returned from this siege the 24th of the month, *Binch* fell into our hands, and in a day or two after we took *la Busiere*, but with some shot of cannon.

Soon after, *September* the 10th, the duke of *Luxembourg* attacked the fort, called the *Three Holes*, near *Vilverde*. The attack began about ten in the morning, and the night ended it; there were not in it above sixty men, commanded by one captain *Carpenter*; he and they got much honour, and the *French* went off with the loss of some men.

The prince of *Orange* being in *England*, or at the *Hague*, I know not whether, the marshal *de Humiers* besieged *St. Guillain*. The duke *de Villa-Hermosa*, now commanding in chief, for Monsieur *Waldike*, with the *Holland* army, was to obey his orders, marched for its succour; but coming in sight, found the place yielded, or treating, it being the 10th or 11th of *December*. The *French* resolving to give little rest, the king fell on *Gaunt* the 9th of *March*, 1678, and had it the 18th; the castle held out two days more. The reason that *Gaunt* made little resistance was, it had no garrison for so great a place; the *Burgers* did what was done.

The king from *Gaunt* marched to *Ipres*, it having been restored to the *Spaniards* upon the *Pyrenean* peace, and besieged it, opening the trenches before both town and citadel the 18th and 19th of *March*, 1678: and as it had a brave governor, the marques *de Conflant*, so it was well defended; but being victoriously attacked, the citadel good for nothing, and many things wanting in the town; *March* the 27th it was yielded.

The *French* left no stone unturned for gaining of places. For a party sent from *Maestricht*, the 4th of *May* 1678, in the night surprised *Lewwee*, a very strong and important place, not far from *Lovain*. Since the taking of *St. Guillain* by the *French*, *Monts* had been very closely blocked, and so much straightened, that if not speedily

relieved, it must yield, having many wants within. On this the prince of *Orange* and duke *de Villa-Hermosa* resolved to attempt its succour; and having gotten a good army together, marched, and arriving near *Soignes*, the duke of *Luxemburgh*, with his army, retired before them towards *Monts*; but coming within a league, or thereabouts, encamped himself on a large heath, with the valley of *Castio* before him, his back towards the town.

The confederates coming near this valley, and in full view of the enemy's camp, the valley only between the two armies, the prince of *Orange* put his army in battle, on two lines; the *Spanish* forces had the right wing, the duke *de Villa-Hermosa* commanding it; the army of the States General the left, which the prince of *Orange* commanded.

Now, before I speak of the fight, which was altogether in the valley, or on its edges, I must describe the valley. Of its length I saw no end, but its breadth from one side to the other could not be less than a mile over, and of a great depth; in the bottom runs a little river, and the sides of the valley very steep, rocky, and full of wood; no way through it, where more than horses may pass one after another, and that by turnings and windings; the abbey of *St. Denis* is seated in it, but so low, that it is not to be seen till you come over it. On the other side the river, almost opposite to *St. Denis*, comes in a neck of land, all plain, where the enemy had a little camp; the old burnt castle of *Castio* is about two miles from *St. Denis*, seated in the valley, and on the same side, but on a height, as high as the main land, and very near the edge of the valley; both these places on our side, but possessed by the enemy.

The fight began about one of the clock, after dinner, with the prince's planting cannon against those encamped on the advanced neck of land, and soon after fell on *St.*



*Denis*, which was well manned, and had many battalions sent from the camp on the height, and the *French* army to assist it; but *St. Denis* being of no strength, was quitted, and, after much fighting, the *French* battalions retired to the height, the prince's people pursuing, yet the fight continued, and bloody doings there was. About the same time the duke *de Villa-Hermosa* fell on *Castio*, and, after much resistance, both from those within, and the several battalions sent from the *French* army to its assistance, took it; yet the fight continued very warm in the valley, supplies of battalions coming from both armies to help theirs.

Thus, it held till towards the evening: then the *French* regained *Castio*; and their battalions, under its covert, did not only advance to the edge of the valley on our side, but formed two or three battalions on the plain. The earl of *Ossory*, who commanded the foot opposite to them, did what was possible to be done, with great killing on both sides, losing most of his officers, either killed or wounded, and himself preserved by his arms.

While this was acting, and the day almost ended, two or three squadrons of *French* horse, sent from the army, crossed the valley, and coming up one after another, between the castle and their battalions, on a sudden, and not expected, fell on the duke *de Villa-Hermosa's* guards, killing one of their captains, with several other officers and soldiers, putting the rest in great disorder.

The *French* horse having done their work, and seeing more squadrons advancing towards them, they retired by the way they came; yet the fight continued till it was dark, and more than an hour after, by the light of some houses near *Castio*, set on fire by the *French*. But there being no more houses to burn, all was quiet, the *French* possessed of *Castio*, and the battalions keeping their ground on the plain of our side, where most of the fighting had been.

But about two or three hours after, intelligence was brought that the *French* had not only quitted *Castio*, and drawn off their battalions, but had left their camp, and were marched towards *Monts*, and were in great haste, for they left some tents and other things behind,

The earl of *Ossory*, in this afternoon's work, purchased to himself and noble family immortal honour, commanding the *English*, as general in the States' service, and was, as I believe, the last man of all his troops that came off the field: for he was found by some of my servants, and brought to me two hours after all was ended.

The duke of *Monmouth* was all along in this fight, and gained as much honour as was possible for a single man, he being but a volunteer. And I am apt to believe, that if some squadrons had charged as he desired them, that the *French* horse, that routed the duke de *Villa-Hermosa's* guards, would have passed their time but scurvily in their retreats. His friend and companion, Sir *Thomas Armstrong*, was shot in two or three places. It is hard to say what number of men were slain, or who lost most. I judge them on both sides to be about 4 or 5000 killed and wounded; among which were a number of brave officers.

The next day, being *August* the 15th, there was a suspension of arms, and ratified the 20th of the same month. Thus, with suspension of arms, we continued till the general peace, signed at *Nimeguen*, *September* 17, with the ratification of it, the 21st of *September*,\* 1678, put an end to the wars, though it was said, and generally believed, that the generals of both sides had the peace in their pockets when they fought; at least they had sufficient ground to believe it concluded,

\* Observe, that the several dates of time in this Appendix are to be taken *New Style*.

## OBSERVATIONS.

CONFEDERATE armies joined and acting together, though under one generalissimo, are not to be esteemed equal with the army of any prince, commanded by one general, if the armies are near in strength and quality.

1. All generals of the army that composes this confederate body, will expect to be consulted by the generalissimo in every undertaking, that nothing may be done without their consent.

Now, the bringing together these generals, as it takes up much time, so, often there follows great debates; and whilst this is doing, the enemy's army passes a river or defile, and sometimes put a convoy into a place that needs it.

As for the succouring a town that is besieged, where expedition is required, there is no more comparison in the speedy marching of those two armies, than the sailing of a single ship and a fleet. For if any of these generals do not cordially like the undertaking, as seldom all do, though they have in point of honour consented, the general's army will come slowly to rendezvous, and then march with great formality; drawing up at every turn, making many halts; and go over foot-bridges, rather than through a ford, where his men shall not be up to the knees, and might march ten abreast, and twenty other excuses that I have seen. And many times these generals do, in a manner, refuse the orders of the generalissimo; but still *cover it with some excuses*. Besides, every general hath *private instructions* from his own prince. On this I con-

clude, that princes leagued, ought to act as much as possible with their armies separated.

2. Woe be to that people whose country is invaded, and their prince forced to bring in foreign assistance, far exceeding in force what he hath of his own troops. These, by what I have seen, are worse than enemies, set killing aside; for, from these last, they seek to save themselves. But auxiliaries pretend to give safe-guards, but when the troops of another general comes, they slight this safe-guard. Thus the people refuged in villages, castles, and cloisters, with all their substance, are caught in their security; and sometimes, as I have known, it does not rest with the loss of what they have, but pursued by many sacrileges and rapes, sparing neither religious women or others; and the army of the country, under the convert of those strangers, being guides, do more mischief than the strangers: and sometimes this poor distressed prince, upon pressing occasions, sends his orders to some one or more of these generals to march, and they will make an excuse, that they cannot get their men to it, till they have two or three months pay due to them, which must be sent, if he will be served. Besides this, there are many examples, where these auxiliaries have at length conquered the country they come to succour, and keep it to themselves.

3. The security of an army consists much in the generals having good intelligences, as well to avoid surprises, as to take advantages, when occasions are offered; for there is no army, but sometimes, in marching or camping, is exposed to the enemy, if they knew all, and the time for taking their advantage.

4. A general, whose condition is to seek fighting, must be careful how he brings his army too near the

enemy, well posted, without he comes with resolution to force him in his camp, or that he can encamp so by him at his ease, as the enemy must be enforced to march off before him. For otherwise, at his going off, he will run great risk of being dangerously attacked in the flank, rear, or both; especially if it be where there are defiles or rivers.

5. A general that marches with an army for succour of a town, besieged by another as great, or near as powerful as that which he commands, if the enemy, on his approach, draws off, and puts himself in battle out of his way, or is marching clear off, the general, having gained his point, is not to take notice of him, but, without losing time, to furnish the wants of the town, make up the breaches, destroy the lines and trenches made by the enemy. For if this general pursue, and in fighting have the better, 'tis but some addition to his glory; but if beaten, he loses his army, town, and honor: for an enemy may be willing to fight, having drawn off, which he dare not do, holding the siege.

6. A general that fights an army of which he knows the strength, hath great advantage of another general that fights he knows not what, as it appeared in the battle of *Cas let*. For the duke of *Orleans* might know, almost to a man, with what strength the prince of *Orange* could come; but the prince of *Orange* could not know that of him; whilst the king of the *French* was so near, at the siege of *Cambray*, who, with his whole army, might have joined the duke of *Orleans* as easily as the detachment did.

7. A general that hath his magazines fully stored with all necessaries, and well placed in order to his design, having the advantage of rivers, and no want of waggons,

may well besiege a town, seated near those rivers, in all seasons of the year, and with more advantage in the winter, or rather in the spring, before there be forage, than afterwards. For the enemy that might be feared to march for the succour, must have time to bring his army together, and then not having the conveniencies of rivers, be forced to bring all his provisions by land in waggons; and it is almost impossible, if his magazines and country be far off, to supply his army with forage, being to be brought at so great a distance: and if the army, with this winter doing, be weakened and shattered, the sieges being over, and the forage coming on, it will soon recover, or at least be able to make a defensive war, for the preservation of towns that must be attacked in form, and then towards the latter end of the year, being recruited and recovered, act again.

8. An army marching and making halts, whilst ways are mending, or bridges making, is not without apprehension and danger, if the enemy's army be not far off. To avoid this, when the general hath taken his resolution to march, and by what way, and on how many columns or lines, he immediately sends trusty and knowing officers, with a good escort of horse and foot, with pioneers, to mend and clear the ways for the march, and if there be rivers, boats for bridges; then putting good guides with the officer commanding each line, he marches without interruption. But great care is to be taken that the lines march equal, and not too far asunder, that so they may (in case of an alarm) be found, or put easily in order of battle.

9. Troops pressed in fight, do incline much to crowd in one upon another; so that if you have not field room, it is hard to untangle, and put them in order. In that case, sometimes it may be wished, that half the number were away.

10. In battles, it ought to be held as an undoubted maxim of war; that a wing of horse, beating the enemy's opposite wing, is not to move one foot in the pursuit, but to keep its first order; and if the route be such, that the enemy must be pursued, let it be done by detachments, or commanded men; and, if the battle be gained, no plundering till all be secured.

11. I do not absolutely reject battles: for in some cases they are to be sought; and in others, though a general do not seek fighting, yet he must expose his army to battle, if the enemy will. But certainly it is a matter of great consideration, especially when a country is invaded; for the loss of a battle is many times the loss of a kingdom: and let a general be never so great a captain, having ranged his army in the best manner, and given to his officers all good orders; yet when the armies are once engaged, he can act little more than one man's part, and is subject, by the failure of many others, to be overthrown.

12. Towns are, for the most part, besieged, because of defects in their fortifications, or wants within, as men, ammunition, or provisions, &c. so as to keep out these reliefs; also, to fence the quarters, a line of circumvallation is necessary; and till it be put in defence, neither horse nor foot are to pretend any rest, or any trench to be opened. But when all is done, if a considerable army come to post itself near this line, if it be not very good, and well flanked with a good ditch and parapet, no ground to command it, and men sufficient to man it, besides those in the trenches, carrying on the attacks, it is better to hazard a battle in the plain field, than to fight behind such a line. For the enemy lying by you is commonly strongly posted, will annoy your convoys and foragers, if this will not *make you raise your siege*; and if the town be worth it, *he will take care to attempt your line by force, and*

begins commonly an hour or two before day, alarming you round; falls on with some false attacks, and two or three real ones. Your line is often fifteen or twenty miles about; and if a river runs by the town, as for the most part there does, this line is divided, and so your army has no communication but by bridges of boats: and in this case, it being dark, none goes to help the other; but every one stands to defend his part of the line, none knowing where the real danger is, but he that feels it. And if there be a *camp volant*, with the general, he may with it march wrong as well as right: and the enemy once entered, usually all quit the line, and seek to save themselves; and it is hard to put them in any order of battle to resist; so that all can be hoped for, is to make a reasonable retreat. Now, in case the enemy fail in their attempt, they run little or no hazard; for they retire before it be full day, and those within the line dare hardly pursue, till parties are sent out in the morning to discover returns. Now, if you draw out, and fighting, gain a battle, though a relief, whilst you are engaged, slip into the place, those within seeing their succour beaten, lose courage, and, in all likelihood, will give you little trouble before they render.

13. A general coming before a town with a design to besiege it, must be well informed of all things within and without, before he opens his trenches. For I have seen, by mistake of the true attack, much time trifled away, with the loss of many lives, and I think once with the defeat of the whole army.

14. A general that, in a retreat, brings his army to attempt the passing a river or defile, an enemy's army being near, or in view, runs too much hazard, if it be not by necessity, and then he is blameable to have brought it to the extremity.



15. The passing of defiles and rivers may be attempted, an enemy's army near, or looking on, in certain cases; as for the succour of a town, or breaking into an enemy's country to conquer. The reason of this is chiefly grounded in the difference of mens' courage and resolutions in attacking, or being attacked. For as a retreat looks something like running away, especially to the common soldiers, so advancing raises them to confidence of overcoming. Store of cannon in this case is of great use; but a general having passed with his army these rivers or defiles, must be careful to leave passes well secured for his retreat; otherwise, after all, if the enemy seizes the passes or defiles behind him, he may in part, or in the whole, lose his army. Now, as the passing of rivers and defiles are dangerous, so these ought to be great consideration in the opposition, and not to put wholly the fortune of a weaker army upon it; for if the enemy force the pass, in all likelihood you shall be beaten. Wherefore, in this case, if you will oppose, put your army in battle as much covered from cannon as you can, improving the enemy's disorder what you may, and, as they arrive on your side of the pass, charge, not suffering them to form.

16. Great advantages in war are rarely offered, and, for the most part, soon past. Wherefore, though patience and circumspection are virtues in a general, or chief commander, yet they ought to be watchful, and hold their troops so ready, that they may not lose the critical minute or precious moment; it being of so much importance in war, that the like peradventure may not happen in the life of a man. I have seen myself, on two or three occasions, a victory gained, that if one quarter of an hour had been omitted in the attempt, the fortune of the day, in all likelihood, had gone quite contrary to what it did. The cause is clear, and found by experience: for though man, in

his reason, be the most excellent of all creatures on earth, yet having lost it by the passing of fear, is one of the least; and fear doth sometimes seize men, being in surprise to such a degree, that they know not what they do.

How many men, in beating up quarters and routes, are slain, not daring to turn their faces to make resistance; though the very same men, being in their judgments, in divers occasions, had carried themselves formerly well enough.

17. No merchant ought to be more exact in his books, than a general in keeping accounts of the enemy's provisions, how they are brought to the army, and the days, that so he may take his advantage.

18. A general must be very wary how he engages his army in the siege of a town, or invades an enemy's country, chiefly relying on a party within the town, or a raising of the people in his favour. I have seen and known fatal consequences in both, even to the loss of armies; yet sometimes it hath succeeded. However, the offers of enemies, or of those that live amongst them, are still to be suspected.

19. A prince, in time of war, ought to be large in rewarding, and very severe in punishing. His general, whilst he is so, is to be absolute, and the prince not apt to hear complaints against him. That there be from the general even to the corporal, throughout the whole army, an entire and known subordination, that each may know whom he is to command, and whom to obey. Also, that the troops of the army may, as near as possible, be on the same foot, and paid alike.

Yet in the king of *Spain's Netherlands*, for what reason of state or war I could never learn, there are many important cases undermined; as between generals de *battalia*,

and governors of provinces, in the province under their government, who should command ; the general *de battalia* coming into the province with an army, or party, or with orders to command a town,

Of the national regiments, which are in those countries, few or none will give place to the other ; from whence arise (sometimes) dangerous contests, even in the face of the enemy.

One general *de battalia* will not obey another.

The same amongst *masters de camps* of foot, and colonels of foot.

*Masters de camps* of horse, and colonels of horse, contest with those of the foot ; as also amongst themselves.

Captains of horse and majors of foot contest.

In fine, there is room left for dispute even amongst the common soldiers of several nations.

20. The person of a successful general, beloved by the army, and in high esteem for his experience and conduct in war, is highly to be valued. For the soldiers believe, that with this man they cannot be beaten ; and with another of a contrary reputation, they are always in doubt. The same holds in proportion with the inferior commanders, I have seen the effect of this, both in armies and parties.

21. An army is more to be valued for its quality, and readiness to action, than for its number.

*The defects of an Army,*

AS generals and other commanders not of reputation and experience in war.

The troops composed for the most part of new men,

The horse not well mounted,

Neither horse nor foot well armed.

The officers, for want of pay, not valuing their employments; and the soldiers in a mutinous humour for the same cause.

*Defects and wants in the Artillery and its train,*

22. GREAT difference is to be made between victorious, and cowed or beaten troops, till the latter be recovered by some good winter quarters, or other forces join them.

23. A body of horse retired into a weak place is never to be thought safe, if an enemy's army be within a day's march to them; for once invested, they are all lost.

24. Languishing sieges are to be avoided; for though an army comes at first with much resolution and courage, and so holds it on for the time they think convenient for taking such a place; yet when they see the general doth not advance the attacks as he ought, and they lose men by sharp sallies; sometimes the cannon nailed, and the lodging of the night before broken down; their convoys cut; report of an army marching for its succour; ill weather coming on; and sometimes a small relief slipping into the town, which can hardly be avoided till a place is



