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THE SECRET INTRIEGUES OF THE ROMISH PARTY IN IRELAND.

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Licens'd,

August 14. 1689.

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A

Full and Impartial Account

Of all the

SECRET CONSULTS,

Negotiations, Stratagems, and Intriegues

OF THE

Romish Party

IN

IRELAND,

From 1660, to this present Year 1689.

For the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom.

LONDON,

Printed for Richard Chiswell, at the *Rose* and *Crown* in St. *Paul's Church-Yard*, MDCLXXXIX.

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TO THE READER.

TO Preface to the ensuing Pamphlet, will (I am sensible) be attributed to a vain humour of the Age, rather than to more important Considerations. But however that may be the Apprehension of some, yet the more Judicious will (I doubt not) be of another Opinion, when they perceive a whole Series of the most profound Policies and Designs, drawn with that rudeness and disproportion, as equally requires their Candour, as well as my Apology. Indeed to give an exact pourtraicture of this Intriegue (which in all its circumstances appears very extra ordinary and surprizing) would require Apelles, *his favourable chance, or at least a more Artificial Representation than must be expected in the following Discourse. All that I can pretend to,*

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is, an Impartial Account of the Matter of Fact: and that being chiefly aimed at, will, with sober Men, be, in some sort at least, interpreted, A Dispensation for the want of exteriour Ornament; or however that may prove, I deem'd it much more serviceable to the Publick to present the Reader with this rough draught, rather than conceal that, which (with what imperfection soever 'tis managed) must needs be useful to all Protestants, and especially at this Juncture: For here the Reader has an Account of the first steps that were made in Ireland *for the Introduction of Popery into that Kingdom; together with a Description of what obstacles and repulses this Design met with; how 'twas still carried on, notwithstanding its frequent Interruptions and Discouragements, and by what private Cabals, and after what secret Machinations. Here is represented the admirable diligence of an indefatigable Romish Genius for the promotion of the Catholick Cause, which in several periods of State, and vicissitudes of that Government still kept its design on foot, sometimes retreating a few paces backward, when they found it necessary; and at others, not only retrieving that disadvantage, but continuing a greater Progress, when they met with occasions favourable to their Design;*

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To the Reader.

Design; which at last they carefully improved to that ripeness wherein it now stands, and to which it has attained by an unparallel'd Violation of the Laws and Constitutions of the Realm, by the most violent and unjust Proceedings in the Reign of the late King James; *of which you have an ample and copious Relation in the following Sheets.*

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A

Full and Impartial Account

Of all the

SECRET CONSULTS,

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OF THE

Romiſh Party in *Ireland*, from 1660, to this preſent Year 1689. for the Settlement of Popery in that Kingdom, &c.

WHEN the natural Conſequent of our late inteſtine Differences had (in a ſhort time) produced ſo many various *Scenes* of Government, till by a circular Motion we center'd in our firſt Model; and ſo like *Pythagoras* his tranſmigration of Souls------ were metamorphoſed into ſo many differing *Shapes*, till at laſt, in the Year One thouſand ſixhundred and ſixty, we became animated with our firſt Diſpoſitions to Monarchy, by the Reſtoration of King *Charles* the Second; then it was that ſeveral Diſputes aroſe (which

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were Debated before the *King and Council*) concerning the Settlement of *Ireland*; the Lord of *Santry*, Lord Chief Juſtice of *Ireland*, (a Man equally eminent for Law as well as Loyalty) in an excellent and learned Speech repreſented to the Board the horrid Rebellion of *Ireland*; together with thoſe Barbarous and Inhumane *Maſſacres* which he had been an eye Witneſs of.

In Oppoſition to which, Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, a Man alſo very skilful in the Law, but a Knight of the Pope's making, and one that had acted his part in all the *Rebellion* of *Ireland*, aſſumed the Defence of the Natives of that Kingdom: but as his *Cauſe* was too apparently bad to be maintained with any tolerable Succeſs; ſo was his Underſtanding in the Law inferiour to the Lord Chief Juſtice *Santry*'s, who carried the Debate with great Applauſe, in the Opinion of all that heard it; and had his Advice been accordingly purſued, 'twas thought few of the *Iriſh* would have got their Eſtates: and at that time, if (by miſtake) the Lord of *Ormond* and Lord *Angleſey* had not joined with the Court-Party, 'twas believed that what the Lord *Santry* urged, as Law, muſt have prevailed in point of Right; for in thoſe days the Intereſt of the Duke of *York* (which afterwards grew to a mighty height, as you will perceive by the Sequel) was not ſo powerful as to have prevented it. That which he chiefly inſiſted upon, as to matter of Law, was, That 'twas moſt agreeable to the Law of the Land, as well as moſt equal for the Subject to be Tried by the Common Law, where they would meet with a fair and indifferent Tryal by Juries of their Neighbours, and in this caſe could have

have no wrong done them; but that the Court of *Claims* was like the Uſurper's *High-Court* of *Juſtice*, Arbitrary and Unlimited. This touch'd the *Iriſh* to the quick, for they being conſcious of their Guilt, moſt of 'em Indicted and Outlawed for Treaſon, deſpaired upon their Trial at the Bar to make any conſiderable Defence.

The Government of *Ireland* was firſt put into the hands of *Lords Juſtices*, which were Sir *Maurice Euſtace*, *Lord Chancellor*, the Earl of *Mountrath* and the Earl of *Orrery*; the firſt a Lawyer, the latter, Men that had ſignally behaved themſelves againſt the *Iriſh*, during the whole *Rebellion*. Under the Government of theſe Men, a *Parliament* was called in the City of *Dublin*, and the *Convention*, which ſat upon the King's Reſtoration, diſſolved. The firſt thing they proceeded upon, were the Bills ſent them from *England*, for by the Law of *Ireland*, Intituled, *Poyning*'s Act, the *Parliament* of *Ireland* can read no Bill in their Houſe, which proceeds not by theſe Steps: Firſt, The *Chief Governour* and *Council* of *Ireland* draw up a Bill and ſend it over to the *King* and *Council* in *England*, who either approve or correct it as they think convenient; and ſo, in the ſecond place, return it back to the *Chief Governor* and *Council*, and theſe ſend it to the *Houſe of Commons*, who have only a Negative Voice, and can neither alter nor amend a word of it. This, by way of Digreſſion, which differing ſo much from the Practice of the *Parliament* of *England*, induced me not to think it altogether unpleaſant, or unneceſ- 1660.

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ſary, to preſent the Reader with this brief Account of it.

But to return to the *Parliament*, the variety of intereſts in that Kingdom gave birth to ſeveral Diſputes among them; for the accommodating whereof it was thought neceſſary at Court to ſend over a *Lord Lieutenant*, for about this time a great Controverſie aroſe among all Parties, which was founded upon this occaſion: A new intereſt was ſet on foot, in which neither *Souldier*, *Adventurer*, nor *Iriſh* (according to the firſt *Declaration* from *Breda*) were concerned, and yet it related to the firſt *Souldiers* that fought againſt the *Iriſh*, which were now called *Forty-nine Men*; theſe being King's-Men, were not provided for in the *Parliament* and Uſurper's time, and how to make Proviſion for them now, was the matter in Diſpute. Some Lands indeed there were that had not been ſet out to *Souldiers* and *Adventurers*, which were allotted theſe Men; but this Proviſion was not conſiderable, and therefore the *forfeited Corporations* and *Houſes* that were in them, were hereunto annexed; and to render 'em the more valuable, a Clauſe was inſerted in the Act, That no *Iriſh Papiſt*, in what manner ſoever he juſtified his innocency, ſhould enjoy any *Houſe* within a *Corporation*, except the Natives of *Corke* and *Featherd*. This the *Iriſh* vehemently exclaimed againſt as barbarous and inhumane, that, to ſerve the conveniency of a particular Set of Men, a Man muſt appear innocent in the *Country* and enjoy his Eſtate, but be adjudged a Rebel in the *City*; and upon that account be diſpoſſeſſed of his *Houſes*. On the other hand,

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hand; the *English* complained, That the *Natives* by an Illegal, Arbitrary *Court*, were made innocent, though they were known to have been concerned in the *Rebellion*; for that in truth 'twas beyond all peradventure that not *Ten* of the *Irish Papists* were free from *Rebellion* and *Murther*: The Duke of *Ormond* had a great Arrear due to him upon this Fund, and after mutual Contests on either side, the Affair was settled, to the Satisfaction of the *Protestants*.

But in order to a firmer and more mature Establishment of things, it was (amongst other Consultations) resolved in *Council*, to send over the Lord *Roberts* for *Ireland* in Quality of the Lord *Lieutenant*, as a Person whose indifferency as to the *various* and *opposite* interests of that Kingdom, might bring forth a compleat and impartial settlement; but his being an Englishman, and not related to, and so consequently not interessed in favour of the *Irish*, occasioned the Duke of *York* (whose Affection to the Natives of that Kingdom, has appeared by too pregnant and demonstrative Proofs) to work with the King his Brother to send over the Duke of *Ormond*, whose Acquaintance with, and Relation to divers of the *Irish Nobility* and *Gentry*, did rationally promise a more favourable regard to their Interests; though what probability soever this Prospect had in it, it finally turned to their disadvantage, and that by the even steerage of the Duke of *Ormond*, who, though placed at the Helm, in favour to the *Irish*, yet so signally espoused the Interest of the *English Protestants* in all their just and legal demands, 1662.

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that upon that very account he loſt the favour of the Duke of *York.*

This management of things, made the *Popiſh Party* very ſenſible of their miſtake; but to correct it in a very high meaſure, they procured the removal of ſome of the *Commiſſioners* of the *Court* of *Claims*, and got others put in, exactly calculated for their preſent deſign: The leading Man was one *Rainsfoord*, who drove ſo furiouſly, that complaints were made to the King. *Talbot* (now *Tyrconnel*) was at this time made principal Agent for the *Iriſh Papiſts* at *Court*, and upon the account of ſolliciting for them, had Sums of Money rais'd him by way of *Tax*, upon all that paſſed the Court of *Claims*; and in ſuch caſes wherein men had no Friends, nor good Titles, he bought their pretences, and by *Rainsfoord*'s means paſſed the *Claim*; from all which illegal courſes, 'twas viſible to the *Engliſh*, that they were in a loſt condition, which brought many of them under ſuch apparent diſcouragements, as to part with their *Eſtates* for a year or two's Purchace; neither could any man make a meaſure of his Title, ſo arbitrary were the *Commiſſioners* in their Proceedings. And as the *Iriſh* inſinuated themſelves into the favour of *Rainsfoord*, and the *Commiſſioners* of the Court of *Claims*, or by the powerful ſollicitation of their Agent at Court, procur'd *Recommendatory Letters* from thence; in the ſame proportion they paſs'd their innocency, not according to their demerit.

For what Complaints ſoever were made by the *Iriſh*, of the Cruelty of *Oliver*'s *Court*, in criminating them; yet ſome who prov'd their *innocency* there, were decreed *nocent* by theſe *Commiſſioners*;

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oners; and where they had no pretence of taking away an *Iriſh*-man's *Eſtate*, that was adjudg'd *innocent* in the Uſurper's time, in that caſe they obtain'd *Proviſo's* in the *Act* of *Settlement* to deprive them of their *Eſtates* for *Rebellion*: As for inſtance, the *Knight* of *Kerry*, who though a *Papiſt*, yet always ſo faithfully adher'd to the *Engliſh Intereſt*, and had been ſo great an inſtrument of divers of the *Proteſtants* preſervation, that for that reaſon he was by the *Uſurper* reſtored to his *Eſtate*; his caſe was ſo notorious, that the *Parliament* (though their whole Fortunes depended upon the Act of *Settlement*) refus'd paſſing the *Act*, except that clauſe in prejudice to the Knight of *Kerry*, was ſtruck out, notwithſtanding that they were inform'd at the ſame time, That if the Act was ſent back, and altered, it ſhould be to their diſadvantage, as indeed it prov'd; however it was Corrected as to that Clauſe.

So much of this *Act* did ſo manifeſtly incline to favour the *Iriſh*, as juſtly created Complaints by the *Engliſh*, which ſeemingly to redreſs, a new *Act* was prepared, Entituled, *The Act of Explanation*; the conſequence of which was, That the *Proteſtants* were glad to ſit down with the loſs of one third; and where the *Iriſh* had either been ſo notoriouſly criminal, as that no Palliations could extenuate the blackneſs of their *Rebellion*; or elſe were Men of that inconſiderable intereſt, as render'd them incapable of paſſing their innocency, in ſuch caſes their Eſtates were claim'd by other *Iriſh*, whoſe intereſts at Court were more prevalent; ſuch were the Earls of *Clancarthy*, *Clan-*

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Clanriccard, Lord *Coſtela Dillon*, Earl of *Carlingfoord* and many more, who paſs'd their Claims for twice more than ever they had before the *Rebellion*.

Purſuant to the *Act* paſſed for the payment of *Quit-rent* to the Crown, for all Lands that were Seiz'd, and Sequeſtred, the *Engliſh* paid *Quit-rent* in many places where their Lands were ſcarce worth it; but when the Court of *Claims* was over, and the *Parliament* of *Ireland* Diſſolv'd, then the *Iriſh* that paid *Quit rent*, obtain'd Grants by means of the Duke of *York* (who omitted no opportunities of teſtifying his good will to them) not only to be remitted of their *Quit-rent*, but of their Arrears alſo.

To this height had the *Popiſh Deſign* advanc'd it ſelf at a Juncture, when the *Engliſh Intereſt* ſeemed not only to carry the preeminence, but even to have reach'd the *Meridian* of her *Triumph* at *Court*: and though it was believed upon the King's Reſtauration, there could not have been the twentieth part of *Ireland* gain'd from the *Engliſh*; yet what with the thirds taken at one blow from the *Engliſh*, and by *Nominees*, and other *Stratagems* of State, there was almoſt an half of the Kingdom in value loſt, notwithſtanding at the ſame time the moſt *innocent* of the *Iriſh* were depriv'd of their *Eſtates*, and the greateſt *Rebels* got more than their own. This was the firſt ſtep advanc'd for the introduction of *Popery* into that Kingdom; and notwithſtanding the ſmall Progreſs it had then ſeemingly made, it ſo far encouraged (even in this time of its Infancy) the moſt conſiderable of the *Iriſh*, as often to intimate

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timate to the *Engliſh*, That in a ſhort time the *Proteſtants*, and they, muſt be of one *Religion*.

'Twas very remarkable, That in the Year 1668.
One Thouſand Six Hundred Sixty Eight, *Talbot*, Brother to *Tyrconnel*, and *Titular Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, Landing at a place called the *Skeriſh*, within Twelve Miles of that City, and being very Hoſpitably entertained by one Captain *Coddington*, Lodging all Night at his Houſe; the next Morning took him aſide, and after the moſt Affectionate Expreſſions of Kindneſs, asked him what Title he had to that Eſtate, for that he obſerved he had expended conſiderably upon its improvement? *Coddington* anſwered, That 'twas an *old Eſtate*, belonging to the Earl of *Twomond*. *Talbot* replyed, That was nothing, it did belong to the Church, and it would all be taken away: therefore adviſed him to lay out no more upon it, but get what he could, and then deſert it. All this was offered upon ſtrong injunctions of the moſt Inviolable Secrecy.

The Duke of *Ormond* was then Lord Lieutenant, and nothing advantagious to their Intereſts could be managed whilſt he continued in that Poſt; which was the riſe to divers Conſultations at Court for his removal. It had been too palpable for the *Popiſh Party* to have appeared intereſſed in it; wherefore an Intriegue was then formed of renewing the ancient Animoſities betwixt him and the Duke of *Buckingham*. This was reduced to Act, and the effect was propor-

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tionable to the design. The next thing to be considered, was, who should succeed him, which was a matter that required a very nice and critical management. They pitched upon the Lord
1669. *Roberts*, as a person that had been formerly disappointed of that Station: which begetting a prejudice in him, and meeting with a Vindicative Spirit (whose temper they knew to be such) would prompt him invidiously to inspect into, or else to create faults in the Government of the Duke of *Ormond*, which was the end of the *Court-Intriegue*, and of his *advancement*; as knowing that his uneasiness to those of that Kingdom, would serve to prepare a fair reception for the L ——— *B* ——— a Man of whose inclinations to their *interest*, the *Popish Party* had the most convincing assurances; and agreeably to this whole *Scheme* of *policy*, the Lord *Roberts* remained Lord Lieutenant about Six Months, and then the L. *B.* was sent
1670. over. *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, leaves the Court, and follows his Brother the *Titular Archbishop*, and lives privately; but notwithstanding his Retirement, is still engaged in all the Secret Counsels with Sir *Ellis Leaton* the Lord Lieutenant's Secretary.

And now to accomplish their purpose, the first thing to be done, was to set up a *pretence* that the King when in *Exile*, had obliged himself to the *French* King to restore the *Irish* to their *Religion* and their *Estates*; and lest a neglect of this should occasion a Breach with *France*, something must be acted in pursuance to it: So it was ordered, That notwithstanding the *Law*, to pre-

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prefer *Irish Papists* to the *Commission* of the *Peace*, in which they behaved themselves with that *partiality* and *insolence*, (*Properties* inherent to most, if not all of them) that they became odious, even to the judicious of their own party. 1671.

The next thing was to regulate the *Corporations*, which by an Act of the last Parliament, there was power for the Lord Lieutenant and Council to do. This was managed with such great secrecy, that none were made acquainted with it, till it was actually drawn, and brought ready to the *Council-Board*. The next day there was sent to the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of *Dublin*, an Order for them to call a Common-Council, and to turn them out, and to make a new Government in the City. This they well understood would create a disturbance, which they were desirous so to improve among the Citizens, as to render the *Protestants* disaffected; for which purpose they industriously laboured to irritate and provoke them, as the L —— *B* —— had done the Year before, when a number of Boys got up in a Tumult to pull down a Bridge which was erecting contrary to the desire of the City; where when the Lord Mayor, and Constables had suppress'd them, the Lord Lieutenant ordered Soldiers, as they were carrying them to Prison, who discharg'd several Shots amongst them, and killed some of them. 1672.

But to return to the Order of *Council* for modelling the Corporation, the Aldermen gave ready obedience, though they feared the bottom of

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the Design. This compliance of the *Aldermen* necessitated them to take new measures; for the most considerable of the *Aldermen* were Men of *New Interest*, and had been noted for keeping out *Papists* from the City Freedom: and whilest these *Aldermen* were in Power, no *Popish Design* could succeed: and therefore to facilitate by another, what they could not effect by former Stratagems, the next work was to prepossess the Populace with prejudice against the *Aldermen*, representing them as the *Authors* and *Contrivers* of this New Model, though (as it was afterwards proved, upon an hearing before the Earl of *Essex* and Council, when Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*) they never heard word of 'em till they were brought to 'em to the *Iole-sale* with orders to put 'em in Execution.

1672. At that time there came over to *Dublin* a Person who assumed several names, (a practice as agreeable to the Interest and Policy of the Church of *Rome*, and as common, as that of variety of Shapes, and Professions) sometime he went by the name of *Payne*, at others by that of *Nevell*, and was found to be the same person that was afterwards committed to *Newgate* for some high Misdemeanour relating to *Coleman* and the *Popish Plot*. This *Nevell* (as has since been apparent in the instance before named) had his part with *Coleman*, and was sent over for *Ireland* as his proper Province, wherein to act the designed *Tragedy*: He remained for some time obscure in *Dublin*, and after that was received into the *Castle*; but never appeared till this (as was deem'd) seasonable

ſeaſonable juncture, and then in the capacity of Under-*Secretary* to Sir *Ellis Leaton.*

His buſineſs was to infuſe into the Populace of the City of *Dublin*, an Opinion of the Treachery of their *Recorder*, Sir *William Davis*; and to make the pretext the more plauſible, he had Inſtructions to add, That the *Recorder* and the *Lord Primate*, then Lord Chancellour, counſelled the L.----- *B.*----- to enact thoſe Laws for the aboliſhing of the *Ancient Government* of the City; and farther inſinuating, that this was done at the deſire, and inſtigation, and by the contrivance of the chief *Aldermen*. This impious ſuggeſtion being not only artfully ſpread among, but alſo too eaſily credited by the *Citizens*, induced 'em to pitch upon *Nevell* as their moſt proper Agent, and in order to this, advanced Mony which they preſented to Sir *Ellis Leaton*, who, together with *Nevell*, brought the then Lord Mayor, *Totty*, with the Sheriffs to the Lord Lieutenant, who publickly declared the Relation above; and withal promiſed to recal his former Order. Upon which he called a Council, but the unravelling of the buſineſs diſcovered a Popiſh Intriegue, which occaſioned their not agreeing with the *Lord Lieutenant*.

After this a Conſult was held by the *Lord Mayor* and *Sheriffs*, with Colonel *Talbot*, now Lord *Tyrconnel*, and his Brother the then *Titular Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, as alſo with Sir *Nicholas Plunkett*, an old *Iriſh Lawyer*, before mentioned (who was formerly one of the *Pope's Supream Council* at *Kilkenny* in *Ireland.*) This Conſult was upon 1672.

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upon a *Sunday*, at *Talbot*'s Houſe, Three Miles from *Dublin*, where it was reſolved, That the *Lord Mayor* and *Sheriffs* ſhould call a general Aſſembly of the *City*, and by the Act of that Aſſembly turn out the *Recorder*, together with thoſe *Aldermen* which were oppoſite to the *Romiſh Party*. Matters were ſo far acted, in purſuance to this intended Subverſion, that the Aſſembly was already in *Council*, but found all the Twenty four *Aldermen* unanimous; ſo that they could not, according to the Laws of that City, paſs any Order, in regard that none could be made without the Aſſent of the *Court* of *Aldermen*, who ſat in a Room by themſelves. This was a fatal obſtacle to their Deſign, whereupon they ſent to the *Lord Lieutenant* to be Inſtructed how, and in what manner, they ſhould proceed; and in the interim kept the Aſſembly ſhut up all the day. At laſt they received the following Directions, That one of the *Sheriffs*, with ſeveral of the Commons, ſhould come into the *Aldermen's Court*, and bring a Petition in the name of the whole City, to turn out Sir *William Davis*, the *Recorder*, and *Seven Aldermen*, who were of the greateſt account in that City. But notwithſtanding the depth of this Policy, which was lain with all the artifice and ſubtilty it could be capable of, yet was the whole of it privately diſcovered by one of the *Sheriffs*, which put the *Aldermen* into a poſture of Preparation for their Defence; which was managed with that ſucceſs, that upon its coming to be debated, the adverſe Party obtain'd only the Suffrages of two indigent *Aldermen*, which gave a conſiderable check to the Intriegue.

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But then the *Lord Mayor* called a private Aſſembly, and not one of the Seven *Aldermen* were preſent: The Commons were called into the *Aldermen's Court*, and there, in a tumultous and irregular manner, they were turned out, and Seven of the Rabble put in their places; as alſo *Leatone* the *Lord Lieutenant's Secretary* was made *Recorder*.

This Revolution ſo awakened the Eyes of the *Citizens* of *Dublin*, that they began to make a more narrow Inſpection into the main drift and tendency of it; which, within a Month after 'twas ſet on foot, they plainly perceived was immediately levelled at the Foundation of the Proteſtant Intereſt and Religion. They now became apprehenſive how miſerably they had been impoſed upon, eſpecially when they ſaw *Papiſts* brought into the *Common-Council*, and every day the diſguiſe ſo thrown off, that they remained no longer doubtful of a moſt apparent and palpable Deſign of introducing Popery.

About this time *Talbot*, the *Titular Archbiſhop* of *Dublin*, apply'd himſelf to the *Lord Lieutenant*, and borrowed ſome of the *Hangings* of the *Caſtle*, *Silver Candleſticks*, Plate and other Utenſils to uſe at an High Maſs, which Sir *Ellis Leaton* got to be ſent with the Complement of ſaying, That he hoped to have High Maſs at Chriſt's Church at Chriſtmaſs; and which in all probability had been effected, if a diſcovery of a moſt bloody and inhumane Conſpiracy to be acted in this Year, had not ſeaſonably prevented it; of which take the following Account: 1672.

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The *Prieſts* (by Directions from their *Superiours*) ordered their ſeveral *Congregations* at *Maſs*, That at ſuch a time every *Roman Catholick* ſhould fix over their Doors a *Croſs* made of *Straw*: The People were curious to underſtand the reaſon of this Order; but the matter was carried with ſo much ſecrecy, that the *Prieſts* themſelves, 'twas believed, knew no more than that it was deſigned to bleſs the Peoples Houſes. This, in purſuance to the Advice and Inſtruction of the *Prieſts* (who like ſo many *Infallible Oracles*, are, upon all occaſions, how difficult or unreaſonable ſoever, moſt punctually obeyed) was generally performed, and at the ſame time vaſt multitudes of *Prieſts* came from beyond the Seas; and it appears by the Sequel, That ſome of theſe were better acquainted with the bottom of this black and damnable Intriegue, than generally the poor ignorant *Prieſts* of *Ireland* were, to whom, 'twas not by the *Helliſh Conclave* at *Rome* thought fit, to Communicate a matter of this private and great importance. For one of theſe *Foreign Prieſts* finding ſeveral Houſes which had not *Croſſes* fixed at their Doors, he warned the People, with great earneſtneſs, to put them up; and further told them, That this omiſſion might be their Ruine, though he would not name to them the particular Inſtance wherein. But amidſt the People's various conjectures, as to the occaſion of this ſo general an Order, one of theſe *Foreign Prieſts*, more open-hearted than the reſt, acquaints a Friend of his with this Deſign; which being by him communicated to another, and this other acquainting ſome Friend of his,

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till at laſt by this Relation of it to ſeveral hands, the matter was ſo far divulged, that 'twas impoſſible to conceal it any longer from being publickly known. This intended *Bloody Maſſacre* was formed after the enſuing manner: Upon a certain day (appointed for the Execution of this diſmal Tragedy) all the *Proteſtants* were to be barbarouſly Murthered, and the *Signal* appointed to diſtinguiſh the *Iriſh* from *theſe Hereticks*, was, a *Croſs* of *Straw* put up before their *Doors*, which whereſoever that was not found, all thoſe *Houſes* were to be deſtroy'd. But this being opportunely diſcovered, ſearch was made, and *Croſſes* were accordingly found at moſt of the *Iriſh Doors*, in the whole Province of *Munſter*; which being made up in a very ſmall compaſs, were not before taken notice of. Search was made for the *Prieſt*, who was the firſt *Author* of this Diſcovery; but he was not to be found: and the *Government* in *Ireland* was then ſo extreamly *byaſſed*, and diſcovered ſo partial an affection to the *Iriſh Intereſt*, that no encouragement was given to a farther Inſpection into this *horrid Plot*; which upon a narrower ſearch would doubtleſs have anſwered the whole of the Relation given of it by the *Prieſt*, and would have appeared a moſt *Unchriſtian* and *Unnatural*, but upon theſe accounts, (in the preſent ſenſe and practice of the *Church* of *Rome*) a more *Catholick Deſign*. But ſuch as were active and induſtrious in laying open this miſchievous and pernicious *Conſpiracy*, had their Cattle ſtole from 'em, and were threatned to have their Houſes burnt; with ſuch like terrifying devices of the *Iriſh*, which they are not only wont to

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give out, but also to practise against such of the *English*, as endeavour to confront them in their evil Designs. This (together with the *connivence* of the *Government*) put a stop to any farther discovery; so that the whole was hushed up, and passed over in silence.

Thus we see, (that to what proficiency soever the *Popish Interest* had attained by the violent and irregular proceedings of the Court of *Claims*, and other artifices of its first rise and production) that it was at that time but in its *infant state*, when compared with that *maturity* it had now insensibly aspired to, under the *Government* of the L. *B.* The Duke of *Ormond*, when in the Government, did in the whole conduct of Affairs so vigorously support the *Protestant Interest*, that he remained an inseparable obstacle to their Design, unless some method were taken to put him out of that Station; in order to which (as you have heard) the Lord *Ro'erts* was to be practised upon, whose prejudice (they doubted not) would carry him to very severe Reflections upon the Duke of *Ormond*'s *Government*, and indeed the experiment answered the design of the undertakers; for the first thing that the Lord *Roberts* did (which I should have mentioned when I spoke of his succeeding the Duke of *Ormond*, but however may not improperly be inserted in this place) was to prie into the Duke of *Ormond*'s Government, and in a manner to encourage and invite persons to make their Complaints; but 'twas found a difficult task to find Faults after a Person of so great Honour and Integrity, as he was. But however to put his

Design

Design in Execution, he first gave opportunity to the *Officers* of the *Army* to make their Complaints, which not succeeding, then he countenances the *private Souldiers* to offer their *Grievances*; and in order to this, appoints *Commissioners* to go round the Kingdom, but all to no purpose: afterwards he attempts the same in the *City* of *Dublin*, to see if they would complain for Quartering of Souldiers; but that Device came likewise to nothing. But, alas, all this would not fix him long in the Government: He was sent over but to serve a turn, and after being a *necessary Instrument* for a while must now give place to a fitter Agent, the L. *B.* who was now appointed to guide the *Chariot*:

Quem si non tenuit, magnis tamen excidit ausis; Though he could not hold the *Rein* so steady as fully to compleat the course, yet was the undertaking noble in it self; and how ever it succeeded, could argue no less than a Gallant Resolution for the *Catholick Cause*; and which indeed, he had at last brought to that high pitch as to draw in the Populace (by amusing them with specious Pretences against the Magistracy) to an espousal of his interest. But however 'twas happy for the Protestants that the Rabble at last became sensible that they had look'd at the wrong end of the Perspective, and that things had been represented to them in a *false light*, and in *colours* quite different from what they now appeared: *Popery* had now almost arrived to its *Zenith*, and wanted but little of that Perfection which that horrible, Bloody contrivance before mentioned, was designed to compass; a practice of a

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parallel nature with the former *Iriſh Rebellion*, and *Pariſian Maſſacre*, and the like infallible demonſtrations of the *Church* of *Rome*'s undoubted *Catholiciſm*.

But 'tis high time to haſten to the aforeſaid Affair of the *Corporation*. The ſeaſonable diſcovery of the afore-mentioned *Sheriff*, gave the *Aldermen* the opportunity of ſending over Sir *William Davis* to *London*, who repreſenting a true Deſcription of this Deſign to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, made that great Politician ſwear, That the *L. L. was a mad Man*; which Negotiation with the ſaid Earl, produced ſo ſucceſsfull an effect, that about a Month after the Earl
1672. of *Eſſex* was nominated Lord Lieutenant, which for the preſent interrupted the Progreſs of the *Popiſh Deſign* in *Ireland*, though the *Natives* of that Kingdom were ſo elevated in their Expectations of its ſucceeding, that they forbore not boaſting to their Confidents of its improvement at Court.

This *Romiſh Deſign*, which had fully appear'd in its proper ſhape in *Ireland*, began ſoon after this to *unmask* it ſelf in *England*, and a remarkable Paſſage occurred, which not a little contributed to the untwiſting of this Intricacy of State, which had been carefully *ſpun* with ſo fine a *Thread*. The *King*, the *Duke* of *York*, and *Clifford*, the *Lord Treaſurer*, were one day at a certain Houſe, in a private Room, where one Sir *W. B.* (a *Commiſſioner* of the *Exciſe* of *England*, and of the *Revenue* of *Ireland*) came, and being a Perſon that frequently accommodated the King with Money, was wont to gain

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acceſs at all hours, and in preſumption of this liberty was at the Door, ready to enter the Room; but his hearing the King ſpeak, with more than ordinary earneſtneſs, begat in him a curioſity to hearken with ſome Attention, but could hear only ſome broken and imperfect Expreſſions. The *Duke* alſo ſpoke ſo low, that he could not underſtand him; but *Clifford* was loud as in publick, anſwering the King in a very audible and articulate manner, in theſe words, *Sir, if you are drove off upon fears, you will never be ſafe; the work will do, if you declare your ſelf with Reſolution, there is enow to ſtand by you.* The King replied, *This name, Popery, will never le ſwallowed by the Peop'e*; upon which the King ſtarted off his Seat, and ſaid, *Some Body is at the Door.* Whereupon *Clifford* haſtily opened it, and without ſpeaking, fell furiouſly upon *B* —, dragging him to a pair of Stairs, from whence he kick'd him down. Soon after this *B.* dyed, which was not improbably imputed to that Misfortune.

Here we may reaſonably reflect upon thoſe Politick (and for ſome time) imperceptible ſteps, by which *Popery* gradually *gained ground* upon us, both in *Ireland*, and *England.* In *Ireland* the whole *Scheme* had been managed with ſo much addreſs, as to engage the Populace to their Party, as has been already ſhewn, in *England*; the Deſign was lain with that depth, and ſo profoundly diſguis'd with the moſt artificial Deluſions, That few (except ſome of the moſt Judicious, and theſe no otherwiſe than by Conjecture) were able to fathom it. But *God, who brings to*

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light the hidden things of darkness, and whose powerful Prerogative is such as oftentimes to disappoint the *wise* in their own *Craftiness*, did wonderfully *infatuate the wicked Devices* of these Men, and that by an opportune discovery, when they were possess'd with the greatest hopes of its attaining its designed effect.

But to proceed upon the former Discourse, interrupted by this Digression. In this Year a little 1672. *Instrument* of the *Pope* appeared, who by degrees became no inconsiderable Actor in the Affairs of the *Romish Court*, one *Thomas Sheridon*. This Man was Educated in *Trinity Colledge* near *Dublin*, where he commenced *Master* of *Arts*, and after that entered into the *Holy Order* of a *Deacon* of the *Church* of *Ireland*; but upon an intimate Acquaintance contracted with the *Jesuitical Party*, was discovered by these politick Engineers of State, to be a Person, whose natural sagacity, joyn'd with his artificial improvements (as to which none of his co-temporaries in the University could dispute the Precedence) might justly render him a fit Object for their purpose. This Design of theirs, co-operating with his boundless Ambition, made him not sollicitous to aspire to an higher rank in the Church (though otherwise his pregnant parts might reasonably have entitled him to very eminent preferment in it) but now that he had another *Game* to *play*, he suddenly (to the Admiration of all that knew or heard of him) abandons his *Sacred*, and assumes a *Civil Profession*, that of a *Collector* of the *Customes* in an out-Port of *Ireland*: a place

he

he was as unqualified for, as he was deem'd capable of that of the Church; the place but an hundred and twenty pounds *per annum*. He remained three or four Years in this place, but not to the ſmall amazement of ſuch as were acquainted with his profuſeneſs: For 'twas viſible that his Sallary could not anſwer a quarter of his Expence, living at a very extravagant height in imitation of his *Maſter Coleman*.

At laſt the Intriegue appeared more intelligible to ſome inquiſitive Men, who began more narrowly to prie into it. For 'twas conſidered, that his being *Collector* of *Corke* (a great place of Commerce by Sea) afforded him Intelligence from all parts, whereby Letters from *Rome*, *Spain*, &c. to all the *Popiſh Clergy* could arrive ſafely through his Hands: and as this was anſwerable to their firſt deſign of fixing him in that Station, ſo did it render him the more conſiderable amongſt them; notwithſtanding that, to avoid all ſuſpicion, he ſtill put on the *diſguiſe* of the *Proteſtant Religion*, which he counterfeited with ſo ingenious an air, that moſt believed him *extream* in that *Profeſſion*, and were apt to think him inclin'd to *Presbytery*, as deriving it from his *Maſters* the *Farmers*, who were called *The Fanatick Farmers*, being a Sett of Brewers in *London*.

Thus we ſee how this *bigoted Votary* of the *Romiſh Church transformed* himſelf into a different *ſhape*, and covered his black Deſign with the Mask of *Presbytery*, as the *Stalking Horſe* to other *Fowle*, upon which his aim was ſet. But as this diſguiſe could not remove the ſuſpicions of the

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the most judicious, discerning Men, who considered his assuming an Employment (quite contrary to the *Stream* of his former Education, and to that *eminent Figure* which in all probability he might have aspired to in the Church) as an *Introduction* to some secret *Project*, which at present they could not comprehend, but soon after became fully informed in it. For the aforesaid Farmers going off, *Sheridon* (before their time was fully expired) obtains leave from them to go for *London*, and there the *Vizard* he had formerly *worn* was soon *thrown* off, and he (as in his proper colours) appeared an absolute *Creature* of the Duke of *York*'s, and at that time a great Consult was held to bring on the Deliverance of *Ireland*. For now the poor *Catholicks* there (after their late disappointment in the before-mentioned Intriegue of the Corporation) were almost in despair, and moreover his *Royal Highness* was in danger of losing his most faithful adherents, many hundreds of them having continued there *incognito* since the L—*B*—'s time, expecting to be *Officers*; and these Men were very impatient.

1673. The Earl of *Essex* was then in the *Government* of *Ireland*, a person whose great integrity and prudence in the steady piloting of this tottering Ship of the State, is not eatie to describe. This Skilful Manager of the *Helm*, *Steer'd* so judiciously, at this nice juncture, that notwithstanding the unwearied endeavours of the Papists, nothing could be effected to their advantage, whilest he kept the *Sword*. Wherefore a

Project

Project was thought on to take the Farm of the Revenue of *Ireland*, by which the whole Revenue of the Kingdom must pass through their hands; besides that, this offered to them the command of the Sea-Ports, together with the conveniency of employing in the Revenue, Fifteen Hundred Officers fit for their purpose. This being set on foot, took well, and *Sheridon* acted his share in it with great applause: For his being a Collector (added to his Natural Ingenuity and great parts) had now rendred him a great Proficient in the Affairs of the Customs and the Revenue. The Caution required in the management of this Intriegue, hindered the Duke from appearing in it, and *Coleman* was deem'd also a person very unfit to be concerned: for though he assumed the shape of a *Protestant* at that time, yet was he shrewdly suspected of *Popery*.

After several Debates, it was concluded, That *Sheridon* was the most proper instrument to carry on this affair; but then his credit in *London* was not considerable enough for a matter of this great moment: So after several attempts, recourse was at last had to one *Muschamp*, then in *London*, an old Projector, and one of the present *Farmers*, but a poor man. This *Muschamp* acquaints another greater Projector than himself, one Sir *J. S.* but he was a man of moderate fame, however they could get none of substance to joyn with them, and both these were projecting heads, and acquainted with Sir *W. P.* a man of *Ireland* of a great fortune, and whose *Principles* were most consonant to this concern; who upon the proposal being made 1675.

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to him, embrac'd it with this assurance of having men of Estates joyned with them. This being related by *Sheridon* to the Duke and *Coleman*, to effect it, 'twas found necessary to draw in some man of value, which seem'd to be a matter of great difficulty. But at last one *Ryder* (a young man that had of his own, and Sisters Fortune, Twenty Thousand Pounds) was named, but his being publickly known as an intimate Favourite of the Duke's, was lookt upon as almost an inseparable Obstacle: For all matters relating to *Ireland*, were so closely and tenderly handled; that notwithstanding the Duke carried the greatest stroak, yet acted so much at a distance, that he appeared to be outwardly unconcerned. However the exigency of this affair was such as necessitated him to shew himself more *open* in this than upon former occasions; and therefore to facilitate their purpose, *Ryder* was engaged, together with some other small men, who were also prevailed upon. The business thus lain, they appeared upon the *Stage*, and bid for the whole *Revenue* of *Ireland*.

The Earl of *Essex*, who received constant intelligence from *Court*, and from some of the *Popish Clergy* in *Ireland*, about this time had an account of designs to remove him from the *Government*; and how one part lay in taking the *Farm*:
1675. upon which he obtains leave to go for *England*, leaving the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Granard* Justices. Upon his arrival at Court, he perceived the *Game ran high* for *Popery*, and the best way to prevent it, was not by downright opposition;

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ſition; he therefore concludes upon a more prevailing method, which was to make court to the Duke of *York*, which he managed with ſo much art, and ſo skilful an Addreſs (as indeed he was very capable of doing beyond their *Conclave at* Rome) that notwithſtanding it was reſolved that he ſhould depart; yet was he kept ſo long in *England*, till orders came from the *Holy Fathers*, for his return to *Ireland*.

He had ſo far wound himſelf into the Duke's good opinion of him, that he thought him ſecure for their Party; and as the firſt teſtimony of his Integrity, he had Inſtructions from him to promote *Sheridon* and the *Farmers*: which the Earl managed with ſuch great wiſdom, as at once to pleaſe the Duke, and yet to be ſerviceable to the *Proteſtants* of *Ireland*, who had now been in a loſt, irrecoverable condition, if his admirable Conduct had not prevented it.

And now this great Man returns for *Ireland* to *ſteer* again in that Government threatened by approaching Tempeſts; the *Farmers* alſo going over, enter upon their buſineſs. Sir *W. P.* became very notorious in declaring not only to employ *Papiſts*, but that he would have the Prieſts collect the *Hearth-money*. Some were apt to believe that this was done on purpoſe to get off: but thoſe who were moſt intimate with him, ſpeak quite otherwiſe, and that the hopes of being created a Lord, and a Privy Counſellor, ſo tranſported him beyond all the bounds of moderation, as induced him to take this violent courſe, the more to ingratiate himſelf with the Duke; but like the Aſs in the

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Fable, beat his Maſter down in imitation of the Spaniels fawning; and though he was a man of great Learning, and of a Mathematical Head, and bred abroad, yet ſo vehemently deſirous of Riches, as hurried him often into great Extravagancies.

The Earl of *Eſſex* being Landed in *Ireland*, had a difficult Game to *play*, he had ('tis believed) made fair Promiſes of being kind to the *Iriſh*, and to ſtand by the *Farmers*; to the firſt he gave good words, and received them well at Court: but the Farmers they began to model their Officers, and if ſome ſpeedy and effectual ſtop was not put to theſe Proceedings, the whole Ports of the Kingdom would ſoon be in *Papiſts* hands, which was like to prove a matter of moſt dangerous conſequence. To defeat this Intriegue, required a more than ordinary preſence of mind, and a deep foreſight, which as this wiſe Earl was endowed with in a very high meaſure, ſo did he ſignally ſhew it upon this occaſion. There was but one way to effect it, and that was by raiſing ſcrupies, as to the value of the Farmers and their Securities; but this he muſt not appear in, but inſtructs ſome of his Confidents of the Council, to act that part for him, and there was one, who, till this late Cataſtrophe, was thought to be of great Integrity and Honour; the Lord *Granard* he was bold and daring, and a Mortal Enemy to Sir *J. S.* wherefore he moves at the Council-Board, that inſpection ſhould be made into the Securities of theſe Farmers. The Propoſal was well accepted by the reſt of the Council: For indeed they were Men, (as Sir *W. P.* ſaid truly of them) *viz. Farmers pick'd up in the Streets, with*

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this diſadvantage, that take the firſt ſeven men you meet, and they ſhall exceed theſe for every thing, but cheating. The Earl of *Eſſex* ſeemed to oppoſe the Council in this Vote, put it off, and acquainted the Farmers, and alſo gave an account of it to the Duke, whom he had now ſo far gain'd upon as to become a Confident. But every day uſher'd in new Complaints againſt the Farmers running away with the Money of the Kingdom, *&c.* which for ſome time the Earl ſeemed to decline; but at laſt (in appearance againſt the Grain) agrees with the Council, and ſends over to the King the Objections againſt the Farmers, which in ſhort were ſo great, that they were not to be truſted. Whereupon *Commiſſioners* of *inſpection* were ſet over them; one was the Earl of *Eſſex*'s Confident: and theſe men attended to the motion of the Farmers with ſo vigilant an eye, that nothing could be effected.

In this manner was this great and dangerous Plot (carried on for ſeveral years by the Duke and his Minions) moſt miraculouſly defeated by the unparallell'd Conduct of that Prudent Earl, who ſo far out-vy'd the *Romiſh Politicks*, as to cajole that party into an approbation of thoſe Proceedings, which proved fatally deſtructive of their deſign: which ſo diſheartened thoſe two accomplices, *R*---- and *Sheridon*, that they flung up their Parts, and returned to Court; the laſt to attend his Maſter *Coleman*, who happened to come in a fit time to ſucceed him in his Employment: for not long after this, the *Popiſh Plot* was brought upon the Stage, in which *Coleman* was

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was Prime Minister, who being afterwards Executed, and *Sheridon* speaking something in favour of his cause, was apprehended, and after some time was brought on his knees at the *Bar* of the *House of Commons*, where he had impudence beyond humane shape, to set forth in a flourishing Speech the greatness of his Family, (*viz.*) that he was in the right Line of the Kings of *Ulster*, anciently called *O Sheridon*; that to his Father belonged a vast Estate, which by the misfortune of War (meaning the former Rebellion) he was wrongfully put out of; with abundance of the like impudent falshoods, and most notorious untruths. Whereas indeed his Father (too honest a man for so base, and so degenerate a Son) was before the late Rebellion in the County of *Caven*, taken in a poor Boy into a Bishop's House for a Turn-spit; and the Bishop observing the Boy to be of a Docible Temper, and capable of instruction, and finding him educated a *Papist*, charitably put him to School, where he was taught his Grammar, and was found to be so industrious a Proficient in School-learning, as encouraged the good Bishop to Ordain him a Deacon, in which capacity he continued under the Bishop till he died. And when the Rebellion broke out so violently, that few *English* were left in the Countrey; yet this poor man remained with such as stayed, and read Prayers among them, till all were either Murthered, or had deserted the place. But he being a poor Old Man, and having nothing to remove, continued where he was, the *Irish* suffering him to reside amongst them; but by all their Importunities (notwithstanding their great

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great eagerneſs to make Converts, compaſſing both Sea and Land, to proſelyte any to their Church) could never prevail upon him to go to Maſs. This Man had three Sons, which (as well as thoſe turbulent times would admit) he educated *Proteſtants*, and upon *Oliver*'s reduction of *Ireland*, he was ſo taken with the Character of this poor man, which was faithfully repreſented to him by the *Engliſh* of the North, that he not only ordered a maintenance for himſelf, but alſo for his three Sons, whom he ordered to be maintained in the Colledge near *Dublin*, where they all improved themſelves to an eminent degree of Learning and parts. This is an Impartial Account of *Thomas Sheridon*'s Pedigree, whoſe Siſters, and other Relations, were in *Broges* and *Kerchiefs*, the *Iriſh* Garb for Women. The Author ſaw them not many years ago in this condition, and knowing this Story of *Sheridon*, was heightened in his Curioſity of being the more inquiſitive after it in the County where his Father was born, and found that he was of the *Scologues*, a Name which the *Iriſh* call *Cotchers*.——And none of his Kindred, as the *Iriſh* affirm, were ever better. I ſhould not have given the Reader the trouble of this Digreſſion, but that I deemed it not altogether unpleaſant to him to repreſent the unparallell'd Impudence of this Man, who could attempt to ſpeak of his high Extraction before the *Houſe of Commons*, when the meanneſs of his Original and Deſcent was ſo univerſally known in moſt parts of the North of *Ireland*. But to what degrees of extravagancy will not the Confidence of

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of an *Iriſh-man* tranſport him? And whither will not that audacious Arrogance (with which the Natives of that Kingdom are moſt plentifully ſtock'd) carry and invite them? The ridiculous Genealogies which the *Iriſh* have framed of themſelves, as to their *Heroical Anceſtry*, Antiquity of their Nation, their eminency for Literature and extraordinary Piety in former Ages, are Fopperies not to be wondered at; when in theſe days the Author by his own Experience can give an account of ſeveral of the *Iriſh* Gentry, who have laid aſide both their former Names, and Relations, and have created new ones to themſelves, which they pretend to be derived from a numerous train of Noble Progenitors, though this be publickly known to be a Chimerical and Fictitious Invention.

But to return again to the Earl of *Eſſex*, (from whence this account of *Sheridon*, has caus'd me to digreſs) though his politick Carriage in the buſineſs of the aforeſaid Farmers, diſcovered a dextrous and prudent Government; yet did it contract upon him the hatred of the Duke of *York*, who from this time ſet up private deſigns againſt him, which the Earl had conſtant intelligence of; but at laſt was not able to withſtand them, the prejudice riſing ſo high, till the Duke
1677. obtained a reſolve for his removal from the Government. The way to accompliſh this, was to find out a man that would lend the King Money, and the Earl of *Bridlington* was pitched upon. *Talbot* had (by the Relation of a Brother

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ther of his Married into that Family) some intereſt, but was not looked upon as a fit perſon to break it to the *Earl*; ſo another was found by the Earl of *Orrery*'s means, who had been diſobliged by the Earl of *Eſſex*, and by that way it was purſued. But though the Earl of *Bridlington* might have had a mind to the Government, yet would he part with no Mony, and the King's neceſſities were the great inducement whereby to prevail upon him to remove *Eſſex*, and *Bridlington* being unwilling to ſupply 'em, no other pretence could be found out to work on the King.

'Twas admired by all for what reaſons the Earl of *Bridlington* ſhould be thought on, in regard that none but the *Duke*'s Party were in the Intriegue. But the *Romiſh Faction* well underſtood, that although the Earl of *Bridlington* was not fit to carry on their main Deſign; yet they knew him governable, and were in hopes to put things upon him, that might bring matters into a leading way for another they had in their Eye, not fit here to be named. But theſe things miſſing of their deſigned effect, they were now at a full ſtop, though no occaſions were omitted of making dayly Objections againſt the Earl of *Eſſex*.

The *Popiſh Conſpiracy* (as has been already hinted in diſcourſing upon *Sheridon*) advanced apace by *Coleman*, and the *Parliament* began now to be apprehenſive of the preſent proceedings, and of the *Alliance* with *France*, which they utterly diſapproved of. The L ——— *B* ——— was ſent in quality of the King's *Embaſſador* to *France*,

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and Sir *Ellis Leaton*, his Secretary in *Ireland*, accompany'd him; but neither of 'em were judged fit to be truſted with the ſecret Deſigns. For at that time there was a Deſign for the *French* to ſet up their Demands for the *Iriſh*, to have the *Articles* made by King *Charles* the Second with the *French* King in their favour, to be performed; and the King of *England* was to admit the *French* to land Men, under pretence of being got by private compact of the *Iriſh*. The Earl of *Tyrone*, Lord *Brittas*, and others, being to raiſe Men in *Ireland*, in order to make a Diverſion to the putting the *Popiſh Plot* in force in *England*. But the whole of this was kept private from the King, only ſo much of it as referred to the *French* King's demanding the Promiſes, made by him (when in *Exile*) in favour of the *Iriſh*. The *Duke* undertook to qualifie the King, if any diſcovery ſhould be made of the *Iriſh* intended *Inſurrection*; but this was divulged by ſome of the *Iriſh*, and the King hardly prevailed with not to believe it. The L—— *B*—— was recall'd from *France*, and ſent to *Nimeguen*, and Complaints were made by ſome Merchants againſt Sir *Ellis Leaton*, who being queſtioned before the King and Council, ſpoke very intemperately, and among other words, ſaid, He wonder'd how theſe Merchants durſt preſume to ſpeak any thing againſt the greateſt King in *Europe*, as the *French* King was; for which indecent Expreſſion, he was committed; it being juſtly accounted great impudence for him to affirm, in the preſence of the King, That there was any other King, greater than himſelf.

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The King and Council finding some cause to believe, that there were Designs of introducing *Popery* in *Ireland*, pitch'd upon the Duke of *Ormond* as the only Pilot for that Kingdom in a Storm; and accordingly he was sent over. The *Duke* of *York* did not then think it seasonable to oppose it, though he was conscious 'twas fatal to his Design. But however he wrought so powerfully with the King, That orders were given to raise Men in *Ireland*, under the Notion of Foreign Service. They were all composed of the *Natives* of the Kingdom, excepting some Protestant *Officers* fit to make *Catholicks* of. The *Duke* of *Ormond* would give them no Arms, so they were Exercised with Sticks; and in a little time the Plot in *England* was discovered, and they all disbanded. Upon which a discovery was made by the *Irish*, of the *Popish Conspiracy* in *Ireland*, and it was very remarkable, that in the whole discovery, not one *Protestant* appeared as an evidence against the *Papists*. A pregnant instance of the great impartiality and equal demeanour of the *English* towards the *Natives*, who altho' they were now presented with various opportunities of destroying those, whom they knew to be their implacable Adversaries; yet declin'd all Informations against them, a practice as peculiar to those of the *Protestant Communion*, as different from the *Indirect Principles*, and barbarous proceedings of that of the *Church* of *Rome*, as has been but too manifest, in those horrid Perjuries, and notoriously false Accusations, which the *Irish* have been palpably convinced of, in their daily

1677.

1678.

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Impeachments of the *Engliſh*, in the *Reign* of the late King *James*, as will appear in the Sequel of this Diſcourſe. But notwithſtanding that 'tis ſo univerſal a practice of the *Iriſh* to ſwear ſuch of the *Engliſh* (as they bear prejudice to) out of their Lives and Eſtates, if poſſible, or at leaſt ſo vigorouſly endeavour it, as to ſtick at no *Affidavit* how inconſiſtent ſoever with truth, or but a rational probability; yet were the *Engliſh* more juſt than to tranſcribe ſo baſe an Example, or to propoſe that impious Maxim of the *Romiſh Church*, *Of doing Evil, that Good may come of it*, as a Rule of their Imitation, which the Apoſtle St. *Paul* has ſo plainly pronounced *Damnation* unto. And indeed if we deſcend to an impartial enquiry after the oppoſite Principles of the Two Churches in this caſe, we ſhall no longer wonder at the great integrity of the *Engliſh*, nor at that barbarous Violation (in the other Party) of a *Rite* of the greateſt *Solemnity*, and moſt *Sacred Inſtitution*, which all Chriſtians ought to account an *Oath* to be, and which the whole Chriſtian Church (except that lame and corrupt part of it which we call the *Romiſh*) does upon its being adminiſtred under legal and requiſite circumſtances, juſtly reckon as indiſſolluble. But what if the other *Chriſtian Churches*, which are but a vile Rabble of *Hereticks* and *Schiſmaticks* (though if dividing Chriſtendom into five parts, they make up more than three) can pretend to no *diſpenſing* power in this caſe; yet what cannot the *Vicar* of *Chriſt* do *in Cathedrâ*, who has the *Keys* of Heaven at his *Girdle*, and can *lock* and *unlock* as he

he pleases, according to our Saviour's *Commission*, which he will needs have limited to his Person, as his *Vicarial* Prerogative, but unlimited in its *Authority*; *whatsoever sins ye remit, they are remitted*; *and whatsoever sins ye retain, they are retained.* But to leave this despotick power of *Absolution* in the Chair of Infallibility, which (God be thanked) we are neither ambitious of, nor do pretend to, it will not be unreasonable to consider, that whatever complaints were made by the *Irish* as to their severe usage in the *Popish Conspiracy* (of which they make many tedious harangues) 'twas plain that if there was any such, 'twas acted by those of their own Party, and such as professed their own *Religion*, who were indeed the fittest Agents for so black an Intriegue, there being none of the *English* any way interessed in it. Neither can I omit mentioning the great Integrity and Justice of the *Duke* of *Ormond*, then *Lord Lieutenant*, in his unbyassed and equal management of this Affair. For though prejudice and partiality might have prepossess'd some Men, and have served to awaken their resentments against the *Irish* at such a Juncture as this; yet did he carry himself with so single an eye, and observed so steady and even a course, that 'twas difficult to perceive the least deflection in him upon either hand: 'tis true indeed the Law had its due course; but this was owing to the *Evidence*, which those of their own *Party* and *Religion* made against their Associates in the Conspiracy; and therefore if any irregularity was committed, it cannot justly be charged upon the *Duke* or his *Subordinate Ministers*, by whom the whole

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was managed with an equal Moderation and indifferency.

But I pass from these Reflections upon the Carriage of the *Duke* of *Ormond* and the *Protestants*, to a Discourse of Affairs relating to the *Plot* in *Ireland*: upon the discovery whereof,
1678. Orders came from *England* to disarm the *Papists*; but they received such timely notice of the Design, by their *Creatures* at Court, that there was not found two hundred Arms in all *Ireland*, the *Irish* having a contrivance of concealing their Arms by thrusting them into *Boggs*, filling the *Barrels* of their *Guns* with *Butter*, which suffers them not to take any harm; and as for the *Locks* they can easily hide them. The Lord *Brittas* and others made their Escape for *France*, but the Earl of *Tyrone* was taken, and committed to the *Gate-house*. *Sheridon* was seized in *London*, but nothing could be proved against him. *Talbot*, now *Tyrconnel*, was confined a Prisoner in the *Castle* of *Dublin*, together with his *Brother*, the *Titular Archbishop*, where he dyed. The *Duke* of *York* went for *Flanders*; which made the *Irish* even to despair, and made one of their *Lords* to declare, with a great Oath, That he believed Jesus Christ was a Protestant, for that nothing they could do did prosper. The *Duke* of *Ormond* was extreamly sollicitous to settle the *Militia* in *Ireland*, and ordered their watching equal with the Army. And now notwithstanding the publick fears of the *Popish Conspiracy* in *England* and *Ireland*; yet was the *English Interest* in *Ireland* of greater value than ever, grounded

grounded upon a general Opinion of the *Engliſh*, that the Plots of the *Iriſh* were now ſo fully unravell'd, that the King would extend no favour to them for the future.

The Duke of *York* goes for *Scotland*, and with him the *Second Coleman*, *Thomas Sheridon*, who ſtill profeſs'd himſelf a *Proteſtant*, though his Actions at this time gave a ſufficient Demonſtration to the contrary: For from *Scotland* he writ over private Encouragements to the *Popiſh* Party in *Ireland*, and put them in ſome hopes. But the *Engliſh* were not apprehenſive of any danger, improving their Eſtates, and the Trade of the Kingdom more than ever, and never eſteeming themſelves more happy than at this juncture, as being quietly ſeated under the Care and Influence of the Duke of *Ormond*'s Government, who now endeavours to have a Parliament called in *Ireland*, and ſucceeded ſo far as to obtain a Grant; in purſuance whereof a Bill drawn by the Lord Lieutenant and Council, is ſent over to the King: but the Duke of *York*'s intereſt interceding, obſtructed any farther Progreſs, who came with all expedition from *Scotland* to put a ſtop to that deſign; which the *Iriſh* were ſo confident of before it was done, that they ſtuck not to affirm that they were well aſſured there would be no Parliament whilſt King *Charles* lived, and would frequently diſcourſe with that liberty and boldneſs, as if the Duke of *York* had been actually Seated in the Throne, upon a Preſumption that he would arrive ſpeedily to it.

Ireland

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Ireland had now continued for two or three years in great Tranquillity and Quiet, when upon a ſuddain a Stratagem was ſet on foot, lain as deep as Hell, and yet ſeemingly for the advantage of the *Engliſh*, which take as follows: In the Settlement of *Ireland*, there were overplus and concealed Lands, ſaid to be in the poſſeſſion of divers of the *Engliſh*, but in truth much more in that of the *Iriſh*. Now to inſure the Titles of the *Engliſh* from any future Diſcoveries (as was pretended) a Court of Grace was to be erected, 1683. where all that would, had the opportunity of putting in their *Claims*: and upon proving their poſſeſſion, and compounding with the Commiſſioners for payment of ſuch a ſum, as they thought fit to impoſe on them; they were to paſs new Patents. It was alſo given out, that it was ſafe for all new Intereſts, to paſs that Court, and that it would ſtrengthen their Titles. This Policy had its intended effect, for many perſons came in, and conſiderable Sums of Money were paid. But under what plauſible pretext ſoever this Court was ſet up, 'twas ſoon perceived as a ſnare to the *Engliſh*: For its deſign was to make a narrow inſpection into all Mens Titles, and thereby to diſcover what advantage might be derived from it. For by the Act of Settlement, all the forfeited Lands in *Ireland* were only inveſted in the King, as a *Royal Truſtee*, for the uſe of the Soldiers and Adventurers, and could be no way diſpoſed of, but according to the intent of that Act. Now whereas there were ſeveral *Iriſh* out of their Lands decreed them by the Act for want of Repriſals;

prisals; the King's Patent could not give any Land away, but in pursuance to the intent of the Act. By which it appears, that this Court was erected to prepare Pretences for the *Irish*, when opportunity should invite; and though all this was negotiated through the Duke's Interest: yet none of that party appeared in it, but the whole of it was transacted by the Dutchess of *Portsmouth*, who had the Money got by Fines out of it.

Because there will be occasion in the farther discovery of this Treachery, to name a principal Actor in the Catastrophe of *Ireland*, I shall now nominate him that was the Abettor and Contriver of this mischief, 'twas one *W.* who sometime before bought a Judge's place in the Exchequer for Eight Hundred Pounds. This Judge was found a fit Tool to make use of, and being a Cunning *ambo-dexter* formed this Intriegue, which had proved fatal to the *Protestant* Interest of *Ireland*, if affairs had succeeded in the same Current they had now put them. But I must not forget to add, that to make this poison go down the more easie, the Pill was gilded over: Most of the Judges were made Commissioners, and had part of the Fines; the *Lawyers* and *Attorneys* got Money by the Court: so that consequently all that were capable of understanding the Cheat, were interessed as Parties in the Intriegue, and by this means some of the Lawyers and Attorneys purchased Estates, to the ruine of the former Possessors. And tis to be observed, that in the several Designs of the *Papists*, *Protestants* were the Tools, whereby they acted, by which they appeared to have nothing of *Catholick* in them.

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And now to force men into this Tonnel, another Oppression was impos'd upon the Subject, and that was, that no man should pass Patent for *Fairs*, *Markets*, *Mannors*, &c. without passing his Estate through this Court: whereas by the Act of Settlement all persons had liberty for the improvement of the Countrey, to pass Patent for them, so that they were not within three Miles of one another.

Here you may perceive a most black design speciously represented as a fit occasion to lay hold on, whereby to corroborate the *English* Interest, though in truth nothing could more effectually weaken the *Protestants* Titles to their Estates, and strengthen or improve those of the *Irish*; and this not only managed, but at first set up by a *Protestant*. And indeed this gave a more plausible colour to it, and made it the more easily gain belief with the *English*, that the true Reasons of its erection, were the same with those that were pretended, because first advanced by one of their own Party: A sad thing indeed, that *Englishmen* and *Protestants*, should by base and unworthy Compliances become such Servile Instruments to the advancement of the *Popish* Cause! A Calamity which as it had made some steps before, so did it improve to an infinite Progress, when the late King *James* was in possession of the Throne. In which time, too many men, who were reputed *Protestants*, through a mean, and pusillanimous Disposition, were not seldom Co-adjutors with the *Papists* in such violent Proceedings,

ceedings, as carried a direct oppoſition to the Laws, and their Religion.

But to proceed where I left off: The Duke of *Ormond*, perceiving by the tendency of theſe Affairs, that the *Romiſh* deſign was agitated with greater earneſtneſs than ever, with great difficulty obtains leave to go for *England*, and purſuant to that comes over, leaving his Son, the Earl of *Arran*, Lord Deputy. Upon his Arrival at 1683.
Court, he a ſecond time attempts a Parliament, but ineffectually; upon which diſappointment he returns again for *Ireland*, with an heavy heart, as he himſelf declared to a Great Man of that Kingdom. He had Inſtructions to Regiment the Army, and ſome other things that were Preparatives to what followed ſoon after. But now the Fatal Stroke was come, the Death of the King, a Myſtery not to be inquired into, though 1684.
one can hardly omit remarking that the *Iriſh Papiſts* could for ſome time before fix upon the utmoſt Period of that Reign, and the Duke was ſent for in haſte from *Scotland* three years before, without any apparent reaſon for it, beſides that, the King's permiſſion was obtained with ſome difficulty.

From this time we may Commence the Date of the *Iriſh* greatneſs: Fate now ſmil'd upon 'em, and that which they had long expected with ſo much impatience and importunity, which had coſt them ſo much pains, and had involved them in ſuch great Perplexities: That which had expoſed them to ſo many dangers, and been ſo fre-

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quently blasted with cross Accidents and various Disappointments, was now fallen into their Lap. Now their long-look'd for day was come, and their Game which had been play'd with so much difficulty and loss, did now assure them of better success. These Apprehensions so transported them with such pleasant Raptures, as were eminently visible in all their actions, especially in Publick Days of Rejoycing, as the day of the King's Proclaiming that of his Coronation, the Birth of the pretended Prince of *Wales*, and the like: in all which they demonstrated the most extravagant Symptoms of a Superlative Joy, which they express'd in making of Bonfires, Beating of Drums, playing upon the Bag-pipes, and other Musical Instruments, in Drinking, and Serenading in the night time, forcing the *English* out of their Beds, and breaking open their Doors, and drinking Confusion to the Kings Enemies upon their Knees: by which 'twas plain that they understood the *Protestants*. And all these unlawful Revellings oftentimes continued for two or three Nights and Days without intermission, wherein such of the *English* as refus'd to joyn with them to that extravagant height, were accounted Persons disaffected to the Government, called *Fanatick* and *Oliverian Dogs*, with the like Expressions of Calumny and Reproach. But this was not all; the most judicious of them, were now so animated in their hopes, that 'twas impossible for them to bear them any longer with moderation, or to contain themselves from the most violent Outrages, and from instigating the Rabble to steal from, and rob the

English,

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Engliſh, which at firſt was looked upon as the moſt Expeditious Contrivance, whereby to expel them the Kingdom. The Duke of *Ormond* foreſaw what was now paſt remedy, and told a Friend of his, that nothing could now preſerve the *Engliſh* but a precipitateneſs of the *Iriſh*: *For* (ſaid he) *let my Countreymen alone, and they will ſpoil their own buſineſs*: And ſo indeed they had in any time but this, when it might be ſaid according to our Saviour's Prediction, *That the time was come, when they that deſtroyed the* Proteſtants, *thought they did God ſervice.*

King *James* and his former (but now more eſpecial) Favourites the *Iriſh*, were now equally furious in their courſe, and ſeemed to contend (the one in his Commands, the other in their forward Obedience) which ſhould exceed in their joynt deſign of extirpating Hereſie. The Duke 1684.
of *Ormond* was called over, but before his departure, laboured with an Indefatigable diligence, to eſtabliſh matters on ſuch a foundation, ſo as that it might not be eaſie for them to create a preſent change, without a manifeſt violation and infringement of the Laws and Conſtitutions of the Kingdom. The new Hoſpital, a ſtately Fabrick near *Dublin*, erected for poor Soldiers, would (he foreſaw) be made a Neſt for Hornets, which to prevent, as well as poſſible, he ſate ſeveral days with the Council and Judges in private, in the Caſtle, and there made all the proviſion that could be for it, againſt the imminent ſtorm. One remarkable Paſſage I muſt not omit to mention, which demonſtrates the great ſpirit of that ex-

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excellent person. At the aforesaid Hospital he appointed a Dinner for all the Officers of the Hospital, and the Officers of the Army then in *Dublin*; which being over, he took a large Glass of Wine in his hand, bid them fill it to the brim, then stood up and called to all the Company. Look here, Gentlemen, they say at Court, I am now become an Old Doating Fool; you see my Hand doth not shake, nor does my Heart fail, nor doubt but I will make some of them see their Mistake; and so drank the Kings Health: But upon his Arrival at Court found that King *James*'s Bigotted Opinion would carry him to the most violent actions; a dismal apprehension whereof (as is believed) at length broke his heart; for though he was of a great Age, yet was he of such health of Body, and cheerfulness of mind, that in course of nature he might have lived Twenty Years longer, as his Mother did. 'Twas plain, that the *Irish* could fasten no Calumnies upon him, when the first thing they reproached him with, was Cheating the Army in building the Hospital, and that *Robinson* the Architect had inriched himself by it: when indeed not to lessen any thing of his due Character, *Robinson* shewed the parts of an Excellent Artist in the Contrivance, and of an Honest Man in the Charge, as men of Value and Experience in Building affirm.

1685. Upon the Duke of *Ormond's* removal, the Government was put into the hands of the Lord *Primate*, and the Lord *Granard*, in the Quality of Lords Justices. The *Irish* fell immediately to their

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their old trade of making Plots, but with this difference, That whereas they had formerly been the Actors themselves, they now placed them upon the *English*, which they daily impeached of designs against the King and the Government: The Grandees had the confidence to appear in Vindication of such Evidence as was given against the *English*, (though it was altogether as unreasonable as untrue) and press'd the Lords Justices for Orders of Council to empower *Irish Papists*, and Mongrel *Protestants* to examine them, and to commit (if they saw cause) without Bail, any person impeached. This Arbitrary Power, the Lords Justices, and Council, would not agree to; yet were so hectored and insulted upon by them, that they issued out Orders of Council to examin and commit, but always they were directed to *Protestants*, which wearied the *Irish* of that Stratagem.

One thing has been omitted, which was, that before the Duke of *Ormond* left the Government, an Order came for regulating the Council, which he left for the Justices to do, and most of the *English* (that were active) of the Privy Council were turned out, but as yet no *Irish Papists* put in. The *Irish* Lords and Gentry repaired in great numbers to *Dublin*, and as well Gentry as Commonalty of the Natives in all places reproached the *Protestants* and their Religion, with all the Calumnies and Impious Reflections, that the rankest Satyrists could invent. At *Leslip* seven Miles from *Dublin*, the Lord *Clanriccard*, Sir *Valentine Browne* (now created a Viscount by the late King *James*) Colonel *Moore*, and some others upon

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upon their Knees, drank Confusion to all *Protestants* and their Religion. This was taken notice of, and the wiser sort of their Party blamed these Men for their forwardness, as judging it could not be safe to go on so fast; but to stifle the noise of it, such as were Eye-witnesses of the Fact, and threatened for not Pledging the Health, were seized with Warrants, and menac'd with having their Throats cut, and the like terrifying Arts, if they denied not the thing. Sir *Standish Harston* one of the Barons of the Exchequer, was threatened to be eased of his Employment, if he took not off his Son-in-Law who reported the matter.

These daily repeated Insolences of the *Irish* made the Lords Justices weary of their Government; and one of them (the Lord *Granard*) writ to *England* to be dismist. But in a Consult of the *Papists*, it was resolved, to represent him as a Man fit to be kept in; for that his intereſt was very prevalent in the North among the *Scots*, and had for many years in King *Charles*'s Reign been a Pensioner, and had Five Hundred Pounds *per Annum* given him to distribute among the *Presbyterian Clergy*; of which Perswasion his Lady was. For the aforesaid Considerations, and besides, that he was a Popular Man in the Army, 'twas judged convenient to retain him in the Government: For which end King *James* writ him a Letter with his own hand, with great Promises, and assurance that nothing should be acted prejudicial to the *Protestant* Interest, which at that time this Lord was accounted to be zealous for, however he has now prevaricated.

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Monmouth's Rebellion soon broke out, and 1685.
some were apt to believe that *Granard* was in suspence who to declare for; but the Lord *Primate* was a person of firm, and inviolable Loyalty, and his unalterable steadiness hindered the other from deserting. These two persons by their united Interests, one for the Church, the other for the Dissenters, kept things in a quiet posture in *Ireland*, and were so Cajol'd by King *James*, as made them not only of opinion, but perswaded others to be so too, that the King would never expose himself to the hazard of preferring *Papists* in that Kingdom, where the *English* and *Scots* were so unanimous against 'em: And besides that, they were so well furnished with Arms, as having the Arms of the Militia (so lately setled) in their hands: But the *Popish* Party grew bold and insolent, and every day afforded but too convincing occasions of new fears to the *Protestants*.

Monmouth's Discomfiture gave liberty to the *Irish* (more than ever) to contrive Plots, and to fasten them upon the *Protestants*, which put the whole Kingdom into a Ferment; for the *Irish* pretended, that the *Protestants* assembled together in great numbers in the night: and to gain the more credit to these Hellish Inventions, the Vulgar *Irish* were instructed to leave their Houses, and to hide every Night in their Bogs, upon a pretence of fear that the *English* would come in the Night and cut their Throats; a Practice as notorious in the Church of *Rome*, as unheard of among *Protestants*, and which there could not

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be the least Ground or Foundation for, at this juncture. For besides that in most parts of the Kingdom the *Irish* were infinitely more numerous than the *English*; nay, in some an hundred Families for one, (I suppose I speak much short of the true account) which shewed the impossibility of putting any such thing in execution, had it been ever intended, and must needs be accounted an absurd and ridiculous contrivance to any man of common sense. So were the *Irish* (though conscious to themselves of their own Bloody Actions in the former Rebellion) well enough assured that the *English* never imagined, much less would attempt any such thing. They were convinced as well by their Practices (which had been but too favourable and indulgent to the Natives in the former Reign) as by the Principles of their Religion, that they were not men of Blood; nay, and would frequently confess, that they were never known to be addicted to Cruelty and Murther, to Barbarous Massacres, and Inhumane Assassinations, which they could not excuse some of themselves from. And indeed whoever considers the difference betwixt the *Reformed* and *Romish Church* in this respect, must needs acknowledge a most strange opposition betwixt them. To see the Ancient Practices of the *Heathen Emperors*, so drawn to the life, nay, out-done by the present *Romish Faction*, is to some a Demonstration that the Persecuting Spirit, which reigned with so much predominancy in the Infant days of Christianity, is now strongly revived in this degenerate Church, which is apparently in this, and

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other Principles, upon her Retrograde motion to Ancient Gentiliſm. And upon the other hand, whoever conſiders that Spirit of Peace and Meekneſs, of Mercifulneſs and an Univerſal Charity, which governs with ſo abſolute an Empire in the minds of thoſe who have duly embraced our Profeſſion, muſt needs own, That our *Engliſh* carries that *true Badge* and *Characteriſtick Evidence* of Chriſtianity, for which the Primitive Church was juſtly accounted ſo illuſtrious. But not to dwell any longer upon this Reflection, with what malice and injuſtice ſoever the *Engliſh* were repreſented as Night-Walkers, and deſigning to murther the *Iriſh*, yet were Examinations of theſe Impeachments taken by Juſtices of the Peace, calculated for the purpoſe; and theſe were ſent to the Lords Juſtices and Council: and although the Accuſations were notoriouſly falſe, and irrational (as has been already ſhewn) yet for not being proſecuted with that open partiality and rigour, which theſe envious, implacable Spirits were impatient for, Complaints were made to the King by the *Iriſh*, and he to gratifie their malice, ſent private inſtructions, with a Reprimand to the Lords Juſtices, about this affair: Upon which a Proclamation was iſſued forth forbidding all Night-Meetings, *&c.* though the Lords Juſtices and Council well knew there was no ſuch thing. This Artifice of the *Iriſh*, was, but in order to make way for greater miſchief, by preparing Evidences to bring the moſt conſiderable of the *Engliſh* into Plots.

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Their first onset was with one *Moor* of *Clonmel*, who was Indicted for *High-Treason* before Sir *John Mead* in the Palatinate of *Tipperary*. This *Moor* was a person of a vast Estate, which made them bend their whole force against him. Now to countenance the design, *Tyrconnel*, and *Justin Mac Carthy*, came to *Clonmel* to the Trial, and in the Publick Court assum'd to reproach the Judge and the Jury; *Mac Carthy* calling him *Fanatick*, and he and *Talbot* aspersing him and the Duke of *Ormond* for employing such a *Rogue*, with other Calumnies, in such Language as was only fit for such Blood-hounds to express. Notwithstanding *Moore* and some others that were impeached, were quitted: But such an extravagantly partial account was sent over to the Court of that action, that the King questioned the Duke of *Ormond*, how he came to employ such a *Fanatick*; to which the Duke replied, he did it in duty to his Majesty, as believing he could not entrust a better man than one of his Majesties Servants, for so he was when Duke of *York*, being then his Attorney General in *Ireland*.

1685. *Tyrconnel* then began to model the Army, but the introductory part first to be performed, was to get in all the Arms from the *Protestants*, and this design was varnished over in as fair Colours as the Ground would bear. But however its direct tendency was plainly obvious and visible to every Eye. The King and Council writ over to the Lords Justices and Council, that there was reason to believe that the Rebellion of *Monmouth* had been of that spreading Contagion,

gion, as to infect many, and delude more. It was not therefore ſafe for the Kingdom to have the Arms of the Militia diſperſed abroad, but they would be in a greater readineſs for the Militia, and their own defence, to have them depoſited in the ſeveral Stores of each County: Upon which inſtructions a Proclamation iſſued forth, and to make it take the better effect, the Lord *Primate* firſt began with the City of *Dublin*, and ſending for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, makes an Elegant Speech to them, magnifying their unſhaken Loyalty in the worſt of times; and withal adding, that their ready Obedience and prevalent example would be of great ſervice to the King and Kingdom: And in the cloſe of his Speech tells them, that they expected their compliance in bringing in their Arms, which ſhould be always ready for their Service. The City were ſenſible of their condition, but knew likewiſe, that 'twas to no purpoſe to diſpute as to their obedience, ſo brought in their Arms. The Countrey purſu'd this Precedent, and to render the deſign more effectual, the *Iriſh* gave out, That if any Arms were reſerved in the *Proteſtants* hands, ſuch would be interpreted as perſons diſaffected to the King and Government, and that it would be no excuſe to ſay they were their own Arms, and not belonging to the Militia. This frighted many, and operated ſo powerfully, that abundance delivered in their Arms bought with their own money.

The *Proteſtants* being thus diſarmed, *Tyrconnel* proceeds to deſtroying the Army, and firſt begins with the Officers in the ſame method, which

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which was designed immediately before the Death of the King, which was to displace all Officers that had been in the Parliament, or *Oliver*'s Army, as also the Sons of any such. This the Duke of *Ormond* had directions to proceed in when he came last from *England*; but he made no Progress in it, under pretence of gaining time to find them out, for he foresaw it was to make *room* for *Papists*.

Tyrconnel (for so we must call him for the future) proceeds in his design, and after turning out a great part of the Officers, returns for *England*, and carries along with him one *Neagle* a Cunning *Irish* Lawyer, since Knighted by him: *Neagle*'s Business at *London* was to be engaged in their secret Consults; for he was a man of great parts, educated among the Jesuits, and consequently very inveterate. Upon their Arrival at *London*, 'twas some time e'er *Neagle* could gain admittance to kiss the King's hand, but was constantly with *Father Petre*, and the rest of that Furious Cabal. The Queen was altogether for their Counsels, but the King was not so forwardly inclined, being every day set upon by all his *Popish Lords*, not to proceed too fast, in the revolution of *Ireland*, for that would spoil the general interest of the *Catholicks*: and upon the Lord *Bellasis*, *Powis*, and some others of that *Factions* understanding that *Neagle* was come over, they were so transported with Rage, that they would have him immediately sent out of *London*: But whatever mischiefs he effected in private, his Publick Transactions were of no great prejudice to the *Protestants*. However to compleat

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in Retirement, what he durſt not attempt at Court, and upon the Publick Stage, 'twas agreed in Council, that he ſhould ſet forth by way of a Letter to a Friend, the great Oppreſſion and Injuſtice of the *Act of Settlement*, which he did under the pretence of a two hours waking in a Night at *Coventry*, but was indeed two Weeks labour in *London*. In this Letter he ran ſo high in his *Invectives* againſt King *Charles* the Second, (which nothing but a meer Tyger, or Savage as himſelf would have done) that he durſt not own it to be his, but in *Ireland* gave out, that he would Arreſt any Man in an Action of *Ten Thouſand Pound*, who ſhould father it upon him. But now a Conſult was held (the deſign of *Tyrconnel*'s coming over) and the Debate variouſly canvaſs'd as to a fit Perſon to ſend over for *Ireland*, in quality of Lord *Lieutenant*. *Tyrconnel* was mentioned with ſome tenderneſs, as being a perſon very Obnoxious to the *Engliſh*, and therefore 'twas not thought ſeaſonable (till matters were come to a greater Maturity) to bring him upon the Stage. The Lord *Bellaſis* was propoſed, but that was too bare-fac'd; beſides, he was infirm, at leaſt to carry on their deſign with ſucceſs, and not altogether to diſguſt the *Engliſh*, 'twas reſolved that *Tyrconnel* ſhould return *Lieutenant General* of the Army, and the Earl of *Clarendon* Lord Lieutenant. In the mean time the *Iriſh Papiſts* in all parts of the Kingdom, proceeded in their former Stratagems of Impeaching the *Proteſtants* for Plots, *&c.* but theſe were generally ſo ridiculouſly contrived, and made up of ſuch Palpable Contradictions, and Incongrui-

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ties, that they served only to demonstrate the *Protestants* innocency, and the Horrid Perjuries, and Implacable Inveteracy of the Informers: But seeing that these Impeachments were so unskilfully managed (which yet were repeated upon every pretended occasion of disgust they had to an *English-man*) as to miss of their Wicked and Diabolical intent; then they applyed themselves to other Courses; many went out *Toryes*, and robb'd upon the High-way, broke up Houses, stole Cattle, killed them in the Field, and cut out the Tongues of Sheep alive, with other innumerable Barbarities, all acted upon the *English*, which were so frightened and discouraged with these Tragedies, that thousands deserted the Kingdom, and came for *England* under as great Fears and Jealousies, as if there had been an open Rebellion, and Five Hundred together departed the Kingdom, to Transport themselves to *Virginia, Carolina, Pensilvania, West-Indies*, and *New England*.

This was extream grateful to the *Irish*, who set all their Engines at work, so to dishearten and discourage the *Protestants*, as to force them to leave the Kingdom. *Tyrconnel* now drives with greater fury than before, not only displacing the Officers of the Army, but also turning out the Private Soldiers, and to both, prefers which of the *Irish* he thought fit; his Will was his Law, and his Actions purely Arbitrary, none daring to question him; for he brought over Blank Commissions Signed by the King, for such as he was willing to put in. This Part he acted

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in a most Insulting Barbarous manner, causing poor Men that had no Cloaths on their Backs, but Red Coats, to be stript to their Shirts, and so turned off; and of all this he himself was an Inhumane Spectator: He seiz'd the Horses of some Officers and Troopers, giving Notes that amounted not to a fourth proportion of their just Values; to others he gave nothing but ill words, and vile reproaches. In the midst of this Tragical Scene the Earl of *Clarendon* comes upon the Stage in the Capacity of Lord Lieutenant; his Relation to the King added to the violent Proceedings then in *Ireland*, so vigorously drove on by the *Popish* Party, afforded but little hopes of any redress of these Evils to the Drooping Spirits of the *Protestants*, who were by this time entered into a very Desponding and Dejected Condition.

But these Discouragements of the *English* were alleviated in a very high measure, if not changed into Ecstasies, and perfect Raptures of Joy, when perceiving the Lord Lieutenant acting as a person of inviolable Integrity to the *Protestants*, and the *English* Interest, they looked upon him as a fit Man to stem the Torrent of the Popish Faction, which had been so violent and impetuous: and indeed his very first action gave no small proof of it, which was to cherish and revive the broken hearts of the *Protestants*, with those great Assurances his Master had given him of protecting the *Protestant* Interest and Religion, which he good man could not disbelieve. In pursuance of this, he issued out Proclamations for bringing in of *Torys*, and propos'd Rewards to such as

ſhould apprehend them: He rid a Progreſs round the chiefeſt parts of the Kingdom, to give life to the *Engliſh*; but at the ſame time the Grandees of the *Iriſh* proceeded in their deſign, animating their Vaſſals, with hopes that he ſhould ſoon be removed; the *Iriſh* compoſing Barbarous Songs in praiſe of *Tyrconnel*, and that his Heroick hand ſhould deſtroy the *Engliſh* Church; with Bloody and Inhumane Expreſſions, very ungrateful to a Chriſtian Ear.

Theſe reſtleſs Endeavours of the *Papiſts* made the Earl of *Clarendon* find things very uneaſie; whereunto one Remarkable Paſſage not a little contributed, which was reported to be thus: That upon a *Sunday* Morning going to Church, he perceived an *Iriſh* Officer he never ſaw before, Commanding his Guard of Battle-Axes that attended his Perſon, which exceedingly ſurprized him: whereupon he made a ſtop, demanding who he was, and who put him there? The *Iriſh-man* (for they are naturally Puſillanimous and fearful) was as much frighted, as the Lord Lieutenant was diſturbed; but with ſome difficulty, and in broken Expreſſions, occaſioned by fear, told his Excellency, he was a Captain put in by the Lord *Tyrconnel*. His Excellency demanded of him When? he replyed, That Morning: His Excellency bid 'em call the former Captain, and diſmiſs this of *Tyrconnel*'s. The next day the Lord Lieutenant ſent for *Tyrconnel*, and queſtioned him for this Action, who replyed, *He did nothing but by the King's Orders*; to which the Lord Lieutenant returned anſwer, *That whilſt His Majeſty intruſted him with the Government, he*

he would not be diſpoſed by his Lieutenant General. Complaints on both hands were made to the King, and ſo ended.

Tyrconnel having compleated his deſign in modelling the Army, goes for *England*, and there conſults with his Party to obtain the Government of *Ireland*. The King, Queen, and Father *Petres* were for him; but the whole Council of *Papiſts* oppos'd it, ſtill urging how unacceptable he was to the *Engliſh*; others therefore were named in private by that *Popiſh* Party: But all the while the *Proteſtant* ſide were wholly ignorant of any deſign to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, not queſtioning but that he ſtood upon a firm Foundation, (namely) the Kings late aſſurance to the Earl of *Rocheſter*, Lord Treaſurer, who was ſeemingly Prime Miniſter of State, but not thought fit to be confided in, as to thoſe dark Secrets of the *Catholick* Deſigns.

About this time there was a general metting at the *Savoy* before Father *Petres*, of the chief *Roman Catholicks* of *England*, in order to conſult what Methods were fitteſt to be purſued for the promotion of the *Catholick* Cauſe. The *Papiſts* were univerſally afraid of the King's Incapacity, or elſe unwillingneſs of expoſing himſelf to the hazard of ſecuring it in his Reign. They were ſenſible that he advanced conſiderably in Age; beſides, they were not ignorant of what almoſt inſuperable difficulties they had to contend with, before they could bring it to any ripeneſs: Wherefore upon theſe Conſiderations, (carefully weighing and ballancing every Circumſtance) ſome were for moving the King to pro-

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cure an Act of Parliament for the security of their Estates, and only liberty for Priests in their own private Houses, and to be exempted from all Employments. This *Father Petres* Anathematized as Terrestrial, and founded upon too anxious a Sollicitude for the preservation of their Secular Interests; but if they would pursue his measures, he doubted not to see the Holy Church triumphant in *England*: And indeed his Politicks have taken, but in a quite different manner than he expected; for (God be praised) a Church triumphs in *England*, as much superiour to his in Holiness, as the means of its preservation have been in justice, to his, which were intended for its destruction. Others of the *Papists* were for addressing the King to have liberty (now that they might do it) to sell their Estates, and that his Majesty would intercede with the *French* King to provide for them in his Dominions. After several Debates, it was at last agreed upon to lay both Propofals before the King, and some of the number to attend his Majesty with them, which was accordingly done; to which the King's return was, *That he had before their Desires came to him, often thought of them, and had* (as he believed) *provided a sure* Sanctuary, *and* Retreat *for them in* Ireland, *if all those endeavours should be blasted in* England, *which he had made for their security, and of whose success he had not yet reason to despair.* This Encouragement to the *Papists* in *England*, was attended with the most Zealous Expressions, and *Catholick* Assurances of his Ardent Love to the Holy Church, which he said he had been a

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Martyr for. Thus we ſee how the Bigottry of this unhappy Prince, tranſported him beyond all bounds, and carry'd him to ſuch Extravagancies in Government, as the moderate of the *Engliſh Papiſts* themſelves thought to be extream hazardous and inſecure; and would all of them have been content with a private exerciſe of their Religion, as thinking it abundantly more ſafe, rather than endanger the loſing their Eſtates and Fortunes, (which they almoſt look'd upon as inevitable) if ſuch violent extream courſes were followed.

But alas theſe ſelf-preſerving, and the furious Principles of the Jeſuits had no Congruity; and the King was too much a Creature of the laſt, to attend to any but their Counſels. He ſaid he was reſolved to die a Martyr, rather than not advance the *Catholick* Cauſe. He had entered himſelf into the Order of the Jeſuits, and was become a Lay-Brother of that Society; and ſo in conſequence to his Profeſſion, muſt needs look upon it as meritorious to extirpate and deſtroy Hereſie. He was told that this would be a moſt glorious action; and doubtleſs would be Canonized for it. To reduce three Kingdoms to an entire obedience to the Holy See, which had Apoſtatized ſo long, and been the Nurſery of ſo many Damned Hereticks, who by their *Heterodox* Doctrines had created ſo much diſturbance to the peace of the moſt Holy Catholick Church, was doubtleſs the greateſt action on this ſide Heaven, and deſerved no leſs than that for its reward. No time, nor ſtory, could parallel this Heroical Atchievement, which would be commemo-

memorated to Eternal Ages. This would be a Work of Supererogation indeed, which would not only convey him to Heaven, without touching at Purgatory; but also lay up such an infinite over-plus of merits, as being deposited in the hands of the Church, and frugally applyed, would not only preserve thousands of others from these Flames, but waft them immediately into *Abraham*'s Bosom. These or the like we may suppose to have been the constant suggestions of the Jesuits, which as they indeavoured to instill into the Kings mind, with Tongues as smooth as Oyl, and with the most prevailing Flatteries, and Artificial Insinuations; so on the other hand, did he as greedily imbibe these Poisonous Doctrines, as they could infuse them, and eagerly swallow'd the Bait, when all the while the Hook lay conceal'd, and he so far intangled, till 'twas too late to discover it. And now how can we suppose that a Prince thus wholly at the Devotion of the Jesuits, swayed altogether by their Councils, and upon every occasion consulting them as so many Oracles, should resist the voice of these Charmers, who Charmed so wisely in his byas'd opinion. These *Syrens* kept a very harmonious Consort, which they exactly tuned to the Key and accent of this Votary's fanciful Genius: every stroke sounded so melodious in his Ear, as made him not consider that this pleasant Musick presaged a dangerous Ship-wrack to himself and his Party, as we find it afterwards proved.

But

But to go on in my former Discourse: After the aforesaid Encouragements given by the King to the *English Papists*, to allay their fears, fresh Consults were set on foot, relating to the Government of *Ireland*. This by accident the Lord Treasurer received some account of, which he immediately acquainted the King with, who absolutely denys, that there was any intention of changing the Chief Governour; but on the contrary assured him of his great satisfaction with the Lord Lieutenant there. Within a few days the Lord Treasurer received from his Brother the Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, the same Intimations, which he had informed the King of; and upon which he again accosts his Majesty, who as positively disowns the whole matter as he had done before, and to remove the Jealousies of the Lord Lieutenant, writes (for his greater satisfaction) a Letter to him, as was said, with his own hand, assuring him there was yet no thoughts, and he believed never would be in him (whilst both liv'd) to remove him from the Government of *Ireland*; notwithstanding which the *Papists* in *Ireland*, confidently affirmed, that the day before the King writ the Letter, he had given assurance to *Father Petres*, That *Tyrconnel* should be Lord Lieutenant; but 'tis certain that no other Creature but the Queen was privy to this, no not *Tyrconnel* himself, for he could not keep a Secret.

'Twas

1686. 'Twas at the same time also resolved to put the Lord Treasurer and *Sunderland* (Principal Secretary) to the Test, as to what they would do in compliance to the *Catholick* Cause; it not being at all adviseable to cherish Serpents in their Bosoms that might disembogue their venom upon every inviting Revolution. The King undertook the management of this Affair, and made his first Onset on *Sunderland*, for he was observed to be most docible, as appeared already, by his submissive bowing and cringing to the Altar. What the Tenour of that Discourse was, which the King had with him, is not yet known; but however *Sunderland*'s Obedience was extreamly magnify'd and approved of in the Conclave; and *Father Petres* at a meeting with the Jesuits, gave a good account of this Negotiation with *Sunderland*; adding that 'twas necessary for him as yet to appear a *Protestant* for Important Reasons of State.

Upon meeting with this success, the King descends to an attempt upon the Treasurer, whom he endeavours to manage with good words and gentle arts of Perswasion. For he was haughty, as knowing that his signal Services might reasonably entitle him to considerable Favours from the King: And therefore upon this account must be amicably dealt with, and gently stroak'd into humour: which the King strove to perform with all those Specious Arts and Policies dictated to him by his Holy Council. And the more to prevail upon him, he urged to him, that Sunderland, a Wise and Religious Man, though he was know-

knowing in his Religion, yet refused not to admit of a Conference with those that were Learned, and desired him to do the same. The effect of this Negotiation became so publick, that 'twill be unnecessary to mention it here: but *Sunderland*, like an easie and tractable Child, though fed at first with Milk, came at last to digest strong Meat, by arriving every day more and more to maturity in the Faith; and though still a *Protestant*, yet went every day with the King to Mass, publickly kneeling before the Altar, and praying with *Naaman*, That God would forgive his Servant in that thing.

But to come to the Lord Treasurer: No work of grace would take effect with this obstinate Impugner of the Faith; and which rendered him a greater Infidel, was, that the King could not prevail so much upon him as to obtain his silence, or a desire from him, to have time to consider of it, but turns an open Heretick: upon which one of the Fathers said, **He must be Anathematized, and that the King could never prosper whilst such an Heretick was near him.**

Before it was publick in *London*, the Priests of *Ireland* gave out that the white Staff was broke, and at that time by way of prediction told all that soon after came to pass. 1686.

It was now become the publick discourse, That the two Brothers must down, and then the King in Council pretended (though he had before resolved) to ask their advice, who was fit to be placed in the Government of *Ireland*. Several

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persons were proposed, but none approved of: After that the inclination of the Council had been sufficiently sifted, by offering of divers, the King again brings on *Tyrconnel*; which was withstood by all but *S*——, and in opposition to which the *Popish* Party contended vigorously.

P —— (notwithstanding that they knew him to be both a C—— and a F——, as the King in Passion one day told him he was; yet however) was considered as a Person whose moderate carriage had entitled him to a reasonable good Character among the *Protestants*; and therefore the fittest to be placed in this station, the better to amuse them. This was chiefly insisted upon by them, and he was strongly argued for upon this account. *Powis* was naturally covetous, and the Government of *Ireland*, a Post of great profit: wherefore his Friends advis'd him to agree with *Sunderland*, and do as the L. *B*—— did with the Dutchess of *Cleveland*, become Tenant for it; in order whereunto *Powis* comes to terms, and agrees for Four Thousand Pounds *per Annum*; but whatever the bottom of the design was, *Sunderland* never forsook *Tyrconnel* at the Council-Board. Some conjectured, that he acquainted the King of his Bargain with *Powis*; and that the King made *Tyrconnel* agree to the same. For 'tis certain *Tyrconnel* (who was of no great Conduct) would swear he got not so much by the Government, as served to maintain him, notwithstanding that it was worth to him Eighteen Thousand Pounds *per Annum*.

Sunder-

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Sunderland was become ſo intimate a Favourite, that nothing could be got at Court but by his intereſt; and when the King was told he got all the Money of the Court, he replyed he deſerved it. Nay, his Intereſt was at laſt become ſo remarkable, that the King himſelf would ask when any grant was given, if they had ſpoke with *Sunderland*.

The *Iriſh* were ſtill marvelouſly impatient for 1686.
their Dagon; and at laſt *Tyrconnel* obtains the Government, notwithſtanding all oppoſition. The confirmation of this diſmal News reaching the Ears of the *Proteſtants* in *Ireland*, ſtruck like a Thunderbolt: Perhaps no Age or Story can parallel ſo dreadful a Cataſtrophe among all Ages and Sexes, as if the day of Doom was come; every one lamenting the dreadfulneſs of their horrible condition, and almoſt all that could (by any mens) deſerted the Kingdom, if they had but money to diſcharge their Paſſage; a demonſtration of this were thoſe infinite numbers of Families, which flocked over from *Dublin* to the *Iſle of Man*, and other places. Indeed I cannot recal to mind the great Conſternation, the diſmal Apprehenſions, and Panick Fears, which poſſeſs'd the hearts of all *Proteſtants* at this juncture, without reviving (like *Æneas* his repetition of the *Trojan* Miſeries to the *Carthaginian* Queen) thoſe deep impreſſions of ſorrow, thoſe *Infandos* —— *dolores*, under which I was then almoſt ſunk, and overwhelmed.

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Now every thing discovered a gloomy and Melancholy prospect, and seemed to be attended with so many Discouragements, that many that had Patentee Employments, obtained Licence from the Lord Lieutenant under the Broad-Seal, to come away; and all that lay in his Excellency's power, for the help and assistance of the *Protestants*, he zealously performed. It was interpreted by many as a signal Act of Providence propitious to the *English*, that the Winds continued for some time contrary, after that this furious Zealot for the Cause (as impatient as a Wild Bull in a Net) was come to the Sea-side, which disappointment did not a little discompose him, whose prejudice and ambition equally inspired him with eagerness to supplant his Predecessor, whom he had looked upon as his Corrival in the Government. This favourable delay was religiously respected by many as a certain warning, or admonition from God to his people to fly from those heavy Judgments, which had been long imminent, but now in an actual readiness to descend upon that Poor Distressed Kingdom.

But he whose Arrival was dreaded every moment, as the most fatal misery that could fall upon the Nation; at last (after being thus retarded) to the unspeakable terrour of the *Protestants*, Landed at *Dublin*: And the Lord *Clarendon* (who had a particular favour conferred upon him to continue for one Week in the Government after *Tyrconnel*'s Landing) at his Grace the Lord Archbishop of *Dublin*'s Palace, resigned the Sword to *Tyrconnel* with an admirable Speech to him,

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him, ſetting forth his exact obſervance of the Commands of the King his Maſter, and faithful diſcharging of that great truſt, which had been committed to him; and concluding with his Impartial Adminiſtration of Juſtice to all Partys, in theſe, or the like words addreſſed to *Tyrconnel*: **That as he had kept an equal hand of Juſtice to the Roman Catholicks, ſo he hoped his Lordſhip would to the Proteſtants.** Never was a Sword waſhed with ſo many Tears, as this, a moſt doleful preſage of its being ſo in blood: It would ſurpaſs the Art of Rhetorick to ſet forth the dreadful Reflections which the poor afflicted *Proteſtants* made upon this Ominous Revolution. No Oratour could find words to expreſs the fatal Calamities which were now derived from the conſequence of this change; it preſaged the worſt of evils, and ſeemed to carry in all its parts the moſt diſmal Characters of an Irreverſible Extirpation of the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, and *Religion*. Moſt of the *Engliſh* were poſſeſſed with the daily fears of a general Maſſacre to be ſuddainly put in Execution, and that in a moſt inhuman manner; and this produced the ſtrangeſt Convulſions in the minds of men, that a moſt exquiſite grief could be capable of. Others were more temperate in their ſorrows, and were of opinion, that notwithſtanding *Popery* was the Scene which muſt be acted, yet they were in hopes by ſome more plauſible way, than that of downright murthering. They conſidered that the laſt Rebellion had heaped ſo much Infamy upon the *Iriſh*, and had juſtly rendered them ſuch Barbarous and Inhumane Savages,

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ges to the whole Christian World, that to obliterate that deserved reproach, they would now take some milder course; which though it might have something more of Humanity in it, would yet be as effectual to the design, the utter Subversion of the *Protestant* Interest and Religion. In fine, *Quot homines, tot sententiæ*; their Sentiments were as various as their Fears: But however all concurred in this, That *Popery* was the Game, that must not only be Played, but win too, whatever Arts were used to obtain the upshot.

The Lord *Clarendon* before he surrendered the Government, was very curious to inform himself of the Constitution and Condition of *Ireland*, and at his going over carried with him Copies of Records, Surveys, *&c.* of that Kingdom, and among other things, it is said, that he desired the Lord Chief Justice *Keating*, (now in Rebellion in *Ireland*) and one of the fatal instruments for the ruine of that Kingdom, to give him his opinion in Writing, both as to the Legality and Justice of the Act of Settlement; as also to answer those Objections which had been made against it by *Neagle*; all which he amply performed; and which my Lord *Clarendon* upon his Arrival at Court, shewed to the King, who sent the Copy over to *Tyrconnel*, who spared not to reproach *Keating* for this action, which *Keating* at first disowned; but the matter being too plain to admit of an absolute denial, at length began to make the best Excuse he could.

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My Lord *Clarendon* being ſhipped for *England*, now does the open and full Triumph of the *Iriſh* ambitiouſly ſhew it ſelf in this advantagious light in all its grandeur and magnificence: The dejected condition of the *Engliſh* made their Victory more glorious. 'Twas now impoſſible for the Natives to forbear inſulting over the *Engliſh* at an inſupportable rate, as if they had been actually their Slaves, bound to the Wheels of their Chariots. That ſober thought of *Seſoſtris*, when he had his Coach drawn by four Kings, was not a reflection to be entertained by them at this juncture. The Day was now their own, and *Poſt mortem nulla voluptas*, they failed not to uſe it as extravagantly whilſt they enjoyed it. What Affronts and Indignities were now caſt upon the *Engliſh*? How barbarouſly Hector'd and Inſulted over by theſe Huffing Rhodomontadoes? How injured and oppreſſed by publick acts of notorious injuſtice? How abuſed as to their good Names, reviled as to their Religion, and reproached as *Engliſhmen* and *Proteſtants*? Called *Fanatick Dogs*, and *Damn'd Hereticks*, is ſo publickly known, as requires not much pains to deſcribe. Thoſe of the *Proteſtants* who had been the moſt obliging to the *Iriſh*, were ſure to meet with the moſt ungrateful returns; and if they had been ſo charitable as to relieve them in their neceſſities, as the *Engliſh* (a merciful and too eaſie natured a People) had frequently done, they would now in requital ſeize upon what they had, by open force, or elſe ſet others of their own Creatures to do it. If any of the *Engliſh* had lent Money to them,

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them, or bargained for Goods and Commodities of the Countrey, whereby the *Iriſh* were become their Debtors; their uſual payment (eſpecially if they were in neceſſity, and afraid that Executions would be obtained againſt their perſons or ſubſtance) was repairing to the next *Iriſh* Juſtice of the Peace, and ſwearing of High-Treaſon againſt their Creditors, though oftentimes (in kindneſs to them) they had been forborn with a year or two from diſcharging the Debt.

But I paſs from ſpeaking any more of theſe Infamous Wretches (whoſe Mercies are Cruelty) to *Tyrconnel*'s firſt ſteps in the Government as Lord Deputy, in relation to which, I ſhall now uſher in at once, the removing of the Judges, though ſome of them were turned out before *Tyrconnel* came to the Sword: As Sir *Standiſh Harſton* Baronet, one of the Barons of the Exchequer; Sir *Richard Reynolds* Baronet, one of the Judges of the *King's-Bench*; and *Johnſon*, one of the Judges of the *Common-Pleas*.

The Conſult was in *London* before *Tyrconnel* came to the Government, whether the Judges ſhould not be turned out before the Earl of *Clarendon* was removed, to repreſent him odious to the People, if he complyed; or diſobedient to the King, if he ſeemed unwilling in the matter, as they believed he would. For they obſerved that he and the Lord Chancellor *Porter*, began to ſtartle at the Commands from *England*, before they received any account of their removal; and *Porter* publickly declared, That he came not over to ſerve a turn; nor would act

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any thing againſt his Conſcience: and as a Teſtimony of this, he found at his return to *London*, that he could not without ſome difficulty obtain the favour of kiſſing the King's hand; but at length gaining admittance, he humbly asked the King, What he had done, that he was ſo uſed? For it had been a conſiderable expence to him to remove his Family. To which the King replyed, That 'twas his own fault; which was an expreſſion not very unintelligible. *Porter* went ſeveral times after to Court, and ſtood in the King's Eye; but he never vouchſafed to ſpeak to him, or to take the leaſt notice of him. But to come to the Judges, it was not thought ſafe to turn them all out, nor any more of them, till the Government was in a hand that was *Catholick*: For ſome of the Council, I mean, the Cabal, were afraid of proceeding in their deſign too faſt; eſpecially *Powis*, who urged a ſlow Progreſs, as accounting it moſt ſafe; and this made him not be confided in as to their ſecret and blacker Deſigns, though in his Lady they repoſed an intire Confidence, as being thought the greateſt Politician among them; and were not a little ambitious, that the Earl of *Shaftsbury* in the *Popiſh Plot*, had given her that Character.

This Debate concerning the Judges, was long and often; ſome were for making a clear riddance, and to have the Reformation begin in the Courts of Judicature. They having already the Military part of the Government in their hands, might with greater Facility ſecure the Civil;

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But the moderate Party prevailed, and one in a Court (to colour the actions of the reſt) muſt be left: But that which ſtuck with them was, that Sir *William Davis*, Lord Chief Juſtice of the *King's Bench*, muſt not be moved for two Reaſons.

The Firſt was, That he had been of the Duke's Party in the time of the *Popiſh Plot*, behaving himſelf ſo loyal, that he had been ſent over, if Diſſolving the Parliament had not preſerved him: but this was the leaſt part of his Strength.

The Second therefore, and moſt prevalent Inducement, was his Marriage with the Counteſs of *Clancarthy*, whoſe Son had Married the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Daughter, and *Sunderland* was to be denied nothing: Beſides, Sir *William Davis* was a Diſeaſed infirm man, given over for ſome years; and to expedite his Journey for another World (for he was a thoughtful man) his Brother Judge *Nugent*, (the firſt *Popiſh* Judge that was put in) paſs'd Patent for Sir *William Davis*'s place of Lord Chief Juſtice in reverſion: a ſad Preſage in thoſe times, where men muſt die when and how their Adverſaries pleaſed. This being reſolved, the choice was ſoon made. Lord Chief Baron *Hen* makes way alſo for *Rice*, and in *Rice*'s room, Sir —— *Linch* ſucceeds in the Common-Pleas.

In the High Court of Chancery, was placed Sir *Alexander Fitton*, a man notorious on Record, ſo exempts me from the pains of giving the Reader a Character of him in this place; but

but little regard was to be had to the man, ſo long as he was fitted to that intereſt, which was then promoting; it being very remarkable, That of what Perſwaſion ſoever they were, which they employed at this time, they choſe men of the moſt branded Reputations, and whoſe Principles were ſuch as could brave Conſcience.

The three *Proteſtant* Judges had their ſeveral Capacities and Inclinations for their Service, the Lord Chief Juſtice *Davis*, I ſpeak not of, for he was decreed to die, and did ſoon after: but the three Standards for the Cauſe, were the Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating* for the *Common-Pleas*, *Lyndon* for the *King's-Bench*, and Baron *Worth* for the *Exchequer*. The Lord Chief Juſtice *Keating* had always been a Servant of the Duke of *Yorks*, was a Native of the place, as the *Iriſh* call them, his Family for many Ages there, and Naturalized into *Iriſh*; he was ſomewhat accounted to be *Popiſhly* inclined, and therefore that Party thought themſelves ſure of him; but he was a perſon of more ſenſe than to purſue the Chace with greater expedition than ſafety: He was rich and ſingle, and ſmall hopes would not ſpur him on to an indiſcreet forwardneſs; however, as to the main, they queſtioned not his Affection to the Cauſe.

Lyndon, though in his affection no friend to the *Iriſh* Government; yet lay under the powerful temptation of a numerous Family, and his not abounding in Riches made him the more Paſſive, though he behaved himſelf the beſt of the

three; and when it laid in his power, ſhewed himſelf an *Engliſh-man.*

Baron *W* —— was the Man they moſt depended upon, and he was ſo well known, that 'twas in vain to pretend indifferency, nor did he, but was the firſt man in the Exchequer (where there was more buſineſs than in all the Courts beſides) that ſtruck the fatal blow in all Cauſes where the *Engliſh* were concerned, as in the Sequel will appear in the Charters, and private Cauſes of the *Engliſh* that came before him.

1687. The Courts being thus ſetled, the next thing to be performed, was calling in the Charters, and here *Tyrconnel* endeavoured to proceed in the ſame method, that the Lords Juſtices had done before, in perſwading the City to deliver up their Arms. But one art in State-Policy could not eaſily be impoſed twice in a year, and the *Engliſh* had a freſh Impreſſion upon their Memories, by what plauſible perſwaſive Rhetorick they had been cajoled out of their Arms, and now to have a like Deluſion paſs upon them, in depriving them of their Laws, was a colour not natural enough to deceive them a ſecond time: However this was the method of the proceeding.

Tyrconnel (during the Lord *Clarendon*'s Government had procured the King's Letter, that all *Roman Catholicks* ſhould be admitted into the freedom of all the Corporations of the Kingdom: which Letter was artfully contrived with

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a great deal of sweetness, and of endearing expressions, as that it proceeded from his Majesty's great care of the general good of the Kingdom, and was graciously designed by him for the encouragement of Trade, and the uniting of the Affections of his Subjects: and in order to put this in execution, the City of *Dublin* was to lead the way, and to be the Precedent to the whole Kingdom: And therefore in pursuance to the tenour of the aforesaid Letter, the Lord Mayor calls a General Assembly, wherein the Kings Letter was read; upon which the City made their humble Address to the Lord Lieutenant and Council; setting forth, that they found the City by Act of Parliament bound up, and that if they should act according to the Letter, they incurred a Forfeiture of their Charters; and therefore humbly prayed the Lord Lieutenant and Council, to lay their Condition at his Majesty's Feet, who (they did humbly conceive) was mis-informed in this matter. This retarded the freedom of the *Papists* for some time, but another Mayor, one *Castleton*, (who is still in *Dublin*) succeeding, he passed the *Irish* Freemen, and in consequence to this, the same was done in the whole Kingdom.

This was laid with ingenuity enough for promoting the *Irish* design; yet received not its hoped for effect, which was by this means to procure freedom for so many of the *Irish* in every Corporation, as by the Majority of their Suffrages, might out-vote the *English* in the Election of *Popish* Magistrates, which upon *Tyrconnel's* Ac-

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Acceſſion to the Government, might facilitate the ſurrendring the Charters, and ſo render the Kingdom (as they ſtiled it) entirely Catholick: But this device, how ſpecioufly ſoever contrived, did not reach the end of its Projectors. For notwithſtanding the great Endeavours, and active Induſtry of the *Iriſh*; yet moſt of the Corporations out-ballanced them in the number of *Proteſtants*.

Tyrconnel perceiving himſelf fruſtrated of his expectation, by the numerous Party of the *Engliſh*, has an immediate recourſe to the way before-mentioned of the Lords Juſtices, and to put this in practice, ſends for the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, and there acquaints them, that he had in charge from his Maſter the King, to tell them, as being the chief City of the Kingdom, and unto which, as ſuch, he intended the greateſt Marks of his Favour, that it was his pleaſure to call in all the Charters of the Kingdom, not with deſign to take away any thing from them, but to enlarge their Priviledges, by which act of bounty and favour, he might the more endear them unto him: He farther told them, that his Majeſty expected their ready compliance, ſo as that their chearful ſurrendry of their Charter, might become examplary to the reſt of the Kingdom.

The Lord Mayor returned the anſwer uſual in ſuch caſes; which was, that he would call an Aſſembly, and move it to them; and the next day he accordingly did ſo, acquainting them with what the Lord Deputy had given him in charge.

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The Aſſembly was not long upon their Reſolves, but the manner of delivering them afforded the greateſt matter of debate; the reſult whereof was this, That the Lord Mayor, Recorder, and Aldermen ſhould wait upon his Excellency, and acquaint his Lordſhip, that as the City had ever been exemplary in their Loyalty, and faithful Obedience to the Kings and Queens of *England*; ſo they ſhould ever continue in the ſame; and therefore humbly conceived it to be their Duty to lay at his Majeſty's feet the great Services they had done the Crown, under the **Grants and Immunities of One Hundred and Thirty Charters**, they had then in their Treaſury from his Majeſties Royal Anceſtors; and they humbly prayed his Excellency to favour them in a kind repreſentation of their condition to his Majeſty, which they hoped would prevail with his Majeſty for the continuance of their Ancient Government, under ſo many Gracious Grants and Charters. Upon the making of this return, there was preſent the King's Attorney and Sollicitor. The firſt being a moſt Virulent and Inveterate *Papiſt*; nothing of friendſhip was expected from him: but the latter was not doubted, yet contrary to expectation, argued ſtifly againſt the City. The Lord Deputy (as extravagantly mad to meet with this return, which ſo abſolutely thwarted his deſign) fell into a great fit of violent Paſſion, and in a raging Tempeſt told them, That this was the continuance of their former Rebellion, that they had turned out all the Loyal Subjects in the laſt War of *Ireland*,

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land, and that they would do ſo now, were it in their power: And it was, becauſe they ſo lately diſputed the King's Commands, for admitting *Catholick* Free-men, that cauſed his Majeſty to call in their Charters; and in the cloſe of this furious Speech, adviſed the Lord Mayor to call the Aſſembly again, and obey the King, or it would be worſe for them.

Wherefore the Lord Mayor humbly beſought his Excellency to ſignifie his pleaſure to the Aſſembly by a Letter under his hand, alledging, that they would not regard a Verbal Repetition of it, which they had been already acquainted with; as alſo urging, that it had been the conſtant practice of the Chief Governour to ſend their Letter upon occaſions of publick buſineſs to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons: And if his Excellency would pleaſe to follow this uſual method, he would act (as in duty bound) in obedience to it: To which the Sollicitor General replyed, that there was no neceſſity of any ſuch Formality, but 'twas ſufficient if his Excellency ſignify'd his Commands by word of Mouth, in which they ought to acquieſce.

Upon this, the Lord Mayor called another Aſſembly, and great Debates aroſe, how to demean themſelves in this nice Criticiſm of Affairs: But as to the ſurrendry of their Charter; 'twas what they unanimouſly reſolved againſt: After ſome Diſpute as to the manner of Addreſſing the Lord Deputy in this caſe, 'twas at laſt reſolved, and concluded, That the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons, ſhould make

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their Application to his Excellency, with Reasons why they could not surrender their Charter, and to pray his Excellency to allow them time to Petition the King, not doubting but His Majesty would be graciously pleased to take into his Princely Consideration as well their **Exemplary Loyalty, as Eminent Sufferings for His Royal Father, of Blessed Memory.** Upon which they produced a Letter from King *Charles the First*, dated at *Oxford*, which contained great Acknowledgments of their great Loyalty and Faithfulness to him, which he gave them high assurances of being eminently rewarded, if it pleased the Divine Providence to restore him to his Crown, and its just Rights and Prerogatives.

The aforesaid Representatives of the City also prayed *Tyrconnel* to represent their condition favourably to His Majesty; but he answered them roughly, and according to his former Austerity, told them, That on the contrary he would Write against them; and in the interim according to the Directions he brought over with him from *England*, a *Quo Warranto* issued forth against the City: Who called another Common Council, and there agreed upon a Petition to the King, and sent over with it their Recorder, Sir *Richard Reeves*, who behaved 1687.
himself briskly, and with good Applause in this matter: For notwithstanding that he was not only frequently sent to, but threatned by *Tyrconnel*, if he proceeded in it; yet however he

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goes for *London*, and there sollicits the Duke of *Ormond* to introduce him to the King, where on his Knee he delivers the Petition with a submissive tender of all the City Charters at His Majesties Feet: The King was already so prepossessed with the Partial Account that *Tyrconnel* had given of this Action, with which he was so extreamly prejudiced, that upon the first sight of Sir *Richard Rieves*, he asked him if he had **the Lord Deputy's leave to come with this Petition? And that he had those in Ireland that understood the Law better than himself**, and so turn'd from him.

Sir *Richard Rieves* advised with the Duke of *Ormond*, who told him, That there was no hopes of succeeding in the Enterprize; so was forced to go back for *Dublin* with a short but unpleasant return of the ineffectualness of this Negotiation. But however the City was resolved to stand the Brunt, and to stop the violent Tide if possible, which now ran with so rapid a Current; and in order thereunto they Fee'd four Counsels. Their first Evasion whereby to procrastinate matters, was by urging, that the Sheriffs were interessed as Parties in the Writ, the Charters being granted to Mayor, Sheriffs, and Commons, and so could not properly make Returns to that Writ that came against themselves; this was deem'd to be Law, but nothing was to be accounted as such by Judges that broke through all Inclosures, and stuck not to trample upon the known Laws and Constitutions of the Kingdom, if opposite to their

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Popiſh and Arbitrary deſigns. So this return of the Sheriffs was over-ruled, and a Fine impoſed upon them, if in four days they did not amend their Return, which ſome thought they would not have agreed to: but 'twas among themſelves thought fit to do it, and accordingly the *Attorney General* proceeded againſt them; and took ſome advantage of their Pleadings, which the Court gave judgment upon. This afforded matter of Triumph, and an univerſal exceſſive joy to the *Iriſh*, which diſperſed it ſelf with a marvelous Celerity throughout the whole Kingdom; but became on the contrary hand as much a Subject of Lamentation to the *Engliſh Citizens*, who called themſelves the **Virgin City**, as having never been tainted with any action of Diſloyalty or Rebellion in all the ſeveral Revolutions and Viciſſitudes of that unfortunate Kingdom, which, though never ſince it was in the poſſeſſion of the King's of *England*, continued forty years uninterruptedly without an Inſurrection of the Natives; yet was this City remarkably Loyal in all Changes, and performed many ſignal acts of Bravery and Courage, as their Records do amply teſtifie, and of which (not to name many others) I cannot omit one very remarkable Inſtance; which was, That when the Lord Duke of *Ormond* received Orders by that Royal Martyr King *Charles the Firſt*, of ever Bleſſed and Immortal Memory, to give up the Sword and Government to the Parliament; they being at that time beſt able to ſuppreſs the *Iriſh Rebels*: The

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Lord of *Ormond*, in pursuance to this instruction, delivered up the Sword, and sent to the Mayor one **William Smith**, ordering him to do the like; but he to shew his Loyalty went to the Lord of *Ormond* accompanied with his Brethren the Aldermen, and told his Lordship, that he kept that Sword for the King, that the City was the King's Chamber, and he would deliver neither, but into the hands of the King's Servants: Upon which the Lord of *Ormond* took occasion to commend his Loyalty, and told him, He had the King's Commands to do it; and for the Mayors greater satisfaction, shewed him the King's Letter, which when the Mayor read, he observed there was order for the Lord of *Ormond*, to give up the Government to the Parliaments Commissioners, but not a word that the Mayor should do it; which the Mayor taking notice of to the Lord of *Ormond*, told him, he would leave the *Sword* and *Keys* of the City with his Lordship, to use as he pleased, he being the King's Lieutenant; and so he did, and after took his leave. This the City justly boasts of, as never being engaged in any Rebellion, nor ever actually under the Usurper's Government in any other manner than by the King's Appointment and Command.

But to return to the Charters, consonant to the Sentence against *Dublin*, so was Judgment given against all the Charters of the Kingdom, except against such as quietly surrendred, as most did, it being to no purpose to contend

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in the leſſer and inferiour parts of the Kingdom, after their *GOLIAH* of *Dublin* was ſlain.

I ſhall not impoſe upon the Reader's Patience with giving him an account of what ſubtle arts of Addreſs, and Obſequious Contrivances, were made uſe of, to diſtinct Corporations, to prevail with them to ſurrender. This he will ſuppoſe that they were not remiſs or unactive in, if he conſiders that they dreaded nothing ſo much, as that the Clamours and Outcries (of ſo many Bodies of people which were to be ſued and diſobliged) ſhould reach the Ears of the Court, and be made uſe of by the adverſe Party to their diſadvantage; and therefore we may be ſure that they endeavoured to ſilence them as much as they could: For both *Tyrconnel* and his Voucher, Neagle, had aſſured their Party that moſt of the Charters would quietly be ſurrendred by the people, and that there was but one Corporation in the North of *Ireland*, which they were afraid of; this was *Carrickfergus*, which they managed with a great deal of Policy in the following manner.

Ellis, Secretary to *Tyrconnel*, writes a wheedling Letter to the Mayor of that City, inſinuating how great an opinion the Lord Deputy had of his Loyalty, with abundance of ſuch impertinent ſtuff, and that his Excellency would enlarge their Priviledges: They were fooliſhly taken with this gilded Bait, and ſo ſurrendred their Charter. Upon this ſucceſs, *Ellis* was applauded as an excellent Inſtrument to delude the

the *Protestants* with; and so he was, which he improved, by the frequent opportunities which were offered to him of drawing in honest men, he having been many years in the Secretaries Office, and a pretended *Protestant*, though his Brother was a noted Champion for *Rome*; but that was one of the Machinations of the *Romish* Conclave, (mightily practised in *Ireland*) to disguise one part of their Family under the *Protestant* Education, though they were as much *Papists* as the other that appeared to be openly such by a publick Profession: A practice which the old *English* Families are rarely free from in that Kingdom.

But to come again to *Ellis*, his Letters and Messages flew round the Kingdom, and prevailed in many places, but more out of a Sentiment, That 'twas to no purpose to contend, than any Belief, or Opinion they had either of his, or his Masters assurances. But however that was, 'tis certain that *Ellis* acquired a fair Reputation among the *Popish* Party for his success in these Arts of Delusion and Treachery, and they in their Secret Cabals, did not a little magnifie and applaud their Politicks, which they thought, they so amused the *English* with, laughing at the Credulity of the Heretick Dogs, for so their Grandees in their private Meetings would frequently call them.

Having thus obtained their wish as to the surrendry of the Charters, the next work was to agree upon a Model for the men. This debate was strongly canvassed several ways, and

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that which chiefly puzled them, and even put 'em almoſt to a Non-plus, was, that the King would have nothing of this tranſacted at Court, for fear of meeting with oppoſition there.

This Exigency, of not being ſuffered to receive advice from *England*, expoſed them to great Difficulties; for they were utter Strangers to the Laws, and Government of Corporations; as indeed they were to all matters of Government, having been converſant in nothing but Secret Plots, and Private Contrivances, how to unhinge and diſcompoſe all Governments; and as an aggravation of their misfortune, except *Rice*, *Daly*, and *Neagle*, there was not a man of them in the Privy Council that had common ſenſe, if you will believe themſelves: for *Rice* and *Daly* would often complain that nothing could paſs at the Council-Board, that concerned the Publick, but their Countrymen muſt firſt ask *Teig*, **If that would not ſpoil his Pottatoe-Garden.**

Neceſſity at laſt ſupply'd the place of *Invention*; and a method was agreed upon which reduced Corporations to perfect Slavery; and this in all the Circumſtances of that affair was their prime and ultimate aim: For as to matter of Trade, or improving of the Nation; theſe were Speculations of too Metaphyſical a nature for men of their ſize, and former way of Education, as was demonſtrated in the firſt Proclamation iſſued forth by *Tyrconnel* and his Coun-

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cil to break an Act of Parliament in taking off the duty of Iron, and admitting it so into the Kingdom, whereby they might encourage *Merchants* to bring in Pieces of Eight from *Spain*, and so hasty they were to have the honour of this admirable contrivance, that without asking the King's leave (which is always done before any Proclamation relating to the Revenue Pass) They put it in execution; but as soon as 'twas heard of in *England*, a Proclamation came from the King, forbidding this wise act made by these great States-men: And so ill this presumptuous folly of theirs was interpreted, That the Lord *Bellasis* swore in Council that, **That**
1687. **Fellow in Ireland, was Fool and Mad-man enough to ruine ten Kingdoms.**

Father Petres corrected him severely for this foul miscarriage; and writ to him, That if he acted not with greater Caution, the King could not possibly preserve him in that Government. These Documents, and severe Reprimands of the Ghostly Father, were so religiously observed by him, that for the future he would proceed in nothing, but ball out at the Council-Board, and call them Fools and Blockheads, if they spake any thing that was contradicted by the *English* Privy-Council: Their great Confident, was the Lord Chief Justice *Keating*, who knowing that he had an Ascendant over them as to Parts, was so imperious and insulting, that sometimes he was taken to task; but had wit enough to submit, yet often was very uneasie to them: But however he in publick,

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and *W.* in private (for he was not of the Privy-Council) directed them in the management of the affair of the Charters: And when they had got the ſhape and model of them preſented by theſe Temporizing Painters, who drew to the life according to the *Popiſh* fancy, then they proceeded to an Election of the men to name in their Charters, and here they begged pardon of their Adviſers, and would be their own Directors.

'Twas their Rule to have in the great Cities (who were moſt *Engliſh*) one third *Proteſtants*, and two thirds *Papiſts*; but then theſe that they called *Proteſtants* were *Quakers*, or other *Enthuſiaſticks*, and two or three in a Charter of ſuch *Proteſtants*, as either their conſiderable Eſtates, or looſe Principles would ſecure to their Party; by that means leaving **not** a man of true Value or Courage in any Corporation in the Kingdom: and although they took in Lords and Gentlemen out of the Countrey into all their Corporations; yet could they not compleat them without additional numbers of Scandalous and Contemptible men: In one Corporation in the North, the firſt Magiſtrate of the Town was a Man that had been burnt in the Hand.

Here you ſee by what impious Arts, and fraudulent Machinations, the ſeveral Corporations were cheated and trapanned out of their Charters, moſt of them wheedled; and groſly impoſed upon, by a Wolf in Sheeps Cloathing, *Secretary Ellis*, who ſtuck not to make

great Promises of enlarging their Priviledges, and the like, though he knew nothing to be more destructive of the *Protestant Interest* and *Religion*, of which he owned himself a Professor. And as his wearing of a *Protestant Mask* contributed very much to the success of this intrigue, so did the same Vizard, put on by *Keating* and *W.* not a little facilitate the Model of the new Charters, of which they contrived the Plat-form, and then 'twas easie for the *Popish Faction* to super-struct upon it, the palpableness of whose design was in nothing more fully evident, than in putting in of all manner of *Fanatical Enthusiasts*, into their new Charters, under the notion of *Protestants*: For 'twas evident that some of these were as irreconcileable Enemies to the *Protestant* Church, as they were Friends to, and Confederates with the *Romish*. As for instance, The *Quakers*, concerning which ridiculous Profession, Who is, or can be ignorant that 'twas derived from the Jesuits? Who knows not that these have sharpened their Weapons at the *Romish Forge*, and that their prime Leaders (whatever they otherwise pretend to) do inwardly own *Ignatius Loyola* as their Founder? These were therefore too much their own Creatures to be neglected by them, as not only appears by their former Principles (if those monstrous Absurdities they maintain, may be reckoned to be such) but also by their present Practices, as their vindicating the late King's Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, though it manifestly tended to the introduction of *Popery*,

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and their zealous eſpouſing of his intereſt at this day, do fully ſhew. But amidſt all the new arts of modelling the Corporations, neither their Brethren, the Quakers, nor other of their Adherents, could give them ſuch effectual aſſiſtance, but that often they were put to their ſhifts, and neceſſitated to elect men of the blackeſt Characters, and moſt infamous Reputations, as appears from their chooſing a Magiſtrate that had been burnt in the Hand. Here was admirable juſtice indeed to be expected, where he who had not only held up his hand, but been puniſhed in ſo ſcandalous a manner at the Bar, was now to ſit upon the Bench.

But as the *Popiſh* Party were put to theſe Difficulties of getting any ſort of men (how notoriouſly infamous ſoever) to fill up their Charters, ſo were they as much perplexed to find out men that would pay for them: For not ten in the whole Kingdom would, or could diſcharge the Fees for them. Wherefore to encourage them, the Lord Deputy ordered, That the Lord Chancellor, and Attorney General *Neagle* ſhould abate half of their Fees: But all would not do, ſo that moſt of the new Charters are yet in the Attorney General's hands for want of paying the Fees, and the ſeveral Corporations act without them.

The infinite numbers of people deſerting the Kingdom from all parts of it upon *Tyrconnel*'s coming to the Government, made the Towns and Cities almoſt waſte; diſcouraged all manner

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of Trade, and sunk the Revenue to an incredible Ebb, and deduction from its former value: These weighty Arguments were strongly pressed at Court to *Tyrconnel*'s disadvantage, upon which he obtains leave to meet the King at *Chester*, and carries with him his great Minister
1687. and Counsellor *Rice*, who being chief Baron of the Exchequer, was to be believed above any, it being King *James*'s Maxim, That he would hear no man in any thing that did not properly lie under his Province. *Rice* was fitly enough qualified to sooth up the King with fine Stories, and a specious representation of Affairs, which he could the more easily do, in regard there was none present to contradict him, and so this Cloud blew over, though many did believe, and were in hopes that it would have broke with that violence upon *Tyrconnel*, that he would never have returned again as Lord Deputy.

There as yet remained some *Protestant* Officers in the Army, which upon this interview were ordered to be disbanded, excepting some few, who 'tis believed had made fair Promises, which they had not occasion as yet to put in execution: Nor did King *James* require more than a private assurance of their Faith, and Inclinations to his interest, it being too early to make a publick Declaration as yet.

1687. The Judges were abroad upon their Circuit whilst *Tyrconnel* was in *England*, pursuing such instructions as he had prescribed to them, before

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fore his departure, which were ſevere and prejudicial enough to the *Engliſh*, and to their *Proteſtant Clergy*, notwithſtanding his late Proclamation, ſuperadded to others before from the King, that they ſhould enjoy all their Eccleſiaſtical Rites, and Juſt Dues, as they had formerly done: The Clergy having ſince the beginning of King *James*'s Reign, lain under great Grievances, as to the non-payment of their dues (eſpecially Surplice Fees, which in that Kingdom they call *Book-money*, and is very conſiderable to them, by reaſon of the numerouſneſs of *Iriſh* Families in moſt places) took the opportunity at the Aſſizes in the ſeveral Circuits, to repreſent their condition to the Judges, as Perſons from whom they expected Redreſs; but on the contrary met with very diſſatisfactory, and unequal returns. For though the Judges could not diſown the legality of thoſe ſmall Dues called the *Book money*, becauſe founded upon the ſame Law with the greater Tythes, as the *Iriſh* of the Country unanimouſly did, (notwithſtanding that they had paid them in the former Reign) yet did they ſo manifeſtly diſcourage the Clergy in their Addreſſes to them, (taking all advantages againſt them that could be offered, and as ſtudiouſly declining every Argument made in their favour, as they were ready to embrace, and hearken to what could be objected againſt them, though meer Forgeries of the *Iriſh*) and thereby ſo animated the Natives againſt them, that they ſeemed to do them as much injuſtice (though under ſpecious and fair pre-

pretences) as if they had publickly told the *Papists*, that they ought not to pay them any thing: Though at the same time, and with the same breath that they were guilty of this execrable partiality, they had the confidence to avow the justice of their proceedings towards the Clergy, for whom they would have had them believe that they entertained the most equitable, and upright intentions. This would require a large Discourse, if accurately handled, but my unskilfulness in a matter out of my Province, and peculiar to Ecclesiasticks, will (I hope) be excused, though thus slenderly touched upon; but thought it better to speak something imperfectly of it, than wholly omit an Affair which was so universal in the Reign of the late King *James*, and so publickly transacted in the whole Kingdom.

The Judges found the Gaols full stocked with *Toryes* and *Irish* Robbers; but *Irish* Sheriffs and *Irish* Juries were so Gracious as to vouchsafe them so general a deliverance, that not one in forty was found guilty: And in such Cases where Matter of Fact was notoriously plain, or any of the Grandees were any way interessed in belief of the Criminals (as 'twas rare almost to a miracle if none were) and the Evidence not to be taken off; then 'twas usual for the Prisoner at the Bar to be called by wrong Names, and so discharged for want of Prosecution: To these Arts of evading condign punishment for their Execrable Crimes, several Menaces were added, to terrifie the Plaintiff from

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proſecuting, as that otherwiſe their Houſes ſhould be burnt, their Cattle ſtole, their ſubſtance deſtroyed, and perhaps their own Throats cut, which as often threatened, ſo not ſeldom put in execution; a ſad diſcouragement to the poor *Engliſh*, who lay under the daily hazard of being Robbed and Pillaged by the *Iriſh*; and if they happened to ſeize the Malefactors, muſt either diſcontinue any farther proſecution againſt them; or elſe be expoſed to greater miſchief: For the Proof and Demonſtration whereof (not to inſiſt upon too many others) take the following Inſtance, which for the eminency of the Perſon, and Barbarity of the ſeveral Facts, may ſupply the reſt, acted by the Earl of *C*——

This Earls Eldeſt Son (a great Favourite of the Duke of *York*'s) was with him at Sea, and there killed, and leaving no Heir, his younger Brother was brought out of a Convent in *France*, and inſtated in the Earldom. The Duke of *Ormond*, who always endeavoured to Naturalize the *Iriſh* Families into *Engliſh*, embraced this opportunity (there being none living but his Siſter and this Earl, who was next to a Natural) to Marry him to a Daughter of the Earl of *Kildare*'s in *Ireland*, a firm *Proteſtant*, and capable of an Intrigue beyond her Sex; by this Lady he had ſeveral Children, and one Son, who is now Earl: He was by the Duke of *Ormond* ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and by him carefully bred up a *Proteſtant*, and Educated at *Oxford*. His Uncle *Juſtin Mac Carthy* (as it ſince appears, for the promotion of the

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Catholick Cause) without the knowledge of his Mother, or the Duke of *Ormond*, Marries him when not Sixteen Years of Age, to the Earl of *Sunderland*'s Daughter, and immediately sends him for *Ireland*, where he continued a *Protestant* until the coming of King *James* to the Crown; and then like the rest of his Countrymen, at that juncture returned to his old Vomit: He had then a Troop of Horse given him, which he soon made of his own Breed; for before their inlisting, they were the greatest Vagrants of the Countrey, which with himself now ravaged in the Countrey, in an horrible and most inhumane manner, Forcing Women, Maiming of Men, Pulling down of Houses, and all other Extravagancies, which he, and his Hellish Tribe could invent. I already assumed (before I entered upon this Man's Character) to give a remarkable Instance of the violence offered to the *English* for their just and legal Prosecution of Notorious *Irish* Criminals and Malefactors; which I shall now set before you in two remarkable Passages relating to this Earl, which were publickly transacted at the Bar.

One was of a poor *Butcher*, at a Town near *Corke*, who refusing *Clancarthy*'s Men an Horse, they violently seized him by force, and would never return him to the Owner, which the Man making Complaint of to the Judges of Assize, in presence of the Earl: The Judges ordered satisfaction to be made to the Man for his Horse, which the Earl promised to see performed: But

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as ſoon as the Judges were departed the Countrey, he takes ſome of his Troopers along with him and goes to the Man's Houſe, and told him that he was come to give him ſatisfaction for his Horſe: Whereupon he forces him out of his Houſe, and ordering the vile Inſtruments, his Troopers, to get a Blanket, and upon a Pavement before the Poor Man's Door, ſtood as a moſt Barbarous and Inhumane Spectator, whilſt they toſſed him in a Blanket, ever and anon letting him fall upon the Stones till they broke him, as if upon the Wheel, all to pieces, and ſo left him dead.

The other Paſſage relating to this fine Spark, was of a Man that had offended him at a place called *Clonmell*; him he firſt had beaten with Sticks, and then hung up by the hair of the Head: he was taken down alive, but what became of him after was not known. The Accomplices of this Tragedy, his Villanous Troopers, were brought to the Bar, and Tried for the Murther, and notwithſtanding that this horrid Action was done in the ſight of an hundred Men, yet were they quitted, and the Earl never Tried.

He to this day proceeds in theſe boundleſs Inhumanities, which perhaps may be an occaſion of great ſorrow and trouble to his Mother.

But to return to the Judges which we left upon their Circuits: Little Juſtice was adminiſtred by them to the *Engliſh*, but in ſuch extraordinary Occurrences where the *Iriſh* were

ſo notoriouſly culpable, as would accuſe them of moſt groſs partiality, to have paſſed Sentence in their favour. But in all things that had but the leaſt ſhadow of Juſtice, or of ſeeming equity and reaſonableneſs in it, they were ſure to carry it; and this was acted in purſuance to one of *Tyrconnel*'s Inſtructions from Court, which was, That the Judges ſhould be directed in their Circuits to undermine and enervate the *Proteſtant Intereſt*, which indeed they did ſo effectually, that no *Engliſh-man* could either get in Rents, or be ſecure of what they had formerly received. For there being a Statute in *Ireland*, which we have not in our *Engliſh* Laws, for Trials by *Civil Bills*, as they call them, which (in the nature of *Chancery*) is ſuch an Arbitrary way of proceeding, as gives the Judges of the Kingdom opportunities, which too many of them (it's ſaid) have made ill uſe of.

By this Arbitrary Method of proceeding, the *Iriſh* had now hit upon an expeditious way, whereby to ruine the *Engliſh*: For 'twas no more but with a Twelvepenny Proceſs flung at any Man's Door, and a falſe Affidavit, made (which the *Iriſh* can as eaſily digeſt as the moſt common Action they do) and ſo an Execution was obtained, directed to an *Iriſh* Sheriff for a pretended Debt of Twenty Years ſtanding, it being very common for an *Iriſh Tenant* to ſue and bring a Fellow to ſwear that in ſuch a Year his Landlord diſtrained Cattle of Twenty or Thirty Pounds value, and had them appraiſed

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praiſed at the half proportion of what they were worth: This was ſufficient to obtain an Execution for the relief of the poor diſtreſſed *Catholicks*, a practice become as univerſal againſt, as deſtructive to the *Engliſh*; inſomuch that in the *North* of *Ireland* there was not one man in five of the ordinary *Britiſh* that were not ruined; and had they continued theſe Courſes but few Years longer, together with their exorbitant Proceedings againſt the *Engliſh* in their Mannor, *Sheriffs*, and the like *Inferiour Courts*, (where ſuch barbarous Injuſtices, and publick Oppreſſions, and Violences were acted, as never till then were heard of among Chriſtians) theſe without other means might have wholly reduced the Kingdom into *Iriſh* hands. For as by their Civil Bills at the Aſſizes, and by their notorious Perjuries in the *Inferiour Courts*, they deſtroyed the ſmaller men; ſo by Ejectments in the higher Courts, they took away mens Eſtates in Fee: It being obſerved, That never one Cauſe came before them upon a Trial for Land, but the Judgment was conſtantly given in favour of the *Iriſh*.

Complaints were continually made at Court of theſe irregular Proceedings, and Writs of Errour were brought from *England*, but generally the ſame Judgments were confirmed in this Kingdom; the Judges here being moſt of the ſame Stamp.

Sheridon about this time began to be diſcover- 1687.
ed by *Tyrconnel* to ſell places of all ſorts, both *Eccleſiaſtical*, *Civil*, and *Military*: He was not

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only *Principal Secretary of State*, but also one of the *Commissioners* of the *Customs*: So that whenever he met with a conveniency of making an advantagious bargain for a place in the *Custome-house*, he would pretend to the Commissioners, That twas my Lord Deputy's Request to have such a Person employed. This by degrees increased so much upon the Commissioners, that *Dickison*, one of the Commissioners, writ over to the *Lords of the Treasury*, that they were so burthened and oppressed with *Irish* Officers, recommended by the Lord Deputy, that he was afraid that the Revenue would be lost by ill management. Upon this, my Lord Deputy was ordered not to recommend a man, nor any ways to intermeddle in the Revenue. The Commissioners also issued forth their Orders, posted up at the Custom-house Door, That all Persons who had Petitioned for Employments in the Customs or Revenue, should return to their respective Abodes, for that there would be no Employments disposed of. This Bustle created various Disputes betwixt *Tyrconnel* and *Sheridon*; and from this time forward *Sheridon* contrived to undermine *Tyrconnel*. His first Stratagem was to prepossess the *Romish Clergy* against him, which to accomplish, he contracts an intimate Acquaintance with *Tyrconnel*'s Chaplain, that most frequently officiated: This Fellow picks up what he could of *Tyrconnel*'s contempt of the Mass and Prayers: One particular Charge was, That when the Army was in the Camp at the *Currah of Kildare*, *Tyrconnel* being at play in his Tent,

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Tent, the *Prieſt* came to him to know if his *Excellency* would go to Maſs; who replyed, No, he would ſend, (naming ſome body by him) to ſtand in his place, and that would do as well: Of this *Sheridon* being a Bigotted Zealot, gives an account to *Father Petres*, whoſe Niece *Sheridon* had Married, by which means he obtained an intereſt and freedom with the Jeſuit, and not with him only, but with all the *Iriſh Clergy*, eſpecially with the *Titular Primate* of *Armagh*, who being an *Ulſter* man, as *Sheridon* was, had no kindneſs for *Tyrconnel*, who was of the Pale, a ſort of *old Engliſh* degenerated into *Iriſh*, but had in no eſteem by the Natives of the Province of *Ulſter*. The aforeſaid *Titular Primate* then contracted an intimate Familiarity and Acquaintance with his Couſin *Sheridon*, as he called him, and they (with the before-mentioned Prieſt) formed Articles againſt *Tyrconnel*; which having compleated, and *Sheridon* diſpoſed of his Affairs, prays leave of the Lord Deputy to go for *England*, pretending ſome private buſineſs of his own to diſpatch there: But *Tyrconnel* being jealous that he deſigned ſome prejudice to himſelf, would not give him permiſſion to go; upon which, *Sheridon* writes to a Couſin of his to *London* to take out a Licence from the King, which *Father Peters* look'd upon as ſtrange, and ſent him word back, That the King would enquire the reaſon why he had it not from the Lord Deputy. This could not be tranſacted with that ſecrecy at Court, but that *Tyrconnel* had ſome intelligence of it, which exigency drove him to

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have recourſe to his two Grand Counſellors at a dead lift, *Rice*, and *Neagle*, who adviſed him to take no notice, nor ſhew any outward Symptoms of diſcontent againſt *Sheridon*, but rather attend ſome opportunity whereby to intangle him in a ſnare, which ſoon offered, it being *facile baculum invenire*, &c. no difficult matter to find out Treachery and Perfidiouſneſs enough in an *Iriſh-man* whereof to accuſe him. They obſerved that the Lord Deputy's Domeſtick Chaplain was intimately converſant with *Sheridon*, and another Prieſt that was, or called himſelf Couſin to him. To countermine theſe Intriegues the Lord Deputy appoints a third Prieſt, a Confident of his own, to fall into an intimate familiarity with his Brethren, who ſeemed inclined to unite his endeavours with theirs, if they had any intentions of impeaching *Tyrconnel*: The *Prieſt* managed this Affair with ſo much skill and dexterity (verifying the vulgar ſaying of *Setting a Thief to catch a Thief*) that he ſoon wound himſelf into a ſtrict League of Amity with them, and ſo ſeemingly intereſſed in all their Affairs, that they no longer queſtioned his eſpouſing their Party; and to delude them the more artificially pretended to find out new matter of accuſation againſt *Tyrconnel*, which he did ſo effectually, that againſt the Poſt-day he brought his Charge againſt the Lord Deputy in writing under his own hand, which *Sheridon* in his ſight ſealed up, with a great many more in a Pacquet, and directed it to his Couſin in *London*: This being done, the *Prieſt* takes leave of *Sheridon*, and gives

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gives notice immediately to *Rice* the chief Baron, who doubted not to trapan him upon this favourable occasion. *Sheridon* (as usually) makes up the Lord Deputy's Pacquets, sending all to the Post, with instructions for the Pacquet immediately to go to Sea.

Rice and *Neagle* remained in the Lord Deputy's Closet, and at twelve of the Clock at Night a Messenger was sent on Board the Pacquet-Boat to fetch off the Male, which being opened, *Sheridon*'s Pacquet was taken out, directed to his Cousin, which discovered the whole Intriegue, and among the rest, the *Irish* Primate's concern in the design. *Sheridon*'s Pacquet was sealed up and put into the Male, except one Letter, which was taken out, directed to a certain person in *London*, full of vehement Exclamations against the Lord Deputy, and giving an account of many of his Articles which he designed to impeach him of.

Rice and *Neagle* advised the Lord Deputy to write to the Lord *Sunderland*, which he accordingly did, setting forth *Sheridon*'s Briberies and other Sinister Practices, not taking any notice of *Sheridon*'s contrivance against himself. All this was done when *Sheridon* was asleep, and not suspicious of any design against him, which the better to disguise, *Tyrconnel* still carried himself to him with the same unconcernedness as formerly.

At this time happened the death of the Bishop of *Clogher*, in order to which Commissioners were appointed for setting and disposing of the Revenue of that Bishoprick: 'Twas adjacent to

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Sheridon's Countrey, who had abundance of Cousins (especially upon such an occasion as this) some of which he endeavoured to prefer in that Employment, thereby hoping to have fished out something for himself; but the Lord Chief Baron was now (though he knew it not) become his formidable opposite, and there was one of the Commissioners of the Customs, *Dickison* by name, that was a person, as well of great experience as of integrity and honesty, who kept a vigilant eye upon *Sheridon*; for though he had a great hand over, and much influenced the rest of the Commissioners, yet could he never prevail upon *Dickison*.

Now arrives the return of his Pacquet to his Cousin in *London*, but with no good account of his Affairs: The reason of which ill success was *Sunderland*'s acquainting *Father Peters* with the complaints that were made against him by the Lord Deputy, and thereupon shewed him his Letter from *Tyrconnel*. That Letter which was taken out of the Pacquet in *Dublin* was not missed by *Sheridon*'s Cousin in *London*, who only writ back to him, That he had delivered his several Letters as directed, and no more.

'Twas now time for the Lord Deputy to break publickly with *Sheridon*, and in order to it sends for him into his Closet, there being present with him, the Earl of *Lymerick*, the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*, Judge *Daly*, and some others: The Lord Deputy demanded of *Sheridon*, Whether or no he had written any thing against him to *London*? *Sheridon*

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ridon who wanted not Confidence, or rather Impudence (with which his Countreymen do univerſally abound to an immenſe proportion and degree) anſwered, That he had not, but that he had heard that his Excelleney had writ againſt him, which ſo enraged the Lord Deputy (who is a great *Furioſo*, and can preſcribe no limits to his Paſſion) that he could not contain from calling him Traytour, Cheat, Rogue, *&c.* and pulling out *Sheridon*'s Letter, asked him if that was not his hand, which for the preſent put him into great diſorder and confuſion, but after ſome recollection he aſſumed to juſtifie himſelf, and to enter into a Capitulation with the Lord Deputy, at which *Tyrconnel* roſe in exceſs of fury to kick him;ſo he was turned out. *Tyrconnel* and his Party were in long conſideration how to proceed in this nice Conjuncture of Affairs: They dreaded not *Sheridon*'s intereſt, or Impeachments ſo much, as this opportunity of awakening his Excellency's Enemies at Court: After various Debates, 'twas at laſt reſolved, That *Daly* ſhould take *Sheridon* to Task, and ſo accommodate the matter as to ſtifle any farther noiſe of it, which *Sheridon* was ready enough to embrace; but at the ſame time both the Lord Deputy and he had mutual Jealouſies of, and ſtrove who ſhould firſt intrap one another.

The Lord Deputy (by reaſon of his averſion to him, for ſiding with *Sheridon*) does now revive the Quarrel, that the *Iriſh Clergy* had with the *Primate*, eſpecially the *Archbiſhop* of *Caſhell*:

I call the *Titular* one so in this Discourse. Upon an Assembly of the *Titular Popish Bishops* of *Ireland*, great Debate arose concerning the Priority of their Jurisdictions; in reference to which, the *Primate* insolently usurped over them all, not distinguishing the *Archbishop*, which he of *Cashell* resenting as a great Indignity and Affront, inflamed the difference to a great height, and caused them to break up abruptly, and in great discontent with one another.

Cashell is the more Learned Man, the *Primate* being universally contemned by their own Party, as neither respected by them as a Scholar, or a Man of Parts, which general disesteem made most of the *Clergy* that were considerable (I mean the *Dignitaries*) bandy against him; and their Prejudice ran so high, that they sent over to *Father Peters* (who promoted their Applications to the King) to have a *Co-adjutor* imposed upon him. The King writes about it to the *Pope* with aggravating Exclamations of the *Primate*'s Miscarriages and Insufficiency; to which the Pope replied, That he was one of his own Election, and so indeed he was, being a Fryar in *Spain*, and coming over *Chaplain* to the *Spanish Embassador*, at the time of the *Primate* of *Ireland*'s being Executed, he prevailed with the *Embassador* to present him to the Duke of *York*, who writ to the *Pope* in his behalf, upon whose recommendation he got the Mitre. This Quarrel of the *Irish Clergy* had been dormant for some time, but the Deputy to execute his Revenge upon the *Primate*, thought it now seasonable to awaken and revive it: But this

this continued not long upon the Stage, for he ſoon received a ſevere reprimand from *Father Peters* for this raſh Action, who was extreamly moved at the proceeding. This being the moſt effectual courſe whereby to render their Party ridiculous and contemptible to the World, that whilſt they were ſo induſtriouſly contriving to eſtabliſh their Religion, they ſhould at once break all their former meaſures by endeavouring to ſupplant and deſtroy one another: And therefore 'twas immediately huſhed up in a deep ſilence, and the *Primate* (at leaſt ſeemingly, and to outward appearance) reconciled to the Lord Deputy.

Sheridon again aſſumes to Petition for leave to go for *England*, aſſuring his Excellency, That 'twas only in order to purſue ſome private buſineſs of his own: That he had a Law-ſuit for ſome Debt due to his Wife, which required his attendance, *&c.* but all would not prevail to obtain permiſſion, wherefore he employs his Wife's intereſt at *London*, and by *that way* ſollicits the King with ſo much importunity, till at laſt an Order was got for his going over.

About the Ninth of *December* in this Year, upon a *Sunday* Morning there happened ſuch an Inundation of Water in the City of *Dublin*, as no man was ever a Spectator of the like: It carried away *Stone-Bridges*, deſtroyed *Houſes*, and without intermiſſion continued *three days* overflowing a great part of the City, to the unſpeakable damage of many Thouſands; and that which 1687.

encreased the Prodigy, was, That no Rain fell, save a few Showers upon the *Saturday* Night before. This besides the considerable detriment to, or rather apparent ruine of many *English*, was accounted by many as a miraculous act of the Divine Providence, and interpreted as an ominous Presage of that Deluge of Troubles which has since so universally descended upon the poor *English* in that distressed Kingdom.

But to come again to *Sheridon*, who now arrives at *London*, but 'twas near four and twenty hours before he could speak with *Sunderland*, who after his admittance gave him but a cold reception; the reason of which (as 'twas conjectured) was, that *Sunderland* expected that which *Sheridon* was not yet Master of; for he had but just began his Trade when the Lord Deputy and he fell at variance.

This indifferency, or rather coldness in *Sunderland*, did not hinder him from applying to the rest of his Friends, but was so unhappy as to find by them, that there was no expectation of removing *Tyrconnel*; for he was fortified with the **French Interest**, and was in a manner Deputy to *Lewis*, not *James*; it being said in *Paris* when News came there of *Tyrconnel*'s being struck out, That there was none in *England* durst move him: and so it appeared as we shall find hereafter.

Sheridon wanted not those which were *Favourites* and *Well-wishers* to his design against the Deputy, as *Castlemain*, *Powis*, and another not to be named, but they durst not trust *Sheridon* with their Sentiments, but sent some of their Confi-

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dents to animate him with general Promises, without naming any body: He found himself now involved in great danger, and in three days turned his Story, and went to *Sunderland*, to whom he had at first only complained of the Lord Deputy's unkindness, but now comes, and positively affirms, that he brought over no Articles against him, nor could say any thing but what was honourable of him, only that his Excellency had taken displeasure against him, he knew not why, *&c.* and that the occasion of his coming over, was to follow his own private business: *Father Peters*, his Wife's Uncle, would not carry him to kiss the King's hand, but at last his Friend, the Lord *Sunderland*, got him admittance: However the King would not hear him speak, in so great awe stood he to his Brother, or rather Master of France, whose Creature *Tyrconnel* was.

Sheridon had not continued three days in *London*, when he was followed by the Lord *Dongan*, a Young Man, Son to the Earl of *Lymerick*: He brought Letters to *Sunderland* and others, setting forth *Sheridon* in black Characters; which Negotiation so succeeded, that *Father Peters* would admit him no more in his presence: And now those Lords which would have privately supported him against *Tyrconnel*, deserted, and declaimed against him, when they perceived that he publickly magnified his Master; by which means he was wholly left to himself, and *Tyrconnel*'s Party vigorously pursued him here as a Delinquent, and had it immediately inserted in the

the News-Letter, That he was turned out of his Employments in *Ireland*, and so he had notice given him, that he was too that of being Secretary, and a *Popish Bishop* preferred to his place.

Sheridon was now involved in very great streights to go back; he considered 'twas to no purpose: To remain here 'twas not possible for him without the assistance of Friends, and none would appear for him: At length he delivers a Petition with his own hand to the King, desiring that he might be heard speak for himself, and not be Condemned to utter Destruction, as he accounted it to be, if he stood not in his Majesty's favour. The King gave him no other Answer, but that he must return to the Lord Deputy, and there justifie himself; this he reckoned to be hard upon him, but waiting upon the Lord *Sunderland* for some order to carry back, upon which he grounded his Trial, 'twas thought fit to name the *Chief Judges* to *hear*, and to *report* back the Matter to the King, as they should find it. With this order he returns for *Ireland*, together with a *Letter of Recommendation* from *Sunderland* to the Lord Deputy, praying his Lordship to take Compassion of the Poor Man, who was sufficiently mortify'd by what he had already suffered in the loss of his Secretaries Place, and that if his Excellency should pursue him farther to the losing of his Commissioners Place in the Customs, he was a Ruined Man, for that the King had declared if Matters alledged against him were proved, he should never have any Employment in

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his Dominions; and in the Close added, That Acts of Clemency were suitable to persons of his Excellency's Quality and Station, *&c.* But matters were now come to too high a pitch, and the breach was too wide ever to be patched up together again, as it had been once already by Judge *Daly*'s mediation betwixt them. *Sheridon*, or some in his stead had even in *Dublin* whilst this was transacting, spoke contemptibly of the Lord Deputy, in order to applaud *Sheridon* as a Triumphant Conquerour: For so the Populace had cryed him up in *Dublin*, and the *Protestant Party* in *Ireland*, out of Enmity to *Tyrconnel*, which it seems they thought to be the worse man of the two, though in reality *Sheridon* as an Apostate was the greater Villain.

Upon *Sheridon*'s Arrival at *Dublin*, he repaired to the *Castle* with his Papers, but was not admitted to the presence of the Lord Deputy: He then goes to the *Custom-house*, and there sits among his Brethren. The next day the Lord Deputy advises with the *Judges* what to do with him, for his Stomach could not digest his enjoying any Place in the Kingdom, whilst he continued *Chief Governour*. The *Judges* Counselled to appoint a *Day of Hearing*, and in the mean time to suspend him from sitting in the *Custom-House*. *Sheridon* had this order sent him, upon which he came to the Castle, and disputed his being suspended, as if not in the Lord Deputy's Power. This Demeanour was an Aggravation to his former, and upon farther consulting with the *Judges*, 'twas agreed, That since much of the proof of *Sheridon*'s

don's Bribery depended upon the Officers concerned in the Revenue, 'twould be absolutely necessary to heap as much Ignominy and Disgrace upon him in that Province, as was possible; which to effect, the *Commissioners of the Customs* were sent for, and ordered to write to all the Collectors of the Kingdom not to keep any correspondence with *Sheridon*, in regard that he was suspended from acting in the Revenue.

A day being appointed for *Sheridon* to come to an Hearing, he moved for more time, which was readily granted; for at this time another blow from *Rome* came against *Tyrconnel*, which required his best Ministers to divert, which was as follows.

The Earl of *Castlemain* had for some time been returned from his Embassy to the Pope, but was Invested in no Preferment, which he complained of to his *Holiness*, which was seconded by *Father Peters*; upon the receipt of whose Letters, his *Holiness* writes over to his *Nuncio*, to Address to the King in his behalf; who was as ready to gratifie him in something, as the other to embrace it, but at present there was no vacancy: But to supply that, *Father Peters* takes opportunity to strike at *Jeffreys the Lord Chancellor*, for tampering in the business of *Magdalen-College*, in order to which, he roundly acquaints the King, That the most effectual course whereby to accomplish his design by establishing the *Catholick Religion*, was, to let his *Prime Ministers* and the *World* understand, that no service, they had or could do, should protect them, or be deemed of any account

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if they failed in the least *Iota* or minutest Circumstance relating to the *Catholick Cause*. This Argument was so pursued with a constant uninterrupted vigour by the *Nuncio* and *Father Peters*. that 'twas brought to the Cabinet, and upon the Seventeenth of *December* at Night in this Year it was resolved, That *Jeffreys* should be put out, and that three of the *Lords of the Treasury* should be made *Lords Commissioners* of the *Broad Seal*, and that *Castlemain* should be *Lord Treasurer*. This Resolve continued not ten days, but upon the suddain the Scene changed, and *Jeffreys* fixed more firm than ever. The true cause of this was never known, but 'twas observed, that the *Queen* and *Sunderland* adhered to him. This administred fresh cause of disgust to *Castlemain* and to the Church Party; for now it began to appear that Affairs moved by the **French Interest**, in opposition to that of *Rome*: Such insuperable Difficulties had the Folly of that poor unfortunate King exposed him to: His Zeal and Affection led him to adhere to *Rome*, but his dependance was intirely built upon **France**.

The *Church Cabal* embraced the opportunity of the Lord Deputy's and *Sheridon*'s Quarrelling, wherein to recommend *Castlemain* as a fit person for the Government of *Ireland*, representing to the full how injurious those Scandalous Impeachments of the Lord Deputy and *Sheridon* had been to, and how much they had retarded the Progress of the *Catholick Cause*: Farther urging that *Tyrconnel* had proceeded by too slow a motion, and that he had effected nothing but the turning

out of a few Soldiers, and discouraging and frightening away the Industrious *English* who might (many of them) by Indulgence and Encouragement have been prevailed upon to espouse their Religion: That *Castlemain* was a Man of great Parts, and of a fine curious Head for the accomplishing of such a Work as the Reducing and Converting of *Hereticks*.

This was soon sent to *Tyrconnel*, and by his Pensioner in *London* Communicated to *Paris*, which the Deputy acquaints his two Grand States-men *Rice* and *Neagle* with, who to dissipate this approaching Storm, sit up Night and Day, even to the hazard of *Rice*'s Life, who was an Infirm Man.

Their whole Consult was (as appeared afterwards) what Apology to make for their small Proficiency in Proselyting Men to their Religion, or at least in indearing them to the espousal of the *Romish* Cause and Interest, and after many Essays, the most Authentick was, that whilst the *English* were Masters of their Lands, they feared not the Government, but as *Satan* answered in the Case of *Job*, Touch them but in their Estates, and they will either run into Treason or Conversion. This being resolved upon, *Rice* and *Neagle* were to draw up the substance of an Act, which they did in that nature as gave (in a manner) the Lands of the whole Kingdom into the power of the King, and although the *Catholicks* were to have but half of their Estates, yet the other part was to be under such Qualifications, as that the King might dispose of it to such

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as he found to be obedient Sons. This if the King would have pursued, a Parliament they could have had when they pleased, fitted for their turn, all Corporations being already put into *Popish* hands, and all the Sheriffs of the Counties being *Papists*, would be sure not to make returns to their disadvantage.

This Consult being come to this ripeness, 'twas concluded, that *Rice* should go over as Plenipotentiary in negotiating this Affair, which was mannaged with that privacy and reservedness, that not one of the Council knew of it till the Warrant was signed for the Yatcht to carry him over: But as soon as this became publick, the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent* flew about like lightening to all his Friends, to make an interest to go over with *Rice*, which *Neagle* and *Rice* privately opposed; for as one of them told the Author, he was good for nothing but to spoil a business; when nothing could prevail, he pretended some affairs of his own, and so obtained leave to go over, and for the honour of the business, was joined with *Rice*, to present that which was publickly to be offered, but was not in any part of the secret intriegue, to render the undertaking more prosperous. For the Deliverance of the *Irish* Nation, they Embark'd upon St. Patrick's Day; but considering the bad success they met with, they might as well have put him out of their Kalendar, as by a particular order from *Rome*, they had formerly done St. *Luke*, because upon that Holy-day the *English* had obtained a great Victory over them in the last *Rebellion*. 1688.

But to return to the *Irish* Embassadors (for so they were called here in *England*) over they came, and after *Rice* had paid a Visit to the Jesuits (of whose Society he was once a Novice, and had been educated in their Colledge) he made his first Court to the Lord *Sunderland*. *Father Peters* he found not favourable to his design, but the **French Faction** was his chief dependance, to whom he had always a recourse in his private Consults, without communicating any thing to his Colleague, whom he kept in great ignorance of the private intriegue of *Castlemain* against the Lord Deputy. 'Twas *Rice*'s chief business to possess the Conclave with a great opinion of the Lord Deputy's extraordinary Zeal for the promotion of the *Catholick Cause*, and that he had made a much greater Progress in it before that time, if the want of a Parliament, and the continuance of the Act of Settlement, had not retarded that design; without which *Rice* alledged, That 'twas impossible to make Converts, or to Proselyte any to their Party, who thought themselves Masters of the Kingdom, whilst they had the Laws on their side, and made it their boast, That the King durst not attempt to meddle with them. So that as Affairs stood, there seemed a more rational probability, that the *Roman Catholicks* should condescend to the *Protestants*, than they to the *Roman Catholicks*. Thus was *Rice* very active, and industrious, in urging and propagating the intriegue, which when it was fully comprehended by his Party, *Father Peters* was with much difficulty influenced so far

far as to join in it, though at first he could not be prevailed upon to hear of it: For he was absolutely byas'd for *Castlemain*'s interest, and being no Politician, but a perfect fury, and of an Imperious Temper, was wont to contemn every thing that was not his humour: But this Project being a work of expedition in *Ireland*, and (in his own Style) to Convert or Confound the *Hereticks* there; he at last embraced it, and when once he became interessed, nothing must be done but by his direction and advice; so 'twas concluded upon, that the Project should be laid open before *Sunderland*, and that when he was made Master of it, he and *Father Peters* would wait on the King with it: And to oblige *Sunderland*'s more chearful and hearty concurrence in this Affair, he was to be made sensible what signal advantages would be derived to his Lordship from so great a Revolution in that Kingdom, a matter which required no great art so to instil it into him, as to make it intelligible.

But notwithstanding *Father Peters* adherence to this Project, yet did he continue in his former Inclinations for removing *Tyrconnel*: And 'twas believed that happy difference among the several *Romish Factions*, was the prime occasion of diverting this fatal blow design'd for *Ireland*.

The business was in the Closet fully discours'd to the King by none but *Sunderland* and *Peters*, (who with the liberty of a digression, I must acquaint the Reader, was not infallible in keeping Secrets.) The King was soon fully inclined to the thing, but how to pass it at the Council, *Hic labor, hoc opus est*, there lay the stress of the business;

ness; for he was very apprehensive that such as were opposite to *Tyrconnel*'s continuance in the Government of *Ireland*, would be more violent against his being there with a Parliament too great for such a Man whom the Council had in contempt. *Peters* thought he could easily remove that obstacle by introducing the Popes recommendation of *Castlemain*, but over that the *French* King had laid his hand, to whom the poor King was become a Vassal. Amidst these difficulties, 'twas hard to form a resolution, but however 'twas agreed to, that the two Judges should be publickly introduc'd to the King with their project for calling a Parliament in *Ireland*, and to lay at his Majesty's feet the deplorable condition of his *Catholick* Subjects there, occasioned by the palpable injustice and oppression of the Act of Settlement, which was so notorious, that the very *Protestants* themselves were ashamed of it, and would gladly part with enough to satisfie the *Irish*, in case that they might have a good Act of Parliament to secure the rest. All this was put in practice, and they brought to *Whitehall*, where the King received their Project in writing, and told them, he would advise with his Council about it.

Now 'twas the constant method of King *James* in any thing of weight, or importance, to consider it first in the Cabal, before 'twas proposed at Council-Board; yet this thing, upon which entirely depended the Settlement or ruine of a Kingdom, had not that Sanction, but was carried immediately to the Council, which was matter of admiration to many, but supposed to be done for

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one of these two Reasons, either that the King was conscious that those of the Cabinet would not suffer it to proceed any farther, but was in hopes so to influence the Judges and other Tools, he had at the Council-Board, to vote for it: Or else that he would shew his indifferency in the matter, that so it might not be thought any private intrigue.

The King brought this project the first Council-day, and in few words acquainted the Council with its importance and contents, and by whom presented to him: no man spoke a word either in favour of, or in opposition to the thing, but desired it might be read; which being done, the Lord *Bellasis* in a storm of Passion inveigh'd bitterly against it, saying that, **If such designs as those were encouraged, they of** England, (meaning the *Catholicks*) **had best in time to look out for some other Country, and not stay to be a mad Sacrifice for** Irish **Rebels.** *Powis*, according to the best of his understanding seconded; and in short, 'twas so run down, that neither *Sunderland* nor *Peters*, durst attempt to speak a word in its vindication, but only desired, that those Gentlemen which brought over those Papers might be heard. *Bellasis* was for committing them, or commanding their immediate return; but 'twas at last thought reasonable to hear them, so a day was appointed.

The noise of this, and the success it had met with at Council-Board, flew abroad with great Exclamations, the Boys in the street running after the Coach where *Rice* and *Nugent* at any time were, with *Pottatoes* stuck on sticks, and crying,

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Make room for the Irish Embassadors: 'Twas believed that some of the *Popish* Party did blow up the People, that so the King might be sensible what mischief this would tend to.

The day came on for *these Embassadors* to be heard at Council-board, where *Rice* made a Speech full of Policy and Artifice, and answered the Objections made by the Lord *Bellasis* and *Powis*; but when *Nugent* came to speak, he kicked down all that *Rice* had done, and *Bellasis* presently discovered the defect of his *Irish understanding*, as he call'd it, abusing him beyond the respect due to the place where the King was, calling him **Fool and Knave**, and *Powis* did the same. They were not long in tearing this fine Project to pieces, which when they had done, *Bellasis* bid them make haste to **the Fool their Master, and bid him next Message be sent, to employ Wiser Men, and upon a more honest Errand.** Powis **bid them tell him, That the King had better use to make of his Catholick Subjects in** England, **than to Sacrifice them for reprize to the** Protestants **of** Ireland **in lieu of their Estates there.**

In short, every one fell so violently upon them at the Board, that the King remained silent, and without any resolve or order, broke up the Council, and neither the Embassadors nor their Project appeared more upon the Stage, but kissing the King's Hand, march'd off with great hast and precipitation; for they *were* afraid that even the *Roman Catholicks themselves* would have affronted 'em.

1688. This Miscarriage of *Tyrconnel*'s gave fresh opportunity to the *Castlemanians* to raise Objections against

againſt him, ſetting forth what miſchiefs he had already done in that Kingdom; that the Revenue was ſunk to an incredible abatement, and that in one year more there would not be left money enough in the *Kingdom* to diſcharge the Army, and that this laſt Project of his would exaſperate, and frighten away thoſe of the *Engliſh* which were left, who being the dealing and induſtrious people of the Nation, would put a final period to all Trade and Commerce in that waſted and depopulated Countrey: But all theſe juſt and reaſonable Allegations, (which matter of fact, and the preſent ruinous and diſtracted Eſtate of that *Kingdom*, did but too fully evince the truth, or rather infallibility of) though judiciouſly laid down before the *King* by ſober and conſidering perſons, yet were they all to no purpoſe: For though the *King* kept it private from moſt of his Council, yet certain it is, that he had promiſed the *French King* the diſpoſal of that Government and *Kingdom*, when things had attained to that growth, as to be fit to bear it: This jumped near to the time of the *King's Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience*, and the *Biſhops Commitment to the Tower*: And as one had ruined *England*, if the viſible hand of Supream Providence had not ſignally and miraculouſly interpos'd, by inſpiring the Biſhops with couragious and invincible reſolutions in a juſt vindication of the *Proteſtant Cauſe* and *Religion*; ſo the other had ſtruck the fatal blow to the Laws and Fundamental Conſtitutions of *Ireland*, if ſome *Huſhai's* even amongſt the *Romiſh Faction* had not turned the pernicious Counſels of theſe *Achitophels* into folly.

The expected ſucceſs of the aforeſaid Embaſſa-

dors Negotiation, which by one Party was dreaded, by the other hop'd to prove answerable to its *design*, made various impressions upon men in proportion to their different interests. The *English* were apprehensive of no less a change than a total subversion of the Government, and an unraveling of all the Laws made for the security of their Estates and Religion, which the unhinging the Act of Settlement (the sole occasion of this Solemn Embassy) would at one blow compleat. The Natives were (imaginarily) in actual possession: Their apprehensions whereof were such as discovered all the outward signs and indications of so high a satisfaction, as cannot be easily represented. Joy and Triumph was in all their Actions and Discourses: Fancy and Imagination wrought very powerfully, and like Men in *Bedlam*, who dream of nothing but Kingdoms and Empires, they seem'd to shew as much Complacency, and to be alike transported with the airy hopes of getting, as if they had been already invested in their Estates: But this Scene of Joy, which had been represented with so much splendour and magnificence, soon disappear'd, and a Melancholy Prospect over-shadowed with a dark Cloud, was quickly brought upon the Stage, when they perceiv'd all their hopes blasted in the fruitless consequences of this great intrigue. *Parturiunt montes*, their high expectations soon descended to a low ebb and they were quickly under as great despondency (by this suddain turn of the Spoke in the Wheel) as they were before of satisfaction. For as they are wont to put no bounds to their Ecstasies, and transports in prosperous, so neither do they limit their sorrow and despair, upon adverse

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Contingencies. An unequalness of mind, and resolution very remarkable among the *Irish*, who like the floating *Euripus*, have no consistency in themselves, but are carried up and down in their hopes and fears, according as every petty accident does either invite or discourage.

But to return to *Sheridon* whose Trial *Rice* and *Nugent*'s absence had retarded, and the ill effects of whose Negotiation had so exalted him that he begun to vaunt over his Enemies, openly exclaiming upon the Lord Deputy, and withal adding, That he would soon be removed from the Government, and such advantage did he derive from this disgrace *Tyrconnell* met with in *England*, that he held the Lord Deputy and his Judges, at defiance, and was now become so imperious that his braging and threatening the Evidence took off several. And the truth is, after that *Rice* returned from *England* they were in such despondency, expecting every day a new Lord Lieutenant, insomuch that one day *Tyrconnell* himself said publickly to some Officers at the Castle, that though he had great assurance from the King, that he should not be removed, yet now he heard that he should, and wish'd that he had given Five Thousand Pounds to have known it a Month sooner, which expression was much wondered at.

Sheridon now comes upon his Tryal, having four 1688.
Counsels all *Protestants*, or at least, who pretended to be such, for two of them have since by their actions given cause of suspicion, *viz. Whiched* and *Donohan*, two intire Friends; the first now with King *James* in *Ireland*, and employed a Judge of *Oyer* and *Terminer* to try *Protestants* for their *Rebellion*.

Donohan is here, and makes as fair a shew for King *William*, as his Brother *whiched* for King *James*, but had the misfortune of being discovered to procure a Pass for his Brothers Son that was here employed by King *James*, and one of his Converts, who 'tis said, has since returned hither from *Ireland* with Intelligence from King *James*. Two as good *Protestants* as Brethren, but both in Iniquity: One acts by a Commission from King *James* against those of his own Church, and Profession, and not only so, but interprets that to be Rebellion, which was grounded upon no other design than an absolute preservation of their Lives from the bloody Massacres of the *Irish*, who having robb'd and pillaged them of their substance, at the next step would have broke into their Houses, and have cut their Throats, from which they were bound by the Law of Nature, and consequently by that of Religion, (to which the last carries no opposition, but is derived from it as its prime and original foundation) to defend themselves. But is it possible for any one that stiles himself a *Protestant*, so shamefully to temporize and prevaricate as against the Laws of Nature and Humanity thus (as it were) to prey upon his own kind? The other promotes King *James*'s interest, though not publickly, and upon the open stage, yet by private and secret machinations, though at the same time he seems a zealous adherer to the present Government: An Hypocrisie, which, I pray, may be as much beyond a Parallel, as tis without excuse.

But I come to *Sheridon*: The Charge that was brought against him, was, for selling of Place, and receiving extravagant Fees in his Office. To prove which

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which there were Witnesses of all sorts brought from all parts of the Kingdom, to which *Sheridon* and his Counsel made defence only by criminating the Evidence, or making them interessed as Parties that swore to get money, if they could fix it upon him. The chief Evidence produc'd against him was a Priest that he had employed to bring in Grist to his Mill.

This Priest he brought Evidence to prove he was a Man of a lewd and infamous Character, guilty of several vile actions, as of Bastardy, *&c.* Much time was consumed in hearing impertinent stuff, not worth my filling Paper with, or the trouble of the Reader's perusal, but in the end he was dismist of his Employments, and so went off the Stage the worst of men, had he not left an *Ellis* behind him, a Miscreant of all Shapes, that hath since been the Engine of Murthers and Rapins in that Countrey.

But now comes into *Ireland* one Captain *Bridges*, 1688.
who rid Post to bring the happy News of the Birth of the *supposed Prince of Wales*: For which he received the Honour of Knighthood by the Name of Sir *Matthew Bridges*.

What Tongue can express, or man describe the extravagancy of those Joys which possessed the *Irish* at the arrival of this News? Their former apprehensions of the shortness of their triumph, by reason of King *James*'s declension in Age, and the prospect of a *Protestant Successor*, had extreamly imbittered their greatest Comforts, and caus'd an intermixture of hopes and fears. But now that they had got a *Young Prince* that would become a *Patron* to the *Holy Church*, this soon dissipated

all

all their troubles. They now considered, that their Religion would be perpetuated to future Ages, and that upon this fund they might not only extirpate Heresie, but so establish the Holy *Catholick Religion*, as to remain to all Posterity: For now (in the Scripture Phrase, which they usurpingly *monopolize* and improperly apply to themselves) *The Gates of Hell was never like to prevail against their Church.* These were such sweet Reflections as they never before had a perfect relish of, and which such narrow Breasts, and earthy Souls, were not capable to contain, or to contemplate upon, without making a violent eruption into all the outward demonstrations of an inconceivable satisfaction. 'Twould require a Volume to describe the particularities of those various Scenes of Joy, which they shew'd upon this occasion. Let this suffice, That no Arts of Extravagancy were omitted, whereby to represent their boundless Complacencies. This News gave them so victorious an ascendant over the *English*, that they were now become the scorn and contempt of those individual persons who had been their Slaves and Vassals, insomuch, that the meanest Labourer would now upon the least provocation, threaten to hang his Master. One pleasant instant to this purpose, I cannot omit, the Author being an Ear-witness of it. A Labourer came to his Master very soberly, and told him he owed him a Cow, and bid him give it him presently; the Gentleman laughed at him, for he owed him not a Penney; upon which the Fellow growing angry, the Gentleman called him Rascal, and offered to beat him; but the Servant was not only too quick, but too strong for the Master, whom he was very fairly

ly about to Cudgel; but Company interposing diverted him from his intention: But the Jest still remains, which he spake in *Irish*, but being interpreted runs in *English* thus, **You** English **Curle**, (with an Oath by his Maker and St. *Patrick*) **I will hang thee with these hands, as well as ever thou wast hanged in thy life.** But the poor Gentleman was afraid that he would have given him such an Hanging as is never used but once.

The News of the *Bishops* being committed to the Tower, came some few days before that of the Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, either of which gave them abundantly more joy than they could possibly bear, but being united, put them into strange Convulsions. Their Passions were now outragious, having both these at once upon their hearts, and now that they must vent themselves, 'twas a most difficult thing to restrain their hands from cutting of *throats*, it being natural to them in their drink and reveling Debaucheries, for want of Enemies, to stab one another, and contrary to other Brutes (for they deserve no better Name) they are most mischievous when best pleased. Then is revived an old Quarrel of the Grandfathers (commenced an hundred years ago) and the revenge must be executed, if any of the *Clan* (as they call them) be in the Company.

Before I take leave of our supposed Prince of *Wales*'s Birth, I must not omit to acquaint the Reader of the universal confidence of all the *Irish* in the Kingdom, that the Queen (as soon as 'twas said she had Conceiv'd) was with Child of a Son. This they were so certain of, that they would lay you Twenty Guineas to one, or any other Wager in proportion to that, from the highest to the low-

est

eſt amongſt them. This confidence was much wondered at by the *Engliſh*, and judged to be very unreaſonable, if not built upon ſome private Grounds and Inducements, which I leave the Reader to gueſs at, which ſome amongſt them were certainly acquainted with, whoſe Diſcourſes among the reſt created in them a belief of ſome extraordinary deſign then in agitation: Otherwiſe they would never have been ſo forward in propoſing ſuch extravagant Wagers, which when the *Engliſh* enquir'd the reaſon of, they attributed their great aſſurance to the Prayers of their Infallible Church, which were daily offered to God upon this account, and would undoubtedly meet with a ſuitable return: But it appeared plain enough, that though this was generally aſcribed as the true cauſe of their great confidence, yet that they had other Latent Reaſons which were not fit to be diſcovered.

1688. But to leave this and proceed to other Matters. The Judges of Aſſize even *Daly* that was the juſteſt man amongſt them, and who in the firſt Circuit he went did good ſervice in hanging of his Countreymen, did now this Summer-Circuit favour all Criminals, and having Sheriffs of their own, packed ſuch Juries as neither Murther nor Felony, if committed upon *Proteſtants*, was adjudg'd to be a Crime, and where Matters were ſo apparent, that they could not poſſibly but find them, the utmoſt extremity us'd was *Burning in the Hand*. 'Twas ſaid, that the Lord Deputy had particular Commands from King *James* in this matter for theſe Reaſons. Firſt, They Hanged none but *Catholicks*. For 'tis ſcarce known in an Age (which beſpeaks the

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the great honesty and integrity of the ordinary sort of *Protestants*) that any *English man* turns a *Tory*, or is guilty of Theft.

In the second place, 'twas thought the best way to destroy the *Protestants*, and 'twas observ'd that none were rob'd but **Incorrigible** English **Fanaticks**, as they called them, and those were deemed to be such, that were so inflexible to all their blandishing arts of perswasion, and alluring enticements, as there remained no hopes of their Conversion. Whereas in all parts of *Ireland* there were too too many *Laodicean* and Temporising *Protestants* who being related to the old stock of the Kingdom, could easily shelter themselves under the covert and protection of the *Irish* Gentry and Grandees, and these luke-warm Indifferents were those which the *English* were most afraid of.

The Judges pursued their Instructions to the utmost, and now that notorious principle which the *Church of Rome* is ashamed to own, but daily practises, *That no Faith is to be kept with*, (and give me leave to add) *nor justice given to Hereticks*, was signally demonstrated at this juncture. For now, tho' both Laity and Clergy lay every day more and more under additional grievances, yet 'twas apparent that there was no hopes of any redress. The Laity had not only great arrears of Rent due to them, but still more and more old pretences were reviv'd by the *Irish* of Debts due to them ten or twenty years ago, which they now sued for, as pretending that they could have no justice in the *Protestant Government*, which was the reason they had retarded prosecuting so long, in order to which they wanted not *Knights of the Post*, who for the value of Six-pence in drink, would make as many

false Affidavits against the *English* as they pleased. The Clergy made their complaint to the *Judges* the year before (as I have hinted to you already) as to the obstinacy of the Countrey in the non payment of their small dues, and receiv'd no redress; but now the evils were grown upon them to an higher pitch. The *Priests* were now become so confident in their hopes of establishing *Popery*, that they could no longer contain from shewing their inveterate malice against the *Protestant Clergy*, against whom they endeavour'd to prepossess their people at Mass (over whom they have an unlimitted and Arbitrary power) with all imaginable prejudice and contempt. The *Priests* now suggested to them, that by the same reason that they detained the *lesser* from, they might also refuse the paying the *greater Tyths* to, the *Ministers*, as Corn, Hay, *&c.* They told them that they saw by their own experience, they had been discouraged in their pursuit after the first, and after all their endeavours could get no redress, and now that the *Catholicks* had liberty of their Religion, they saw not why they should not deny them the last: For the Law would not give these to them more than the former. Of right they told them that all the Tythes belonged to them as their proper due, and tho' by the oppression and injustice of the *Protestant Government* they had been kept out of them so long to their apparent prejudice and disadvantage, yet now things were in another posture: They had now a *Catholick King*, and *Catholick Magistrates* of their own, who would not take their dues from them, but rather invest them in them; and therefore charged the people under pain of Excommunication and the severest Anathemas not to pay any manner of Tythes to the *Protestant Ministers.*

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sters. The vulgar *Irish* were so much over-awed with these arts of terrour from their Priests (whose Sentence in any thing they reverence with an equal fear, and alike profound veneration, as if pronounced by the Pope in the Infallible Chair) that none would come to the *Protestant Clergy*, to take Tythes of them, unless these dreadful Imprecations (which if incurr'd they believ'd themselves to be certainly damn'd) were taken off. By this means the great Tythes were like to lie upon the Ministers hands, a great inconveniency in most parts of *Ireland*, where their Parishes being of a vast circumference, and full of Bogs aud Mountainous places, 'twould be difficult, if not impossible almost, to gather their Tythes in kind, at least without having one half of them embezel'd and stole by the *Irish*. This puts the Clergy upon a necessity either of setting out their Tythes in small proportions; or else they must lose them, and in those Countrys where the *Irish* are most numerous, the vulgar sort were wont to take the Tythe, which the *Priests* now prohibiting under the aforesaid Penalties, would (as they were sensible) be an unspeakable loss and mischief to the Ministers, for the reasons already mentioned, which was what they studiously aim'd at, and were desirous to improve, as high as they could.

These malicious practices of the *Priests* put the *Protestant Clergy* to great inconveniencies in the disposal of their Tyths, especially in such Countrys where the *Irish* were most numerous: Most were forced to descend to an accommodation with the Priests, bestowing a considerable proportion of Tythes upon themselves (which was what they drove at) to suffer the ordinary *Irish* to come and buy the rest. Some that would not be abus'd at that

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rate, made their Applications to the Judges of Assize, complaining against these insolent and irregular Proceedings of the Priests. But alas it was not to be expected that these *Catholick Judges* would go and punish their Ghostly Fathers, a very unnatural act in their Religion. In short no Law would be found out to punish them, all that could be gained (and that very rarely) was a civil admonition to them, not to disturb the *Protestant Clergy* in their rights and the like, and so were dismissed, how plain soever the Matter of Fact was proved against them. By this it seemed that those of the Clergy, though not the most Couragious, yet were the most Politick, who dealt privately with the Priests, and by fair words and considerable Largesses of Tythe-Corn, *&c.* prevail'd upon them to be quiet: for the meek and filial regard of these Judges to their Worthy Fathers, served but to make them the more insulting and imperious over the Ministers, who still animated the Countrey against them, and at last to that height that several of the *Irish* in many Parishes violently seized upon the Tythe-Corn, *&c.* and converted it to their own use, neither suffering any other to buy it, nor any Servant of the Ministers to come upon the Land to collect it.

But to leave this Affair of the Clergy, and to joyn them and the Laity together, if it happened that for money due by Bills under Hand and Seal, or by clear and unquestionable Evidence, Executions were obtain'd from the Judges against any of the *Irish*, then had the Natives another refuge to shelter themselves under, and to fly to that of an *Irish Sheriff*, who would carefully decline all opportunities of taking the Party; or if he could not avoid apprehending him, then would either suffer him

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him to make a voluntary escape, or else an hundred two of Men should lie in the way, and rescue him from the Gaol; or if they wanted force, the whole Countrey of the *Irish* would rise up and assist them, if the Debt was due to an *English Churle*, as they called them. These things so encouraged the *Irish* that had Executions over them, that they would come and hector those of the *English* (to whom they owed the Money) in the open street, and with their Swords by their sides, and Fire-Arms and Skeens in their Pockets (the last a bloody large Knife, with which they are wont to stab the *English*, and not seldom one another) with half a dozen or more lusty Rogues at their backs, would come to their Doors, and bid them publick defiance.

Thus were the *English* either deny'd justice against the *Irish*, or if they obtain'd it from the Judges, yet they were sure not to meet with it in the Sheriff, and so have no other return of all their trouble, but the contracting additional cost to their former Debt from one Assizes to another, which was like to continue *in infinitum*, and all to no purpose, unless that of enhansing the charges far above the principal Debt, and still be out of both. On the contrary hand, if an *Irish-man* had but any tolerable plea for a debt due from a *Protestant*, a decree was presently granted, and as for the Sheriffs execution of it, 'twas as swift as his implacable hatred could carry him, and then be sure no failure was committed in the severe usage of the Debtor, whether in relation to Body or Goods: If the last, then must three times value of the Debt be taken, and apprais'd by *Irish-men* appointed for the purpose, who, the Reader may presume, would not put too large an estimate upon them? 'twould fill a Volume

lume to give the particular instances of such violent and irregular actions done, to the Authors own knowledge. But I proceed.

1688. Now came by a Ship from *Amsterdam* bound to *Dublin* with Letters from a Friend of *Tyrconnel*'s to him, which intimated, that he writing nothing but his own Conjecture, did imagin that the *Prince of Orange* had a design against *England*, for none could otherwise guess what all those great preparations in *Holland*, which they were so extream hot upon, tended to. *Tyrconnell* sent this Letter over to *Sunderland*, who shew'd it to the King, who made no other use of it than to deride *Tyrconnel*, as appear'd from *Sunderland*'s Writing to him, and ridiculing his intelligence. But every day usher'd in fresh suspicions, the effect whereof was look'd upon as very strange, as being a thing which was wish'd for both by Friends and Enemys. The *Irish* (to shew their ancient Vanity) triumphed before the Victory: They called the *English*, *Rebels*, by way of Prediction; for they were sure that they would joyn with the *Prince*, and as certain that they would be beaten, and be served the same sawce that *Monmouth* and his Adherents had met with, only that they now spoke more bloodily, and in more *Malicious* and *Butcherly* expressions against the *Prince of Orange*, **Whose Head they would stick on a Pole, and carry it round the Kingdom.** For near a Month this was only discoursed of, but at last arrived King *James*'s Proclamation, and then the *English* began to consider what they should do. The most considerable persons amongst them hastened to *Dublin* to see how things stood. The *Irish* also flocked thither in such Multitudes, that the City could

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could not contain them; yet the soberer and more prudent party were for sitting still, and some for going over to *England*, as being differently possessed with various fears and distractions, and when the happy News arriv'd of the *Prince's Landing*, they hung down their Heads like Bullrushes, and were under the greatest desperation and despondency; and on the contrary, the *English* bore up as victors: *Tyrconnell* courted them, and made every day preparations for flight.

Yet the Term was then begun at *Dublin*, and the *Ld. C. J. Nugent* (than whom perhaps the Bench never bore a more *Confident Ignorant Irish-man*) gave the Charge to the *Grand Jury*. in which he applauded and extolled above the height of an Hyperbole, the Magnanimous and Heroick Actions of the *Great* and *Just King James*; and on the contrary cast the most vilifying Reproaches upon the *Prince of Orange*, and charged them to make a diligent disquisition after any that were suspected to adhere to his interest, with such opprobious expressions fit only for the Mouth of an *Irish Vultur*, or *Cannibal*; his conclusion was, That now the *States of Holland* were weary of the *Prince*, and that they had sent him over to be dress'd as *Monmouth* was, but that was too good for him, And that he doubted not before a Month passed, to hear, that they were hung up all over England in Bunches like Ropes of Onyons.

About this time, as a Prelude to what has since followed, was one *Swan* a Gentleman near *Dublin*, most barbarously Murthered by the *Sheriff*, and a parcel of *Irish Ruffins*. The pretence the Sheriff had, was to take possession of some Land that an *Irish-* 1688.

Irishman had recovered from the said *Swan*, but with so little right, that the *Irish Judges* in the *Exchequer* (a Demonstration indeed, that 'twas palpably unjust) refused to grant the Injunction; however their Tool, *Worth*, did it, and the cry is, *That the Blood of that Man lies at his door*: But the *Sheriff* exceeded the Tenour of his Warrant; for he had nothing to do with the House nor Land it stood upon. *Swan* therefore kept his House, and the Sheriff coming to take possession, *Swan* looked out of the Window, and desired him to call a *Jury* of that Neighbourhood, and if they found that Land or House in his order from the Exchequer, he would give quiet possession; but otherwise he would not open his Doors, for he was very sure the Sheriff had no order to come there. Upon this, without any offer of *Swan*, more than keeping his Door shut, the Sheriff having his Men ready, a number of them together, discharged a Volley of Shot at him as he stood in his Window, and shot him in several places: they broke open his Doors, and finding him wallowing in Blood, and groaning upon the Floor, they took him up, and flung him out of Doors. Some more Compassionate than the rest carried him into a Cabin, where he had so much strength as to ask for Drink. In his House there was of several sorts enough, but those *Inhumane Butchers* would not give the Dying Man a drop, who died there in the place. This Horrible Tragedy I thought fit not to omit the relation of, (though by way of Digression) as being but the introductory part of too many of the like Barbarities repeated since.

Every day by all ways Expresses came to *Tyrconnell*, which gave him no good account of Affairs, which made him give Commissions to any that would

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would accept of them, and that he might have the more custom without a penny of Fees to the Secretary: For many of them that had Commissions, pawned them for their Lodgings at their going out of Town, not having a Penny to carry them along, but pawning their very Cloaths off their Backs as they Travelled.

The *English* and some of the best of themselves laughed at this Poppet-play, for no man believed that 'twas designed for more than a shew, and that *Tyrconnel* did it to make good his Word, of **being able to raise an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men at a Months notice.**

Every day brought an additional account of the Prince of *Orange*'s success, which put the Grandees into so great a terrour, and consternation, that those who at first had expressed a great deal of alacrity and forwardness amongst them, in raising of Men, began now to decline, and by degrees more and more to draw back. Then the Lord Deputy sent to the Judges, and the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, (to shew his valour) undertook to raise a Regiment, and so others pretended to do, but it came to nothing. The *Irish* were in greater trouble and confusion than before, the *English* braving it in City and Country, every day expecting to have an *English* Lord Lieutenant over, it being the unanimous opinion of all the *Protestants*, that the *Irish* Lords would have contended who should be the first Man to make their submission: but no relief coming to the *English* as was expected, some began to draw for *England*, when an unexpected Catastrophe had like to have swallowed all up. 'Twas the Earl of *Mount Alexander*'s receiving of a Letter, giving him an account,

1688. That upon the Ninth of that Instant *December* all the *Protestants* of *Ireland* were to be cut off. This Letter he sends with several Copies to *Dublin*, and to all parts of the Kingdom; it arrived at *Dublin* but on *Friday*, and the *Sunday* following, was to be the day of Slaughter. This suddain alarum struck such a fear upon the *English*, that upon the *Saturday* there got away about *Three Thousand Souls*. There happened to be abundance of Ships in the Harbour at that time, but were so crammed that many were in danger of being stifled.

The Run of these people happened to be so suddain, and in the middle of the Night, that it resembled the flight of the *Jews* out of *Egypt*, and the *Irish* were as desirous to have them gone, for some of them were in as great a terrour as the other. The Guards kept their Post in a Maze, and the Draw-bridge of the Castle was drawn up, thus they stood upon their Guard till Morning, and when *Tyrconnel* understood what the matter was, he first sent the Earl of *Roscommon*, and the Earl of *Longford* to *Ringsend* (this being *Sunday* Morning) to perswade the People to stay, and ordered the Yatcht to sail after them that were gone, and to fetch them back, but neither of his Orders succeeded: And the same day sent to some of the most Considerable Persons, and Citizens of *Dublin*, that were *Protestants*, making great Protestations and Oaths of his utter abhorrence of the pretended design of Massacring the *English*, begging them to perswade their Friends not to stir.

'Twas by all his actions at this juncture sufficiently apparent, that he had then no thoughts of standing out, notwithstanding that he gave Commissions to every one that would accept of them:

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For he now made great Court to the *English*, desiring several of them to testifie how just and equal he had always been in his Government to the *Protestants*. This was a condescention to the *English*, which carried no proportion with the imperiousness of his former carriage to them, and was accordingly interpreted as an effect of inevitable necessity, and of that great Consternation, of which such eminent Characters were plainly legible in all the Circumstances of his Deportment; for he now discovered as much awe and dread of the success of the Prince of *Orange*'s Arms, as upon the first News of his Arrival he had done of disdain and contempt: Every Action he did had deep Marks of his Fears engraven upon it, and all his Discourses expressed his disordered and evil apprehensions of the present tendency of Affairs.

But as Matters were in this great hurry and confusion at the Castle, so is it not easie to set forth the strange Effects and Consequences which attended that suddain alarum in the City of an intended Universal Massacre: There you might see Thousands of People deserting their Houses, and all their Substance in the World, and running to the Ships with scarce any *Cloaths* upon their Backs.

Never was seen such a Consternation as at this time: Never such a Confusion and Distraction. All the Bloody Massacres in the former Rebellion were now reflected upon under the most ghastly and dismal Representations, and those Scenes of barbarity and cruelty seem'd to threaten the same or worse usage, which produc'd the greatest horrour and amazement, grief and despair, that humane nature could be capable of.

This fatal News which had so terrify'd the *Pro-*

testants of *Dublin*, as if the dissolution of all things had been at hand, arrived not to several parts of the Kingdom, till the very day 'twas to be put in execution, which being *Sunday*, was brought to the People in the time of Divine Service in some places, which struck them with such suddain apprehensions of immediate destruction, that the Doors not allowing quick passage enough, by reason of the Crowd, abundance of persons made their escapes out of the Windows, and in the greatest fright and disorder that can be represented, the Men leaving their Hats and Perriwigs behind them, some of them had their Cloaths torn to pieces, others were trampled underfoot, and the Women in a worse condition than the men. And this disturbance did not only continue for this day, but for several *Sundays* after, the *Protestants* were in such a Consternation and terrour, that all, or most of them carried Fire Arms, and other Weapons to Church with them, and the very Ministers went armed into the Pulpit, and Centinels stood at the Church-doors all the while that they were in the Church. But whether this (which created so great a fear and uproar among the *Protestants* in all parts of the Kingdom) were a real thing designed, or whether by that discovery prevented, I leave it to others to judge and determin; but certain it is, that never any thing which happened in the Kingdom (no not all the occasions of fear which were given to the *English* in the daily Progress of *Popery* in the late *King James*'s Reign, or even that of *Tyrconnel*'s coming to the Government) made so great a fright among the *Protestants* as this.

1688. From this time we may commence those unheard of acts of rapin and spoil, which the *Irish* be-

began to exercise upon the *English*, such unparallel'd Villanies of open Robbery and Violence as no History can equalize, no time produce, or scarce any Nation (however so barbarous) have been known to be guilty of, at least never any that had the Culture of a Moral, much less of a Christian Education, or that were so far civilized as to be reduced to any sense of humanity, or to submission to Law and Government.

'Twas a Principle long imbibed by the Natives of that *Kingdom*, and which a continued practice had given some proof and demonstration of, that 'twas no crime to rob or steal from an *English-man* as being an *Heretick*, and deem'd a publick enemy to their Religion, as well as to their individual interests. Though this principle was too notorious to be own'd and defended, and in that respect, is of a like cognation with too many of the *Romish* Church; yet their actions evidenced the truth of it; I mean not of the Principle it self, but of their being of that Opinion. For 'twas plain, that their forbearing to ravage and destroy the substance of the *English*, when under the *Protestant* Government, was to be attributed to a fear of the Laws, or rather of the Penalties annexed to the breach of them, which had hitherto in some measure curb'd and restrained them from violence; and not to any Principle of Conscience, or distributive Justice. On the contrary they were so far from respecting it as a Crime to injure the *English* in what they could, (as is already touched upon) that they look'd upon it as an act of merit. *Quo jure, quâque injuriâ, ——per fasque, nefasque.* If they could contrive any way to prejudice them in their substance or Estates, though by the most sinister and impious devi-

devices, 'twas a leſſening of the *Purgatory Flames*, if not a quite Extinguiſhing; at leaſt, 'twas a nearer ſtep to *Paradiſe*.

But although this vile Maxim was induſtriouſly conceal'd amongſt them, and though at the bottom of their hearts did only break out now and then whilſt they were kept under ſubmiſſion and obedience to the *Engliſh*, and this for fear of an Human, not any Divine Law; yet when the face of things chang'd to their advantage in the Reign of the late *King James*, and amongſt many others, the Laws againſt notorious Criminals, and publick Malefactors, if *Iriſh men*, if not quite cancell'd, were much diſpenſed with: Then the Natives ſhewed themſelves in their proper Colours, and manfully apply'd themſelves to rob and ſteal from the *Engliſh*, which though it was a continued practice in all the aforeſaid Reign, yet never arriv'd to its maturity till this time. Now all things were in confuſion, and the Reins of Government ſeemed to be let looſe by reaſon of the preſent Diſtractions. This therefore they looked upon to be their Harveſt, which they were reſolved to make uſe of, as induſtriouſly as they could; and in order thereunto would go in great Crouds in the Night-time with Fire Arms, and other Weapons, and ſteal an hundred or two hundred Head of Cattle at once from an *Engliſh-man*. This practice continued ſo long, till many *Engliſh* Gentlemen, and ſubſtantial Farmers. who had ſeveral hundreds of Black Cattle, and Sheep, *&c.* had not one left; ſo that thoſe who had lived in great Hoſpitality and Plenty, had not now Bread to eat, or any thing left to preſerve them from ſtarving. This Calamity was almoſt Univerſal throughout the whole Kingdom, though

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in some Counties more than in others; and I have been told, That in some County in the Province of *Munster*, Eleven Thousand Cattle were stole by the *Irish* in nine days; and that hardly one *English* Gentleman or Farmer in all that Countrey had above two or three Cows left; and that for forty Miles together the *Irish* Cabbins were full of Beef stolen from the *English*, which they did not so much as bestow Salt upon, but hung it up in the Smoak; and that it stunk and look'd as bad as any Carrion.

This I have by relation of some of that County, who are persons of very good Credit, but not being an Eye-witness of it, shall leave it to the Reader to judge; only this is certain, That an incredible havock was made by the *Irish* in all parts of the Kingdom: But I leave these Cannibals to devour one another, after consuming in this Barbarous and Impolitick manner, the Cattle and Breed of the Countrey, which in all probability will occasion a famine, or very great scarcity in that miserable Kingdom.

'Twas exceeding strange, and unaccountable to see the *English* possess'd with such various distractions upon the news of the intended Massacre already mentioned, some running to the North of *Ireland* among the *Scots*, others to the *Isle of Man*, and abundance for *England*, to shelter themselves; when at the same time, all that had any sense believed, that *Tyrconnel* would be the first Man in the Government that would endeavour his Escape: for most of his Goods of value were already pack'd up, and some of his Treasure Ship'd. In this posture they continued till *January*, and then some of the *Irish* Lords moved to have him surrender the *Sword*, and the whole *Council board* gave it for their opinion;

on; to which he only replied, **Would they have him throw it over the Wall, for there was none to take it.** Thus unhappy was the delay, which with too much reason may be feared to lie at the Door of Sir [redacted] here, and his friend *Keating* in *Ireland*, two Men that rais'd their fortunes in the last Settlement, and were making provision for the same Work again; and 'tis remarkable, that [redacted], Brother to these here, is (as 'tis said) the most active among the *Irish* at this day; and Sir [redacted] Houses the only Sacred place from violence in *Dublin*. But of this Intrigue more may be expected, and time will shew, since the *Honourable House of Commons* have taken that matter into their prudent Consideration.

The deplorable Effects and Consequences attending the wrong measures taken for the reduction of that Kingdom, are perhaps, if duly reflected upon in all their Circumstances, more doleful than the Massacre and Rebellion there in *Forty One*, tho' 'tis much less considered: and it seems a Work becoming the great Council of this Nation to bring the Authors of it to condign punishment.

But to return to the last debate betwixt *Tyrconnel* and his Council. They were all of them in amaze, and in great confusion: What to do they knew not, all of them were unanimous in their Resolutions to submit, except the Lord Chief Justice *Nugent*, and the Lord Chief Baron *Rice*. The Priests put off their Wolves cloathing, and in most parts of the Kingdom turn'd Sparks with their Swords by their sides and Perriwigs upon their Heads. In this Month the *Irish* assembled together in great Bodies by the name of Raperees, armed with Skeens and Half Pikes, and what Robberies they

they left unacted upon the *English* in the Relation aforementioned, those they now compleated, killing their Cattle, and robbing and pillaging their Houses. Now their new Levies were Mustering every day, and their Priests exercising the fresh rais'd Soldiers, and *Hamilton*'s Arrival from *England*, put them upon new resolutions, which necessitated the *English* to fortifie themselves, and to associate together for their own preservation, against which Proclamations were issued out in the North, and at *London-derry*, and then followed the same in other parts of the Kingdom, commanding them home to their respective Dwellings, and that such as did not immediately observe the Proclamation, should be proceeded against by the Attorney General as Traytors. This Proclamation was signed by several *Protestants* of the Privy-Council, which was fatal to the *English*, in regard that it possessed many of them with a belief, that there was not so much danger as they were afraid of; and others it put in fears of the Law. So that upon the whole matter, they were diverted from any thoughts of making their defence, and so were dispersed and scattered up and down, and by that means became an easie Prey to the *Irish*.

Every day brought in new hopes and fears, so that some got together again of the *English* near *Kilkenny* and the Queens County, who were soon dispersed. Still the Lord Deputy and Council remained in suspence what to resolve upon, when upon a suddain they came to a conclusion, which might quiet the *Irish* Lords that were for submission to the Prince and Government of *England*. The Project was this, That two Men should be pitched upon, and sent over to the late King *James* in *France*,

only to set forth the impossibility of their holding out against *England*, and then they were sure to obtain permission to make terms, and so might surrender. But this was a *Jesuitical Stratagem*, contrived by *Rice* and *Neagle*, and as one of them brag'd since, carry'd on without the privity of any but the *Lord Deputy*, and themselves. For they were afraid of the Cowardly Temper of the rest, whose inclinations were favourable enough to the Cause, but wanted Courage and Resolution. The Scheme being thus laid, 'twas moved at Conncil, and took with general Applause. *Rice*, and the Lord *Mountjoy* were pitched upon to be sent; and in the conclusion of this Affair at Council-Board, the Lord Chief Justice *Keating* believing now that their hopes of King *James* were over, thought to begin with the first to shew his Zeal and Affection to the *Protestant Cause*, and in order to that moved, that since they were resolved on this method, that his Excellency would put a stop to the raising Men, which was agreed to, but not in the least observed.

1688. *Mountjoy* and *Rice* proceed in their Negotiation, and take Shipping at *Waterford*, but before they arrived at *Paris*, the *French* Engineer Landed at *Corke*, and from thence rid with all expedition for *Dublin*. Then the face of things looked with a far different prospect to what they had done before, and those little hopes which had supported the *English* till this time, did now evaporate into nothing, which put them upon a necessity of associating together, and of getting into Castles and the best places of strength, they had for the defence and preservation of their Lives.

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In *Connaught*, the Lord *Kingſtone* behaved himſelf like the Son of ſo Noble a Father, whoſe hand the *Iriſh* had felt in the former Rebellion.

In the *North*, Sir *Arthur Royden* did the like, but a fate attended him that he could not divert. In *Munſter* the *Engliſh* were thought to be more conſiderable than in any part of *Ireland*, both for Horſe and Foot; of the latter more than three thouſand, and numbers of brave Gentlemen of gallant Courage and reſolution, and of will enough to back it, to have drove the *Iriſh* out of that Province, and to have march'd through the Kingdom, *Cork*, *Bandon*, *Kingſale*, and *Toughall* being offered to be delivered into their hands, which was ſo openly and indiſcreetly managed, that it became the publick diſcourſe for a Month together in every Coffee-houſe in *Dublin*. At this time there were not ſeven hundred old Soldiers in the whole County of *Corke*, which forc'd *Juſtin Mac Carthy* to write daily to *Tyrconnel*, that he could not hold out, without a ſpeedy ſupply of Men, which yet *Tyrconnel* could not ſpare; for he was afraid of an inſurrection in the *North*, and 'twas believ'd in *Dublin*, that if they in *Munſter* had done any thing, all parts of *Ireland* had been ſecure in the *Engliſh* hands, except *Lynſter*; for that *Tyrconnell* could have ſpared none of his own Forces from himſelf, and the new raiſed men then knew not the right from the left, if fame be true. The fault lay but in two Men, but that being publick, time will ſhew it, and my work here is to relate nothing but what there is good authority for.

Matters were now reduced to that extremity, 1688.
that no courſe remained to preſerve the *Engliſh*, but

that of making their escape; for they were disarmed in one day throughout the Kingdom, and that order executed with so much rigour, that few persons of whatsoever quality were permitted to wear their Swords. In the Corporations they shut up the Gates, and suffered none to pass in or out without searching them strictly for arms, and when they came to search in their Houses, under pretence that the *English* had conceal'd their Arms, they sometimes seiz'd upon what Plate or Money they could meet with during this hurly-burly, which lasted for several days together, most of the Horses which belong'd to *English* Gentlemen and Farmers in the Countrey were violently seized upon for the King's use, as was pretended, and several hundreds were brought into the Corporations, which were Garrisoned with *Irish* Soldiers, who quartered upon Private, as well as Publick-Houses of the *English*, which were so full of them that they had scarce Beds for themselves to lie in. They now were in daily expectation of the Landing of the late King *James*: And this possessed them with so triumphant a joy, that the more to discourage the *English*, they not only gave out that he was arrived, when there was no such thing, but rung the Bells, made Bonfires, the Mayor and Aldermen in several Corporations drinking the King's Health, and the like. But this imaginary formality was but a prelude to the succeeding Triumph, to the real Landing of the late King. And then what they had done before in *Effigie*, or in empty show, they now performed substantially, and to the life. 'Tis beyond any thing of human art to imagine, much more to describe the greatness of their joy at this time, and therefore I shall not attempt a representation, which would

would come infinitely short of those extravagant Pageantries which were now acted. Publick fame has already given some account of it, and to that I refer the Reader.

I have now given (as without vanity and ostentation I may affirm it) as true and impartial a Relation as is possible, of the design the Abdicated King had from the happy Restauration of King *Charles* the Second, to make *Ireland* the refuge (if all other endeavours proved unsuccessful) for his Catholick Friends: and 'tis plain that 'twas the *French* Allyance, (which he always *assiduously* made Court to) upon which he depended in the accomplishment of this Intrigue. The *Irish* were very sensible of it, and since his accession to the Crown, would frequently boast, that if *England* should upon King *James*'s Death, or any other misfortune, devolve into the *Protestants* hands, that they made no doubt of preserving *Ireland*, by the power of the *French*, and that the *Prince of Orange* (whom they always dreaded) would have his hands full at home: but that Soveraign Providence, *by whom Kings Reign, and Princes decree justice*, has to the great astonishment of other Nations, most miraculously confounded all the wicked devices of his Adversaries, and preserved him to sit upon the Imperial Throne of these Kingdoms (where may he long Reign) not only to maintain the true *Reformed Religion* in his own Dominions, but to enlarge the best part of his Titles, **Defender of the Faith**, throughout the whole *Christian* World For so indeed (whatever opinion some prejudiced Men amongst us may have) do all the **Reformed Churches** of *Europe* esteem him to be.

I thought

I thought to have put a period to this Discourse in this place, but observing the complaints of many that are fled from *Ireland* (whose miseries may indeed allow them grains.) I shall beg leave to animadvert a little as to their mistakes in the hard usage which they think they have received here, in not being all immediately reprized by the King's Bounty.

I shall not say what is too apparent of some who came from thence, and would shelter themselves among Honest Men, as most of them are generally believed to be: yet even in this Relation where they could not be left out, without making it imperfect, some are found faulty, and yet may pretend as fair as the best.

Every day produces additional reasons why the King cannot be too cautious in whom he confides; and 'tis to be feared that some of *Ireland* are not quite exempt from all suspicion as well as others in *England*.

But then as for those whose deserts have entituled them to his Majesty's good opinion, such as for their affection to the *Protestant Interest* and *Religion*, have been divested of their substance, and are in present want, those we see are not out of his Majesty's Gracious Care, and Princely Consideration. For how many, I was about to say, how few, are excluded from Commands in the Army that desired it; besides all that had Commands formerly, and could not be employed, have half pay allowed them for their present subsistence. And then as for the poorer sort, his Majesty was before-hand in making provision for them, in issuing out his Brief for a General Collection throughout the whole Kingdom; which Charity has been gratefully acknow-

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knowledged by that most Reverend and Pious Archbishop of *Tuam*, in a Sermon at St. *James*'s.

There now remains only some part of the Clergy and Gentlemen unprovided for. As for the Clergy, his Majesty graciously considering their condition, did (soon after his accession to the *Crown*) graciously order, that whatever Benefices in his Gift should become vacant, should be conferr'd upon them, besides the supply which the Brief affords them for the present. Hence we may observe, to what a narrow compass the noise of Forty Thousand People is reduced to, there being, according to the best account that is given, not Seven Hundred Men that are not, in some respect, or other, competently provided for. But that I may not be thought to have incurred a mistake in this computation, it must be observed, That a great part of the List given in to the *House of Commons*, are Men of Estates, or Money here in *England*; and though perhaps some of those make the greatest clamour, yet would it better become them to relieve their Distressed Brethren, than to abate the Charity, which the Parliament with great generosity, and a Christian compassion designed for the support of such as were really in a poor and an indigent condition. All I here say is matter of fact, and how partially soever his Majesty's present management may be misinterpreted by some; yet 'tis certain, that his silent, but wonderful conduct, in the provision for the Distressed *Protestants* of *Ireland* ought to be engraven in Golden *Characters*, and not defaced by the unreasonable *Clamours* of such, who would devour that which they have no want of, and consequently no just claim and title unto, to the apparent injury of their suffering and necessitous

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ſitous Brethren, which the Parliament have moſt humbly ſupplicated his Majeſty for, who (no doubt) will in the moſt prudent and diſcreet manner, make ſuch a proviſion as will beſpeak his Royal Bounty and Charitable ſenſe of their condition, as well as be proportionable to their preſſing and great Neceſſities.

FINIS.

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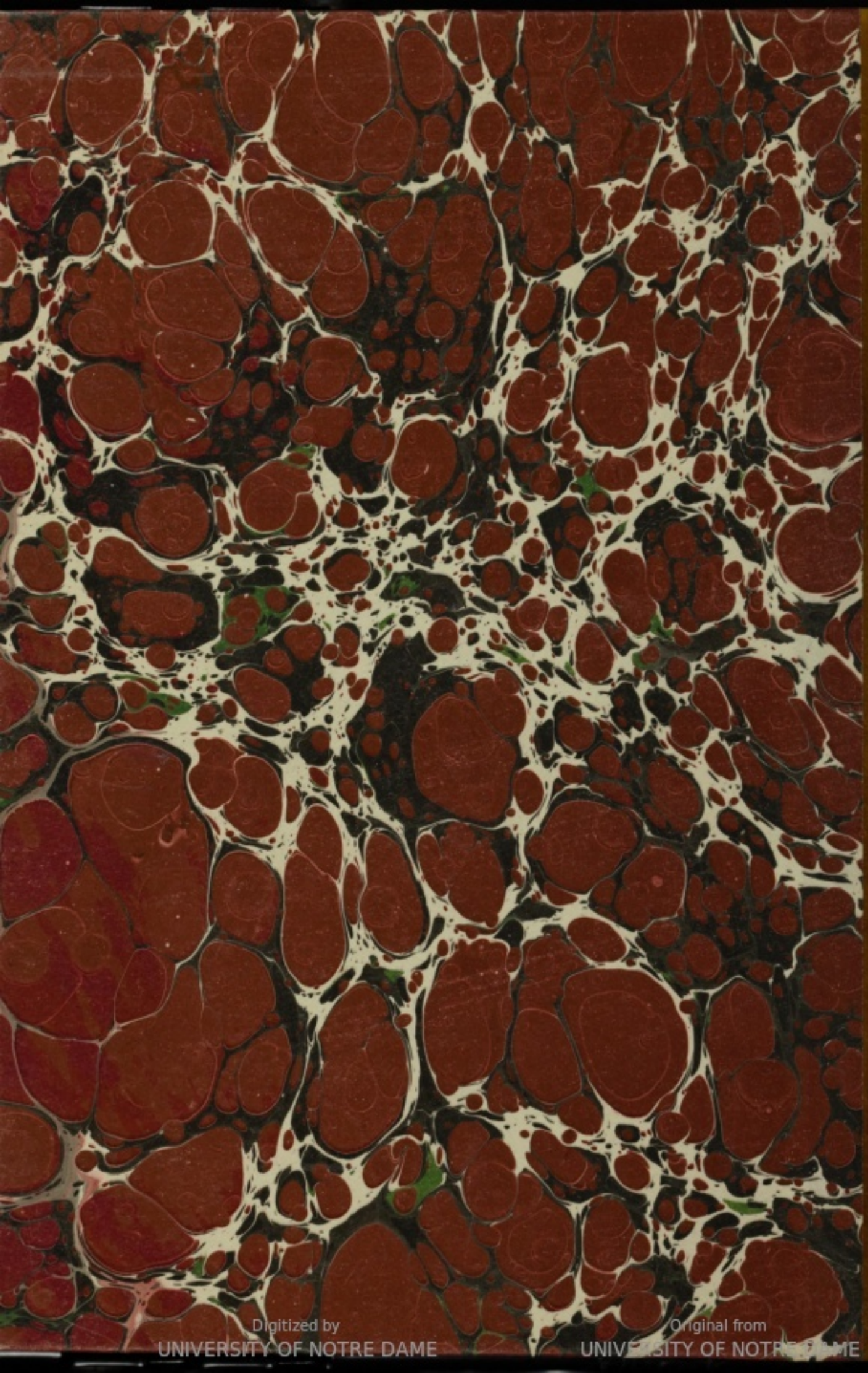
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THE SECRET INTRIEGUES OF THE ROMISH PARTY IN IRELAND.

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