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By J.C. Wing C74 [5/3] [5/5]

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THE

STATE

OF THE

Papiſt and Proteſtant

PROPRIETIES

IN THE

Kingdom of Ireland,

IN THE

Year 1641. when the then *Rebellion* began, and how diſpoſed in 1653. when the *War* and *Rebellion* was declared at an End, and how diſpoſed in 1662. upon the *Acts* of *Settlement*, and how the Proprieties ſtand this preſent Year 1689. with the Survey, Loſs, Coſt and Charge of both Parties by the aforeſaid War, or Rebellion:

WITH

Inferences and *Expoſtulations* from thewhole, faithfully Calculated in ſo concile a Method and Order as was never done before: Humbly tendred to the Conſideration of the KINGS moſt Excellent MAJESTY, and the PARLIAMENT of LORDS and COMMONS now Sitting at *Weſtminſter*.

To which is added,

A Liſt of the preſent Nobility of *IRELAND Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*.

LONDON,

Printed for *Richard Baldwin* in the *Old-Baily*. 1689.

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TO THE
KINGS
Most Excellent
MAJESTY.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

AS *it hath pleaſed the Eternal Providence to make Your* Majeſty *the Illuſtrious Inſtrument of Saving theſe Three Kingdoms, now under Your happy Government, from an Inundation of* Popery *and* Slavery, *juſt ready to break down the Banks of their* Ancient Laws *and* Liberties: *So is it the Duty of every particular Perſon, to the utmoſt of his Abilities, to proſtrate at Your Royal Feet, thoſe Lights and Diſcoveries, which he may have gained by long Experience and Obſervation; to the end Your* Majeſty *may the better be Enabled, by the General Survey of the State of Affairs, in any of Your Kingdoms, and a fair Proſpect of their paſt ill Government, to apply thoſe Remedies which Your* Majeſty *in Your Great Princely Wiſdom and Prudence, ſhall deem moſt conducing to the Eſtabliſhment of their future Happineſs: Since it is yet undetermin'd among the moſt deeply Learned, by which means a* Potent Monarch *gains the moſt durable Renown, whether by Erecting a New Fabrick of Dominion, or by Reforming the Errors of an* Ancient Conſtitution.

Theſe Papers *therefore, may it pleaſe Your* Majeſty, *falling into my Hands, and being by my ſelf Imparted to ſome* Perſons *of* Eminent Degree, *and better acquain-*

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ted with the Affairs *of* Ireland, *I was encouraged to believe, That it would be no Unkindneſs done to the* Author, *to Proſtrate them with all Humility to Your* Majeſtys *Royal Conſideration; That ſo Your* Majeſty *might with leſs Trouble underſtand the preſent Condition of that Your Kingdom, in reference to the Partial Diſpoſal of the Lands and Poſſeſſions in that Kingdom; whereby it doth manifeſtly appear, what* Intereſt *prevail'd in the Puniſhment (if ſo it may be called) of the Subdued* Iriſh *for all the Maſſacres they committed, and all the Blood they ſpilt in the late* Rebellion, *as if the* Iriſh *had Rebelled to be the only* Gainers, *and the* Engliſh *had expended ſo much* Treaſure, *and the* Lives *of ſo many Thouſands to be the only Looſers in the Diſtributions of their* Conqueſts; *The Victors not being permitted to enjoy what they had juſtly won by the Sword, while the* Iriſh *were reſtored to what they had as truly forfeited by their Cruel* Diſloyalty, *by which partial Piece of* Juſtice, *the* Victors *were indeed ſubdued, and the Conquered were in the Concluſion victorious.*

All which being fully made out in the following Sheets, I thought it my Duty, *moſt humbly to add this ſmaller Offering of my ſincere Integrity to ſerve Your* Majeſty, *to the better Aſſiſtance and Information of* Perſons *more able though of none more ready and zealous to approve himſelf by all the ſtricteſt* Performances *of* Loyalty *and* Allegiance,

Your Majeſties moſt humble, obedient
and faithful Subject and Servant.

J. C

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This LETTER, *and the Calculations annexed were Traſmitted from* Dublin, *to the late* King JAMES *the* Second *in the Year* 1688. *Some few Weeks before* His Highneſs *the* PRINCE *of* ORANGE *Landed in* ENGLAND.

May it pleaſe Your Majeſty,

THE true intent of Your Majeſty's moſt humble Orator, by this and his former Addreſs, being to give *Truth* a releaſe from the common reſtraints of fear, flattery or favour, that ſo Your Majeſty having a true repreſentation of Perſons and things here, may be the better enabled and encouraged to apply ſuitable and ſeaſonable Remedies, to the moſt deſperate Maladies of this late happy, but now moſt miſerable, Country.

Your Majeſty cannot but know, that moſt Princes, have by advantageous Experience, found publick truths made known by private when ſuppreſſed by publick Perſons, yet that the Mattets herein contained might contract no prejudice, by the obſcure Inſtrument that conveys it.

As in his former Letter, he humbly referred the Particulars to a Perſon of greater Circumſtances of Credit with Your Majeſty, then can be found in this Country. And as to the Calculations hereunto annexed, Your Majeſty will find their Credit moſt ſupported on your own Records, and where thoſe are defective, that ſupply is made by thoſe probable Conjectures, which are as well as the Records in themſelves evident, thoſe Conjectures being either grounded on that common principle of Commutative Juſtice, or ſubjected to the Menſurations of the *Altitude*, and *Magnitude*, of Cœleſtial bodies, made by *Aſtronomers*, which are demonſtrable, may, and muſt be more, but cannot be leſs, then thoſe Computations makes them.

I know that the loſs of Five Millions and Five Hundreds and Fifty Thouſands, mentioned in the Foot of the annext Eſtimate, as loſt by a leſs then two Years, *Iriſh* Government, ſeems to be a prodigious, and an incredible loſs;

But

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But that Sum not appearing to be a Third of the whole value of the Kingdom, and it being manifeſt, that at leaſt one fourth of the Houſes in this City of *Dublin* are now waſt, and that Houſe-rent here and elſewhere are fallen at leaſt one Third of their former Annual value, and that Lands in the Country are generally fallen more then one Fourth, and the Inheritance now refuſed at Eight Years Purchaſe, which would not before have been ſold for near double that value.

Some here and thoſe none of the meaneſt Criticks in Calculations, drawing Inferences from the aforeſaid premiſes, do conclude that this Kingdom is ſunk more than a moyety of its intrinſic value, within the ſaid time.

Eſpecially when they add to the aforeſaid conſiderations, the great Impair of the *Britiſh* Trade. The *Traders* now left, being not worth a Moyety of thoſe we have loſt, and theſe ſeeming rather prepared for flight then ſtay.

While by the open packing of *Iriſh Juries*, corrupting of Evidence, and Partiality of *Iriſh Judges*, they ſee it in the *Natives* Power to take what *Britiſh* Life or Eſtate they pleaſe, and to make the moſt Innocent Perſon ſuffer as the greateſt Malefactor; and all the while not ſeemingly break any Law by ſo doing. It is well known that upwards of Fifty Indictments were found by *Iriſh Evidence* againſt the *Britiſh* who were moſt Celebrated for *Loyalty* in this Kingdom; who though they were afterwards all acquitted as being Innocent, had yet in all probability ſuffered as Traytors, had not the unexpected coming of the Earl of *Clarendon* to the Government, and his appointing *Proteſtant Sheriffs* broke thoſe Snares.

Your Majeſty ſo well knowing the Validity of Oaths; as to the Proof of Crimes and Titles by the *Engliſh* Laws, will eaſily believe what fatal Execution a people let looſe may do on a people bound by thoſe Cords; Eſpecially where Perjury is, by ſome held no Sin, by moſt a venial Sin, and by others a duty. How often do we now ſee forged Deeds, formerly moſt juſtly condemn'd, revived; how often do we ſee and that to the great Scandal of Juſtice and

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and Government, Your Majesties *Irish* Councel making use of Your Majesties Name, as Highway men do of your *Publick Road*, that they may the better violate your Law, rob your Subjects, and enrich themselves, and Pirate-like, make all prize that are weaker and wealthier than themselves?

How often do we hear the poor *British* reflecting on the late bad and miserable times, when the *Irish* made all the *British* within their reach either accessaries to their Guilt, or Subject to their Wrath? When in six Months time without Comiseration to Sex or Age without any Opposition or Provocation they Murthered upwards of one hundred thousand *British* in one Province of this Kingdom, and that with all imaginable Circumstances of Cruelty and Barbarity? All which must be true or the Records taken on your Father of blessed memories Commission, reciting Circumstances of time, place and number of Persons so Murthered must be all false, and had the Government, Garrisons and Army been then, as now, in the *Irish* hands, it is more then probable, there had not one *British* Person been left alive in this Kingdom.

And can the fright of the *British* at, and their flight from, these Flames now, which they found and felt so destructive then, be matter of blame to them or supprize to any, or can it be presumed that the natives disapointment by that War hath lessned their rage, or bettered their Nature, if when the *Irish* had no share in the Government, nor Arms, nor knowledge how to use them, and no command of Garrisons or Souldiers, but these and many other advantages in the *British* hands, if they were then able, to make their wrath so successful, what can rationally be expected, to become of the *British*, now amongst them? I do the more willingly Enumerate these Particulars rather to confirm the following, and more moderate Estimate, then the larger made by others, concerning the aforesaid loss. Yet this I may with more truth then satisfaction affirm, that if the judicial proceedings past in that time are not re-

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veiw'd, if the gaps lately made, to let in an inundation of *Arbitrary Power*, on the *Britiſh Propriety* is not repaired, and thoſe who made them ſeverely puniſhed; and laſtly, if no better ſecurity, then *Iriſh Judges*, *Sheriffs* and *Juries* can be found to preſerve the *Britiſh Proprieties*, *Ichabod* may well be the Character, a Foreigner the Maſter, and deſolation the portion, of this unhappy Country, when it becomes a habitation for wild Beaſts, or worſe Creatures, under only the ſhape and reſemblance of human Features.

Your Majeſties Improvement of theſe and better helps may ſo open your Ears, that in the words of the *Pſalmiſt*, *The ſorrowful ſighing of the Priſoner may come up before you*; and then I no ways doubt, but in the further words of the ſame *Pſalmiſt*, according to the greatneſs of your Power and Goodneſs of your Nature, you will preſerve thoſe who ſeem appointed to dye, that they may yet live to pray for your Majeſties long Life, *&c.* as doth, my it pleaſe your Majeſty, your Majeſties moſt humble, dutiful and obedient Subject and Servant.

An Eſtimate Containing,

1. The *Latitude*, *Longitude* and *Survey* of the whole Kingdom of *Ireland*.

2. What Part or how many Acres thereof are profitable, and how many unprofitable.

3. The Annual value, with the value of the Inheritance of both in 1641. before the Late *Iriſh Rebellion* began, with what it was reduced unto in the Years 1653. when the ſaid *Rebellion* was declared at an end.

How the ſaid *Iriſh* Propriety was ſetled, and diſpoſed in the ſaid Year, 1653.

How diſpoſed in 1662. and 1663. by the *Acts* of *Settlement*, and *Explanation*, and by the *Commiſſioners* for Executing the ſaid Acts.

How it ſtands on the date of this Eſtimate, *viz.* in the Year 1688.

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The particular loſs and gain of both *Proteſtant* and *Iriſh* part, by the ſaid *Rebellion*.

The whole charge of the then King and the *Proteſtant* Party, to ſuppreſs the ſaid *Rebellion*.

Laſtly Inferences from all the aforeſaid *Calculations*.

The Survey.

The *Latitude* of *Ireland*, *North*, is parralel to *Dumfrize* in *Scotland*, which is about Sixty Miles more *North* then *England*.

South it is parralel to St. *Michaels Mount* in *Cornwall*.

The *Longitude*, *Weſt*, to the utmoſt point of *Ireconough* in the County of *Galloway*.

Eaſt, to the *Head* of *Hath* near *Dublin*.

The whole number of Acres, by comparing ſeveral Surveys, appears to be about ten Millions and four Hundred Thouſand *Iriſh Acres*, (twenty one Foot to the *Perch*) which make about Seventeen Millions *Engliſh* Meaſure, and makes *Ireland* equal in quantity to *England*; *Wales* excepted.

Of the ſaid ten Millions four Hundred Thouſand Acres, there appears to be about three Millions of Mountains, Wood, Bog and other unprofitable Acres.

So that the profitable part appears to be about ſeven Millions and four Hundred Thouſand Acres, which were thus ſeized, poſſeſſed and enjoyed *Anno.* 1641. before the *Rebellion* began.

Firſt, The *Britiſh* or Proteſtant Propriety, was then about two Millions four Hundred Thouſand of the ſaid profitable Acres, *Iriſh* Meaſure.

The *Iriſh*, or *Roman Catholicks* Propriety was the remainder, being about five Millions of the ſaid Acres.

Memorandum, that in *Anno.* 1652. the Rebellion was publickly declared to be at an end, and then the aforeſaid *Iriſh Propriety*, of the ſaid five Millions of Acres was diſtributed and diſpoſed of as follows.

Firſt,

Firſt, Unto ſuch of *Iriſh Roman Catholicks*, who proved their conſtant good affection to the *Britiſh Intereſt*, were reſtored about one Hundred Thouſand Acres.

Secondly, There was ſet aſide to ſatisfie the Officers, and Souldiers who ſerved in the *Iriſh* War before *Anno.* 1649. being the Year *Oliver Cromwel* came over into *Ireland* in the Counties of *Wicklow*, *Longford*, *Letrym*, *Donnegal*, and within the *Mileline* of *Sea* and *Shannon*, about four Hundred Thouſand Acres.

Thirdly, There was diſtributed to the adventurers who advanced Monies on the *Acts* of the *Seventeenth* and *Eighteenth* of *King Charles* the Firſt, to carry on the War of *Ireland*, about eight Hundred Thouſand Acres.

Fourthly, There was ſet forth to the Officers and Souldiers, who ſerved from 1649. until the Year 1653. being the declared end of the ſaid War, about two Millions of Acres,

Fifthly, There was ſet forth to ſeveral *Grants*, about one Hundred Thouſand Acres.

Sixthly, To the *Roman Catholicks* according to their ſeveral proofs of their qualifications by the Commiſſioners at *Loughreagh*, purſuant to the decrees of the Commiſſioners at *Athloane*, about ſeven Hundred Thouſand Acres in the Province of *Conaugh*, and County of *Clare*.

Seventhly, There was ſet aſide for the ſupport of the Government, the forfeited Houſes in the walled Towns, and about Eight Hundred Thouſand Acres in the Counties of *Dublin*, *Louth*, *Cork*, *Catherlough* and *Kildare*; the moſt of which were ſet in Leaſes of Thirty one Years, to *Britiſh* Proteſtants.

Memorandum. That the aforeſaid *Britiſh* or *Proteſtant Proprieties* were *Anno.* 1653. reſtored to the reſpective former *Proprietors*.

And thus ſtood the *Proprieties* of Lands in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, until *Anno* 1660. The reſtauration of the Late King.

Memorandum.

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Memorandum, That in Years 1661. 1662. and 1663. by *Acts* of *Parliament* and decrees of the *Court* of *Claims*, there were taken away from the aforesaid Interests and retrenchments of one third, by the *Explanatory Act*, and restored to former Proprietors about two Millions of Acres of the aforesaid Lands, so that at the Period of the said *Commissions* of *Claims*, the aforesaid Propriety was as follows,

First, The *Protestant Propriety*, and the *Propriety* of the *Roman Catholicks*, who proved their constant good affection to the *English*, were untoucht, either by *Act* of *Parliament* or decrees of the *Court* of *Claims*.

Secondly, The Lands of the Officers who served his Majesties in the *Irish* War, before the Year 1649. were reduced to about one hundred and ninety thousand Acres, the rest of their Lands were restored to former *Irish* Proprietors.

Thirdly, The aforesaid *Adventurers* satisfaction was by the said Acts of *Parliament*, and decrees of the *Court* of *Claims* reduced to about three hundred thousand Acres.

Fourthly, Remaining then with the Officers and Souldiers who served since the Year 1649. about twelve hundred thousand Acres.

Fifthly, There was then left with the *Transplantable Irish* in the Province of *Conaugh* and *County* of *Clare* about six hundred Thousand Acres.

Sixthly, There were confirmed to *Grantee*, by the *Acts* of *Parliament* about Two hundred thousand Acres, of which about one Moyety was to *Roman Catholics*, the other to *British Protestants*.

Seventhly, There is left of course Lands, undisposed and over-plus Lands in the hands of *Souldiers* and *Adventurers* about one hundred thousand Acres.

So that there appears, confirm'd by *Acts* of *Parliament*, and the *Commissioners* of the *Explanatoric Acts*, about seventeen hundred and eighty thousand Acres, to the Souldiery and Adventurers, and to the *Protestant Grantees* by

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Proviſoes in both the ſaid Acts about one hundred thouſand Acres, and the like Sum of courſe *retrench'd* and *undiſpoſed* Lands, are ſtill in the King's hands; which makes in all about Two Millions of *Iriſh* Acres, which is all that the Crown of *England* and *Britiſh* Intereſt hath got, and the *Iriſh* then loſt by that Rebellion. But ſince by His *Majeſties* preſent Rent-Roll, there appears above two Thirds of the aforeſaid two Millions, to be got by pretended Deeds, ſet up by the *Iriſh*, or by Purchaſes made at unvaluable Rates, both by the *Iriſh*, and the former *Britiſh* Inhabitants of that Country; ſo that now there is little appearance of that late numerous and victorious Intereſt, which reſcued this Kingdom out of *Iriſh Rebels* and *Britiſh Male-Content*'s hands; which how valuable the foreſaid two *Millions* of Acres were, and now are, will appear by the next general Head, which contains the annual Value and Inheritance of the ſaid Lands in the Year 1641. before the Rebellion began, and to what value both *Roman Catholick* and *Proteſtant Propriety* was reduced in the Year 1653, when the ſaid Rebellion was declared at an End; all which will more fully appear by the following Diagram,

The Value *in* 1641, *before the* Rebellion began.

	Total	*Annual value at*	*Inheritance at*
The whole Kingdom contains ſeven millions four hundred thouſand profitable Acres, of which the	}	4 Shillings an Acre comes to one million four hundred an eighty thouſand pounds Sterling	} twelve years purchaſe comes to ſeventeen millions ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds Sterling.
Iriſh Propriety then was five millions of	Acres one million of pounds Sterling comes	unto twelve millions Sterling.	

Britiſh

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British Propriety } four hundred and } lions seven hundred
two millions and { eighty thousand { and sixty thousand
four hundred { pounds Sterling { pounds Sterling.
thousand Acres { comes to five mil- }

The *Reduced value* of the whole and of each Propriety in 1653. When the Rebellion was declared at an End was.

	Annual value at 9 pence an Acre	*Inheritance at 8 years purchase*
The whole Kingdom seven millions four hundred thousand Acres comes	to two hundred seventy seven thousand five hundred pounds Sterling	comes to two millions two hundred and 20 thousand pounds Sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. is fifteen millions five hundred and forty thousand pounds Sterling.

The *Irish Propriety* } comes to one mil- } tance at eight
five millions of Acres at nine pence an Acre *per annum* { lion eighty seven thousand five hundred pounds Sterling. The Inheri- { years purchase comes to one million and a half Sterling.

So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. of this *Propriety* was, nine millions four hundred and eighty thousand pounds.

The *British* or *Protestant Propriety* was two millions and four hundred thousand Acres at 9d. } *per annum* comes to ninety thousand pounds Sterling. The Inheritance at eight years } purchase comes to 7 hundred and 20 thousand pounds Sterling.

So

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So that the difference betwixt 1641. and 1653. in this Propriety was five millions and forty thousand pounds Sterling.

Memorandum, That besides the aforesaid *Irish Propriety* in Lands, there appears by your Majesty's Records in the *Auditory Office* that there were as many Houses in Walled Towns,besides *Tythes* and *Rectories* belonging to the *Irish*, which did yield in *Anno* 1653, about five thousand pounds Sterling *per annum*, which at eight years purchase was then worth forty thousand pounds Sterling.

Memorandum, That the *Protestant Propriety*, within the Walled Towns, is not included in the above Calculations, neither the *Tythes* or *Glebe* belonging to two thousand four hundred Parish Churches; there being about that Number of Parishes in this Kingdom.

The next general Head is the particular *Loss* and *Gain* of both *British* and *Irish* by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That by the aforesaid Article, it appears, that the *British* have got, and the *Irish* have lost by the said Rebellion, about two millions of Acres, which by the aforesaid Valuations in the Year 1653. appear to be worth two millions of nine pences *per annum*, which is seventy five thousand pounds Sterling and at eight years purchase for the Inheritance, is six hundred thousand pounds Sterling.

This was the Common value when the *British* entred on the said forfeited Lands; and to this is to be added the aforesaid forty thousand pounds for their Interest in Walled Towns and *Rectories*.

This six hundred and forty thousand pounds is the whole of the *British Gain*, and *Irish Loss* by the said Rebellion.

Memorandum, That the *Irish* loss of Houses,Goods Stocks, *&c.* being occasioned by their own Rebellion are not included in this calculation.

The next thing considerable is the *Irish* gain, and the *British* loss, which appear by these following Particulars.

I. By

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I. By thirteen Years loſs of Rents, the Annual Propriety of the *Britiſh* did amount, as aforeſaid, before the Rebellion began, to four hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds, which for thirteen Years amounts unto ſix millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds Sterling.

II. The ſaid Rebellion began the 23*d*. of *October* 1641. at which time the *Britiſh* had one whole Years ſtock of Hay and Corn by them, which uſually ſupplyed them, with materials to ſatisfie their Number and *May* Rents then enſuing, and had likewiſe then ſowed their *Winter* Corn, both which could not be leſs worth then half a Years Rent of the whole Land, which appears as aforeſaid, to be two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds.

III. The *Britiſh Propriety* was as is well known, well ſtock'd and improved *Anno*. 1641. and conſiſting of two millions four hundred thouſand Acres *Iriſh Meaſure*, which appears to be near a third of the whole Kingdom, muſt have its proportion of the three millions of unprofitable Acres as aforeſaid, and there could not be leſs ſtock, on two Acres and a halt *Iriſh Meaſure* (which conſidering the Addition of the unprofitable muſt be more then four *Engliſh* Acres) then one Beaſt on the Paſturable Part; what Acres were under Corn muſt be of a much higher value, which Beaſt *Communi Rato*, could not be of leſs value then twenty Shillings; by which the value of the *Britiſh* ſtock at a moderate rate appears in the Year 1641. to be worth two millions four hundred thouſand Pounds.

IV. The value of their Houſes, Goods and Improvements cannot be valued at leſs then double the value of their ſtocks, which makes four millions eight hundred thouſand Pounds. The aforeſaid four Sums which were received, and robbed or taken from the *Britiſh* during the ſaid Rebellion appears to be thirteen millions two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, which ſuppoſeth the whole *Britiſh Propriety*, to be robb'd, ſpoiled or enjoyed by the *Iriſh* during the ſaid Rebellion, whereas it is evident that the *Metropolis* of *Dublin*, the City of *Drogbedagh* in the Province

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vince of *Lemſter*, the City of *London-Derry*, *Colerain* Town and Caſtle of *Innis-killin*, Towns of *Bell-faſt* and *Carig-fergus* in the Province of *Ulſter*, the City of *Cork*, the Towns of *Bandon Bridge*, *Youghal* and *King-ſale* were never in the *Iriſh* hands; But theſe compared with all the other Towns and Cities of this Kingdom, with more then nineteen parts in twenty of all the Lands which within ſix Moaths after the Rebellion began, where ſtill in the *Iriſh* hands, there cannot be abated in the aforeſaid conſideration one tenth of the aforeſaid Sum.

Yet abating the tenths, there remains neat loſs to the *Britiſh*, and got by the *Iriſh* twelve millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds Sterling.

V. On or about the Years 1662. and 1662. there was taken from the *Britiſh* and reſtored to the *Iriſh*, by *Acts* of *Parliament* and *Decrees* of the *Court of Claims*, above two millions of profitable Acres, the Annual value of which ſaid Lands in *Anno* 1652. when the *Britiſh* firſt re-entred upon them at nine pence an Acre appears to be ſeventy five thouſand; which at eight Years Purchaſe for the Inheritance is, ſix hundred thouſand Pounds, but by the *Britiſh* enjoyment and improvement of the ſaid Lands from 1653. until 1662. and 1663. the Annual value of the ſaid Lands was raiſed unto two Shillings three pence an Acre, which was two hundred twenty and five thouſand Pounds Sterling and the Inheritance at ten Year Purchaſe, Lands being then ſo uſually ſet and ſold, in thoſe times, and the Inheritance of the aforeſaid two millions, appearing not to be worth more in the Year 1653. when the *Britiſh* entred on them, then ſix hundred thouſand Pounds: which being deducted out of two millions two hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds Sterling, it appears that the *Britiſh* have loſt and the *Iriſh* have got by the two millions of Acres ſo as before reſtored, ſixteen hundred and fifty thouſand Pounds; which being added to the aforeſaid twelve millions one hundred and thirty thouſand Pounds, its clear by the aforeſaid Particulars, that the *Britiſh* have loſt,

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loſt, and the *Iriſh* have got by their Rebellion, Thirteen Millions ſeven hundred and eighty thouſand Pounds, to which being added the five Millions forty thouſand pounds damage done the *Britiſh Propriety*, as appears by the fore-mentioned *Diagram*, in reducing the values of the Inheritance of the ſaid Lands in 1653. from what it was worth in 1641, makes the neat damage of the *Proteſtant Propriety* by the ſaid Rebellion to be eighteen millions eight hundred and twenty thouſand Pounds Sterling.

The next General head is the Particular charge of the ſaid Rebellion to the King and the *Britiſh* or *Proteſtant Intereſt* of this Kingdom.

1. By an adjuſted Account now of Record here in *Dublin* it appears, that from the 23*th*, of *October* 1641, to the Year 1649, there was due only to the Commiſſioned Officers, about eighteen hundred thouſand pounds Sterling.

2. There could not be leſs than double that Sum due to the *Non-Commiſſioned* Officers and private Soldiers within the ſaid time, which amounts to three millions ſix hundred thouſand pounds.

3. There was received by the ſaid Officers and Soldiers in Moneys, Quarters and Proviſions within the ſaid time, one fourth of the whole, which was defaulted out of the Officers Debenters, and amounted to one million three hundred and forty thouſand pounds.

So that from 1641 to 1649, the Charge of the ſaid War appears to be at leaſt ſix millions ſeven hundred and forty thouſand pounds; and what ſince, to the Period of the War in 1653. appears by theſe following Particulars.

1. By an adjuſted Account, there appears due to the Officers and Souldiers, who ſerved within the ſaid time, about twelve hundred thouſand pounds, which was ſatisfyed in Lands.

2. The ſaid Officers and Soldiers were paid two Parts more in Money, which was two millions four hundred thouſand pounds.

3. There

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3. There was one fourth deducted out of both Officers and Soldiers Debenters on the account of quarters and provision, which amounts to, as aforesaid, twelve hundred thousand pounds.

4. By an adjusted account it appears, that the *English Adventurers* advanced in the Years 1641 and 1642 about four hundred thousand pounds, which Money being advanced and paid in the aforesaid Years of 1641 and 1642 and no satisfaction made until the Year 1655 and 1656, the Interest must be more than the Principle, which amounts at least to eight hundred thousand pounds.

5. There was near ten thousand *Scots*, who served most part of the War, in the Province of *Ulster*, under the command of General *Lesley*; but their Arrears being never stated, adjusted nor paid, cannot be so Particularly ascertained, but cannot be less then one Million of Pounds.

Memorandum, That there was many Independent Troops in *Ulster* and *Munster* whose accompts were never adjusted, satisfied or paid.

Memorandum, That in this Calculation is also omitted the most Christian and Charitable releif given and sent by the *States* of *Holland*, who in one Ship sent thirty thousand Pounds in provisions in the beginning of the Rebellion, which came so Seasonable that hundreds of *British* Families were thereby preserved from starving and perishing, nor is there mentioned the charge of Ships, Arms or Ammunition during the War.

Memorandum, That there is not any mention made of the great Collection of Charity for the releif of the despoyled Protestants of the Country.

The aforesaid Particulars since the Year 1649. amounted to six millions six hundred thousand Pounds; before 1649. appears to be six millions seven hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

Both Sums containing the whole of the aforesaid charge amount to thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand Pounds.

The

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The *Britiſh* or *Proteſtant* loſs and damage appears to be as aforeſaid eighteen millions eight hundred ſixty two thouſand Pounds, and both together make Thirty two millions one hundred and ſixty thouſand Pounds.

From all the Premiſes aforementioned the Inferences following do naturally ariſe.

1. Whereas the *Engliſh* adventurers debt who advanced Money on the credit of two Acts of Parliament in the Year 1641. and 1642. for ſupport of the *Iriſh* War did amount to more then eight hundred thouſand Pounds, and it appearing as aforeſaid, that they received not more then three hundred thouſand Acres of Land for ſatisfaction of of the ſaid debt, and it likewiſe appearing by the aforeſaid *Diagram*, that the Annual value of the ſaid Lands was at moſt but eleven thouſand two hundred and fifty Pounds, it is manifeſt that the ſaid adventurers paid more then ſeventy Years Purchaſe for what was not worth really more then eight.

2. Whereas there appears as aforeſaid due to the *Engliſh Souldiery* above all the deductions, ſix millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds Sterling, and thoſe who ſerved before the Year 1649. having received but one hundred and ninety thouſand Acres of Land, and as many Houſes in Walled Towns, and Incumbrances, as were worth at moſt but five thouſand Pounds *per annum*.

And whereas it appears that the Souldiery ſince 1649. had left them by the Court of Claims about twelve hundred thouſand Acres, making in all about thirteen hundred and ninety thouſand Acres which with the five Thouſand Pounds *per annum* for Rents of Houſes, *&c.* appears at moſt to be worth no more then fifty ſeven thouſand one hundred twenty five Pounds *per annum*, as appears by the aforeſaid *Diagram* it is as clear that the ſaid Souldiery have paid more then one hundred and fifteen Years Purchaſe for what was not worth more then eight.

3. Whereas it appears as aforeſaid, that the whole loſs in Houſes, Lands, *Tythes* and *Rectories* of the *Iriſh* do amount at moſt but to ſix hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, and

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it appearing that the *Britiſh* loſt, and the *Iriſh* during their Rebellion got.

1. As much Corn and Hay from the *Britiſh* as was at leaſt worth as aforeſaid two hundred and forty thouſand Pounds, which Sum alone is more then one third of their whole loſs.

2. The *Britiſh* ſtock of Horſes, Sheep, Cattle, *&c.* appears as aforeſaid to be worth two millions eight hundred thouſand Pounds, which appears to be more then four times the aforeſaid loſs.

3. The *Britiſh* Houſes, Goods and Improvements which the *Iriſh* got, and the *Britiſh* loſt, appears to be five millions ſix hundred thouſand Pounds, which is more then nine times the aforeſaid loſs.

4. The Rents which the *Iriſh* received from the *Britiſh* ***Propriety*** during their Rebellion, amounting to five millions eight hundred and forty thouſand Pounds as aforeſaid is more then nine times the aforeſaid loſs.

The *Britiſh* loſs in their Improvements on the reſtored Lands by the *Court* of *Claims* in 1662. and 1663. amounts to ſixteen hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds as aforeſaid, which alone is near Treble of the whole of the *Iriſh* loſs.

Memorandum, That the aforeſaid five Sums which the *Iriſh* got from the *Britiſh*, deducting the Tenth as aforeſaid, is fifteen millions and thirty thouſand pounds: ſo that it is plainly demonſtrated, That the *Iriſh* got from the *Britiſh* more then *Thirty times* what they loſt by their Rebellion.

Memorandum, That to the aforeſaid *Britiſh* loſs, there is yet to be added the damage done their Propriety, from the value it was worth in the Year 1641, to what it was reduced to in the Year 1653, which appears to be five millions two hundred and eighty thouſand pounds, which makes the whole loſs and damage done the *Britiſh* by that Rebellion to amount unto above twenty millions of Pounds Sterling; which Sum appears to be loſt out of leſs than a Third

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Third of the whole Propriety of this Kingdom: and is,

1. More than double the value of the whole Propriety of their Lands in the Year 1641, and more than twenty times the value it was reduced to in the Year, 1653.

2. It appears, as aforesaid, to be more than the whole Propriety, that all the Lands in this Kingdom, was worth in the Year 1641.

3. The *Protestant*'s Loss and Damage, as aforesaid, appears to be near double the charge of the aforesaid War.

4. It appearing before the death of *Charles* the Second, That Lands in this Kingdom, were raised to equal value in 1641, it is demonstrable, That the *British* Industry had raised this Kingdom, in thirty years time, notwithstanding all their discouragements, to upwards of fifteen millions of pounds Sterling.

The late King *Charles* in favour to the *Irish*, releasing by the *Explanatory Act* the clear Right, which the Crown had, to the whole Province of *Connaught*, Counties of *Clare*, *Lymerick* and *Tipperary*; His Majesty thereby parted with ten times more than the *Irish forfeited*.

VI. By *Provisoes* in the Act of *Settlement* and *Explanation*, and by Pensions and other Donatives given the *Irish*, as appears by the Treasury *Accounts* of both Kingdoms, there appears much more given to them, than was forfeited or lost by them.

VII. The last *Parliament* in this Kingdom, giving his Majesty twenty eight Subsidies, and three hundred thousand pounds in Money, gave more in value, than all the forfeitures by that Rebellion, they setling a revenue of upwards of two hundred thousand pounds *per annum*, on the Crown, with a *Nemine Contradicente*, by that gave more then ten times the value of the said forfeitures.

VIII. The Charge of the said Rebellion, appearing to be thirteen millions three hundred and forty thousand pounds, it is evident, that the aforesaid *Irish* loss, will not pay a fourteenth part of the said Charges.

IX. Admit

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IX. Admit the Lands of this Kingdom were before the Commencement of the preſent *Iriſh Government* (or *Iriſh Adminiſtration*) raiſed to the value of 1641, and that Lands were only fallen one fourth in their yearly value, which appears to be about three hundred ninety three thouſand pound, and that they were only ſunk in the Inheritance, one third, which is five millions five hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, then both making five millions nine hundred and forty three thouſand pounds, which this Kingdom is already ſunk, with only one years *Iriſh* Government.

X. Whereas it appears by the Excellent Preface of the *Act* of *Settlement*, that *Anno* 1660, ſeven years after the aforeſaid Rebellion was declared at an End, when Perſons and things were in calm and ſerene Frame in this Kingdom, the moſt able of the *Iriſh Agents*, were fully heard before His Majeſty and *Council* in *England*, what they could anſwer in behalf of their Country-men, yet on the ſaid hearing, the Univerſal Guilt of the *Iriſh*, with their Horrid Maſſacres and Barbarous Murthers, in that Rebellion, were fully proved, their juſt Forfeitures of their Lives and Eſtates affirmed, and that Rebellion declared by the ſaid King and Council in *England*, and afterwards by the Parliament and Councel of *Ireland*, the moſt Horrid and Univerſal Rebellion which ever befel that Kingdom, and as thereby it appears to be the higheſt in point of Guilt, ſo by what hath been ſaid as aforeſaid, it appears to be the greateſt in point of Loſs and Charge, and though, as by the ſaid Excellent Preface, it further appears, that by Gods bleſſing on the *Britiſh* Forces, the ſaid *Iriſh* were Totally, Univerſally and Abſolutely ſubdued, yet it appears, as aforeſaid, that Affairs have been ſo managed, that the Nocent, Conquer'd *Iriſh* Party, both in times of Peace and War, have been *Gainers*, and the Innocent, Victorious *Britiſh*, the only *Looſers* by that Rebellion. But let it ever be remembred by your Majeſty and not forgot by all Succeeding Kings of *England*,

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land, nor the *Engliſh* Nation, That if the publick Diſturbances in *England* heightned into a Civil War (chiefly occaſion'd by the Maſſacre and Rebellion here) at the ſame time, and the great Corruptions of thoſe through whoſe hands moſt of the Adminſtrations paſſed, relating to *Ireland*, had not prevented, That Rebellion had not coſt the *Britiſh* one fourth of the Time, nor one penny Charge, but on the contrary the very Forfeitures of the *Iriſh* would not only have paid all that whole Reckoning, but an overplus, ſufficient to have plentifully rewarded the Victorious *Britiſh*, which no doubt will be found Mathematically True, if ever the *Iriſh* give another occaſion to try it.

Laſtly, Whereas it appears as aforeſaid, that the whole Loſs, Coſts and Charge of the King and Proteſtant Party, to ſuppreſs the ſaid Rebellion, did amount to thirty four millions four hundred and eighty thouſand pounds Sterling, and whereas it ſufficiently demonſtrates, who have been the greateſt Gainers, and greateſt Looſers, ſo it ſhews who have moſt cauſe to complain of the diſmal Effects of that Rebellion, whether the Conquering *Britiſh*, or the Conquered *Iriſh*: And ſo, it is more then probable, that the ſaid Rebellion began the 23*th* of *October* 1641. and ended in the Year 1653, and that as it coſt and loſt more Treaſure, ſo if there were as careful a Scrutiny made after the Blood ſpilt, or occaſion'd to be ſpilt, as of Treaſury ſpent; both would appear much greater, then the price of all the late Chriſtian Victories over the great *Turk*, which may be a ſufficient and ſeaſonable Caution, both to Prince and People to prevent future Rebellions in this Kingdom, which ſince its Original Conqueſt, hath by the Sins of both, been made an *Acheldama*, or Field of Blood. The late unuſual Prodigies from the Heavens, the late diſmal Apparitions in the Air, the late unheard of Inundation on this City, the aſtoniſhing Variances of our great Ones detecting each others Nakedneſs, the late revival of our National and Religious Animoſities, with the *Britiſh* *Migremus hinc*, and other fatal Prognoſtics, ſeems to foretell

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tell as fatal, or more fatal Judgments, than that which laſt befel this Kingdom, which next to the Abomination of Deſolation, which befel the *Jews*, was the heavieſt and ſharpeſt, that ever befel ſo ſmall a ſpot of the World, ſince the World began, which were it deſcribed, as it ought, could not be believed, but by ſuch as ſaw it, were Actors in it, or ſuffered by it, which with Gods bleſſing on Your Majeſty's Councels, may be yet eaſier prevented then hereafter cured, which is the proper end of this Eſtimate, and gives Foundation for the *Britiſh* following Expoſtulation with their King and their *Iriſh* Neighbours.

Dread Sir,

WHat have we done, to merit the ſeverity of your higheſt diſpleaſure? Nay, what have we not done, which might intitle us to your higheſt Favour; were we, or our Anceſtors ever falſe? or were our *Iriſh* Adverſaries, or theirs ever true to the Crown of *England*? The *Iriſh* have frequently made us, and our Anceſtors, Beggars, but never yet made either Rebels. Were not our Eſtates ſeized, our Houſes burnt, our Goods and Stock plundered, our Chargeable and Laborious Improvements ſpoiled, our Perſons ſtripped, and inhumanly Murthered in the Year 1641; only for our Loyalty to our God, and our King? And when by an Article made in the Ceſſation, every Individual Perſon was left to chooſe his Party, did not we, as Univerſally and Unanimouſly declare our ſelves of your Fathers Party; as the *Iriſh*, declared themſelves to be of the Rebels Party? We, and our Anceſtors have been conſtantly made the *But*, but its evident, that the Crown of *England*, and the Soveraignty of this Country, have been the Mark of the Natives Wrath. Though your Father left us, and that by a Law, to be ſupported by the Parliament

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Parliament of *England*, and they really were kind to us, in the day of our extremity, yet our Loyalty to him so subjected our gratitude to them, and the natural care of our Relations, that when we wanted hands, to revenge the innocent Blood, which the Natives had so inhumanly spilt, or to prevent them of spilling more; yet even then, at your Fathers Command we sent large supplies of both Horse and Foot, to Fight against that very *Parliament*, which then under God, were our only support.

And did we not continue thus dutiful, till your Fathers Necessities forced him to desert us, and give us leave to shift for our selves, and in this Exigence, which was about the Year 1646. was not his Grace, the *Duke* of *Ormond*, by the perfidious Treachery, and breach of Articles made by the *Irish*, reduced to that strait, that he was forced to give up his Majesty's Sword, either to the Parliament of *England*, or to the Confederate *Irish* Assembly? And did not the Earl of *Castlehaven*, who was then a proscribed Person by the *Parliament*, and a General to the said Confederate Assembly, advise his *Grace*, rather to give up the Sword to the *English*, then to the *Irish*, and is not the reason of that Advice, made publick to the World in his Memoires?

And did not the said *Duke* of *Ormond*, then publickly, and frequently Caution the Parliaments Commissioners, how they ever trusted the *Irish*, letting them know, that they would serve any *English* Governour, as they had served him? And did he not advise his Officers, and Souldiers to joyn with any Party, that was *English*, to fight against the *Irish*? Pursuant to this Advice, we strait joyned our selves to the *Parliament*'s Forces, and were eminently Instrumental, in that great Victory obtained against the *Irish* at *Dungan Hill*; and though we found a continued Series of success to attend our Service under the *English* Banners, yet no sooner did we see your Father sold by the *Scots*, little better then Imprisoned by the *Parliament*; and easily foreseeing, those methods, presaging worse to ensue, though the Parliaments Forces were *Triumphant* in the three

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Kingdoms, yet notwithſtanding all diſcouragements, we entred in a new Treaty with the Confederate Catholics, and out of our paſſionate deſire to ſerve and ſave your Majeſty's *Father* in that Exigency, your *Brother*, and we ſubmitted, to whatever Articles were propoſed by the ſaid *Iriſh*; yet as advantageous as thoſe Articles were to them, and as prejudicial as they were to us, the *Iriſh* Commiſſioners could not be prevail'd with to ſign them, until the 17*th* of *January* 1648. when they well knew, it was too late, to prevent what followed the 30*th* following, which *Articles*, whoſoever reads will find them, the moſt *Trayterous*, that were ever made by Subjects with their *Prince*.

We thus finding, that we could not do, what we would, for your Father, and (vainly) hoping the *Iriſh* might be more Loyal and Faithful to your *Brother*; we joyn'd our ſelves to them, and continued with them, till we found, it was more for his Service, to leave them, then longer ſtay with them, their *Armies* proving Cowardly and Treacherous, and their *Clergy* charging us with their Crimes; though we ſtood, until we loſt our Lives, by fighting with our own Country-men, in the Field, while they ſaved theirs, by running into the Neighbouring Woods and Bogs. Though we were the only Party that ſtood, and the *Iriſh* the only Party that run, at the Fight at *Dublin*, yet their *Eccleſiaſtics* charg'd us, as the occaſion of that defeat, and the ſame Cauſe producing the ſame Effect, elſewhere, the Clergy openly Preach'd, That they could expect no better Succeſs, while they joyned with us, that were *Hereticks*; and being diſappointed in their frequent Attempts to Murther the *Duke* of *Ormond*, and charging all their Miſcarriages on his want of Conduct, whereas their *Supream Truſts* had the whole Conduct of their Army, and his *Grace* nothing left but the bare Title of *General*; and he refuſing to quit his empty Command at their deſire, at a great meeting of their Biſhops, and others their dignified *Clergy*, they fixed up a publick Excommunication againſt him, and all that ſhould

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ſhould joyn with him, or adhere to him. Which forced his *Grace* to leave the Kingdom *incognito*, and ſo he left us the ſecond time to ſhift for our ſelves; and we conceiving it more for your *Brothers* Service, to leave them, then longer to joyn with them, we ſerving again under our *Countrymens* Banners, in leſs then two years time, with our help, the whole Kingdom was ſubdued. But that Army being headed by a Junćto Parliament, and they, and their Confidents, put into all places of Truſt and Power in the other two Kingdoms, as well as in this, yet ſo deſirous, were we, to ſerve your Brother, and arrive at a laſting ſettlement; and ſo well known, were our deſires and intentions to our Brethren, and they ſo confident of our Aſſiſtance, that a few of us, without the help of an *Iriſh* hand; On the 13*th* of *December* 1659. Supprized, and Seized the ſtrong Caſtle of *Dublin*, and in leſs then fourteen Days got the Power of the whole Kingdom into our Hands, and as ſoon as we had ſetled it, tendred the Government to his late Majeſty with the offer of a well regulated and diſciplined Army to Aſſiſt his Reſtauration to his other Kingdoms, and had the Honour of being the firſt of the three Kingdoms, who declared for his Reſtauration. Was not his Majeſty ſo highly pleaſed with the Sence of this our ſeaſonable Loyalty, That he made our *Tender*, and his *Gracious* acceptance, to be made a perpetual Record in his *High Court* of *Chancery* in this Kingdom; and without any knowledg, petition or capitulation of ours, of his own free Will, gave us his Royal Aſſurance of being continued in our Employs? And when by previous or legal Grants, that *Grace* was made unpracticable, in that caſe, the looſing *Party* was to be reprized in value, worth and purchaſe, as in, and by, the ſaid Record, relation being thereunto had, it may, and will, more fully appear.

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And was not moſt of us ſoon after choſe Members of *Parliament* in this Kingdom? and did we not then, and there, with all imaginable circumſtances of duty and affection, without any conſideration of our own ſtraits, or Exigencies, give his Majeſty twenty eight ſubſidies, and the Inheritance of a Revenue of more then two hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*? And ſo paſſionately deſirous were we, of living like good Neighbours, good Subjects, and good Chriſtians, with the *Iriſh*, that we as readily conſented, to pay his Majeſties one full Years profit of our Eſtates, which we afterwards made up three hundred thouſand pounds in Money, which was then more than one third of all the Current Coyn in this Kingdom, and this barely to ſupply and enable his Majeſty to exerciſe his greater Bounty, to ſuch of the *Iriſh*, as he knew moſt deſerving; yet was this thought too little by the *Iriſh Agents*, though we had loſt much of our Eſtates and improvements very ſeverly by the Proceedings of the *Court* of *Claims*, and the ſaid *Agents* promiſing us an abſolute confirmation, in what we had left, without expecting more from us, we readily conſented to retrench one third, of what we then had, the aforeſaid Particulars, being moſt of them matters of *Record*, ſome matters of Fact, and all demonſtratively true, let all the Annals and Records of this, or former Ages be examined, and ſee if thence can be extracted, a Loyalty exceeding this of ours.

But Oh! let it not be told in *Gath* nor Publiſhed in the Streets of *Askalon*, the returns we have had for all theſe our aforeſaid ſervices, let them ſink in perpetual oblivion, and never be remembred by Poſterity, that we who gave ſuch Evidences of our *Loyalty* to our Exiled Prince, were not thought fit to be employ'd after his return, that we who ſo faithfully ſerved him in War and Miſery, ſhould be thrown out of his ſervice in times of Peace and Proſperity, our Employs being not only taken from us, without any of that promiſed compenſation made us, but that which

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is yet worſe, thoſe very Employs put into the worſt of *Iriſh* hands. Are not many of them now arm'd in peace, whom we lately diſarm'd in War for being Rebels? Are not many, we then made Priſoners, now made our Maſters? are not we made Captives to them in peace, which we made our Captives in time of War? did we give up the conquer'd *Iriſh* to your Brothers mercy to be now given up by your Majeſty to their cruelty? Are not the Perſons, moſt Rebellious, reputed now the moſt Loyal and meritorious, is not their late horrid Rebellion, made now the ſtandard of Loyalty and merit? how often do we now hear, the *Ultock Iriſh* boaſt of their merit, that they killed *one hundred thouſand Hereticks in ſix Months time*, and reproaching the *Lempſter Iriſh* that they killed not half that number in double that time? who ever thought that the *Boyles*, *Coots*, St. *Georges*, *&c.* ſhould be turned out and purſued as diſaffected to your Majeſty, and the *Mac-gennis*, *Mac-mahons*, *Oneales*, *&c.* brought into their places, and received as good Subjects.

And as I have often heard the Britiſh *making the aforeſaid, and like Expoſtulations with their King, ſo have I heard them as frequently making theſe and the like Expoſtulations with their* Iriſh *Neighbours.*

Sirs, What are our Crimes, or what have we, or our fore-Fathers done? what is the greatneſs of our, or their guilt, that nothing but our utter Extirpation, can be our expiation? have not they and we, been ever purſued as Beaſts of prey, by many of you, who have given clearer Evidence of your being Wolves, and Tygers, then Men or Chriſtians? have we not dearly bought the Eſtates we have here enjoy'd? might we not have bought the beſt Land in *England*, on eaſier Terms then we paid for the worſt in *Ireland*? did we firſt get them by oppreſſion, or injury, that we muſt now looſe them by Perjury and Forgery, after we have made the Annual value, more worth then the Inheritance when Purcha'd?

You

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You well know that *Cataline* like, the Evils you have done cannot be safe, but by attempting greater; and we as well know, that the ſpeedier is your haſt, the ſooner you will be at your Journeys end. You muſt believe as your Church believes, and do as your Prieſts will have you do; and we well know, what they would have done with *Excommunicated Heretics*. You cannot be true to your own Principles, and continue true to us, we do not expect *Grapes* from *Thorns*, nor *Figgs* from *Thiſtles*; ſuch as is the Tree, ſuch will be the Fruit; your National Principles are bad, but your *Eccleſiaſtics* worſe; theſe are the two Bellows that blow up the Flame of your wrath to the height, that nothing but our Blood, can be our expiation. Should we give you up our Lands, ſtock and Improvements, ſhould we voluntary yeild our ſelves to be your ſlaves, nay ſhould we turn *Papiſts*, that would not ſave us, nor ſatisfie you, our *Original guilt* is our *Unpardonable* ſin; we are *Britiſh*, and true to the *Britiſh Intereſt*, which can be expiated with nothing leſs than our Blood; are not 1000's of you yet alive, who drank not many Years ſince, too deep of that Cup, and are you thirſty ſtill? were not *Hecatombs* of our ſlaughtered Brethren then Victims to your mercileſs rage, and are you enraged ſtill? was the Harveſt ſo pleaſant then, that now you have power, you are ſo induſtrious to ſow the ſame Seeds again? have you ſo ſoon forgot, that when we wanted hands to revenge, that Innocent Blood, which you ſo Barbarouſly ſpilt then, and were utterly unable to prevent you of ſpilling more, did not God himſelf ariſe, and plead our cauſe, when our Swords could not reach you? did not his Arm find you out? did he not then ſend a Peſtilence, and a Famin amongſt you, what the one left, did not the other take, and what both left, did not the Sword devour? and were not theſe, as inexorable to your cries, as you had been before to ours? did not theſe deal, as ſeverely with you, as you had done before with us? did not theſe depopulate as many Villages, Pariſhes and Towns, in your Proprieties

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Proprieties as you had before in ours? He that thus Miraculously helped us, and as justly punished you, in that Rebellion, why think you may he not do the like for us in your next, which you now seem to be preparing for? we know his Almighty Arm is not shortned, your Exultation, your *Te deum's*, your Church-merriment for the *Exaltation* of *Roman Catholicism*, may like the Musick or rather howlings at *Molochs* Sacrifices, drown the present cries of the oppressed, and stop the Ears of Men, but will it, think you, as easily stop the Ears, or withhold the hand of God? As we find your malice no ways abated, so we wish and advise you to be very cautious, how you force it upon another Tryal, whether his Arm be any way shortned? When many of you had drunk deep of our Blood, to satiate your rage, were not many of the same Persons, shortly after in the time of Famin as greedy of our Flesh, to satisfie your hunger; and did you *Canibal* like eat several, and were you not at last by the same Just God reserved to be yet more chastized, by the sharpest and severest of *English* hands; you made it your sport to destroy us, they made it their work to destroy you? they with as much ease conquered you, as you before had Murthered us; their great endeavour was to keep off our hands from being your Assistance, and then feared no harm which could come to them singly from yours.

When your Supream Councel were consulting how to destroy *Cromwel*, you know the advice given by the *Lord Viscount Clanmaleer*, which was to joyn with him, giving this, as his reason, that he never knew his Country Men joyn with any Party, but they streight destroyed them, you may make your selves as infamous to Posterity, as he who destroy'd *Diana's Temple*; you may destroy again much of the Country, but cannot long keep it.

What

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What if like *Iſaac* we are now bound as a ready Sacrifice to your rage, was it your courage that did thus bind us? or our Submiſſion to the will of God and his *Vice-gerent*, and as God wrought a Miraculous delivery for him, ſo we doubt not but in his time, which is the beſt time, he will work the like for us? What if by the Miſrepreſentation of a great Courtier, or greater Favorite with his Prince, than with his God, we are now as the *Jews*, once were to *Haman*, given up to his hands, to be deſtroy'd? have we not a *Queen Heſter* in our view, who is more able to ſave, then he to deſtroy us? what if we, who have been as terribly formidable to the *Iriſh*, as *Sampſon* was to the *Philiſtians*, having now our ſtrength taken from us, are become as contemptible as he, without his Locks, yet on the return of our ſtrength, we diſpair not ſoon to pull down that *Iriſh Fabric*, which you have now ſet up to make us your ſlaves? what if your numbers were treble what they are, or can be, it is well known, we never feared you numbers, the more you are, the more will be to kill, to be taken and to run away? Do not think that the *Iriſh Harp*, or the fading *Flower de Luce*, can ſecure you from the *Britiſh* and *Belgic Lyons* in a day of Tryal.

You eſcaped well in the laſt Rebellion, think not to ſpeed ſo well in the next, we know you got Favour and Forfeitures enough in your laſt Rebellion to make ſatisfaction for the charge and miſcheif you may do in your next, *ſero Sapient Phryges* wherein perhaps God may ariſe, and Spirit Men to call to accompt that Ocean of Innocent Blood you ſpilt, and as yet unaccounted for, which day of reckoning, his Juſtice will not for ever delay, and though Juſtice have Leaden Heels, yet it hath in all Ages been found to have Iron Hands, could thoſe, who have put Arms into your Hands, put courage into your Hearts, or other Souls into your Bodies, they might hope to make you good Souldiers, it is confeſt by all that the *Britiſh* were ever the beſt Fighters,

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Fighters, and it cannot be denyed, but you were ever esteemed the best *Runners*; Naturalists observe, that where Nature is defective one way, that defect is supply'd another, so the want of courage in your Hearts, is supplyed with the better agility of the Heels, Oh the consolation of a soft Bogg, *and a thick Wood in a day of Battel! Some of you have complained you have been oppressed by* English *Governors*, it is confest that the Government of this Kingdom, being a subordinate Government, we as well as you have too often received severities from powerful Ministers, but did we ever take Rebellions, Murthers, Massacres, *&c.* for a Cure? or *Irish* Blood for our revenge? Though you may have some cause, yet we know your complaints have exceeded your cause, we can remember the complaint which the present Deputy made to his *English* Predecessor of great partialities in our then Judicatures, and we as well remember, that it was desired he would assign one instance, to Justify his complaint, and for his encouragement, was openly assured, that the cause should be reheard, the injured *Irishman* relieved, and the offending Judge and Jury punished, but we could never hear of any one instance given to make good the complaint.

Do not multitudes of your own People, rather wish the return of that *English* Governour, then a continuance under the present Deputy? Was not the Kingdom improved under the one? and is it not sunk a Moyety already of its intrinsique value, under the other? Trade was then encreased, Improvements encouraged, Justice equally Administred, is it so now? the Army was then well govern'd, the Establishments paid 18 Months in 12 Months time, is it so now? all the publick Debts cleared, the Kingdom well satisfied and near fifty thousand Pounds left in the receivers hands; will your present Deputy ever, think you, do the like, in a word never was Governour received with greater Acclamation, never was that Government discharged with greater satisfaction, and never was that Government left with greater lamentation, will it be so now? as this is the

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firſt experiment which the Crown of *England* ever made of *Irelands* thriving under an *Iriſh Government*, ſo it's hoped, it may be the laſt, and its our only wiſh, that it may not now prove to be to dearly bought, its manifeſt by the experience of former Ages, that the *Iriſh* lived well and ſafe, under the *Britiſh* Government, and 'tis as manifeſt, that the *Britiſh* cannot live ſo under yours.

But you alſo further plead, that you are Innocent, and moſt injuriouſly barr'd of any benefit by that plea, and that by the expreſs words of the *Explanatory* Act.

1. You cannot but acknowledge, that in the times of uſurpation, you had time without limitation, to prove your Innocence.

2. Such of you, as did appear ſo were all reſtored.

3. When conſtant good affection was thought too narrow, the qualifications for Innocency, ſo opened that door, that you got the whole Province of *Connaugh* and County of *Clare* from the then Power.

4. On the Late Kings reſtauration in 1660. the clamour of *Innocency* was again revived; and though the *Univerſal Guilt* of the *Iriſh* was then fully proved, and the juſt forfeiture of your Lives and Fortunes affirm'd, as appears by the Preface of the *Act of Settlement* aforementioned, yet a Years time more was allow'd for Tryal of your Innocence.

5. On paſſing the *Explanation* Bill in the Houſe of *Commons* in *Ireland*, it was made appear, that your Agents had inſerted that Bar, or clauſe againſt Innocency, in the *Act of Explanation*, on purpoſe to reproach the then expected Settlement.

6. The Commiſſioners for Executing the *Act of Settlement* being prevailed with by your Agents, to put the proof of your guilt upon us, and they ſeverally refuſing and undervaluing the Evidence of the Souldiery, both before and ſince 1649. as Parties, by reaſon of the ſatisfaction confirm'd to them by the Acts, and rejecting the *Iriſh* as *Participes Criminis*, and the *Iriſh* having deſtroyed all the *Old Britiſh* within their reach, there was little poſſibility to

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to prove the *Guilt* of the moſt *Rebellious*, many who were preſcribed by publick Proclamation, and large Sums offered to any to bring in their heads, were by theſe reſtraints, made Innocent; the *Marqueſs* of *Antrem* the only ſurviving General which the Rebels had in *Ulſter* was openly declared Innocent; and the then *Duke* of *Ormond* being ſo declared the ſame day, was heard to ſay, that that Judgment was certainly erroneous; for that they heading two differing Parties, and Fighting with each other, on different Authorities, could not poſſibly be both Innocent, the Lords *Taaff*, *Preſton*, *Muſkerry* and *Caſtle-haven* being the only ſurviving Generals, in the other Provinces of that Kingdom, were ſo far from eſteeming themſelves Obnoxious, for what they did in that Rebellion, that they not only procured a reſtauration to their former Proprieties by the *Acts of Settlements*, but had large Donatives of forfeited Lands, confirm'd to them by that Law; and three of them the Addition of new Honours conferred on them, to make them the more ſignally meritorious, and were raiſed to that Elevation of confident Merit, that they and others, moſt Active in that Rebellion, petitioned the *Government* here, to have their arrears Stated, for the good Services they did his Majeſty in that Rebellion. So that by the aforeſaid reſtraints given by the Commiſſioners, and by the powerful intereſt of the aforeſaid Generals and their Clergy, few or none were made *Nocents*, but ſuch as wanted either Friends or Money, to make them *Innocent*. But when the guilty *Claimant* found that it was eaſier buying an inconſiderable part of his Eſtate from the Souldier or Adventurer, then to run the Riſque of the whole by the expenſive methods of that Court, they would uſually purchaſe that ſmall proportion, and limit their Claims to the purchaſed part, and to that no oppoſition being given they were declared Innocent of courſe, and being thus declared, they would ſoon after get their whole Eſtate by due courſe of Law, though this cheat is expreſly mentioned in the Act of Explanation, yet there may the Reader find the decrees

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under the Name or Title of decrees, *Quo ad hoc*, made good by that Law, as illegal as were their whole colluſive decrees, paſſed after the 2*d*. of *July* 1663. the *Britiſh* well knowing that was the time limited by Law for their Adjudication, and the *Britiſh* preparing little or no oppoſition againſt the worſt of the *Claimants*, Innocents were made as faſt as their Claims were read, and the work was ſo Sweet and Pleaſant to the Commiſſioners, that they continued making Innocents until the 22*d*. of *Auguſt* following, fifty one days after the time by Law limited was expired, and in theſe fifty one days made more Innocents then they had done before, and that the benefit (deſerves a worſer name) might be equally divided, the Commiſſioners agreed that each Commiſſioner in his turn prepare his Liſt of Claimants for that Days work, only the laſt day *viz*. 22*d*. of *Auguſt*, there was upwards of ſeventy Claims poſted up to be heard, and their Clerk having not time to read half the Claims, and he making that day as many Innocents as the Court, was reported to ſhare half the benefit of that Days work.

Yet as *ILLEGAL* Corrupt and *HORRID* as theſe Decrees were, they muſt, and that by a *Britiſh* Parliament be confirmed, and one third of what was left the *Britiſh* retrencht, or not one Foot could be confirm'd to the *Britiſh* by that Law, as appears to any that reads but that Act of Explanation. *THESE WERE FINE INNOCENTS!* Theſe and their *Nocents* are like to make fair Sheriffs, Judges and Juries of ſuch Eſtates as are ſecured, or left the *Britiſh* by that Law.

And as the *Iriſh* had theſe Encouragments in times of Peace, ſo on enquiry, it will be found, that they had as many or more in times of War, which (as appears) was begun not only with the higheſt Approbation and Encouragment of their own Clergy, but had the United Concurrence, Benedictions and Maſſes of moſt of the *Romiſh* Clergy in *Europe*, for their good Succeſs. *Urban* the VIII.

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VIII. the then *Pope*, thought it not enough, to ſend his *Nuntio*, to be Preſident of their Councels, and to Act as General over their Armies, but with him, ſent his *Bull*, bearing date the 17*th* of *May*, 1642. ſix Months after the beginning of the ſaid Rebellion, when above one hundred thouſand innocent *Britiſh* had been inhumanly Butchered by the *Iriſh*, and they at that inſtant Murthering more, as faſt as they could, yet in the ſaid *Bull*, *his Holineſs* was pleaſed *to call theſe perfidious, horrid Iriſh Murtherers, Faithful Chriſtians, Godly Warriors*, their Rebellion *a Godly undertaking to relieve their Country* and their *poor Maſſacred and Murthered* Britiſh Proteſtants, *Hereticks and workers of Iniquity*, and by the ſaid *Bull*, gives further Encouragment to the ſaid *Iriſh*, to confeſs to any ſecular or regular Prieſt approved by the *Ordinary* of the place, who on hearing their ſaid Confeſſions, was Impowr'd to give them abſolutions from all their Sins, how great, or hainous ſo ever they were.

In Imitation of this Holy Example, given by his *Holineſs* himſelf, it is notoriouſly known, that no Pennance was more uſually impoſed by their Biggoted Clergy, on the moſt vileſt Offenders, then the Murthering of Innocent Proteſtants, under the name of *Hereticks*, and that before they would give abſolution, they would frequently advance Monies and promiſe their ſaying ſeveral Maſſes for their good Succeſs.

And to conclude, at the Writing hereof, there is ſuch Intelligence here obtain'd, which gives more then a probable aſſurance, the ſame Spirit is now at work, and ſome of the ſaid Clergy have actually Employ'd profligate Villains, to Murther ſuch Proteſtants, as are in proſpect, under God, moſt likely to preſerve the Reform'd Religion in this part of the World.

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Are these the Doctrines or Practises of Christians, or are they not rather the Doctrines of the Devil, who was a Murtherer from the beginning? Well might the Heathen Cry, *Sit Anima mea cum Philosophis*; and as well may the Christian say, *Nostrum non est Evangelium, aut hi sunt Anti-christi potius quàm Christi Pontifices & Sacerdotes.*

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A LIST of the Nobility of *Ireland*, in 1688.

Protestants.	Papists.	Protestants.	Papists.
Duke of	Marquess of	Viscounts.	*Rathcoole.*
Ormond.	*Antrim.*	*Grandison.*	*Bareford.*
Earls.	Earls.	*Wilmot.*	*Bronkart.*
Kildare.	*Clanrickard.*	*Loftus.*	*Galmoy.*
Thomond.	*Castlehaven.*	*Swords.*	*Kingsland.*
Cork.	*West Meath.*	*Kilmurry.*	*Gormanstown.*
Desmond.	*Fingall.*	*Castleton.*	*Mayo.*
Barrymore.	*Castlemayne.*	*Chamworth.*	*Killmaslock.*
Meath.	*Carlingford.*	*Sligo.*	
Ossory.	*Tyronne.*	*Waterford.*	
Rosscommon.	*Tyrconnel.*	*Strangford.*	
London derry.		*Tuam.*	
Donnegal.		*Cashell.*	
Arran.		*Carelow.*	
Conaway.		*Cullen.*	
Carberry.		*Shannon.*	
Ardglass.		*Dromoore.*	
Rannalagh.		*Mazarine.*	
Cavan.		*Kells.*	
Inchiquin.		*Dungannon.*	
Clancarty.		*Fitzharding.*	
Orrery.		*Clare.*	
Mountrath.		*Charlemount.*	
Drogheda.		*Powers.*	
Waterford.		*Blessing Town.*	
Mount-alexander.		*Ross.*	
Down.		*Lisburne.*	
Longford.			

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Protestants.	Protestants.	Protestants.	Papists.
Barons.	Barons.	Barons.	Barons.
Kinsale.	*Digbey.*	*Killard.*	*Athenry.*
Kerry.	*Lifford.*	*Kingston.*	*Cahir.*
Hoath.	*Herbert.*	*Colooney.*	*Baltimore.*
Mountjoy.	*Loghlin.*	*Santry.*	*Strabane.*
Foliot.	*Coleraine.*	*Clawnally.*	
Maynard.	*Leitrim.*	*Altram.*	
Gorges.	*Donmore.*	Bishops. 24.	

FINIS.

Errata.

PAg. 1. l. 27. omitted, *id valet quantum rendi potest.* pag. 11. l. 9. r. *November* for Number. pag. 12. l. 18. dele *re.*

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Papists.

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THE

STATE

OF THE

Papiſt and Proteſtant

PROPRIETIES

IN THE

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IN THE

Year 1641. when the then *Rebellion* began, and how diſpoſed in 1653. when the *War* and *Rebellion* was declared at an End, and how diſpoſed in 1662. upon the *Acts* of *Settlement*, and how the Proprieties ſtand this preſent Year 1689. with the Survey, Loſs, Coſt and Charge of both Parties by the aforeſaid War, or Rebellion:

WITH

Inferences and *Expoſtulations* from thewhole, faithfully Calculated in ſo concile a Method and Order as was never done before: Humbly tendred to the Conſideration of the KINGS moſt Excellent MAJESTY, and the PARLIAMENT of LORDS and COMMONS now Sitting at *Weſtminſter*.

To which is added,

A Liſt of the preſent Nobility of *IRELAND Proteſtant* and *Papiſt*.

LONDON,

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