

whence they fall to the southward, followed by small fishermen, it being dangerous for busses.

E. What quantities of fish are yearly taken by the Dutch?

D. About three hundred thousand lasts.

E. This confirms Sir Walter Raleigh's observations presented to King James,¹ and shews that the learned Sir John Burroughs, in his *Sovereignty of the British Seas*, upon good grounds affirmed that the fish yearly taken by strangers upon our coasts, did amount to² above ten millions of pounds sterling: But pray, sir, where have you vent for all your fish?

D. At Artois, Brabant, Bremen, Cleveland, Cologne, Dantzick, Denmark, Elbin, Embden, Flanders, France, Frankfort, Germany, Gulickland, Hamburg, Hainault, Holstein, Italy, Liefland, Lithuania, Lubeck, Nerva, Norway, Poland, Pomerland, Portugal, Prussia, Quinsbrough, Revel, Riga, Russia, Spain, Stade, Stratten, Sweedland, &c.

E. Are you never afraid of glutting the markets?

D. No more than we are that people will leave eating, great part of the trading world being yet unserved, which is the reason we yearly so much increase the number of our doggers.

E. What returns are made for your fish?

D. Alum, armour, baratees, and other Frankfort commodities, brandy, bullion, clapboard, coin, corn, copper, currants, and other grocery wares, damasks, deal-boards, dollars, flax, fruit, furs, fustians, glass, hemp, honey, hulsop, iron, lace, linen, millstones, oil, pitch, plate, pot-ash, prunes, rashes, resin, sarsenets, sattins, silks, skins, steel, tapestry, tar, timber, velvets, wainscots, wax, wines, and other things in abundance; the exporting of which commodities again to other countries, gives our ships full employment, so that they need not go in ballast to seek freight, but by the profit of our outward-bound voyages are enabled to serve foreigners so cheap, as to render us the common carriers of the world, consequently masters of the most certain profit in trade; for when the ships arrive safe in harbour, though merchants happen to lose by their goods, yet seamen are paid their full wages.

Besides by continual bartering of such exports, Holland is rendered the mighty storehouse, and emporium of all foreign products and manufactures, from whose infinite miscellany of goods, its inhabitants are compleatly furnished with such sortable wares, as enables them to trade from port to port without danger of glutting markets.

And thus as our fishery hath increased our trade and navigation, constant employment hath still made foreigners flock to us in such numbers, that out of our multitudes, supplying (from time to time) the loss of so many lives as the change of climates, successes against the Portugueze, and victories against the Indians have cost us; we have forced treaties of commerce, exclusive to all other nations; built forts upon straits and passes that command the entrances into places of great traffick; monopolized all the spice trade, and mightily advanced towards engrossing the whole commerce of the East Indies.

E. Well may you boast that Amsterdam is founded upon herring bones; and no wonder that notwithstanding your so frequent and chargeable wars ever since your revolt from Spain, there is hardly a beggar in your streets.

But if in Holland, which contains not above five millions of acres, its bogs and sandy-downs excluded;

Holland, where you have no minerals, and where it is in vain to dig for any thing but turf and clay;

¹ L. v. Aitzma. *Anno* 1653.

² *Anno* 1633.

³ Page 140.—*Orig. Notes.*

Holland, where you have no tree but what you planted, nor stone but what you brought hither ;

Holland, so much lower than the ebbings of the tides and rivers, that at vast expence you are obliged with mills to drain the very floods occasioned by rains ;

Holland, where notwithstanding your continual charge (as was said) in repairing banks and dykes, frequent inundations destroy man and beast for several miles together, and then vast sums (and whole years) are spent ere the land can be regained ;

Holland, where the east winds coming to you o'er a mighty length of dry continent, extreme cold, and long winters, put you to the expence of much fire, candles, food and raiment ; and to great charge and pains in housing and foddering your cattle, all which time (living on dry food) they yield little milk ;

Holland, so exposed to bleak winds, that blast the blossoms of its trees, and storms that chatter off ere ripe their fruit ;

Holland, where that little arable land you have, lying generally on sand or light bottoms, requires much soil, and where seed-time is so short, that unless it be exactly nicked no profit can be reaped ; for when the seed rots in the ground (as by great rains it frequently happeneth) the season is generally past before it can be sown again ;

Holland, whose whole product is scarce sufficient to serve ' one eighth part of its inhabitants, consequently the rest are obliged to purchase the so necessary commodities, food and raiment, of neighbouring countries, at the rates they can get them ;

Holland, whose territories extending upon powerful neighbours, to defend its frontiers, and draw out a war in length by sieges, in order to determine it, by force of money rather than of arms ; you are obliged to be at vast expence in fortifications and standing troops, to defend them even in the time of the profoundest peace ; for instance *anno* 1670, after all reforms, you had ten regiments of horse and nineteen of foot, making together twenty-six thousand two hundred men, the constant charge of which forces was 556,281*l.* sterling per annum ;—

I say, if in Holland, naturally loaded with these disadvantages and misfortunes, and all their ill consequences, notwithstanding you are ^a bridled with hard laws, terrified with severe executions, environed with foreign forces, and oppressed with the most cruel hardships and variety of taxes that were ever known under any government, your people are become so numerous and wealthy, by fishing upon our northern coasts ;

Did we in England diligently apply ourselves to the fishing trade, what a continual sea harvest might we reap, whose coasts so abound with cod, hake, conger, whittings, scate, sprats, soals, oysters, salmon, pilchards, turbets, thornbacks, mackerel, herrings, or ling, all the year long ?

D. Why even just such a sea harvest as the Hamburgers did (who after five or six years trial to imitate us in the herring-fishery,) found to their cost we still outdid them, and so we shall you.

E. The reason why you outdid the Hamburgers, was because they were yearly frozen up ^b somewhat longer than you, but seeing by that start you could outstrip them, surely we need not fear the goal ; who (besides what has been said) have in fishing many more advantages of you than ever you had of the Hamburgers.

D. The generality of your countrymen are of another opinion.

E. I am not ignorant what industry has been used to poison my country me with an opinion, that none but Dutchmen can thrive by fishing : But unprejudiced persons upon examining the matter will find,

The Dutch have above an hundred leagues to sail before they come to the herring-fishery, which is only in the British seas, and when there, must lie at the mercy of the

^a *Pol. Gran et Maxims van Holland*, page 44.

^b *Lex Mercator*. Fol. 171.—*Orig. Notes*.

^c Sir William Temple's Observation on the United Provinces.

winds for want of a port to friend, and in case of unloading have as far back again, which takes up a great deal of time, hinders business, and endangers the loss of their markets: Whereas, in England we have the fish upon our own coasts, so near our shores, that in case of storms, unloading, taking in of provisions, or the like, it is but four or five hours work (commonly not so much) to recover an harbour, and without loss of time put to sea again; the work of unloading, repacking, and sending our fish to market going on in all weathers.

D. And have not we dogger boats to take off our fish at sea, and refurnish the fishermen with cask, and other necessaries?

E. Yes, sir, and you have the charge and risque of those dogger boats too (both which the English save); after all, if it happens to be a rolling sea, you must lie by and wait for a calm.

D. What other advantages can you boast?

E. England hath many convenient tidehaven-ports, as at Hull, Harwich, and Holy Island to the northward, and Dover, Rye, Portsmouth, Southampton, Cowes, Weymouth, Dartmouth, Catwater, Hamose, Fowey, Falmouth, Hilford, Scilly, and Milford westward, where at low water all of them are small chingle or hard sand; so that our vessels may easily haul ashore, and wash and tallow at pleasure; nor are creeks and commodious places wanting in England to lodge our busses and doggers safe when not employed, so as to prevent wear of cables, charge of watching, danger of fire, &c.

D. What else?

E. The shores of England are bold, its coasts high land, easily discovered, several of our cape-lands, opposite to France and Holland, make eddy-bays, whose depth of water is mean as six, eight, ten, or twelve fathom the tides; on our own coasts, are small anchor hold, generally stiff clay, chalk, or hard gravel, so that we need not dread winter storms; besides the advantage we have lying in a moderate climate, and in the very centre of the trade of Europe, affords us opportunity of sending to foreign parts, from divers of our ports at all seasons of the year: Whereas the coasts of Holland are extremely low, subject to be hazy and foggy, have many shoals and sands, some of which lie so far off at sea, that frequently ships are stranded before they see land; its ports are bad, and often choaked up with quick-sands; its havens yearly frozen up two or three months together: And the north-west wind (usually blowing the greatest part of the year) makes Holland a lee, and England a weather-shore, so that oft-times, whilst you are wind-bound or frozen up at home, we can supply the markets abroad.

Besides, wanting wood at reasonable rates, you cannot share with us in the red-herring trade.

As for pilchards, they cannot be well cured unless brought fresh on shore, and being taken on our coasts will be stale ere they can be carried to yours.

Not to mention our rich New England fishery, our western ports are incomparably situated for the Newfoundland fishery, and the country itself belonging to the crown of England, you can have no footing there.

Near the Pile of Foudray in Lancashire, and in several other places along the shores of Wales, we can fish even without the charge of busses; for by only setting nets on the sands at low water, great quantities of herrings are taken next tide of ebb.

D. Those herrings on the coasts of Lancashire (coming newly out of the ocean) are so fat that they will not take salt kindly, consequently are apt to reast.

E. We now find by experience, that fat herrings being pressed and cured like pilchards, take salt kindly, and yield store of oil, to the great encouragement of our shipwrights, curriers, soap-boilers, &c.

D. How chance this method was not found out sooner?

E. *Dies diem docet*; those noble salt rocks in Cheshire, (sufficient to supply all Europe) have not been many years discovered.

Besides, of a stone abounding in Shropshire, much pitch is now made of so excellent a nature, heat only causeth it to penetrate deeper into plank, and cold cannot crackle off; both which are advantages Holland cannot pretend to.

D. What more?

E. The coasts of Wales abound with ash; which as far excels other wood for drying herrings, as its bark doth all others for tanning nets: Nor do we in England, (as you) want willow hoops from Hamburgh.

D. Notwithstanding all the advantages you speak of, your chief fishing towns, Yarmouth and Laystoffs, are beholden either to us at Enckhuijsen, or to the French at Dieppe, for selling them nets.

E. Before the late war, they used to buy sail-cloth of you too, but that now made at Fulham, &c. is brought to equal perfection with your best Holland duck; and as for nets, the towns you mention, have these seven years last past made most they used; and who knows, but that our artisans (universally allowed the best upon earth for improvements) may in a little time as much excel you in these things, as they outdo the Germans in fine steel works; which though they first invented, yet we now make and sell to them.

But seeing you talk of being beholden, I think you are beholden to us, for selling you our Thames lamprons wherewith you bait for North Sea cod, or else you go—whistle for 'em.

D. Have you any more advantages of us?

E. I omitted to tell you, that upon exporting our fish, we have the benefit of a considerable drawback upon salt.

D. If that were all, rather than suffer that tide of wealth that flows in our fishery to be diverted to another channel, no doubt but our states will allow the Dutch the like encouragement: But now I find you have told me all your advantages.

E. Excuse me, sir; England affords timber, iron, and hemp; whereas, you are forced to purchase those commodities in foreign countries.

D. Nevertheless, we have all naval stores in barter for herrings, which costs us little, but the trouble of hauling up out of the sea, which being considered, and how much the catching such herrings (by employing and increasing our ships and mariners, adds to the wealth and strength of our country) it conduceth far more to our advantage, than if Holland had naval stores of its own product: Whereas, to purchase east country wares, the English are yearly forced to export much coin, to the great exhausting of their treasure.

E. We do not (as you) depend solely upon the east country for naval stores; no, in case of exaction or rupture, we can be sufficiently supplied from our American plantations.

But if a fishery be established in England, what should hinder us from having naval stores in exchange for herrings as well as you?

D. Your white herrings are not so bright and good as ours.

E. Whilst our clapboard is floating from Germany, the Rhine draws out its sap, and if we also soak the corrosive sap out of our clapboard, which now discolours and preys upon our fish, and, like you, gip and salt the herrings as soon as taken, they will be every whit as bright and good as yours.

D. We build cheaper in Holland than you do in England, and sail our vessels with fewer hands.

E. Our ships are much stronger and abler to brook the seas than yours, and will last twice as long; and as to your sailing with fewer hands, we envy not your happiness, whilst (in proportion to your tonnage and number of mariners) you yearly lose (by slight building and undermanning) far more ships and men's lives than we; for which reason, in above three parts of the world, our ships yield better freight; where then

lies the odds? Which, were there any, could be only in merchantmen to carry our fish to market; busses and fisher boats carry more men to catch fish than are needful to sail them: And in the Greenland trade, each ship must have three times the crew that can navigate her, to man their shallops when a-fishing. Were not this true, since in building, English shipwrights knew no masters, surely we might easily cause our ships to be built and manned after your mode.

But supposing your assertion true, if as all ships that carry corn to Venice, are permitted to load currants at Zant, so all bottoms which exported English-caught fish, might be allowed to return with a loading of naval stores, without paying alien's duty: That would set us upon even ground with you, as to the business of our fishery.

D. Two thousand five hundred persons are hardly able in a whole year to make a fleet of nets for five hundred busses: Now England's many wastes and unimproved lands shews its not half peopled, and of those in it,

Consider,

How many women and children do just nothing, only learn to spend what others get.

How many are mere voluptuaries, and as it were gamesters by trade.

How many live by puzzling poor people with unintelligible notions.

How many by persuading credulous, delicate, and litigious persons that their bodies or estates are out of tune or in danger.

How many by trades of mere pleasure or ornament.

How many by fighting as soldiers.

How many by mysteries of vice and sin, or in a lazy way of attendance upon others; where then can you hope to find hands to carry on your fishery?

E. In England we have numbers of French protestants who fled from Dieppe and the coasts of Normandy, &c. (bred to the business of the fishery from their cradles) that (if settled in our decayed fishing towns) would as certainly make them flourish as the Walloon and Burgundean refugees planted by Queen Elizabeth at Norwich, Canterbury, and Colechester (then so poor cities) to such great trade, riches, and plenty.

In England we have no sumptuary laws; so that mercers not foreknowing fashions, dare not lay out their stocks till the spring, at which time their sudden great demands render journeymen scarce, and oblige weavers to draw in numbers of apprentices, who in few months supply the trade of the nation: when being turned off, many (like the inhabitants of the Bath, Epsom, Tunbridge, &c. who live by exacting on strangers in summer) are ready to starve for want of employment before the next spring.

Were a national fishery established in England, our gentry, by causing their footmen and servants to rise early, and employ their idle hours in making nets, might not only reap the profit of their work, but, by accustoming them to business in their youths, beget in them such industrious dispositions as would prevent (what now too frequently happens) their becoming beggars, or worse, in old age.

The time of labouring, and industrious people well-employed, is the best commodity of any country; and were a fishery established in England, how advantageous would it be to the publick; when all our disbanded soldiers, poor prisoners, widows and orphans, all poor tradesmen, artificers, and labourers, their wives, children and servants, each vacant interval may be getting a penny by braiding and beating of nets, &c.

The far greatest part of England's droans are neither so young, nor yet so old or decrepid, but that they may either turn wheels, spin twine, braid or beat nets, cut corks, cast leads, make herring spits, norsels, swills, or baskets, gip, spit, salt, hang or pack herrings, or at least tend fires to smoak or dry them, pick oakum, or the like; and as a constant employment of our poor will be a continual ease and comfort to them, by amusing and diverting them from thinking on their poverty or other misery, so will

it alleviate the nation's burden, and in some measure be a re-peopling of us too, by adding so many lost hands to the service of the publick.

D. But still you want mariners; whereas sailors in Holland are as common as beggars in England.

E. It is owned our want of mariners enough at once to man our navy and colliery, cost London and the dependencies upon the river of Thames, (during the late war) above seven hundred thousand pounds, only in the price of coals; by which may be guessed, how detrimental it was to the trade of our nation in general.

But the more we want mariners, the greater reason we have to establish a fishery, which (as is shewn in the preface) is the best way to increase their number.

The many thousands English, Scotch, and Irish mariners, who now yearly fish for you, would hardly seek work abroad, if a fishery afforded them full employment at home, and 'tis odds but a finer country, cheaper and better food and raiment, wholesomer air, easier rents and taxes, will tempt many of your countrymen to cross the herring-pond.

Since the peace is concluded, and our great ships laid up, we have mariners enough to begin a fishery, and as that goes forwards it will proportionably increase their numbers.

D. Fishing is the work for which the English are unfit, and requires such skilful, industrious, and robust seamen as no country breeds but Holland.

E. Your learned Keckerman says, *Omnibus hodiè gentibus, navigandi, industria et peritià superiores esse Anglos.*

'Tis certain, our mariners do as cheerfully undergo hardships, and are as bold in danger as any, and for hard labour, the working of a mine is incomparably harder than that of a buss. No country but Great Britain can boast, that after twelve hours hard work, its natives will, in the evening, go to foot-ball, stool-ball, cricket, prison-base, wrestling, cudgel-playing, or some such vehement exercise, for their recreations; and as for their genius, it is remarkable, that such lads and country-fellows as at Yarmouth, Laystoff, &c. are once hired into the fishing trade, and come to feed on the fish they catch, it improves them at such a rate, that of pitiful weaklings at land, they become healthful, stout, and hardy persons, and upon trial find it so much to their liking, that not one in twenty but take to the sea for good and all.

D. Englishmen are dainty-chapped, and when a-fishing cannot fare like ours.

E. It is certain they need not; for meat and drink in Ireland, and in many parts of England, are above as cheap again as in Holland, which produceth no other provisions, for traffick, than butter and cheese, and those too are cheaper with us than with you: Besides it is observed, that whatever Dutch fishermen save by eating of grout, they drink more than ours in brandy.

D. The act of the 18th Car. II. prohibits the importation of Irish cattle, to keep up rents: Now catching much fish (by hindering the consumption of flesh) will make lands fall.

E. Doubtless plenty of food is a great blessing of God, and no good Englishman will desire to grow rich by a famine.

It is generally the landed men bear the burden of the poor; without finding them work they must maintain them idle; where the poor's rates are high, lands will fall, and rents be ill paid.

The cheaper provisions are, the less taxes will serve in time of war, housekeeping will be less chargeable, and a less rate maintain our poor: But where provisions are dear, work and wages will rise in proportion to the great detriment of husbandry, and stop to improvements; which (*pro tanto*) will fall rents and rise all manufactures, yet lessen their consumption both at home and abroad, and necessitate masters, for want of vent, by turning off their journeymen, to make whole families of beggars at once.

Catching much fish will, morally speaking, render England less subject to famine, which generally exhausteth more of our wealth in one year than war doth in two.

Catching much fish will give work to many thousands of both sexes that now are clothed in rags, and through poverty live only on bread, water, pulse, roots, and the like, who, when they come to have the rewards of their labours in their hands, will encourage the woollen manufacture, by buying new cloaths; and our farmers, by a greater consumption of the product of the earth, by drinking strong beer, will advance the king's excise, by increasing the number of tenants, raise our rents, yet lessen our poor's rate and taxes, by helping to pay them.

Catching much fish will occasion the expence of much butter, and make our farmers run much upon dairies, the business whereof, though performed by women, turn to as good account as the hardest labour the husbandman can employ his time in: Put the case, the market should be overstocked at home, English butter is too good a commodity in Flanders, France, Spain, Portugal, &c. ever to want vent abroad.

The cheaper our provisions are, the more navigation will be encouraged, more foreign ships will victual with us; fewer of ours in Ireland, and the more beef, pork, &c. shall we export to Barbadoes, Jamaica, &c. so that supposing meat should not always remain at a very excessive rate, yet where a greater consumption causeth a quick market, though at a middling price, if the proverb be true, Light gains will make a heavy purse.

It is cheap provisions that enable the Indians to supplant the Europeans in their manufactures; and should a fishery make provisions in England but one-tenth part cheaper, wages would fall in proportion, and our artists grow never the poorer, yet our merchants be enabled (by underselling) to beat all the rest of Europe out of the woollen trade, and then our farmers would gain far more by the rise of the fleece than they would lose by the fall of the flesh.

After all, the profit of land in England doth not wholly consist in breeding; abate in grazing, and plough up more pasture, and flesh will hold its price.

D. Corn is so cheap in England your farmers are often broke by it, what then could you do with greater quantities?

E. The reason why farmers sometimes want vent for their grain is, because we have not always store, and therefore merchants make no provision for the trade. But if we yearly sow such quantities of corn beyond the expence of the nation, as merchants may be no less certain of a constant supply here than they are in the Sound, (where the country depends as much upon their harvest, as France does on its vintages) plenty would soon create a trade, and the advantage of England's lying so much nearer than Dantzick to the places where foreign corn is exported, together with the allowance granted by the 25 Car. II. upon the exporting thereof, will sufficiently encourage merchants to deal therein.

Most of our ships are now sent light to Bilboa and Lisbon (now what loads our ships helps our navigation,) and our exports to Lisbon not answering our imports from thence, the more we send them in corn, the less their wines will cost the nation in ready money, or bills of exchange, which is all one.

Gold and silver mines England hath none, and in times of peace no way to get bullion, but by foreign traffic; to which nothing can more conduce than cheap fishing, and cheap working and manufacturing the commodities, which compose the exports of our kingdom, and that is not to be effected except labour be cheap, which it can never be where provisions are dear: but the cheaper our provisions are, the cheaper our exports may be afforded, consequently the more vent we shall have for them, and much vent will cause many workmen, and when the wheel is set agoing, trade begets trade, as fire begets fire; and the more trade increaseth, the more will industrious people from all parts flock to us, and tenant our houses, inclose our wastes, improve our

lands, increase our manufactures, and enlarge our products, far beyond the whole expence of our nation, and thereby, in proportion, add to its wealth and treasure; for merchants exporting the surplus, will in returns bring back gold, silver, and other valuable commodities, which in England, that hath property by succession of contracts, will diffuse among its inhabitants, and thus as the number of persons, made rich by their labour and industry, increase, and the choice of tenants and chapmen are enlarged, a kind of competition amongst them must and will make rents and lands advance in proportion: Witness Holland, and such of our lands as lie near great and populous corporations. So true it is, that trade and lands are twins, that always wax and wain together.

D. Notwithstanding what has been said, I advise all your countrymen not to be concerned in a fishery, for in Holland we have money at three, whereas the trade of England is burthened with six per cent. interest, consequently you can never keep pace with us.

E. Why do you not, (for the same reason) advise us to forbear trading to the East Indies, Turkey, Spain, France, Italy, Portugal, &c. nay, to quit all navigation, and abandon ourselves to the next comers? Was it not the fishing trade gave rise to all your wealth, and as money grew plentiful in Holland, did not lands rise gradually to near forty years purchase, and interest fall by degrees from eight to three per cent.? Why then may not we expect that a fishery will do the same in England, and be a means to regain our Muscovy, Greenland, Norway, and East country trades? For still, as trade, by increasing of wealth, causeth an abatement of interest, will yet cause a further increase of trade.

D. The Dutch are already settled in the fishing trade.

E. Stately Genoa, that once employed forty thousand hands in the silken manufacture, declines now as fast as her formerly neglected neighbour Leghorn riseth: And if the French king continues to court all the world with popular immunities, Leghorn (in time) must give place to her sister Marseilles.

The King of Portugal having discovered the passage to the East Indies¹ by the Cape of Good Hope, and so diverted the course of trade driven by the Venetians from Alexandria and the Red Sea to his port of Lisbon, kept factors at Antwerp to vend there his Indian commodities; which drew several merchants from divers parts to reside there, and made that pleasant-seated city the pack-house of Europe: But when the Dutch² also found the way to the Indies, and began to rival Portugal in that trade, merchants, resolving not to lose the advantage of their skill in Indian commodities by removing to Amsterdam, improved their own estates, but ruined Antwerp.

Trade, like the sea, its element, often ebbs and flows from one place to another; not many years since, we imported silk stockings from the Levant; but now the trade is turned, and we send them thither.

D. Projects in England have of late proved very unsuccessful.

E. What though some men have run upon wild notions, and catching at shadows lost their substance, that's no objection against our fishery, which is a certainty; for the sea yields her fish, as well as the earth her fruit, in due season: and Neptune hath been far more bountiful to you than Ceres.

D. Have you drawn up a method for employing the poor of England in a national fishery?

E. I have attempted it, but find the well contriving the business requires far better heads than mine.

D. However, let's see your essay.

E. Here it is, sir, and may receive alterations and additions upon consideration.

¹ Anno 1500.

² Anno 1602.

The Proposal.

1. That towards raising a joint stock for employing the poor in a national fishery, a million be subscribed.
2. That the money subscribed be called stock, and be assignable.
3. That every subscriber, at the time of such their subscriptions, pay to ——— one full fourth part of his, her, or their respective subscriptions; and in default of such payment every subscription to be utterly void and null.
4. That the residue of the said subscriptions be paid by such proportions, and at such days and times, as by a general court of the said subscribers, shall from time to time be appointed: And in default of such payment, that then the fourth part first paid, as aforesaid, be forfeited to the use of the corporation, herein after mentioned, their successors and assigns.
5. That the subscribers be incorporated by act of parliament (by the name of the corporation for employing the poor of England in a national fishery) with perpetual succession.
6. That at a general court to be held for the said corporation, thirty be chosen out of the said subscribers, by plurality of votes, and presented to the parliament.
7. That out of the said thirty, ten be nominated fathers of the poor, and directors of the national fishery, by both houses of parliament, approved by his majesty, and accountable to them for their trust.
8. That in case of vacancy (by the death, or misdemeanor) of any one of the said fathers of the poor (during sessions of parliament) the said corporation to present three, out of which his majesty and parliament to nominate one as before, and so *toties quoties*. But in case the parliament shall not then be sitting, that such vacancies be filled up by the majority of the surviving fathers until next session of parliament; and then the corporation to present, and the king and parliament to approve, as before.
9. That such fathers be empowered to constitute, under the seal of the said corporation, a sufficient number of deputies in each county in England; and that such deputies be and be called the stewards of the poor.
10. That the said fathers and such stewards of the poor be exempted from all parish offices.
11. That the said fathers, and such their stewards be vested with all authority now in justices of the peace; and that all parish officers be subordinate and accountable to the said fathers, and such their stewards, in all things (only) relating to employing the poor.
12. That the said fathers and stewards have freedom to set the poor on work, about such of the said trades relating to the fishery as they shall think fit, with a *non obstante* to all patents that have been or shall be granted.
13. That to prevent people from being oppressed and ground to poverty by pawnbrokers that skrew out of them 40 or 50 per cent., the said fathers may be allowed to erect lumber offices in every city and town in England, exclusive of all others, upon condition they take not above ——— per cent. per annum.
14. That in all churches, (as in Holland) at every solemn assembly, the churchwardens, with a long staff, bag, and bell, during the sermon, receive the charitable benevolence of the whole congregation, and pay the same to the said fathers, who shall cause a true account to be kept thereof, and apply it to the erecting hospitals in London and other great cities, wherein poor women near the time of their travail may be received and carefully delivered, and remain till they are in a condition to return home and follow their work: And if at the year's end, any overplus of such collections remain, that the same be yearly applied for marrying poor maids.

15. That until the business of the fishery be sufficient alone to give employment to all our poor, (or at least during ten years next after the establishing a national fishery) the said fathers and stewards of the poor may be empowered to employ such of them as they shall think fit, in erecting free-schools, hospitals, workhouses, and warehouses, for the corporation; in making enclosures, in repairing sea-banks, draining fens, cleansing and deepening rivers and havens, in building and repairing churches, bridges, and causeways, in mending roads, in planting oaks near navigable rivers, and fruit-trees; in inland countries, also in cleansing of streets, common-shores, and the like.

16. That the said fathers of the poor be empowered to send such refractory poor as they shall think fit, to serve in his majesty's plantations, taking security for their comfortable maintenance during their service, and for their freedom afterwards.

17. That all the poor's rates in England be collected as formerly, by the churchwardens of each parish, and by them quarterly paid into the treasury of the said corporation, as a recompence for their providing for the poor, and freeing the nation from beggars.

18. That the million subscribed be always kept entire, as a security to indemnify the nation against the charge of the poor; and the income and profits be only divided amongst the subscribers.

19. That the treasure of the said corporation be accounted as sacred, and that it be felony to embezzle, lend, convert, or apply the same to any other use, than maintaining the poor, or carrying on the business of the fishery.

20. That the said fathers may buy up, when cheap, a certain quantity of corn, coals, &c. yearly, and lodge the same in their granaries, for the use of the poor, but not make merchandize of them, or sell them again in England.

21. That the stock in the said fishery be not chargeable with any rates, duties, or impositions whatsoever.

22. That debts due to the fishery for goods by them *bona fide* sold and delivered, take preference of all others, except those due to the king.

23. That all persons may fish as formerly, and sell what they catch in England, but none export any fish but the national fishery without paying them ——— per cent.

24. That the said fathers and stewards be empowered to bind such single persons to the company as the churchwardens and overseers of the poor by the statutes of 43 Eliz. 2. 1 Jac. 25. 21 Jac. 28. and the 3 Car. 4. are empowered to put out apprentices, the boys to serve till twenty-four, and the girls till twenty-one years of age; at one of the two and thirty trades more immediately relating to the fishery.

The company's interest will oblige them to provide the best and soberest masters.

How to prevent their desertion can be shewn beyond objection.

The boys being in the fishing season employed at sea, and working at other times at that trade relating to the fishery to which they were bound, when their time is out, will be able to get their livelihoods either at sea or land; and if, to render them more capable of serving their country, the said fathers or stewards (at four o'clock each Saturday in the afternoon) should cause them (when on shore) to muster and exercise, although only with staves, and for diversion to play at cudgels, or fence, and reward the conqueror with liberty of wearing a small ribbon, whose distinguishing colour of red, blue, &c. should entitle them to be called captains, lieutenants, &c. by the rest of their fellows, till next week's trial of skill: How soon would emulation beget address? And what a treasure and strength to England would such a sea-militia be, always ready for service both by sea and land, and yet no charge to the nation till actually in it?

That his majesty may be addressed to grant leases to the said national fishery, of all wastes and derelict lands, to be by them used in building warehouses, curing fish,

spinning twine, and drying and beating their nets, and the like; and also to be by them distributed amongst such of their apprentices, their heirs and assigns as shall have faithfully served them eight or more years, not more than five acres a-piece.

D. Upon the whole, I confess, that England may out-fish us, but then you must have nothing to do with companies, only make it every particular man's interest, and he'll soon make it their business.

E. It is dangerous taking a rival's advice, and well known why fish was so cheap this year in Spain, Portugal, Italy, and other English markets; yet sold so well in the east countries.

Glutting markets may ruin particular men, but it is far more difficult to put tricks upon companies.

D. After all, where can you find a set of honest men to carry on a national fishery in England?

E. In Amsterdam you have your churchwardens, directors of Bethlehem, of your rasp-house, of your spin-house, &c. commissioners for your small differences, and those of your Levant trade, your sea affairs, &c. also your vroed schap, your schepens, and your burgo-masters, which are places of far more trouble than profit, yet (being the usual steps to preferment) are generally (like that of common-council-men in London) officiated without reproach. Not for that the Dutch are honest men than their neighbours, but because such as are found tardy in those employments are barred all future hopes of advancement. And should our parliament address his majesty to prefer in the custom-house, excise, &c. such as behaved themselves well in the fishery, and make breach of trust therein to incapacitate men from serving the government in any employment, military or civil, for ——— years, (how small wages soever the corporation allowed) the company would never want servants that, volunteer-like, would vie with each other, who should best serve their country, by most promoting its fishery.

D. An honest man is a citizen of the world. Gain equalizeth all places to me. And when you settle a fishery upon better terms than ours, (as my grandfather left Antwerp when its trade began to decay, and removed to Amsterdam) I will bid adieu to t'Vaderlandt, and remove to London. In the interim, Farewell.

Conclusion.

SEEING in the preamble of an act passed in the 14 Car. 2. it is declared, "That the public honour, wealth, and safety of this realm, as well in the maintenance and support of navigation as in many other respects, doth in an high degree depend upon the improvement and encouragement of the fishery;"

And seeing the way to all this honour, wealth, and safety is so plain and easy, that by only a frugal and industrious management of affairs, (without quarrelling with our neighbours) we may quickly become sole masters of the fishing trade;

For shame, let not Englishmen longer say, with Solomon's slothful, "There is a lion in the way."

Prov. xxvi. 13.

Gloria Cambria: Or, The Speech of a Bold Briton in Parliament, against a Dutch Prince of Wales, 1702.

By Mr Price.

Robert Price, Esquire, was made a Baron of the Exchequer *anno* 1701, and in King George the First's reign, a justice of the Common-Pleas. He died at Kensington, Feb. 1, 1732, aged 75, lamented by all. This bold speech relates to a transaction of which Dalrymple gives the following outlines:

"The effects of this temper were seen as soon as the second session of parliament began, in the winter of the year 1699. The king's foreign had been more attached to him than his English servants, whose wishes were often carried from him by the connections of party. They had also, in foreign business, and in the management of the detail of the war, served him more ably, because they were accustomed to both. But though men of family, they were soldiers of fortune; and the English and Irish peerages, which for a while were the only favours he had to bestow on them, could be of little use to men, who for the future were to live in a country where wealth was more considered than title. In order to shew his gratitude to one of them, he had some years before given Lord Portland a very large grant of crown lands in the principality of Wales. But the Commons had remonstrated against the grant, both on account of the extent of it, and because there was a doubt, whether the lands could be alienated from the principality. The king, who was not obstinate in public partialities to his friends like Charles I. nor indifferent in private to their fates like Charles II., had given, with that simplicity of expression which was habitual to him, the following answer, prudent and candid to the house, just to his friends.

GENTLEMEN,

I have a kindness for my Lord Portland, which he has deserved of me by long and faithful service; but I should not have given him these lands, if I had imagined the House of Commons could have been concerned; I will therefore recall the grant, and find some other way of shewing my favour to him."—DALRYMPLE, III. 201.

Mr Speaker,

THE petition now presented to you on the behalf of ourselves and countrymen, though subscribed by a few hands, yet has the sense and approbation of thousands, who are not influenced by their own interest, but for the honour they have for the crown, and the welfare of the British nation.

If I could conceive that the glory of England was, or could be, upheld by a poor landless crown, and a miserable necessitous people, I could then be easily persuaded to believe, that his majesty was well advised to grant away all the revenues of the crown, and that the government thereby would be well secured, and the people best protected, when they had little or nothing left them. I am sure they are not English, but foreign politicians, who may reverence the king, but hate us.

The kings of England always reigned best, when they had the affections of their subjects; and of that they were secure, when the people were sensible that the king was entirely in their interest, and loved the English soil as well as the people's money: When kings had a candid interest coupled with their power, then it was most stable and durable; as is manifest by the ancient demesne lands, and other the large and royal revenues, the many and great tenures which the people then held their estates

under, which caused such an indispensable union and dependency, that they supported each other; and 'tis observable, that the separation of the revenues from the crown, has in all ages been the means of rendering the English government precarious; and that it might not be so, the petition (with a dutiful deference to his majesty) does represent to you (the great council of the nation) this, theirs, and the people's ease for redress and remedy, according to your wisdom.

Give me patience, and pardon, and I'll lay before you the true estate of the fact upon the petition, and manner of grant, and what is granted:

The great lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, for some centuries, have been the revenues of the kings of England and princes of Wales; by which lordships, the petitioners and fifteen hundred more are tenants, pay rents and suits of courts, and other royal services. These lordships are four parts in five of the whole country, and thirty miles in extent; the present rents to the crown are but 1000*l. per annum*, besides reliefs, mizes, wastes, estreats, perquisites of courts, and other contingent profits; there are also great profitable wastes of several thousand acres of rich and valuable mines, besides other great advantages, a mighty favourite and great courtier might make. The petitioners being casually informed the last summer, that a grant to the Earl of Portland was in the treasury, in order to be passed, the petitioners did oppose the said grant, and they found, not only the three lordships, but near 3000*l. per annum* of the petitioners' and countrymen's ancient inheritance, expressly granted: So that if all had been presented that was comprised in the grant, it had been a very noble royal gift, worth at least 100,000*l.* Nor was that grant for any short time to this noble lord, it being to him and his heirs for ever; and yet not much to the advantage of the crown, having only a reservation of six shillings and eight-pence *per annum* to the king and his successors.

The facts were laid before the lords of the treasury by the petitioners, who cannot say but they were all well heard, well understood, and, I hope, well represented; only with this remark, that the day designed by the lords of the treasury for the grant was dated, and came to the privy-seal, a month before the lords of the treasury had appointed the petitioners to be heard at the treasury against the grant. The next stage that we had, was to attend the grant from the treasury to the privy-seal, where, I must confess, the reason and complaints against the grant were heard and received with all candour and goodness of that noble lord who had the custody of the seal; and I truly believe he has represented the whole affair; and that is the reason at present that this grant halts, I suppose till the parliament rises, and then I doubt not but it will find legs to take its journey.

Having made the applications in their proper places to stop the said grant, and that without success, it became a grievance, and we hope this honourable house will redress it. These lordships have been for many years the revenues of the kings of England, and the support of many princes of Wales, have been settled upon them and their heirs, and the kings of England by sundry patents, and confirmed by many acts of parliament.

These royal dominions in most reigns have been attacked by great and powerful favourites; for in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, some part of these revenues were granted to some of her creatures; but attended with so many law-suits, and general distractions, that the queen interposed, and the freeholders gave large compositions for their peace, the queen confirming their estates by a charter.

In the fourth year of King James I. these lordships were settled on Prince Charles, and his heirs, kings of England; but his servants (as most courtiers are willing to make use of the opportunity) got some grant, of most part of that revenue, which proved so vexatious and troublesome to their country, that the freeholders came to another composition, and gave 10,000*l.* for their peace, and had another charter of confirmation of

their rights, and for the settling of their estates, tenures, &c. which was confirmed in parliament in the fifth of King Charles the First; in the late reign (however calumniated) there were many and great applications made for some grants of some lands of these lordships, which were always rejected, as too powerful for a subject. If part were so, what would the whole be?

History and records tell us, that the grant of these lordships have been very fatal to the prince or potentate, the one either losing his crown, or the other his head: It is therefore dangerous meddling with such ominous bounties.

I must likewise observe to you, that the Long Parliament in Charles the Second's reign, when they passed an act for the fee-farm rents, excepted those within the principality of Wales, which is a plain intimation, that the parliament thought them not alienable, or fitting to be aliened; but rather to be preserved for the support of the prince of Wales.

There is a great duty lies upon the freeholders of these lordships on the creation of the prince of Wales: They pay the prince of Wales 800*l.* for mizes; which is such a duty, service, or tenure, which is not to be severed from the said prince of Wales; and it will be very difficult to find how this tenure can be made reconcilable to this noble lord's grant.

If we are to pay these mizes to this noble lord, then he is *quasi* a prince of Wales, for this duty was never paid to any other; but if it is to be paid to the prince of Wales, and this noble lord too, then we are doubly charged: But if it be to the prince of Wales, when he has no royalty left in that dominion, and not to this noble lord (who, by this grant, is to have the whole lordships) it relates a repugnancy in the tenure of our estates.

But I suppose the grant of this principality is the fore-runner of the honour too; and then I shall fancy we are returning to our original contract: For, as story tells us, we were brought to entertain a prince of Wales, by recommending him to us, as one who did not understand the English tongue; and our forefathers thence inferred, that he must be our countryman, and no foreigner, but one that understood the British language. How we were deceived therein is plausible! I suppose this lord does not understand our language; nor is it to be supposed he will come amongst us to learn it! nor shall we be fond of learning his!

But since I have minded you of the Welch original contract, which is of so long standing, I would not have you forget another contract, made about seven or eight years since, which is the foundation of our present government; I mean the Bill of Rights and Liberties, and settling the succession of the crown, which is so much forgot, touching the discourse and practice, that I have not heard it named in parliament but once in the last sessions, and I find it was much forgot in the administration. I would gladly know from those who are better versed in the prerogative learning than myself, whether his majesty can, by the Bill of Rights, without the consent of parliament, aliene, or give away, the inheritance, as an absolute fee of the crown lands? If he can, I would know to what purpose the crown was settled for life, with remainder in succession, if the tenant for life of the crown can grant away the revenues of the crown, and what is incident to it? Or can the king have a larger estate in the revenues than he has in the crown to which it belongs? Far be it from me to speak any thing in derogation of his majesty's honour or care for us; it cannot be expected he should know our laws, who is a stranger to us, and we to him, any more than we his councils (which I wish we did) I mean those new immediate advisers, and ministers, through whose hands this grant did pass, by advising the king to grant, what by law he could not.

These counsellors and ministers are guilty of the highest violation of the laws and liberties of England, and strike at the very foundation of succession, and tear up the Bill of Rights and Privileges by the roots.

It was their province and duty to have acquainted the king of his power and interest, that the ancient revenues of the crown are sacred, and unalienable in the time of war and people's necessities.

By the old law it was part of the coronation-oath of the kings of England, not to aliene the ancient patrimony of the crown without consent of parliament; but as to these oaths of office, most kings have court-casuists enough about them, to inform them that they have a prerogative to dispense with such oaths; especially when their interest (as it generally does) goes along with their council.

It has been the particular care of all parliaments, in all ages, to keep an even balance betwixt king and people; and therefore when the crown was too liberal in its bounties, the parliament usually resumed those grants which were very frequent: For, from the reign of Henry the Second to the sixth year of Henry the Eighth there was one or more bill of resumption in every one of these reigns, save one in the time of Henry the Fourth, there was an act of resumption of all that was granted from the prince of Wales, in all that principality; and those acts were looked not upon by those princes (of which some were both good and great) as any lessening or diminution of their prerogative; it being considered, that kings have their failings as well as other men, being cloathed with frail nature, and apt to yield to the importunities of their favourites and flatterers; therefore it becomes necessary, that the great council of the nation should interpose for the interest of the king and people.

The Commons of England always entertained an honourable jealousy of their prince, when they perceived their expences at home, or abroad, their gifts and boons to favourites, to be too large and exorbitant. And as we are an island, and subject to invasion, so the parliament of England were very watchful that other countries should not outdo them in trade and naval strength: That foreigners should have no more footing, strength, or settlement, than was conducing to carry on the trade and commerce of the nation; and whenever our princes entertained foreigners of their council and chief advisers, the people of England were restless and uneasy, till they were removed out of the king's council; nay out of the nation; and in history and parliament are many instances, that great men and favourites, being foreigners for procuring to themselves too large a proportion of the royal revenues, especially in time of war, and people's necessities. As for instance: in King Stephen's time, who usurped the crown of England from Maud the empress and her son King Henry the Second: William de Ipres, a Netherlander, was brought over, with a great number of his countrymen, to which William de Ipres, the king *de facto* gave an earldom, and made him a great confidant, that he was in all councils, and obtained great grants, not only for himself, but for his then called Flemings, who swarmed so thick about the king's court, that Englishmen were scarce known or rewarded. At which time, the English were so exasperated, that they importuned King Henry the Second, when he obtained the right of his crown, to seize on all King Stephen had given to his foreign favourites, and his accomplices, and to banish him and his friends the kingdom.

The same complaint was made to Richard the First, for removing and taking away the Duke of Saxony, his own nephew and sister's son, and all his German friends, as being foreigners by birth. The same address was made to Henry the Third, to banish his half-brother, and all their prince's friends.

The same address was made by the people to Edward the Second, to do so with the lineage of Gaveston and his Gascoiners. And did not Edward the Third do the same with his Bohemian friends? Henry the Fourth, and other following princes, took the same method, on the humble and hearty petition of their people; sometimes in parliament, and sometimes out.

And in these cases, the kings seized, and took to themselves, all the revenues of the crown, that they had given them, and always sent those foreigners to their own coun-

try, which the people of England had disliked, and opposed them, fearing both their power and council, and that they would become a burden to the people; and that England was able to foster none but her own children.

I must confess, I am strangely troubled with strange apprehensions of our deplorable state: We are in a confederacy in war, and some of those confederates are our enemies in trade, though planted among us; some in the king's council, some in the army, and the common traders have possessed themselves of the out-skirts of the city; we find some of them naturalized, others made denizens: Every parliament we find endeavouring for a naturalization, and that warmly solicited by the court party: We see our good coin gone, and our confederates openly coining base money and Dutch alloy: We see most places of power and profit given to foreigners: We see our confederates in conjunction with the Scotch, to ruin our English trade: We see the revenues of the crown daily given to one or other, who make sale of them, and transmit their estates elsewhere from amongst us: But what they can get from us, they secure in their own countries. How can we hope for happy days in England, when this great lord, and other foreigners (though naturalized) are in the English and Dutch councils? If these strangers (though confederates) should be of a different interest, as most plainly they are in point of trade; to which interest is it to be supposed these great foreign councils would adhere? So that I see, when we are reduced to extreme poverty, (as now we are very near it) we shall be supplanted by our neighbours, and become a colony to the Dutch. I shall make no severe remarks on this great man; for this great man makes us little, and will make the crown both poor and precarious.

And when God shall please to send us a prince of Wales, he may have such a present of a crown made him, as a pope did to King John, who was surnamed *Sans-Terre*; and was by his father made lord of Ireland; which grant was confirmed by the pope; who sent him a crown of peacock's feathers, in derogation of his power, and poverty of his country.

I would have you consider we are Englishmen, and must, like patriarchs, stand by our country, and not suffer it to be tributary to strangers. We rejoice that we have beat out of this kingdom popery and slavery; and now, with as great joy, entertain Socinianism and poverty: And yet we see our rights given away, and liberties will soon follow.

Thus have I represented to you the nature of this mighty grant to this noble lord, and the ill consequence that must attend the public, and more particularly our country, by the passing of it. The remedies our forefathers took to cure these ills are well known.

I desire more redress than punishment, and therefore shall neither move for an impeachment against this noble lord, nor the banishment of him; but I shall beg that he may have no power over us, nor we have any dependency on him.

Therefore I shall conclude my motion, That an address be made to his majesty, to put a stop to the grant that is passing to the Earl of Portland, of the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, and other lands in the principality of Wales; and that the same be not granted but by consent of parliament.

This before the lords of the treasury.

Minheer Benting, Earl of Portland, begged of King William the lordships of Denbigh, Bromfield, and Yale, in the county of Denbigh, to him and his heirs for ever. The warrant coming to the lords of the treasury; the gentlemen of the country, upon one or two days notice, were heard against the grant before them, viz. the Lord Godolphin,

Sir Stephen Fox, Sir William Trumball, and John Smith, Esq. on Friday the 10th of May 1695.

Sir William Williams

Said, That it is part of the ancient revenues of the Prince of Wales, and that the Welch were never subject to any but God and the king; and that none shewed their allegiance more than the Welch. That in the statute for granting of fee-farm rents, there was a particular exception of the Welch rents, which imposed, 'That the parliament took the Welch revenues not to be alienable:' Yet upon the creation of a Prince of Wales, that there were mizes of 800*l.* payable out of these lordships to the Prince of Wales; and though there were none, yet he hoped and doubted not but to see one of the present king's own body.

Sir Roger Puleston,

That the revenues of these lordships did support the government of Wales, by paying the judges and others their salaries; and if given away there will be a failure of justice.

Mr Price.

It was said, That the grant that was making was of a large extent, being five parts in six of one country, which was too great a power for any foreign subject to have; and the people of the country too great to be subject to him. That there is fifty mean lordships held under those manors: That there was above 1500 freeholders; and that there were wastes and commons of many thousands of acres; and that there were mines of lead and copper of great value, and the present rents received, about 1500*l.* per annum. That courts were kept in all those lordships in the king's name: That all or most of the gentry of that country were tenants to the king, and suitors to his court, and thereby obliged to the king by a double allegiance: Their general allegiance as subjects, and their particular allegiance as tenants. And if the king gave away one, it was to be feared it would lessen the bounds of the other, since it is observable, that interest and property have an ascendant over duty. That those lordships were formerly lordships marches, which was occasioned when William the Conqueror had England brought to subjection; but could not subdue the Welch country. He gave to his Norman lords some neighbouring lands in Wales, and furnished them with men and arms; and what ground they could get from the Welch by insurrection or conquests: These Norman lords were to hold as lordships marches, which were made boroughs and palatinates, and what they got or usurped by their power, they maintained by severity or oppression; and under these vassalages the Britons continued until the 27th of Henry VIII. which was the time the statute of Timon was made, and they esteemed it their happiness to be under the English laws and government, and so have continued to this day; none having more eminently signalized their constant loyalty to their rightful king than themselves. But if his majesty shall think fit to disunite them by this grant, and put them under a foreign subject, it is putting them in a worse posture than their former estate, when under William the Conqueror and his Norman lords.

The Britons were always men of courage and sincerity, and yet of resentment; though Henry IV. and Henry V. were martial princes, and had a hatred against the Britons, because they persevered in their duty to Edward II. who was their rightful, though unfortunate king; and made most scandalous and reproachful laws against them: Yet it is worth remark, that those kings had never peaceable or happy days, until they reconciled themselves to those great people. Not to tell the victory of Owen Glendower, who was an inferior person of the long robe; but when a stranger would have encroached upon the waste and commons of his neighbours, his laws and

arms, with his neighbours' assistance, became a terror to the English nation. It was worth consideration what little the king hath to grant, it is a revenue that belongs to the Prince of Wales; and in case of want of such, it vesteth in the crown, rather an *usufructure*, than a property, till a prince be created; to whose creation the revenues are annexed by these, though unusual, words in the law: 'To him and to his heirs who shall be kings of England.' By the statute of 21 Jacob. cap. 29. in the preamble of which it was doubted whether Charles Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall could grant leases of the duchy lands for three lives, or any longer than his own life; though the statute adds, he had of inheritance in a special form of limitation, differing from the ordinary rule of inheritance of the common law, and therefore necessary to have confirmed in parliament: the use that is made of that statute in this case is—if the Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, who have an inheritance in their revenues, cannot grant estates without parliament for any longer than their own lives; how then can his present majesty, who is our king by modern contract, and has but an estate for life in possession in the crown, by the act of settlement, grant away the inheritance and absolute fee of the principality of Wales?

If the aid of parliament was necessary to help in one case, it was more necessary in the other. It is well known in former reigns, there have been frequent acts of resumption, which always passed when the people groaned under the weight of heavy taxes, and the nation in war. If that was a reason for the legislative power to pass a bill of resumption, it is still as good a reason for his majesty not to grant; since we are both in war, and under the heaviest pressure of taxes history bears testimony of. Let it be considered, can it be for his majesty's honour or interest (when his people hear this and understand it) that he daily gives away the revenues, and more, the perpetuity of his crown revenues, to his foreign subjects? Good kings, after a long and chargeable war, were accustomed to tell their people, that they sorrowed for hardships the nation underwent by long war and heavy taxes, and that now they would live on their own; but it is to be feared, if grants are made so large, and so frequent, there will be nothing of the king or his successors to call their own to live upon.

It is to be hoped your lordships will consider, that we had but one day's notice of this attendance, and must come therefore very much unprovided; but yet we doubt not but these hints and broken thoughts we have offered to your lordships, you will by your great judgment improve, whereby the ill consequences of this grant may truly be represented to his majesty.

Lord Godolphin.

Had not the Earl of Leicester those lordships in grant to him in Queen Elizabeth's time?

Sir Robert Cotton.

I believe I can give the best account in that case: The Earl of Leicester had but one of those lordships, and that was Denbigh; he was so oppressive to the gentry of the country, that he occasioned them to take up arms, and to oppose him, for which three or four of my wife's relations, of the Salisburys, were hanged; but it ended not there, for the quarrel was kept still on foot, and the earl glad to be in peace, and so grant it back to the queen, and it has been ever since in the crown.

Lord Godolphin.

You have offered many weighty reasons, and we shall represent them to his majesty.

THE

OF

THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III

—————

AND

THE

TRACTS
DURING
THE REIGN OF KING WILLIAM III.

CLASS THIRD.
MILITARY TRACTS.

KING WILLIAM III.

CLASS THIRD.

MILITARY TRACTS.

A true and exact Account of the Regiments of Horse and Foot in the Service of their Majesties King William and Queen Mary; and also an Account of the Irish Forces under the late King James. Written by a late Captain of Foot in the Lord Castleton's Regiment in England, now at Lisburn in Ireland, to his Friend in London. Together with a perfect Relation of the most remarkable Actions lately there, and particularly since the wounding of Colonel Owsley. In a Letter from Lisburn of the 26th of May, 1690.

This and the following Tracts relate chiefly to the state of Ireland during the war which raged there in 1689 and 1691. It has been judged unnecessary to separate some, which rather relate to civil affairs, from the others, because they refer to the same general subject, and throw mutual light on each other.

SIR,
ACCORDING to my promise in my last, I have sent you the following account.

A List of the English Army.

HORSE.

Princess Anne's regiment.
The General's regiment.
Major General Sir John Lanier's reg.
Lord Devonshire's reg.
Lord Delameer's, now Col. Russel.
Col. Langston's reg.
Lord Hewett's, now Col. Byerly.
Col. Villers's reg.
Col. Coy's reg.
Six troops of guards.
Mr Harbord's troop.

DRAGOONS.

Royal Regiment, Col. Hefford's.
Col. Leviston's regiment.

FOOT.

Princess Anne's regiment.
Lieut. General Dowglass's reg.
Major General Kirk's reg.
Col. Beaumont's reg.
Brigadier Sir John Hanmor.
Brigadier Steward.
Col. Babington's reg.
Sir Henry Bellasis's reg.
Col. Careston's reg.
Col. Deering's reg.
Earl of Drogheda's reg.
Col. Erle's reg.
Col. Floyd's reg.
Col. Fowlk's reg.
Col. Grebin's reg.

Col. Hasting's reg.
 Col. Herbert's reg.
 Lord Kingston's reg.
 Lord Lisburn's reg.
 Earl of Meath's reg.
 Col. Trelawney's reg.
 Col. Wharton's, now Brewer's reg.
 Col. Cutts's reg.

Inniskillingers.

Col. Owsley's reg. of horse.
 Col. Winn's reg.
 Col. Conningham's reg. } Dragoons.

Lord George Hamilton's reg. }
 Gustavus Hamilton's reg. } Foot.
 Col. Tiffin's reg. }

Derry Foot.

Col. Michelburn's reg.
 Col. White's reg.
 Col. St John's reg.

The French and Dutch Guards.

Col. Lecallimot's regiment.
 Col. Du Cambon's reg.
 Le Melonier's reg.
 Nassau.
 Vitte.

Note, None of the Danish horse or foot are here particularly inserted, which are 6000 foot and 1000 horse.

Colonel Owsley (since his shot upon the belly, and upon recovery) sent out a detachment of his horse seventeen miles into the Irish quarters (beyond our frontiers) who upon Sunday the 18th instant put to flight the Irish, and brought back four hundred black cattle, three hundred sheep and lambs, and eighty horse, whereof about twenty fit to serve for dragoons.

An intelligence from Dublin informs, that the French have begun to fire the suburbs, in order to make the city more defensive, and less obnoxious to our incursions and bombs. It is believed they will burn every place they desert, on design to prevent our winter quarters near them in houses, and to enforce us to encamp, whereby the cold weather might destroy our army.

At present all affairs wait the king's arrival (which God grant safe and speedy) and then a method of marching will soon follow.

A List of the Irish Army.

| HORSE. | | Troops. | Men. | | | |
|---------------------|----|---------|------|----------------------------------|-------|------|
| | | | | Sir James Cotters | 12 | 50 |
| | | | | Col. Maxwell | 12 | 50 |
| Lord Tyrconnel | 9 | 50 | | | | |
| Lord Galmoy | 9 | 50 | | | 74 | 3800 |
| Col. Sarsfield | 9 | 50 | | Troop of guards commanded by the | | |
| Col. Sutherland | 8 | 50 | | Lord Dover | | 200 |
| Lord Abercorn | 8 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. Hen. Luttrell | 8 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. John Parker | 8 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. Nich. Pursell | 10 | 50 | | | | |
| | | | | FOOT. | | |
| | | | | | Comp. | Men. |
| | | | | A regiment of foot guards | 20 | 90 |
| | | | | Lord Montcastle's reg. | 13 | 92 |
| | | | | Earl Clencarty, ditto. | | |
| | | | | Lord Fitz James's reg. | | |
| | | | | Col. John Hamilton's reg. | | |
| | | | | Col. Clenricart's reg. | | |
| | | | | Earl of Antrim's reg. | | |
| | | | | Earl Tyrone's reg. | | |
| | | | | Lord Garmongstone's reg. | | |
| | | | | Lord Clark's reg. | | |
| DRAGOONS. | | | | | | |
| Lord Dungan | 10 | 50 | | | | |
| Lord N. O'Neal | 10 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. Den. Obryan | 12 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. Simon Luttrell | 10 | 50 | | | | |
| Col. Clifford | 10 | 50 | | | | |

Lord Galway's reg.
 Lord Slaney's reg. ditto.
 Lord Duleck's reg. 13 62
 Lord Kilmore's reg.
 Sir John Fitzgerald's reg.
 Sir Morris Euster's reg.
 Col. William Nugent's reg.
 Col. Henry Dillun's reg.
 Col. John Grase's reg.
 Col. Richard Butler's reg.
 Col. Edward Butler's reg.
 Col. Thomas Butler's reg.
 Col. J. Bowker, now Lord Boylen's reg.
 Col. Charles Moor's reg.
 Col. Cormack Oneal's reg.
 Art. M'Mehan, Earl of Westmeath's reg.
 Col. Charles Cavenah's reg.
 Col. Charles Macalamoor's reg.
 Col. Gerard Oneal's reg.
 Col. Neal Brown's reg.
 Col. John Barret's reg.
 Col. Dan. O'Danavan's reg.
 Col. Olives O'Gara's reg.
 Sir Mic. Creach, L. Mayor of Dublin's reg.
 Sir Dan. Brown's reg.
 Sir Dudley Bagnal's reg.
 Col. Charles O'Brian's reg.
 Col. Roger Mac Elliot's reg.
 Lord Kilmallox's reg.

Lord Inveah's reg.
 Col. John Brown's reg.
 Col. Edward Nugent's reg.
 Col. M'Mahan's reg.
 Col. Edward Reyley's reg.
 Col. Fielding's reg. ditto.

| | |
|--------------|-------|
| Horse | 3450 |
| Dragoons | 1800 |
| Horse Guards | 200 |
| Foot Guards | 1800 |
| Foot | 37882 |
| <hr/> | |
| Total | 47132 |

Disbanded.

Major General Boysloe's reg.
 Lord Castle Connal's reg.
 Col. Rog. O'Connel's reg.
 Col. Charles Geahagan's reg.
 Col. Many O'Donnel's reg.
 Col. James Butler's reg.
 Col. Rog. O'Cahan's reg.
 Col. Ch. Kelly's reg.
 Col. Bryan Mac Dermot's reg.
 Col. James Talbot's reg.
 Col. Ulick Bourk's reg.
 Sir Edward Scot's reg.
 Col. Miles O'Reyley's reg.

The quarters of the army uncertain, being every day rowling, and much scattered.

Note, Though each troop and company are said to have the foregoing numbers of men, yet few or none are full; neither have they arms for near the number, and many are armed with scythes.

The French recruits landed this spring are not inserted.

But it is observable, that the Irish and French cannot march into the field with this number, nor encamp; because, by all reasonable conjecture, their garrisons will require, viz.—Dublin 7000, Drogheda 3000, Cork 1000, Kinsale 3000, Limerick 2000, Galway 2000, Athlone 2000.

Also their policy is to defer the war upon a defence; hoping the brass pay will exhaust the English current coin.

The keys of Dublin are in French hands. The bomb-carts and carriages painted with flower-de-luces. So that the distinction is not so much William and James, as England and France, or Protestant and Papist.

A Letter from a General Officer to a Colonel, and several Officers and Soldiers under King James, now in the present Service.

An artful attempt to seduce the soldiers of King James II.'s forces, now fighting against him under King William, to return to the allegiance of their former sovereign.

I MUST own (noble gentlemen and fellow-soldiers) that I was one of those who were misled as well as you, by the apprehensions that our religion was in danger, had not the Prince of Orange come opportunely to redeem it: But I can upon my salvation say (and I hope so may many of us) I had no other design in closing with his troops, but only to have obtained a free parliament, and such laws as would have secured our religion and property, which was pretended then to be invaded. It never entered into my thoughts, neither had I the least suspicion that the prince aimed to dethrone his father, or to embroil us in such an expensive war, to the utter impoverishment of our country. 'Tis true, we soldiers are not usually politicians, and therefore could not so easily pierce into the hidden intentions of ambitious men; but we have so much sense as to remember how kind a master King James was to us, how duly he paid us, and yet never sought a penny from the country for it: Whereas now, though in all our quarters we hear nothing but complaints of want of trade, scarcity of money, and excessive taxes, yet you know how ill we are paid. We, who have undergone as much fatigue in Ireland as ever army did: We, who with the expence of so much blood, poverty, hunger, fatigue, and sickness, have reduced that kingdom, find now so little regard had for us, that instead of a recompence we can neither get cloaths nor money, nor horses, for those that we lost in service; and are forced to oppress our native country for mere subsistence. It repents me at my soul, that we took so much pains there to expel so good a king and master, from a country which was only left him for his shelter; which shews we fought for fighting-sake, without reflecting on the justice of the cause, or the consequences of such a victory.

Now methinks our eyes ought to be opened; for my part I can foresee nothing but an inevitable ruin to our country, if we persevere to resist our gracious, indulgent master. The scene of war must be translated from Flanders hither, and then my heart will bleed to think what miseries our poor country must endure. We have seen, felt, and contributed to the fate of poor distressed, desolate Ireland; but, alas! your pampered island, as it is less used to sufferings, will find smaller sufferings more intolerable, and yet must suffer much more than they have done, if we repent not in time, and welcome back our sovereign. It seems he has taken a resolution to come with a considerable force of his own subjects, intermixed with strangers, to recover his right: It behoves us then to consider seriously why we should oppose him? Can we expect any pay from our present riders (I call them so, who make us, like so many tame asses, bear every burden) when most of the nation's money is sent to support the confederates? Have we not found by woeful experience, that none are looked upon, preferred, or paid, but Danes, Brandenburghers, and our hogan mogan Dutch, and that we Englishmen can get no advancement, unless by the interest of these foreigners? You see

how far we are from being trusted in our native country where we might be merciful in our defence of it, and spare the stores, the wealth and blood of our friends and relations; when we must all be driven on ship-board (though 'tis contrary to the laws of England, there being now no martial law in force) which occasioned many of our fellow soldiers to shoot to death their own comrades for only desiring their pay, and sent to fight the confederates quarrel in Flanders, to make room for twenty-thousand foreigners, who are now about to be purchased with our very pay, at no less a rate than three hundred and fifty thousand pounds, to come and harass our country, and destroy and burn what they cannot defend, that if they cannot, their enemies also may not be better for it, but the country desolate. Whereas we know King James has a true English soul, and a true compassionate tenderness for his country. All he desires is liberty to all, that all may live in peace and plenty; whilst King William sets his whole mind to support the Dutch, to make them our masters, and give away our bread and traffick from us.

Let us then at last be Englishmen, lovers of our country, and of our lawful, kind, and bountiful king, and nothing will be wanting to us. We shall have honour, peace, and plenty, but above all, a quiet conscience, if we return to our duty, and save our native country from ruin and desolation. You cannot but see the country desires, and justly deserves it, at our hands. They expect, that as we were the first that gave the prince of Orange this advantage to rule us with a rod of iron, and lavish away our gold and silver amongst his foreigners, so we should be the first to assist King James to return without any bloodshed. He has many friends, and every day gains him more; and however we may fool ourselves with the vain hopes of King William carrying us into the heart of France, and keeping up the confederacy, neither the one, nor the other, can succeed. France is too strong for us to attack it; and the confederacy too weak to subsist much longer. It must break, and if now we should be so barbarous to oppose our old master, then he will be able to come in with much more force than we can resist; and we shall neither have the credit nor the comfort of being instrumental to such a blessing.

Let us therefore at his first appearance shew ourselves true Englishmen, own our king, own our laws, own our country and kindred, and not fight Dutch quarrels to make ourselves the laughing-stock of all nations; or as so many fools, who, in the midst of so clear a light, could not see our own and our nation's interest.

I write not this out of any discontent. I have had as much favour from King William as any other officer. I have not been dealt with as my Lord Marlborough, or my Lord Torrington, or any of those other English officers who were lately seized and imprisoned (we are certain) for no other reasons, but to prefer strangers to their commands, and it may shortly be our fate: But I have a true sense and feeling of the miseries our country must suffer, if we oppose our lawful king, which must cause more and more supplies to be sent on both sides, and so make our country an aceldama, or field of blood; whereas we now of the soldiery, if we have honest English hearts, may turn the scale, make ourselves and all our posterity happy, and restore peace and plenty to old England, and have all our arrears paid us. For King James truly loves his country, and its peace and welfare, and ever was the best master to his soldiers of any prince in Europe: And we may be assured that whatever foreigners our true and lawful king brings in (if we shew ourselves just and loyal) will soon be honourably dismissed, and we employed to regain our trade, and repair the losses this Dutch stratagem hath brought upon us. King William is wholly theirs, and they for themselves: Why should not we be for ourselves, as our king is for us? If we join as brethren, and honest Englishmen, we need not fear ambitious or self-ended courtiers, nor Dutch councils. We have the countries hearts and wishes, and they will fully requite us for freeing them from endless taxes, and still growing miseries.

Noble friends, and fellow soldiers in arms, I write not this but upon most serious deliberation, not only with myself, but with the best of our companions, and the most eminent amongst the nobility and gentry of England, who heartily concur with me in their wishes, and will also concur with us with their lives and fortunes, if we acquit ourselves like honest true Englishmen, and lovers of our country. Which with them and (I hope) with you, I resolve to do, to the utmost of my power, who am,

Noble Gentlemen and Fellow-Soldiers,

Yours in all Sincerity.

Aphorisms relating to the Kingdom of Ireland, humbly submitted to the most Noble Assembly of Lords and Commons, at the great Convention at Westminster.

At this period, the English parliament and people entertained the strongest jealousy of the independence of Ireland. These aphorisms are in the spirit of a set of resolutions, passed by the English House of Commons in 1698, for the purpose of asserting the dependence of Ireland on the crown of Great Britain, in opposition to the tenets of Mr Molyneux's treatise, entitled, "The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England."

When likewise the said committee made their report, it was unanimously resolved, "That the said book was of dangerous consequence to the crown and people of England, by denying the authority of the king and parliament of England to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland, and the subordination and dependence that Ireland has, and ought to have, upon England, as being united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm: And that a bill, entitled, An Act for the better Security of his Majesty's Person and Government, transmitted under the great seal of Ireland, whereby an act of parliament made in England was pretended to be re-enacted, and alterations therein made, and diverse things enacted also, pretending to oblige the courts of justice and the great seal of England, by the authority of an Irish parliament, had given occasion and encouragement to the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book. Four days after, the Commons, in a body, presented an address to the king; wherein they laid before his majesty the dangerous attempts that had been of late made by some of his subjects of Ireland to shake off their subjection to, and dependence on, this kingdom; which had manifestly appeared to the Commons, not only by the bold and pernicious assertions, in a book published and dedicated to his majesty, entitled, The Case of Ireland being bound by Acts of Parliament in England stated, but more fully and authentically by the votes and proceedings of the House of Commons in Ireland, in their late sessions: And whereby the forementioned bill, sent hither under the great seal of Ireland, whereby they would have an act passed in the parliament of England, expressly binding Ireland, to be re-enacted there, and alterations therein made; some of which amounted to a repeal of what is required by the said act made in England; and in other of the said alterations, pretending to give authority to, and oblige the courts of justice and great seal here in England: That this they could not look on but as an occasion and encouragement in the forming and publishing the dangerous positions contained in the said book: That the consequences of such positions and proceedings would be fatal to this kingdom, and even to Ireland itself, that they needed not to be enlarged on or aggravated: Therefore, as they rested satisfied, that his majesty, by his royal prudence, would prevent their being drawn into example; so they assured his majesty of their ready concurrence and assistance, in a parliamentary way, to preserve and maintain the dependence and subordination of Ireland to the imperial crown of this realm: And they humbly besought his majesty, that he would give effectual orders, to prevent any thing of the like nature for the future, and the pernicious consequences of what was passed, by punishing

and discountenancing those that had been guilty thereof: That he would take all necessary care that the laws which direct and restrain the parliament of Ireland in their actings be not evaded, and strictly observed: And that he would discourage all things which might, in any degree, lessen the dependence of Ireland upon England.' To this his majesty's answer was, 'That he would take care that what was complained of might be prevented and redressed as the Commons desired.'—RALPH'S *History of England*, vol. II. p. 779.

I. "THAT Ireland is part of the dominions of England, and a kingdom subordinate to it."—This appears not only by the appeals that are made from the Chancery there, to the House of Lords here, and by writ of error from the King's Bench there, to the King's Bench here, but also by the patents which often pass under the great seal of England, for lands, honours, and offices in Ireland, and by the obligation which an English act of parliament lays on Ireland, when it is particularly named.

II. "That the crown of England hath good title to Ireland."—Not only by descent from Eva, daughter of Dermond Mac Morough, king of Leinster, whose ancestors were monarchs of Ireland, but also by lawful conquest in a just war, and by the repeated oaths and voluntary submissions of the Irish potentates and gentry in all ages, and by several statutes of recognition, and acts of parliament in that kingdom, and by above five hundred years prescription.

III. "That whoever hath the crown of England, is *ipso facto* sovereign of Ireland; and to levy war against such person is treason."—This is the natural result of the first assertion; and besides what may be collected from the statute of 11 Henry VII. of paying obedience to the king for the time being, it was so at common law, and cannot be otherwise in reason; for there is that correlation between protection and allegiance, that they must stand and fall together, and there is no difference in this case between Ireland and the Isle of Wight, or any other part of the dominions of the crown of England.

IV. "That the Lords and Commons of England have always been zealously concerned for, and liberally contributed to, the preservation of Ireland."—This appears by the many subsidies and other aids they have in all ages given towards the support of that kingdom; for Ireland was always a charge to England until the Act of Settlement was made: It cost this kingdom near 300,000*l.* per annum for some years in Queen Elizabeth's reign, and the rebellion in 1641 drained England of some millions of money, and of many thousands of men, and yet all this was spent, because,

V. "Without the subjection of Ireland, England cannot flourish, and perhaps not subsist."—For every harbour in Munster would be more prejudicial to the trade of England than either Sally or Algiers ever was; that island being so situate, that England cannot trade with Spain, the Levant, Africa, the East Indies or the West, without sailing almost in view of the old Head of Kinsale, so that England must traffic at vast disadvantage, hazard, and charge, in armed and double-manned vessels, or with great convoys. Add to this, that Ireland would be always in close league with the enemies of England, and yearly supply a vast number of able bodies to annoy it.

VI. "That Ireland was never in so much danger as it is now."—For the confederacy was never so general before, the Irish never had such quantities of arms and ammunition, they never had the city of Dublin, they never had the whole kingdom in their possession, or under their power; and, which is more than all the rest, they never had the colour or pretence of authority before this time.

VII. "That the protestants there, unless speedily relieved, must necessarily be ruined."—For the Irish, having no money, cannot support their vast army without free quarter on the English. Add to this, the decay and full stop of trade, and the

many other insupportable difficulties they labour under, and their ruin will appear inevitable without present relief.

VIII. "That no people in the world are in so miserable a condition as the protestants of Ireland."—For they are not only insulted over by their own servants, and in a certain way of beggary, but are also in continual fear and under imminent danger of being massacred.

IX. "That the English government hath been easy and favourable to the Irish."—And this evidently appears by one slight instance, viz. That the grand jury and the whole county of Cork had more trouble and charge to get rid of two Irish attorneys in the sheriffs court, and at last could not effect it, than the Irish have had to turn out most of the civil and military protestant officers in that kingdom, though some of them had got good patents for their places; and it is beyond dispute, that, for many years past, the Irish never wanted such friends at Whitehall, as made their affairs run glib in all courts of judicature and elsewhere.

X. "That nevertheless many of the Irish, and some degenerate English, would rather live under any government than that of England."—And this happens partly from the difference of humours, manners, and customs between them and us, and partly because they look upon the first conquest of Ireland, and the subsequent confiscations, to be injurious, and think a foreigner would restore them; but chiefly this aversion is to be attributed to the difference in religion, they conceiving us to be obstinate, incorrigible hereticks, and therefore they have often invited the pope, French, and Spaniard, to accept the government of that kingdom.

XI. "That ten thousand English well furnished and conducted, never were, nor never can be beaten by the Irish in that kingdom."—The first assertion is true, and the second is rational; for allowing the Irish gentry to be brave enough, yet the commoners have not courage or skill equal to the English, or near it; nor can the Irish keep more than ten or twelve thousand men together any long time, for want of forage and other necessaries.

XII. "However, less than fifteen, or perhaps twenty thousand men ought not now to attempt Ireland;"—because it will be necessary to make descents in several places; and when garrisons, and other necessary detachments, are deducted, there will not remain above ten or twelve thousand for the field.

XIII. "If these twenty thousand were divided into three bodies, in all probability there would be none, or very weak and short resistance."—For if four thousand landed in Ulster, six thousand in Munster, and ten thousand in the heart of the kingdom, the Irish would be distracted, and not know where to turn; for they have neither officers nor soldiers capable to make three distinct armies; experience will manifest, that in that case, finding themselves attacked on all sides, Tyrconnel would retire to Athlone, and thence to Galway, and in the first ship he could get, shift for himself as well as he could.

XIV. "However, reasonable conditions should not be denied them, if they will submit quietly."—For besides that it may prevent much mischief, and save the effusion of christian blood, it is unchristian to force them to desperation; they should have indemnity for what is past, and a connivance at the private exercise of their religion, by a competent number of priests for the future: This offer justifies our moderation, and, if refused, leaves them without excuse.

XV. "Whatever conditions are offered them will be rejected or postponed, unless backed with a sufficient force."—For they are in hopes of aid from France, and have very little foresight of what is future; it is not unusual among them to defy one day what they tremble at the next: It has been always a principal maxim in their politics, to procrastinate and delay their submission, in hopes of imaginary succours, until they

plunged themselves sometimes into a sea of misery, and it looks as if their destiny inclines that way now.

XVI. "That the Irish estates are sufficient to defray the charge of reducing them to their duty."—For of ten millions of plantation-acres of land, which there are in Ireland, the Irish have a fourth part, which to be purchased, is worth three millions of pounds.

XVII. "That the protestants are already damnified to that value, and in three months more will suffer as much again."—For, besides the interruption in trade and business, bad debts, and the particular wrongs and injuries done them, the losses of those that were forced to fly to England and elsewhere, the very land is one-third part lessened in the yearly value; and the two-thirds remaining are not worth so many years purchase by a third part, as it was *anno* 1684. For example, three hundred pound per annum, at twelve years purchase, being three thousand six hundred pound, is now but two hundred pound, at eight years purchase, which is one thousand six hundred pound.

XVIII. "The protestants of Ireland had been eternally ruined if it were not for the glorious achievements of the prince of Orange."—For if they are in so ill condition at this day, in what case would they have been, if France had leisure and means to assist the Irish, and England (in a civil war) not able to relieve the protestants there.

XIX. "The polity and true scheme of government was totally overturned in Ireland."—For where reason, and the interest of England required, that the English colony should be protected by an English army; and whereas a protestant parliament in Ireland had raised a great revenue to the crown, mostly paid by protestants, in order to maintain a protestant army, on the quite contrary that army was disbanded, with circumstances as bad as the fact, and papists introduced to guard us against themselves; and Irish brought to garrison within those walls that were purposely built to keep them out.

XX. "The law was likewise subverted."—For the force and energy of the law being resolved into trials by jury,—when the judge, sheriff, jury, witness and party were all of a piece, and that in a country where perjury is so frequent, that Irish evidence is become proverbially scandalous; what could an English protestant expect, but that many notorious murders should pass unpunished, many forged deeds should be trumped up, and many hundreds of English indicted, drawn in question, and prosecuted without so much as a probability or colour of truth.

XXI. "These injuries would have been perpetuated and legitimated, and our religion and nation destroyed there by law."—For they dissolved all corporations, on forged or frivolous pretences, and in so precipitate a manner, that they did not give competent time to draw, much less to review, the pleadings. They projected to call the eldest sons of popish noblemen by writ, and so made themselves sure of both houses of an Irish parliament.

XXII. "That the disbanded protestant officers deserve, and are fit to be employed in the recovery of Ireland."—They deserve it, and all the countenance that can be shewn them, because they have suffered much (and few people consider how much) merely for their religion and country. And they are fit, because they are acquainted with the country, the climate, and the inhabitants, and are beyond objection zealous in this cause.

XXIII. "That the prince wants neither courage, conduct, reputation, or zeal."—His attempt in England manifested his courage, his success demonstrated his conduct, and confirmed his reputation; and for the rest, the same motives that induced him to come hither, are still in being, and will prevail to advance his victorious arms to Ireland.

XXIV. "There is nothing wanting but a settled legal authority and money."—For though necessity justifies *pro hac vice*, yet our laws know no authority but what is

regal; without that there can be no parliament, nor indeed no obligation to obedience (or at most but temporary.) And as for money, though it is impossible to make a general tax seasonably for the relief of Ireland, yet perhaps a good vote of espousing the Irish concern may give credit to raise a fund, for a service so necessary and beneficial to England.

XXV. "The army will be in more danger of famine than sword."—For besides that the enemy will destroy and burn all he can, there is not in the country provision enough for both armies, and therefore great magazines must be erected at Chester, Bristol, Milford, &c. how much money soever it may cost.

XXVI. "All private understandings, in this matter of Ireland, are vain."—For no one body is able to do much, and confederacies and partnerships are lame and uncertain, because the failure of any one spoils all. Nor did any private undertaker of publick affairs ever succeed in Ireland; witness Sir Thomas Smith's project in the Ardes, and Walter Earl of Essex his in Clandeboy and the Ferny.

XXVII. "That whoever takes commission here to raise men in Ireland, does that country a great deal of wrong."—For either he takes some poor dispirited people, or such farmers, labourers, or tradesmen, as would be more useful in their vocation: Or he takes others that would of their own accord, and without pay in the militia, or otherwise, fight for their lives, families and estates; every way he robs the country of people, he hinders those that else would be raised here, and go from hence; and he makes the government depend on a broken reed, for it is impossible any men should be raised and accounted there time enough to do service, and fit to do it.

Lastly, "Though the Irish should submit, yet Ireland will need a considerable English army."—For that kingdom is much depopulated, and there will be danger of some French attempt. But, besides all this, he knows little of Ireland, who thinks that the Irish army (when disbanded) will ever be brought to work for their living. On the contrary, many of them will turn tories,¹ so that if there be not a good army in the kingdom, it will be as unsafe and troublesome as in time of war.

A Journal of the Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, with the Establishment of their Forces there.

When James II. arrived in Ireland, in 1689, he found every thing favourable to his wishes, excepting the insurrections in the province of Ulster. But with the fatality which attended all his undertakings, instead of embarking with the numerous army devoted to his service, to invade England, where King William had already become unpopular, or Scotland, where Dundee was in arms, he amused himself with calling a parliament at Dublin, as if this mock state in a country, where parliaments were but little considered at any time, could supply the want of real sovereignty.

"Only six protestants," says Dalrymple, "were returned to the House of Commons; and of the protestant peers, only five lords and four bishops gave their attendance. His speech to the parliament, and some of his public papers, were full of complaints against his English subjects; topics which he might have avoided without offence to the former, but which were of all others the most galling to the latter; because the one roused an old jealousy, the other gave a new

¹ That is, banditti or rapparees, as they were otherwise called.

provocation. By proposing too, in his speech, to pass laws for the advancement of trade, and the aggrandizing of the nation, he appeared to the English to have formed a system for abolishing the dependence of Ireland upon England, and for creating a rivalship in commerce and empire between the two nations. The parliament drew up two addresses, one of loyalty to James, the other of thanks to Lewis XIV. And they passed an act, which asserted the independence of the Irish parliament and courts of justice upon those of England; measures which were only wanting to make him completely unpopular in England."

March 25, 1689.

A PROCLAMATION issued out for a parliament to be held in Dublin, May 7; no popish bishops summoned.

May 7. Parliament met in the inns: Some lords introduced; bishop of Meath and Cork amongst the rest; the king enters with robes and crown; makes a speech: Chancellor bids the commons chuse a speaker; they go to their house, and having chosen Sir Richard Nagle, present him within half an hour; he is accepted: House adjourns till ten in the morning: Two lords called by writ; chancellor, Lord —— Nugent, and Lord Riverstown.

May 8. Bishop of Story introduced. Address of thanks to the king, and abhorrence voted. A committee appointed to draw it up. A message to the commons for their concurrence.

The king comes into the house, appoints four in the afternoon for both houses to attend him with it. A bill brought into the house by C. J. Nugent, and read twice, *rége present*. Containing a recognition of the king's title, and an abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's usurpation, and of the defection of the English; ordered after to be engrossed: Committees of grievances and petitions appointed: House adjourned till Friday morning.

May 10. King comes into the house, and stays there all the session: Bill of recognition, &c. read the third time; sent down to the commons by two judges, who report the delivery of it. A bill brought in by C. J. Nugent, for encouraging trade, by inviting strangers into the kingdom, taking only the oath of fidelity, read once. The king directs the house in the methods of proceeding; adjourned to ten next day: At four afternoon committee of petitions and trade sat; a petition preferred by Nagle against Gerard Borre, Esq. for perquisites of the clerk of parliament; Borre ordered to appear Monday following at four in the afternoon.

May 11. Bishop of Limerick introduced: House ordered to attend the king in their robes, which they did: The orders of the house read: Bill for trade read the second time, and committed: Bill of recognition brought into the house from the commons; at eleven the king comes to the house in his robes, and passes the bill; the king goes out. 'Tis disputed whether the session was not discontinued by passing the bill; moved to refer it to the judges by the bishop of Meath; over-ruled, and resolved in the negative. Adjourned till Monday.

May 13. A bill brought into the house by C. J. Nugent for altering the act of settlement; read once, and motion made for the second reading, but rejected. The king present at four in the afternoon; the committee of petitions and privileges sat; Borre's answer put in, and Nagle ordered to reply. Lord Britta's petition concerning his arrest eighteen years ago, read; affidavit ordered to be made, and on the affidavit the party to be committed to the black rod.

May 14. The peers names called; license of absence granted, and proxies admitted: Two bills brought up by the commons, and read once; one for recalling all grants of civil offices from the king, during life or good behaviour: Another against writs of error, and appeal into England; and that an act of parliament in England shall not bind Ireland. King present all the while.

May 15. Earl of Westmeath introduced bill for vacating offices, &c. read second time, and committed; Speaker quits the chair: Chief justice Nugent called up by the king to be chairman; the bishop of Meath against it for two reasons; 1st, Because able officers might be turned out without fault; 2d, It was unjust to turn men out of freehold without trial or compensation; the Lord Chancellor for it, because to the king's prejudice to grant them; The house reassumed, and the bill read a third time; at every sentence the clerk stopt, and the speaker asks the house, shall it pass without amendment? It was put to the vote; all consent but the bishop of Meath, who desired to protest, but was denied, because he offered it too late; viz. after the votes were past; king present all along.

May 16. Chief justice Nugent reports the alterations made in the Bill of Trade: The Bill against Writs of Error, &c. read the second time, and committed: Speaker quits his place; chief justice Nugent assumes it: Bishop of Meath argues against it, because against his oath of supremacy to the king; because prejudicial to the king and kingdom; robbing the king of his prerogative, and the subject of the liberty of appealing to the king in person: He desires a clause in the latter end for saving all writs of error, and appeals now depending in England: The lord chancellor for the bill, argues from the ease and benefit of the subject. The house reassumed, the bill read *seriatim*, as the other before; after that, put to the vote; all consent: The king present at all the debates. A bill read once, making it treason to bring in counterfeit foreign coin into the kingdom; referred to the committee. A petition preferred about butter-casks, and referred. At four in the afternoon the committee sits, and refers the bill about money to the judges; and that about casks to the committee of trade.

May 17. The bill about trade read twice, and passed *nemine contradicente*: Lord Primate's summons and proxy granted to the bishop of Meath, read and allowed: Objected, That the proxy should be introduced, not allowed, because the primate did not appear; but it was carried in the negative, and precedents were cited for it.

May 18. Journals of the last day read: A petition for the relief of some poor prisoners read, and referred to the committee.

May 20. Journals of the house read; Lord Dillon introduced.

May 21. Earl of Barrymore's proxy granted to the Lord Granard, allowed, but not read: Lord Dansany's proxy granted.

May 22. Lord Trimnestown and Lord Kilmahar introduced. Motion made by bishop of Meath against the sheriffs of Dublin for quartering an officer upon him: Ordered, That no peer should be quartered on; and that the sheriff should be committed to the black rod. The bill for repealing the Acts of Settlement brought up from the commons by Col. Macarty, and lodged in the house.

Observe, That nothing was done in the house for four days before, because the king waited for this bill from the commons; and that the king sent frequently for it; the black rod having called to the House of Commons six or seven times this very day to send it up, the Lords House and King spent the time in discourses and news.

May 23. Journals of last day read. The bill from the commons lodged yesterday read this day once; motion made to have it read again in the afternoon, but rejected: Bishop of Meath moves, That the lords bill might have precedence of it in reading, or at least, that both might be committed; the first rejected, the latter granted: The commons bill ordered to be read next morning.

May 24. Col. Macarty, made Baron Mount Cassan, introduced. The commons bill of repeal read again, and committed to the whole house; moved the lords bill of repeal might be read and committed, but denied. Several petitions read, put in by persons concerned under the acts; all referred except Capt. Kelly's.

May 25. Bill about counterfeit foreign coin amended, and read the third time: Controversy between Trimnestown and Dunsany about precedencies, reported by the

committee, adjudged to Trimnestown, because it was so in 1634; with a saving to Dunsany if he can shew a better right. Several petitions read, preferred by persons concerned under the acts of settlement and explanation, and by others for remainders: One by Lord Clan Melcera, to be relieved against the sale of his estate to Sir Patrick Trant.

May 27. Several petitions read, and counsel on them heard at the lords' bar, viz. Lord Galway's, Matthew's, Lord Kingstown's brother's, Sir Henry Bingham's brother's; the scope of them all was, To have savings for their remainders, and consideration for their improvements; referred all to the committee of petitions.

May 28. Several petitions read relating to the Act of Settlement; Bill of Repeal read the second time; the house adjourned during pleasure, and resolved into a grand committee; the Bill of Repeal read by paragraphs; some objections made, which occasioned some alterations. Motion made for adjourning till Thursday, because Wednesday was a holiday; the king asked, What holiday? Answered, The restoration of his brother and himself, &c. He replied, The fitter to restore those loyal catholic gentlemen that had suffered with him, and been kept unjustly out of their estates; the motion rejected.

May 29. Petitions read, and referred to the committee; the house resolved into a grand committee; the rest of the bill read by paragraphs; objections made; some overruled, others thought reasonable; king offers a new preamble to the bill, instead of that which was sent up from the commons house; assented to it. Judge Daly impeached by the commons; at four in the afternoon committee of petitions sits; chief justice Keating's petition read; Lord Forbes's and Lord Galway's adjourned to the 31st, because the 30th was a popish holiday.

May 31. Judge Daly's petition read and granted; scope of it for time to answer the commons impeachments, and to have a copy of it: Lord Galway's heard at the bar about his lady's remainder in Lord Lanesbury's estate: Proviso granted for it: Lord Riverstown reports the alterations made in the Bill of Repeal by the committee, which were all consented to.

June 1. John Brown's petition read and argued at the bar; the chairman reports the alterations and additions made to the Bill of Repeal, which are approved: Judge Daly's petition, desiring a further day for an answer, read and granted. Mrs Wall's bill against her husband read once.

June 3. Petitions read, and referred to the committee: Lord Galway's counsel heard at the bar concerning his lady's remainder, and arrears due to the heirs of Ulick, Earl of Clanricard: Lord Riverstown reports from the committee several alterations and provisos to be inserted in the Bill of Repeal; which were each twice read. Sir William Talbot came up with a message from the commons, which imported their earnest request to the lords, to pass the bill with all the expedition they could, because the heart and courage of the whole nation were bound up in it.

June 4. Journals read: Petition from the bishop of Cork for relief for arrears of rents: A bill for Mrs Wall against her husband, read the second time: Lord Riverstown reports new alterations, new provisos in the Bill of Repeal; the new ones read twice; the whole bill, with all its alterations and provisos, read; after reading, the bishop of Meath speaks against it, lord chancellor and Riverstown for it; the bishops desire leave to enter their protest, and four of the temporal lords, which were all the protestants in the house. *Mem.* That the king said, that they must not enter their protestation, but only their dissent; for protestation came in in rebellious times, and that they should not give the reasons of their protestation.

June 5. *The Bishops Protestation.* "We, the lords spiritual in parliament assembled, whose names are hereafter subscribed, having for divers reasons, then humbly offered to the House of Lords, dissented from passing the bill into a law, sent up to this honourable house from the House of Commons, entitled An Act repealing the Acts of Set-

tlement and Explanation, &c. and having obtained leave from the House of Lords to enter our dissent against the said bill, do accordingly subscribe our dissent from the said bill."

This was brought in parchment to the clerk of the parliament the next morning before the house sat, and signed, Meath, Ossory, Cork, Limerick; the like protestation in parchment signed per Granard, Longford, Rosse, Howth.

"I, Anthony Bishop of Meath, being constituted and allowed proxy for the most reverend father in God Mich. Lord Archbishop of Armagh, do, in his name and behalf, dissent from the said bill. Mich. Armagh."

The like signed by Ossory, as Waterford's proxy.

Journals of the house read: Lord Clan Maleera's case against Sir Patrick Trant heard at the bar, and adjudged against: The Lord Mountgarret petitions the house that Sir John Ivory may commit no waste on his estate; a general order made against it. Committees of trade, privileges, and petitions revived: A committee appointed for Mrs Ward's bill.

June 6. Journals read; officers of the house petition about introduction fees, read, and referred to the committee; George Kelly, constable, ordered to be committed for his insolence to Lord Longford.

June 7. Journals read: Message from the commons for a conference about exceptions to the alterations made in the Bill of Repeal; four lords appointed to meet them immediately in the chamber over the Lords House; the lords ordered only to hear their objections, and report them, which they did accordingly. The order against waste and spoiling improvements read and approved: Lord Riverstown moves, that constables and sheriffs might have power to commit the possessor that made any waste; judges opinions asked; all against it, and the house agrees with them.

June 8. The House of Commons desire to withdraw their impeachment against judge Daly, having accepted his submission, which was granted: A present conference desired by the lords upon the subject of the last conference, wherein the lords of the committee report what they agree, and what they insist on, together with the reasons why they insist on them.

June 10. Journals of the last day read: A petition of Bridges read, concerning his being turned out of possession by the proprietor; the house would do nothing in it; the rest of the morning spent in discourse.

June 11. A free conference between the two houses, concerning the Bill of Repeal; the commons insist on two things; 1st, That the present possessors may have time to remove till May next; 2dly, That all remainders may be forfeited, and vested in the king; journals read.

Establishment, May 1689.

| <i>d. p. diem. p. mens.</i> | | Men. |
|--|---|-------|
| 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 16 3 — | 1 Troop of grenadiers contains | 50 |
| 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 16 3 — | 7 Regiments of horse contain | 2750 |
| 5 $\frac{1}{4}$ — 13 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ — | 7 Regiments of dragoons contain | 3800 |
| | The royal Reg. contains 22 comp. 90 in each co. | 1980 |
| 4 — 10 — | 42 Regiments of foot, 13 comp. 62 men each | 33852 |

Total 42432

Deductions.

3 d. *per pound* for the hospital, from all soldiers and officers.

1 d. *per diem* for the cloaths, $\frac{1}{2}$ for shoes, and $\frac{1}{2}$ for cloaths. Foot.

1 $\frac{1}{4}$ *per diem* from dragoons, $\frac{1}{2}$ for furniture, $\frac{3}{4}$ for horses. Dragoons.

1 $\frac{1}{2}$ *per diem* from troopers, $\frac{1}{2}$ to the captain for furniture, 1 d. for the clerk.

HORSE, 7 Reg.

Duke of Tyrconnel
 Lord Galmoy
 Col. Sarsfield
 Col. Southerland
 Lord Abercorne
 Col. H. Lutrel
 Col. Parker

DRAGOONS, 7 Reg.

Lord Dungan
 Sir Neil O'Neil
 Col. Dan. O'Brien
 Col. Nicholas Purcell
 Col. Clifford
 Sir James Cotter
 Col. Simon Luttrell

FOOT, 42 Regiments.

Col. John Hamilton Ramsey
 Earl of Clancarty
 Col. Ant. Hamilton
 Earl of Clanricard
 Earl of Antrim
 Lord Gormanstown
 Lord Clare
 Lord Galloway
 Lord Sland
 Lord Lowth
 Lord Duleek
 Monsieur Boislon
 Sir Val. Brown

Sir John Fitzgerald
 Sir Maur. Euslaw
 Col. Wil. Nugent
 Col. H. Dillon
 Col. John Grace
 Col. Rich. Butler
 Col. Edw. Butler
 Col. Walter Butler
 Col. John Bourk
 Col. Char. Moore
 Col. Corn. O'Neil
 Col. Cavenagh
 Col. Gordon O'Neil
 Col. Nich. Brown

Sir Mich. Creagh
 Col. Brien Mac Maghon
 Col. Tool.
 Col. Oxbrough
 Col. Maccarty Moor
 Col. Barret
 Col. Farrel
 Col. Bagnall
 Lord Bagnall
 Lord Tyrone
 Col. Cha. O'Brien
 Lord Iveagh
 Col. O'Donavan
 Col. Dom. Brown

A Letter from Dublin.

This is a letter of intelligence, containing the rumours afloat at this busy period: It gives a dreadful account of the distracted state of Ulster, when King James's forces were engaged in the siege of Londonderry.

June 12th, 1689.

I, FOR some particular reasons, resolved not to write to you any more, especially being uncertain whether you received my former; or, if you did, whether they were of any use; but the particular reason of my not writing being partly ceased, I consider it is no great matter if I lose my pains. I hope to send you an abstract of what has been done in the House of Lords and Commons, having a promise of such an account from those that know them. We have had three expresses from England: John Brown the lawyer came over about a fortnight ago from Milford, and landed at Waterford; Sir J— C—'s son came in a wherry, and landed about Wickloe, but that which was most material, was from the Lord M. by some quakers, that came last week hither in a wherry; some the like went yesterday back to you; we have several expresses sent

over to you that way; and a strict embargo, lest any should follow and discover them. You must not expect the secret of their messages from me, only 'tis reported, that John Brown brought no letters with him, but came over with a design to save his iron-works from the new proprietors: I hear that upon his petition to the parliament, the possession is secured to him by a proviso, he paying rent: He reports that England is unanimous, and that we must expect an invasion by the next easterly wind. The quakers and Crosby talk likewise of an invasion, but represent the people of England as dissatisfied. I find there is still an expectation and dependence on Scotland, though not so strong as at first; we talk very confidently of a fleet, and fifteen thousand fusileers, from France; the French fleet to consist of eighty men of war: I verily believe there is something in it; without some such aid, Ireland does appear but an easy conquest, which is not the French interest. The misery of this town is very great, some being little better than dragooned by the quartering of soldiers; some have ten, some twelve, some twenty or thirty quartered on them; and yet I cannot find, that besides what came in to-day, there were above three thousand and odd men in town; but the reason is plain, each man has many quarters, and some captains make thirty or forty shillings a week by them; they come in by twelve, one or two of the clock by night, to demand quarters, and turn people out of their beds, beat, wound, and sometimes rob them: There are two or three hundred priests in town, and they are quartered likewise as the soldiers; and so are generally noblemen and gentlemen, with their retinue, though not actually in the army. I have sent you the new establishment of the forces, only I think four regiments of horse, and some of dragoons, are not yet raised. I hear all those people called rapperees, or half-pikemen, are to be mustered and armed; commissions are signing for all that can bear arms in the kingdom. Duke of Tyrconnel disbanded two thousand a few weeks ago, which are all entertained again, or at least as many as will come in; but we are most strangely uncertain in all our counsels, which is visible not only in this, but in every thing else: One day the camp near Dublin is to go on, and they work close at it, then it is intermitted and laid aside: One day we are to go into England, and send a declaration before us, and to be restored; another day we are frightened with a rumour of an army landing out of England to drive us out of all; yet the king seems very well contented and pleasant; he sleeps, eats, and is in better health than usual. Tuesday the 4th instant, we had an alarm that Derry was burnt with bombs, that the king's army had taken it, and put all in it to the sword; Nugent of Carlandstown brought this news into the House of Commons, just when they were putting to the vote, whether they should prosecute the impeachment against judge Daly; some think Nugent, being his friend, did it designedly; the news was received with loud buzzas, and in that good and jolly humour they acquitted the judge: But our Friday's express brought us another account, which was, that the king's forces had endeavoured to regain the Windmill-hill, out of which they had been beaten by the sally when Ramsey the king's general was killed, but that they were beaten off with great loss; this was on Tuesday, and by computation, about the same time the huza was made in the House of Commons. Colonel Dorrington and Colonel Nugent, two of the briskest officers of the king's army, are desperately wounded, if not dead. 'Tis reported, that seven field officers were killed or taken, and about thirty other officers. We have no certain account of the soldiers, the best account says, three hundred fell: 'Tis said they run away, and left their officers in the lurch. I am promised a list of the officers that were killed: It is said that there are not above five thousand in the king's camp at Derry, notwithstanding all that have gone down, and great many having run away as soon as they had loaded themselves with plunder, and above two thousand being killed or dead since their first going down; they shake and

* Where the Viscount of Dundee was then in arms.

tremble so when they come to charge, that they cannot fire; they that have matchlocks cannot be brought by any means to discipline, or to use them aright. this I have from a good hand. We hear that some English ships are in the lough of Derry, a boom with trees and masts is made cross the river at Culmore fort, to hinder any succours, that a ship who attempted to get up is stranded. I believe their greatest want in Derry is firing, and coals will be a very precious commodity with them and I believe in a little while they will want clothes for wearing, and drink. They talk if old Sir Charles Coot were alive, and had but a thousand horse, to the foot that are in the town, he would not fail to fight the king's army in the field. About the beginning of this month, a party of horse and foot from Inniskilling, made an inroad into the county of Cavan, they drove all the cattle off the county, they did not spare protestants who were under protection; only such as would go with them, they helped away with their bag and baggage; those that would not go, were forced to part with all to them; which they said they did, lest the king's forces should make a prey of them; they took all provision, horses and arms, they could meet with; they disarmed some of the king's forces that lay at Belturbeit, Bally-Carrig, and elsewhere; they burnt only such places as were of strength, and capable of being garrisoned; they killed none; they came as far as Finagh and Virginia, which you will find in the maps: The party is said to have been two thousand; we were alarmed at this here, and general Monsieur Rosen went down to Trim with four field-pieces, and several regiments, amongst the rest the Lord Mayor's of Dublin, who led his men himself; twelve regiments, I hear, were designed; I hear the bullets both for the field-pieces and muskets were found to have been too big, which made General Rosen storm horribly: Since the defeat at Derry, I hear he and the forces designed for Inniskilling are commanded to Derry; two of the field-pieces are come back. General Hamilton is suspected and railed at by the commonalty; but I do not believe that there is any ground for it, or that the king does entertain any thoughts of it. It is reported from good hands, that the people of Inniskilling have made up their horse near fifteen hundred, and their foot near six thousand; a party so considerable, that it is feared England may think itself concerned to save them by hastening their invasion, if they intend any. There are many discontents among the Roman catholics about the acts of settlement, and the French, for the natives look very suspiciously on them, and many do publicly say that they are sold to the French; at least, that cautionary towns are to be given them. If an army should invade us before these discontents are quieted, it is to be feared, that they would soon gain the submission of a considerable party of the Roman catholics upon good terms; and perhaps, if their help were accepted, would join to drive out the French; but England is so exceedingly slow, that it is believed they will lose the hearts of all, and even such as wish it well will not think it safe to depend on it. It is observed, that putting French officers in the place of the Irish, who raised the men, causes great discontents, many of the common soldiers run away from their colours upon it. Several protestant gentlemen in the north had commissions from the P., and have fairly run away with them into England, or come to Dublin upon protection or pardon; but the country people have chosen commanders for themselves, who have no commissions, and have formed themselves into troops and companies; of this sort are generally those in Derry and Inniskilling; they all expect to be continued in the commissions they have given themselves, when any army comes out of England; and the hope of this, 'tis believed, makes them obstinate to all offers from the king; they say, the gentlemen that left them deserve no countenance at all, but rather that some part of their estates that went away, should be given as a reward to such as staid and defended them. June the 13th, to-day the House of Commons agreed to the amendments made by the House of Lords to the Bill of Repeal, so that affair is over, and wants only the royal assent. An express came in from Cavan, which gives us this

account: That General Rosen had ordered the sheriff of that county to make a kind of a magazine of corn and other provisions in the town of Cavan, to supply the king's army in their march to Inniskilling, and had appointed two companies to guard it, and that a party from Inniskilling had surprised the guards, and taken it: Inniskilling people are certainly there, but whether they took the man is a doubt, but the provision is certainly taken. It is said there are now in Dublin nine regiments of foot, and eight more are expected; many of them are raw, and never handled arms; there are about two troops of horse; I cannot learn whose regiments they are: You may wonder I cannot give an exact account of what men are in Dublin, but the reason is, their frequent removals; sometimes in one day three regiments will come to town, and two go out; sometimes those that are expected in town will be countermanded within six or seven miles; they often come in and go out by night, and every thing is so changed and huddled, that it is impossible to give any good account. We do not confide much in these men, though the whole seventeen regiments expected were with us, because they are very raw and undisciplined. There is a general press for all horses, without exception of papists, who had favour before, but there must be no distinction, the occasion being very urgent; for the king is said not to have above a thousand good horse in all the army, most of which are in the north. The miserable usage in the country is unspeakable, and every day like to be worse and worse; many alledge that the rapperses have secret orders to fall ancw on the protestants that have any thing left; the ground of this may be their pretending such an order, for they commonly pretend an order for any mischief they have a mind to; you have had my sense of this matter before: Cork is most vilely abused by their M. Governor Boysloe. The bill for liberty of conscience is come to the House of Lords; it repeals every statute made in favour of the protestant religion, and, if lawyers may be believed, it settles popery as legally as it was in Henry VIIIth's time: You may guess from the inclosed brief, what authority Roman catholic bishops will claim over protestants. The commissioners have seized all goods of absenters, and are actually disposing of them: It is reported that they are about procuring an act of parliament to put penalties and oaths upon the concealers of any of them, and to indemnify themselves for their proceeding hitherto, which the protestants reckon plundering, and say is against all law: The same commissioners set leases of all absenters' estates, though no legal inquisition is yet past on them; some say that they set even estates of such as are in the kingdom, upon presumption that they will find some way or other to entitle the king to them; one way is, to get two or three named commissioners, who slip into some blind alehouse, and privately find a title for the king, by returning, that the possessors are absent, or rebels, though they live then upon the lands, or are in the courts of Dublin, and all this without any summons to the parties concerned, or possessors, or oaths of jurors; all this is said, and further, that several of those have come to inform the commissioners how they have been abused, but can't yet get admittance, the commissioners are so busy setting leases. The bishop of Cork's case, which you will find in the votes, and wherein the parliament refused him redress, was this: Several of his tenants owed him arrears of rent, the king seized upon their goods because they were absent; he desires to be paid his arrears out of the goods found on the lands, which he desired leave to distrain on; but he was told he must sue the tenants on the covenants of their leases, and recover his rent as he could. This is like to be a precedent, and no creditor, landlord, or mortgagee, whose tenant is absent, is like to get any thing, because the king has seized the goods and lands which were his security. I hear, likewise, where the landlords are absent, lessees are disturbed and left to seek redress from their absent landlords. The commons quarrel to Judge Daly, for which they impeached him, was upon some private discourse he had with Sir Alick Bourk, and some other gentlemen, in which he disapproved of the commons proceedings, and said, they were a kind of Massanello's

assembly, and that it could not be expected that men from whom the king took estates, would fight for him, or to this effect.

An Apology for the Protestants of Ireland. In a brief Narrative of the late Revolutions in that Kingdom, and an Account of the present State thereof. 1689.

*Quæque ipse miserrima vidi,
Et quorum pars magna fui.*

While the revolution proceeded quietly in England, a panic arose among the protestants of the north of Ireland. Tyrconnel the Lord Lieutenant had as yet declared for neither party, but his zeal for the catholic religion, and the number of papist regiments which he daily raised and augmented, reminded the inhabitants of Ulster of the insurrection of the papists in 1642. Londonderry shut her gates against a papist regiment ordered into quarters there by Tyrconnel; the inhabitants of Inniskilling took up arms, and the example of these two towns occasioned a general insurrection of the protestants through the whole province of Ulster. They made an union among the various counties, appointed a commander for each, and a general council to be held at Hillsborough. Tyrconnel temporized with the spirit of resistance which his conduct had excited, until he had persuaded Lord Montjoy, who was reckoned the head of the protestants, to go to France on pretence of accommodating matters with the late king. So soon as he arrived at Paris he was committed to the Bastile. When this news arrived in Ireland, both catholics and protestants considered it as the signal of a civil or rather religious war between them.

The present Manifesto explains the grounds of assuming arms on the protestant side.

SIR,

I am urged by the incentives of love and gratitude for the many obligations you have laid upon me, and by the conscience of my own promise, to render you an account of the late revolutions in the kingdom of Ireland; and to lay before you a true scheme of the present condition of that miserable and forlorn country. In the performance whereof, if I be necessitated to utter some unwelcome truths, I bespeak your charity to believe it does not proceed from any design of a malicious reflection, but from that irresistible force that naturally attends a faithful narration. And because the misery of exile and desertion is sensibly aggravated by their cruel and unequal censure, who neither understand the cause, nor pity the effects of so fatal a dereliction of our estates and habitations, but severely upbraid us with an unconstrained, timorous, and unnecessary flight; it will not be possible to obviate such ill-grounded cavils, or to describe the present face of affairs, without a retrospect on the countenance of things as they formerly appeared.

While Charles the Second swayed the sceptre, though the papists were too much countenanced and indulged, and many hardships placed on the protestants, especially in relation to the Act of Settlement, yet, by the favour of Heaven upon the extraordinary fertility of the land, Ireland was under very auspicious circumstances: The church flourished, trade increased, the cities and towns were every year enlarged with new additions, the country enriched and beautified with houses and plantations, the

farms were loaden with stock, and ready and quick markets there were to vent them. The laws had a free and uninterrupted course, and a standing army was so far from being a terror, that they were the comfort and security of the people: In a word, peace, wealth, and plenty, were become universal and epidemical, and all things conspired to a generous emulation with our mother and neighbour, England.

But no sooner did this bright sun set, and a new one appeared in the firmament, but clouds and vapours, storms, and tempests arose in our horizon, which have since broke out in trouble and confusion, not like to be settled and appeased, but in a general desolation, and depopulation of the whole kingdom. Indeed, at first we were flattered with some hopes of a calm season, by the arrival of the Right Honourable the Earl of Clarendon, and his establishment in the supreme command; but his commission was stinted, his authority far short of what was allowed to his predecessors in that government, and Colonel Richard Talbot (newly advanced to the ominous title of Tyrconnel) openly and impudently appeared his comptroller and supervisor; most unjustly and presumptuously assuming a power to purge the army, to divest the officers of their commissions, and to disband thousands of stout well-trained soldiers, despoiling them of the very coats they had before paid for, and turning them off naked, and bare, to beg, and seek their livelihood, treating them with great barbarity, and in a jeering and scornful manner, giving out, that he must have the whole army of one size, *i. e.* to be modellised and measured by the standard of Rome, and no man to receive pay from a popish king, but he that openly gave himself up to the avowed profession of popery. Thus was an army (not to be excelled, for their number, by any army in Europe) broken without a rout; some hundreds of gallant officers arbitrarily turned out, without the satisfaction of assigning any cause, and in their rooms notorious rebels and murderers, or the sons and offspring of such, placed; the troops and companies filled with thieves, Tories, robbers, and gaol-birds: By which act, as the insolency and inhumanity of the papists was palpably discovered, so the modesty, submission, and non-resistance of the protestants was evident to the world, by their patient undergoing this martyrdom in their fortunes. Soon after that noble earl was removed, whose administration was much disrelished by the prevalent party, because so grateful to the protestants (to accompany whose departure, and to avoid the tyranny of him that was to follow, 1500 families deserted Dublin.) To him succeeded the inglorious Earl of Tyrconnel, in his morals an atheist, in his profession a bigot, an egregious dissembler, and, if not a coward, one over careful of his own safety; a lover of himself without a rival: From whose entrance we may date the calamities and destruction of the protestant religion, and of the British interest in Ireland. For having at first culled, and afterward quite changed the army, metamorphosing mantles into red-coats, brogues into jack-boots, and cow-boys into captains, he dispersed his hellish legions among all the towns and garrisons, where the name of the Irish grenadiers became as formidable as the French dragoons. Next he proceeded to reform the courts and civil list; displacing the privy-counsellors, the judges, superseding the justices of peace, turning out the sheriffs, and changing the officers employed in the public revenue; constituting in their rooms the most inconsiderable varlets, men of no honesty, understanding, or estate, of no skill in their laws, or interest in their country. It was too soon for him to attack the church, to invade the bishopricks, or eject the ministers; but in every city and great town he erected mass-houses, re-edified the friaries, made popish coadjutors to the chaplains of every regiment, and let loose a swarm of jesuits and regulars to infest the land; and Peter Manby Dean of Derry, having apos-

* This might be understood literally as well as metaphorically; for Tyrconnel, from the facility of finding recruits, in a country full of people and fond of war, actually raised several regiments, where few soldiers were under six feet high.

tatized from the religion he was bred in, degraded himself from his function, and degenerated into a layman, yet obtained a patent to enjoy the revenues of the deanery, and all vacant bishopricks, and other church dignities, were sequestered and applied to the maintenance of the popish clergy. To complete the catastrophe, a *quo warranto* or a *scire facias* was issued to every city and corporation through the kingdom, whereof some tamely submitted to a surrender, others were condemned upon a *nihil dicit*; while such as pleaded and defended their right, had no other return for their toil and expences, but a scornful publication of a partial and illegal sentence agreed on and determined in the cabal, before the hearing in the court. A new charter was sent to Londonderry, and none made aldermen or burgesses there, but the sons and descendants of notorious rank rebels. But lest the hereticks should grow sturdy, and be in a capacity to defend themselves against the next massacre, a proclamation was issued, requiring all the officers of the militia, both horse and foot, forthwith to deliver in to the next magazine all their arms: and by this knack, all those of the church of England (for no other were of the militia) were left naked and disarmed: Soon after the justices of the peace in the several counties, were required to take away all arms from such as did not come to church, and to render them into the next stores; and by this trick all the dissenters were left utterly defenceless.

And now popery began to be triumphant, the lord deputy and his privy-council (excepting a very few) the lord chancellor, and all the judges, (except three) the attorney-general and the king's serjeants, the justices of the peace, and sheriffs in each county (except in such places where no papists were to be had) all violent and eager promoters of the Romish religion: The mass publickly celebrated in every town; the friars marching in their habits undisturbed; the army reformed to their own cue, no man countenanced, or made a candidate for any preferment, but he that truckled to the see of Rome; the charters of all cities, towns, and corporations taken away, or condemned; and ignorant, indigent, scandalous, and mean persons obtruded upon them. Titles to estates began to be questioned, and some unrighteous judgments given; and what else could be expected, when judges, jurors, and sheriffs were all of one stamp? The protestants were daily abused, and persecuted upon sham plots, which never had an existence or foundation, but in the heads of these malicious accusers; and several gentlemen were imprisoned, indicted, and tried for their lives. And Tyrconnel was heard to say to his countrymen (and, as is reported, by direction from his lord and master) You have now the sword in your hands, the king has given you your own country to be the refuge of catholics, keep it now you have it, and never suffer the damned heretics to possess it again.

In this posture of affairs, was it not high time for the protestants to look about them? to consult their safety, and by a timely removal, to avoid those imminent dangers that threatened them? They began indeed to be under dreadful apprehensions, and such as wisely foresaw the approaching miseries, and were in a capacity to do it, withdrew themselves, their families, and effects, into England and Scotland; by which means so great an obstruction was made to the circulation of money, that there followed a general decay of trade through the kingdom; the tenants were rendered unable to pay their rents, and the landlords to subsist. Nevertheless, in all the towns and counties there were multitudes, who courageously resolved to abide the brunt, and with a patient resignation to expect a day of redemption from the slavery whereunto they were subjected, resolving to follow the fate of England, or hoping for seasonable relief from them. In the mean time the Prince of Orange, having a tender regard to the gasping condition of the protestant religion, and condescending to assist the nobility and gentry of England, in their rescue from popery, slavery, and arbitrary power, the Lord Tyrconnel publickly gave out threatenng speeches, that if the prince did send any forces thither, he would raise and arm all the Irish from sixteen to sixty, and leave all the

protestants to their mercy. This proved a new and an amazing terror to the protestants; they plainly saw, that if any forces came from England, to call the papists to account, or to support them, their lives would be made a sacrifice to the fury and revenge of the enemy; and that if none came to their assistance, they remained hourly exposed to rapine, massacre, and murder; this terrible two-edged consideration took such impression on them, that abundance of men, women, and children withdrew themselves, and abandoned the kingdom.

But about the beginning of December last a letter was found, without a subscription, directed to the Earl of Mont-Alexander, giving him a friendly warning to take heed to himself, and positively averring a determinate design to massacre all the protestants through the kingdom, man, woman, and child, and this to be perpetrated precisely on the ninth of December. Copies of this letter were immediately transmitted to Dublin, and dispersed in all the adjacent counties; and it is as incredible to comprehend, as it is impossible to express, what operation this had on the minds of all people, who being either eye-witnesses of the horrid cruelties committed by the Irish in the last rebellion, without the least relenting compassion to age or sex; or having received an indelible impression of their barbarous actions, from such as were sufferers or spectators of them; they could by no consideration or arguments be rallied into any assurance, or be persuaded to adventure their safety under an armed power, or continue among those whose principles dispose them to the utter extirpation of such as they account heretics. Hereupon a vast number of people in great precipitation removed into England with their families (especially from about Dublin) leaving their goods and household-stuff behind them. With some it had a contrary effect, and generally through the province of Ulster, the inhabitants whereof began upon this alarm to stand upon their guard, and to keep strong wards and watches, resolving neither to fly nor be surprised; though many things (not known in other parts) contributed to their conviction of the reality of the intended massacre; as the voluntary confessions of certain priests in the county of Donegal, who warned their friends secretly to depart, because there was a general massacre designed; that the priests were against it, but had been over-voted by the friars. The evidence given to a justice of the peace in the county of Londonderry, that one of their titular deans was buying up horses and arms, and had declared that within two or three years past he had laid out 500*l.* in buying arms, and that he had bespoke as many iron chains to be reins for bridles, as would serve sixty horse (one of which chains, five yards long, was delivered to the said justice by the smith that made it.) The words spoken by father Daly, guardian of the friary at Armagh, who (when he heard that the Prince of Orange was to land in England) said publickly, that they might thank their devil of a king for this, for if he had destroyed all the protestants when it was in his power, they had not now called in the Dutch. But, above all, the attempt of the papists to possess Londonderry, at that very nick of time, turned the suspicion into a confident persuasion of the truth of what was reported. Londonderry was then (by the mercy of God, and the improvidence of the deputy) without any garrison at all in it, the soldiers being a little before transported upon the expedition into England; and it falling so out, that upon the very day when a copy of the above-mentioned letter was sent to that city, (namely, the 7th of December) the Earl of Antrim, with a numerous party of Highlanders and Irish, was on his march to possess and command that place; the inhabitants looked upon the advance of so many papists on the 7th day, to be the prologue to the tragedy intended to be acted on the 9th day, and judging, that if they were once admitted, all the Ulster and Conaght Irish might draw thither, and from thence diffuse themselves through

* This letter, from its style, seemed to be written by some very low person, and nothing appeared to confirm the tidings it bore. But it fell in with the passions and fears of the protestants, and received unlimited credit.

the province, and with great facility exterminate all the protestants, they (by advice of a gentleman in the neighbourhood) shut their gates and kept them out, and by his conduct defended the place, till a protestant garrison was settled in it.

And now the deputy began to exert his art, as before he had manifested his tyrannical and usurped authority; for, considering that Londonderry was out of the papists hands, and that the protestants in Ulster were very numerous, he began to cajole and flatter them, for he secretly gave out commissions for raising thirty regiments; and having circumvented the Lord Montjoy with specious pretences of moderation and peace, and prevailed with him to go on a mock embassy to King James, then in France, he condescended to certain articles which carried a shew of mildness and equity, but really were only a mask to cover his designs, and to amuse the people; and they were to this effect: 1st, That no more forces should be raised, nor more arms delivered out of the stores. 2dly, That the new levies should be dismissed. 3dly, That no forces should be sent into Ulster. 4thly, That no nobleman's or gentleman's house should be made a garrison against his will. Which stipulations the deputy heartily swore to, and assured by many direful imprecations. No sooner was the Lord Montjoy gone (who was made the messenger of his own fate, and carried Bellerophon's letters with him) but the deputy proceeded to form a new army, and gave out commissions for many regiments of horse, dragoons, and foot, to the number of forty thousand men, without any other warrant than a bare letter from his king, emptied all the stores and magazines, and furnished the soldiers with competent arms, encouraging the women and boys, and the whole rabble of people, to provide skenes and half-pikes, and to live upon the plunder of the protestants; and having no pay to give among the new levies, each captain undertook to give subsistence to his men in beef and meal for three months; and this they borrowed from the protestants, daily robbing them at noon day, and carrying away their sheep and cattle in flocks and droves. And when he had raised a formidable army, and very well knew how naked and defenceless the protestants were (having twice before disarmed them) he began palpably to discover how exact and punctual an observer he intended to be of his oaths and promises; and by the following letters from Dublin, you may see how he began to handle those that were in his clutches.

SIR,

Dublin is surrounded for thirty miles about, with popish forces newly raised, and some of the standing army; all the avenues to it are stopt and guarded: So that it is not possible to move, or travel five miles, without being stopt and examined, and for the most part disarmed, dismounted, and pillaged. The city is filled with soldiers, troopers, and dragoons, to the number of 30,000. These are quartered upon private houses as well as public, and more expected daily. Most protestants within forty miles of Dublin are pillaged, robbed, and disarmed; the trees and plantations cut down, and themselves exposed to the mercy of tories, robbers, and servants, who are now enlisted in the army. We believe they are so every where else, but cannot have an account, because all letters are opened, examined, and stopt, that bring any intelligence (by the government) that does not please the papists; only by chance we hear from some places, and find they are used like those nearer.

There is no trade, business, or money stirring in Dublin, but every body exposed to the mercy and insolence of soldiers: and when complaint is made to the government, there is no redress or help; all the forces raised have no money, nor a possibility of being paid, and therefore must be left to do as they do all at present, to plunder and pillage whom they please; when they have done in the country, and destroyed all, as they have very near done already, they will then fall a-plundering the city, which we daily fear and expect. By order of the lord deputy, the county of Meath and West-

Meath are disarmed, and their horses taken from them: They are doing the same in the county of Dublin.

They have marked all the stables in Dublin, and can take all their horses in an hour; and it is hourly expected, that they should disarm every protestant, which they will certainly do when they are a little stronger.

They are daily baking biscuit in the castle for the march of an army; they have provided, as it is said, field-pieces: As soon as they have disarmed Dublin, it is like they will march into the north to subdue the protestants there. They in probability intend to surprise them, and in order thereunto take up all horses, without regard to whom they belong; nay, they threaten not to leave so much as a hackney; by which means they may be able to set 10,000 men on horseback, and march as far as Armagh or Newry in two or three days. They stop all intercourses with the north both by sea and land; and hope to come on them unawares. It is therefore necessary for the protestants in the north to be ready at a day's warning to receive them; to guard well all the passes of the mountains, and fortify them as well as they can; to make ready provision of meal and ammunition for the field; and if no ammunition be come to them, to send ships immediately and money to bring it, otherwise they may be upon them.

The popish army will have the whole country from Armagh to Dublin to supply them; and they can have ammunition and provision come to them when they please, and will not stay for them, only so much as may be for present use.

They are bringing gentlemen into plots, and trying them upon popish oaths, by popish judges and juries; so they have served Captain Philips of Mullingar, and Mr Bowen the collector, who are to be tried next week at Mullingar, and will probably be found guilty and executed. This will only be a leading example to try and condemn other gentlemen.

Every body able to remove is going from hence; there is nobody to head the protestants if there should be occasion. There are warrants against most of the considerable men. People are so intermixed, and so near the government, that they dare not so much as meet, much less discourse any thing appertaining to the common safety. If, therefore, the protestants have no help from abroad, their ruin is unavoidable.

Feb. 22, 1688.

SIR,

All the streets in Dublin are beset with sixteen thousand men, all their houses are searched by dragoons, and all their horses taken; the lord mayor and aldermen went this day through the city, commanding all protestants, by four of the clock, to bring in their arms to their parish church; and if they left so much as a bayonet, not brought in, if upon search any were found, that house should be exposed to the mercy of the soldiers.

Dated Feb. the 25th, 1688.

The protestants of Ulster taking notice of these proceedings, and truly judging, that their destruction was approaching, and that they could only expect Ulysses's fate, to be last devoured, they began to rouse themselves into some preparations to oppose a sudden surprise, and with stout hearts (but weak hands) to assemble, and stand upon their guard; and in the eastern counties of Down and Antrim, to form an association to raise troops and companies to secure the frontiers, and to prevent the incursions of the enemy. But as their preparations were hasty, and no way competent to their necessity, so their retreat was as precipitate, and dissonant from their resolutions. The deputy having got together a vast army, the protestants in Dublin and the adjacent counties being disarmed and dismounted; those in Munster and Conaght plundered

and pillaged of all their goods, horses, sheep, and cattle; he sent down a body of fifteen thousand men into Ulster under the command of Richard Hamilton, whom he constituted lieutenant-general of the army; and (out of a design, partly to terrify, and partly to delude the desponding protestants, who hitherto had kept up their spirits in a daily expectation of relief from England) he made use of a presbyterian minister, who had a great influence upon those of his persuasion (whose number in the north was very considerable) and obliged him to write this following letter to the Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Massareen, a strenuous assertor of the protestant interest, and by it the greatest sufferer in that province; copies whereof were immediately dispersed through the several counties.

Loughbricklan, March 9, 1688.

MY LORD,

On the 6th instant I was introduced by my Lord Granard into my lord deputy's presence in the castle of Dublin; I have his pass to come and go through and back from Ulster; and though I have not his excellency's direct commission, yet I will assure you I am at least permitted by the lord deputy to acquaint the chief, and others of those of the Ulster association, with his discourse to me, which was to the effect following, to wit,

First, That his excellency doth not delight in the blood and devastation of the said province: But, however, highly resents their taking and continuing in arms, the affronts done by them to his majesty's government thereby, and by some indignities done to the late proclamation of clemency issued and dated—

Secondly, Notwithstanding whereof, is willing to receive the said province into protection, provided they immediately deliver up to his army, for his majesty's use, their arms and serviceable horses, and provided they deliver up to his excellency these three persons, viz. ————, if they remain in the kingdom, and may be had.

Thirdly, And for further manifestation of his design to prevent blood, is willing to grant safe conduct even to the said three persons, or any other of their party, to and from his excellency, and to and from Lieutenant-general Hamilton, commander of part of his army, hereafter mentioned, if they intend any peaceable and reasonable treaty: But withall will not, upon the said account, or any other, stop the march of the said part of his army, no not for one hour; and if it shall appear in such treaty, that they took up arms merely for self-preservation, then he will pardon even the said three persons also: but it is hopeless that any such thing can be made appear, seeing that many of them have already accepted and received commissions from the Prince of Orange, and display his colours in the field, as his excellency is credibly informed.

Fourthly, If these terms be not immediately agreed to, he will with a part of his army fight them: which part he intends shall be at Newry on Monday the 11th of this instant; which will from thence march to Belfast, and from thence to Coleraine and Londonderry, as his excellency intends; and that the country Irish, not of the army, men, women, and boys, now all armed with half-pikes and bayonets, in the counties of Cavan, Monaghan, Tyrone, Londonderry, &c. will, upon the approach of the said part of the army, and resistance thereto made, immediately enter upon a massacre of the British in the said counties; which force and violence of the rabble his excellency saith he cannot restrain, and fears that it may be greater than in 1641. These are the heads of what I can offer to you from his excellency's own mouth; but I intend to be at Hillsborough to-night, and there to stay for this night; where, if you think fit, I shall fully discourse with you of all the particulars, whereof, I hope, you will give immediate notice to all chiefly concerned in your county and neighbourhood, for gaining of time. I have sent this express, that your lordship may give advertisement by ex-

press to all such as your lordship thinks convenient. I shall add no further till I have the honour to see your lordship.

Your lordship's obedient servant,

Received the same night at Antrim.

ALEXANDER OSBORNE.

This letter was received at Antrim the same night; and immediately the following answer was returned, by the Earl of Mount-Alexander, Lord Massareen, &c.

"We declare the utter abhorrence of the effusion of blood, and that we will use all proper means to avoid it, but cannot consent to lay down our arms, which we were forced to take up for our own defence; nor to part with our goods by any other than legal means; and that we are ready to appoint persons to treat on each head, as are consistent with the safety of our religion, lives, and liberty."

Now to convince all mankind, that this specious message sent by Mr Osborne, dated March 9th, 1688, (who came with all speed from Dublin) was only a sham and delusion plotted by the deputy to amuse the poor protestants, and cast a mist before their eyes, that they might not see their approaching destruction, behold the proclamation dated at Dublin, March 7, 1688, wherein he had decreed the ruin of Ulster, and the exemption of so many persons from mercy.

By the Lord Deputy and Council, March 22, 1688-9.

TYRCONNEL.

Whereas several persons in the province of Ulster, and the town of Sligo, in this his majesty's kingdom, have entered into several associations, containing no less offence than high treason; and thereupon formed themselves into several parties, dividing and marshalling themselves into several regiments, troops, and companies, marching well-armed up and down the country, to the great terror of the king's liege people, in manifest breach of the law, and of the peace of this realm: And having resolved within ourselves to prevent the effusion of blood, as long as it was possible, by using all peaceable means to reduce the said malefactors to their obedience, have of late issued a proclamation, setting forth the said disorders, requiring all the said parties to disperse, and repair to their several habitations and callings, assuring every of them his majesty's pardon and protection. And whereas we find the said offenders, instead of complying with our said proclamation, still to persist in their wickedness, by continuing in actual rebellion, breaking of prisons, and discharging of prisoners, secured by due course of law, for robberies, felonies, and other heinous crimes; by seizing upon his majesty's arms and ammunition, imprisoning several of his majesty's army, disarming and dismounting them, killing and murdering several of his majesty's subjects, pillaging and plundering the country, and daily committing several other acts of hostility; and finding no other way left to suppress the said rebellion, we the lord deputy have caused a party of his majesty's army, under the command of Lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton, to march into the province of Ulster, to reduce the rebels there by force of arms; the consequence whereof cannot but be very fatal to that country, and the inhabitants thereof, and will inevitably occasion the total ruin and destruction of that part of his majesty's kingdom: The consideration whereof hath given us great disquiet and trouble of mind; that a country, well planted and inhabited, should now, by the insolency and traitorous wickedness of its own inhabitants, be brought to ruin or desolation, which we are still willing to prevent, if any spark of grace be yet remaining in the hearts of those conspirators, hereby declaring, notwithstanding the many affronts by them put upon his majesty's government, notwithstanding the several acts of hostility by them hitherto

committed, that if they will now submit and become dutiful subjects, his majesty's mercy shall be extended to them, excepting the persons hereafter excepted; and in order thereto, we the lord deputy and council do strictly charge and command all such persons in arms in Ulster, or the town of Sligo, forthwith to lay down arms, and that the principal persons amongst them now in the north, do forthwith repair to Lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton, and deliver up to him their arms, and serviceable horses, and to give him hostages as an assurance of their future loyalty and obedience to his majesty, and that all their adherents do deliver up their arms and serviceable horses to such person or persons as he the said Lieutenant-general Richard Hamilton shall appoint to receive them. And we do also further charge and command all the principal persons of other commotions and insurrections in Sligo, to repair forthwith either to us the lord deputy, or to Colonel M'Daniel at the Boyle, and deliver up their arms and serviceable horses, and to give hostages as security for their future peaceable deportment, and their adherents to lay down their arms to be delivered up, together with their serviceable horses, to the said Col. M'Daniel. We the lord deputy hereby giving safe conduct to such of them as will submit according to this our proclamation. And we do hereby further declare, that such of the said persons as shall give obedience to these our commands, except the persons hereafter excepted, shall have his majesty's protection and pardon for all past offences relating to the said commotions and insurrections; but in case they shall be so unhappy as to persist in their wicked designs and treasonable practices, we the lord deputy do hereby command all his majesty's forces to fall upon them wherever they meet them, and to treat them as rebels and traitors to his majesty. Yet, to the end the innocent may not suffer for the crimes of the nocent, and that the committals of inhuman acts may be prevented, we do hereby strictly charge and command his majesty's army, now upon their march to the north, and all other his majesty's forces, that they, or either of them, do not presume to use any violence to women, children, aged or decrepid men, labourers, ploughmen, tillers of the ground, or to any other who in these commotions demean themselves inoffensively, without joining with the rebels, or aiding or assisting them in their traitorous actings and behaviours. But in regard Hugh Earl Mount Alexander, John Lord Viscount Massareene, Robert Lord Baron of Kingston, Clotworthy Sherington, Esq. son to the Lord Viscount Massareene, Sir Robert Colvil, Sir Arthur Rowden, Sir John Magill, John Hawkins, Robert Sanderson, and Francis Hamilton, son to Sir Charles Hamilton, have been the principal actors in the said rebellion, and the persons who advised and fomented the same, and inveigled others to be involved therein: We think fit to except them out of this our proclamation, as persons not deserving his majesty's mercy or favour.

Given at the Council-Chamber of Dublin, March 7th, 1688.

A. FYTTON, C. GRANARD, LIMERICK, BELLEV, WILL. TALBOT,
THO. NEWCOMEN, RICH. HAMILTON, FRAN. PLOWDEN.

The deputy (who till now had never kept faith, truce, or promise) was strict and punctual to his word; for he sent down his army at the time, and to the place appointed, meeting with no resistance (the protestants being unprovided of arms and ammunition, and not able so suddenly to embody themselves, or stem the torrent that was ready to overwhelm them) but what was made by Sir Arthur Rowden, who, at the head of 200 horse, gallantly opposed them; till, finding it impossible to dispute the passage of so great an army by so inconsiderable a force, he made a hasty but honourable retreat, with the loss of a very few men: and being met by some companies of foot, who were marching on (but too late and too slowly) to second him, they also retreated, but in some disorder; which being observed by the inhabitants of Lisburn,

they began immediately to fly toward Antrim, the people of which place being struck with amazement at so unexpected an adventure, betook themselves to flight also, and so rolling on from one town to another, the country was universally seized with a panic fear and consternation, hurrying their wives and children toward the sea-coast, leaving their goods in their houses, their stock in the fields, and taking no care, but to preserve their lives. In this confusion and fright the poor souls fled to Londonderry, and would have gone further, if the sea had not stopt them. To take upon me to describe the horror of this revolution, the most deplorable state of the people, the misery, poverty, and distress of many thousand good families, and utter desolation of a most fruitful and well-peopled country, would engage me in a task which no pen can sufficiently express, nor no art render credible or intelligible. Let it suffice, that I tell you in a word, there is not this day a protestant in the kingdom of Ireland that has a gun to defend him, a horse to carry him, a house to shelter him, or stock to sustain him, except such as have been deluded, or (missing of timely escape) necessitated to accept of protections (which will avail the unfortunate compliers no longer, than till the Irish become masters of the whole) or else such as are confined within the walls of Londonderry, who, by extraordinary courage, whetted by despair, have resisted a powerful army (grown insolent by an uninterrupted success) to the astonishment of the besiegers, and the shame of those that deserted them. And lest any protestant should continue master of his own house, or evade an open compliance with the papists, they found a device to reduce them to the misfortune of this dilemma, either to surrender all they had to the merciless invaders, or be prosecuted as rebels for making resistance (which unchristian course they had before practised through the province of Munster) to which purpose they sent summonitory letters to the proprietors, in one line threatening, and in another wheedling, and so puzzling them with a fatal irresolution, till either by open assault, or by the close mine of a protection, they became masters of their wishes: I will give you only one for instance, sent by Colonel Gordon O'Neil, son to that arch-rebel Sir Phelim O'Neil.

“By virtue of an order granted to me by Richard Hamilton, Esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in the province of Ulster, to grant protections to all such as will submit themselves and lay down their arms, and peaceably live in their own dwellings.

“These are therefore, in his majesty's name, to require all persons, so inclined, to come in to me, and they shall be protected in body and goods.

“I do hereby summon the garrisons of Dauson's-Bridge and Moghrefelt to lay down their arms, or then to be proceeded against as rebels to his majesty, and to be prosecuted accordingly.

“Given under my hand at Duncen, this 21st of March, 1688.

GORDON O'NEIL.”

I had almost forgot to take notice to you how craftily and treacherously the Lord Tyrconnel proceeded during these transactions. For, pretending to stand in dread of an invasion from England, (though by the sequel it is more than probable he had better intelligence from thence) he over-awed and constrained some considerable persons to abuse the ministers of state with a false representation; others he plainly threatened, that if they did not write to their friends in England, to dissuade them from sending over any forces, he would expose the protestants, without mercy or distinction, to the fury of the soldiers and the mercy of the rabble. And as for the ingenious conceit of

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the protections, it has proved a mere cheat, and a trap to ensnare credulous people; I will give you one for a precedent.

"I, Richard Hamilton, lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in Ulster, do hereby receive into his majesty's protection, the body and goods of James Hunter, of Bullymenagh, in the county of Antrim, yeoman; and do promise and oblige myself, that none of the army shall molest or hurt him, or take any thing from him.

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RICHARD HAMILTON."

The poor protected man being thus noosed, returns to his house and follows his labour; but anon down comes the rabble, like an inundation of Goths and Vandals, sweep all before them, and leave nothing behind them but a naked, starved family: The wretched man makes his address to his protector, and receives only this cold comfort, 'I did promise to protect you from the army, that none of them should offer you any violence; but I have no power to restrain the rabble.'

Let us now reflect upon what has been said, and briefly recapitulate the pressing exigencies, the imminent extremities, and unavoidable dangers to which the poor protestants were subjected; and then I will appeal to any man of sense, that is not a bigotted papist, whether they had not just and undeniable reasons to seek their escape from the impending persecutions, and to take sanctuary in England, Scotland, and the Isle of Man.

When the sword was taken from the Earl of Clarendon, because he favoured the protestants, and put into the hands of Tyrconnel, because he was a furious patron of the papists, was it not high time for considerate men to foresee the dismal consequences, and to avoid them by a leisurely recess? When the officers of the army were turned out and the soldiers disbanded, merely because they were protestants; when the majority of the privy council, the judges, justices of the peace, sheriffs, and all other civil officers, were avowed and professed papists; when subtle jesuits, mercenary priests, and begging friars swarmed through the land, and crept into all houses and families, and the idolatrous mass allowed to be set up in every town; when the corporations were superseded, and none admitted to magistracy or freedom, but the scum of the vulgar and the spawn of rebels; when the Act of Settlement began to be canvassed, and men's titles to estates and properties were prostituted to the prejudicate verdict of such jurors, packed by such sheriffs, and the partial sentence of such judges, who all concur in accounting it a meritorious service to weaken and destroy the hereticks; was it not a rash madness for any who had opportunity and ability to remove themselves, to continue under the licentious and arbitrary humours of such a government? But when men began to see how they were reduced to a necessity of suffering, whether any succours arrived to them from England, or whether they were delayed, they had no election to make, but to contrive and escape from their cruelty, or their revenge. When men were every where alarmed with a design of a general insurrection, and universal massacre, he that was so hardy as to overlook this without a concernment, must have an unusual portion of wit to conduct his courage; for my part, I am so far from wondering that so many affrighted persons should prefer an incommodious and insecure passage by sea, to so hazardous and terrible an abiding upon land, that I do admire the insensible stupidity of those who stayed behind. And now the deputy having added 40,000 new-raised men to the standing army, 50,000 of the rabble being furnished with skeens and half-pikes, animated and secretly sworn by the priests to extirpate all protestants, making it a national, as well as a religious quarrel (as appears by the motto in their standard set up in the castle of Dublin, "Now or never, Now and for ever,") the protestants in Munster and Connaught turned out of their houses, despoiled of their goods, and plundered of their castle; all arms and horses taken from those in Dublin and Leinster: A powerful and enraged army falling into the bowels of Ulster, ravaging

they began immediately to fly toward Antrim, the people of which place being struck with amazement at so unexpected an adventure, betook themselves to flight also, and so rolling on from one town to another, the country was universally seized with a panic fear and consternation, hurrying their wives and children toward the sea-coast, leaving their goods in their houses, their stock in the fields, and taking no care, but to preserve their lives. In this confusion and fright the poor souls fled to Londonderry, and would have gone further, if the sea had not stopt them. To take upon me to describe the horror of this revolution, the most deplorable state of the people, the misery, poverty, and distress of many thousand good families, and utter desolation of a most fruitful and well-peopled country, would engage me in a task which no pen can sufficiently express, nor no art render credible or intelligible. Let it suffice, that I tell you in a word, there is not this day a protestant in the kingdom of Ireland that has a gun to defend him, a horse to carry him, a house to shelter him, or stock to sustain him, except such as have been deluded, or (missing of timely escape) necessitated to accept of protections (which will avail the unfortunate compliers no longer, than till the Irish become masters of the whole) or else such as are confined within the walls of Londonderry, who, by extraordinary courage, whetted by despair, have resisted a powerful army (grown insolent by an uninterrupted success) to the astonishment of the besiegers, and the shame of those that deserted them. And lest any protestant should continue master of his own house, or evade an open compliance with the papists, they found a device to reduce them to the misfortune of this dilemma, either to surrender all they had to the merciless invaders, or be prosecuted as rebels for making resistance (which unchristian course they had before practised through the province of Munster) to which purpose they sent summonitory letters to the proprietors, in one line threatening, and in another wheedling, and so puzzling them with a fatal irresolution, till either by open assault, or by the close mine of a protection, they became masters of their wishes: I will give you only one for instance, sent by Colonel Gordon O'Neil, son to that arch-rebel Sir Phelim O'Neil.

“By virtue of an order granted to me by Richard Hamilton, Esq. lieutenant-general of his majesty's forces in the province of Ulster, to grant protections to all such as will submit themselves and lay down their arms, and peaceably live in their own dwellings.

“These are therefore, in his majesty's name, to require all persons, so inclined, to come in to me, and they shall be protected in body and goods.

“I do hereby summon the garrisons of Dauson's-Bridge and Moghrefelt to lay down their arms, or then to be proceeded against as rebels to his majesty, and to be prosecuted accordingly.

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without check or controul; the naked, stript, and unarmed people flying before them to seek a shelter in Londonderry which could not contain the hundredth part of those that retreated to it; there was nothing to be done (to escape a sudden destruction by the sword, or a lingering death by famine) but to fly over sea, and preserve life, which was all that was left them. As for the more unfortunate remnant of the poor protestants, who, being either gulled and intrapped by protections, and reserved for slaughter, or else denied a licence to transport themselves that they may indure the misery, and at last receive the wages of slaves and condemned persons (which assuredly will happen, whensoever the conquest of this kingdom shall be complete, and the government devolved on the French; or perhaps so soon as an army from England shall land there for its rescue) they are surrounded with such poignant circumstances of sadness and sorrow that my heart bleeds for them; and though I dare not trust to the compassion or prayers of those hard-hearted men who find fault with us for coming away, yet I leave it to their judgment to determine whether their condition be not more desperate and deplorable, who have staid behind.

May the good people of England see, and be convinced (by the dismal examples of Ireland) what would have been their portion, if popery had prevailed, and a popish king continued to reign over us. May they never be deceived by that impracticable paradox, That the English nation and the protestant religion can subsist, or be in safety, under the administration of Frenchmen and the dominion of a papist.

I have now wearied your patience, and eased my own thoughts. It shall be your fault, if I be not always,

Sir,

May 27, 1689.

Your most humble Servant.

A Journal of the Proceedings of the pretended Parliament in Dublin from the 7th to the 20th of this instant May; a Breviate of the late King's Speech; and the Speaker's Repeal of the Act of Settlement, and taking away the King's Supremacies, with the Names of the Protestant Lords Spiritual and Temporal sitting in Parliament.

ON Tuesday the 7th of May the parliament assembled according to the return of the writs, at the inns in Dublin, the late king being present with his crown and robes, attended by twenty-two peers, four of which were spiritual lords protestants, viz.

Dr Dobbin, Bishop of Meath,
 Dr Wittenhal, Bishop of Cork,
 Dr ———, Bishop of Limerick,
 Dr ———, Bishop of Ossory.

And of the temporal lords there were only four protestants, viz.

Earl of Granard,
 Lord Longford,
 Lord Howth, and
 Earl of Kingsale.

The late king made a speech, in which he assured them he would consent to the enacting of such laws as should relieve them which were prejudiced by the late Act of Settlement. Which done, the Commons proceeded to the election of their speaker, who, after half an hour's conference, chose Sir Richard Nagle, who in behalf of the Commons craved the four usual petitions, which granted, the house adjourned till the morrow.

Wednesday the 8th, The lords passed the bill of recognition of the late king's right. The ninth was Ascension-day.

Friday the 10th, The Commons passed the Recognition Bill; on the same day Sir Ulic Burke brought into the House of Commons a bill for the repealing the Acts of Settlement and Explanation; which the house received with an huzza, and then read a first and second time, and ordered it to be committed.

The same day some moved thereupon in the house, that nothing could be more advantageous to the king and country than to destroy the horrid and barbarous Act of Settlement, as they were pleased to call it; and whoever should alledge the contrary shall be deemed an enemy to both; it was moved by another member, that the Act of Settlement ought to be burnt by the common hangman.

Saturday the 11th, The late king gave his assent to the Bill of Recognition, and adjourned till Monday.

Monday the 13th, A bill with some limitations was read in the House of Lords, abridging the bill sent from the commons for repealing the Act of Settlement, and only giving the old proprietor a moiety.

Tuesday the 14th, A bill passed the House of Commons, empowering the king to dispose of all patent-offices in possession or reversion, after the 20th day of May instant; and another bill to bar all writs of error and appeals to England, asserting that no law of England can bind that kingdom; both which bills were sent up to the House of Lords.

Wednesday the 15th, A bill was read in the House of Commons for repealing Poyning's law, and also another bill for giving the king 15,000*l.* a month for one year, to be levied on the tenements, but to be allowed them in their rents by their landlords without regard to prexious curtails.

Thursday the 16th, A bill was brought in by the House of Commons for taking away the king's supremacies in ecclesiastics, and abrogating all penal laws against papists: In the House of Commons there are only five protestant members, viz. Sir John Made, Joseph Coghlan, Sir Thomas Crosby, Arthur ———, Jeremy Donovan, Esq.

The same day it was moved in the House of Lords, that all absenters lands should go towards reprisals.

The king, since the session of parliament, has created the lord chancellor chief justice Nugent, lord general, Mr Carty, Sir Valentine Barone, Colonel Luttrell, Colonel Sarsefield, and about fourteen more, lords. The act for seizing most of the absenters estates is since passed, and is so strictly put in execution, that the shops of poor huckster-women, whose husbands are in England, are daily plundered, which makes Dublin ring with the cries of the poor.

A true Account of the present State of Ireland, giving a full Relation of the new Establishment made by the late King James, as it was presented to the Earl of Shrewsbury, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, and others of his Majesty's Privy Council: With an Account of what Sums of Money, Arms, and Number of Officers arrived there from France. Together with the State of Derry and Enniskilling, and several other Affairs relating to that Kingdom, particularly of the Proceedings of their Parliament there.

By a Person that with great Difficulty left Dublin, June the 8th, 1689.

Printed in the Year 1689.

DURING my stay at Dublin, (which with much difficulty and hazard I left on June the 8th) I made it a great part of my business to be well informed of the state of affairs in Ireland, and of the most remarkable matters that passed there, which I had the opportunity of doing, as well by my own observation, as by what I received from persons of credit that I frequently conversed with, that thereby I might be enabled to give such an account as might be serviceable to the government here, upon my arrival, to be acquainted with, which, in the following narrative, I have endeavoured to do with all possible sincerity and impartiality.

The revenue of Ireland is quite sunk, no money being raised but by the excise, that for this year and half past there has not been paid one penny of the civil list; and now the late king has been forced to make a new establishment, and gives only half pay, which he calls *subsistence*; they grumble at it, and are ready to mutiny: To the foot three-pence per day, and for the officers 'tis no matter, he makes them content: The dragoons have five-pence farthing, and the horse six-pence per day: He proposeth this, one half money, and the other forage. The horse grenadiers fifty in each troop; seven regiments of horse, 2750 men; seven regiments of dragoons, 3800 men; the royal regiment of foot, twenty-two companies, 1980 men.

Forty-two regiments of foot more, 33,852 men. The total is 42,432.

Of this army there are about 17,000 drawn northwards, against Londonderry and Enniskilling, which are of the best, both of horse and foot, and have been so harassed, that within these ten days past, they were not in any condition of service; there are 5000 more gone after these, towards Enniskilling, and more on their march; so that there are near 25,000 gone against Londonderry and Enniskilling.

Besides this, they designed two camps by Dublin, which camps were to consist of 14,000 men, the first grand camp was to be at Rathfarnam, betwixt that and Rathmines, on the south of Dublin, in the view of the harbour. The next camp was to be under the hill of Dunsink, near the Cabarah, north-west of Dublin, and in view of the bay also.

Colonel Sarsefield lies at Sligo with his own regiment, and some dragoons, and has received several rubs from the people of Enniskilling.

It is said there came 150,000*l.* with the late king from France to Ireland, and 300,000*l.* with the fleet that arrived at Bantry; but by as near a computation as possibly can be made, we cannot find that there came above 150,000*l.* in all, the first being 60,000*l.* and the last 90,000*l.* and about 900 French, English, Scots, and Irish officers came this last time with the fleet, all which receive the same allowance with the officers of the army, proportionable to their stations and qualities.

The French ambassador influences all affairs, both civil and military, and 'tis discoursed amongst themselves, what a prejudice he has against his present majesty, having formerly been ambassador in Holland; he often presses for severity to be used against the protestants. No violence whatever, that is acted by any of the French, dares be complained of, but is stifled immediately, and he that complains is frowned on. He has influenced the passing the bill for destroying the Act of Settlement, in-somuch that he has said, that he would go again to France, if it were not done, to tell his master.

Monsieur Boysloe's,¹ the governor of Cork, letter to the French ambassador, was the occasion of the embargo at Dublin, on Saturday, May the 18th last past. The late king is wholly at their discretion, and Tyrconnel is mightily discomposed both in body and mind since the king came: For the French ambassador said, "If any one had served his master as he did, (about Londonderry) in taking away the Lord Mountjoy's regiment, he would have lost his head." The ambassador commands the treasury, and not one farthing is paid out without his leave, for he views the muster-rolls before he suffers any payments to be made, so that the design is plain French, and to bring this kingdom wholly under them, that thereby they may divert England from annoying France: But now they are become obnoxious to the people of Ireland, who see all that is for the French; so that great discontent is upon the spirits of the Irish, on the account of the French being put into employments; for they generally say and allow, that Ireland is given to the French king, in consideration of the charges he shall be at, in helping the late King James towards the regaining of the kingdoms of England and Scotland.

Monsieur Boysloe, at Cork, seizes the merchants goods, drinks their wines, and, in short, takes away from them whatever he has a-mind to, without making them any satisfaction; and says, it is a shame that any correspondence should be held with the rebels of England.

The Enniskilling people* have rummaged the country for near thirty miles round about them, and brought in all the cattle and forage they could find, and have disarmed several companies of the new-raised Irish; and 'tis talked of by the late king, and at the castle, that the garrison of Enniskilling were so resolute, that they would attempt the raising of the siege of Derry, the fear of which does somewhat alarm them; for about the latter end of May they came near to Kells, thirty miles from Dublin, and westward as far as Finnah, burning Luke Reily, high sheriff of the county of Cavan's house, with the houses of other considerable papists who were in arms against them, killing only three soldiers at a place called Drum, because they refused to quit their arms; and, as one Brady, who is a papist and an inhabitant there, declares, that they were the fairest enemy that ever came into a country, not injuring any person that lived peaceably, leaving a troop of horse in the town of Cavan, until all the army were marched away, to see that no injury might be done to the common people: He likewise says, they drove along with them about four or five thousand head of cattle, that had lately been taken from the English.

As for the state of Enniskilling, it is said that they are in a very good condition for provision and all other necessaries as yet, and that there are there, and at Ballyshannon, eight hundred able horse, besides foot, who are brave resolute men; most of them being gentlemen out of Munster and Connaught, that fled thither, who are resolved to lose their lives, and sacrifice all, rather than yield.

On June the 1st there marched from Dublin Sir Michael Creagh, the present lord mayor, with his regiment, Sir John Fitzgerald, from Rathcoole and Lucan, with his

¹ Boistelot, a French officer of reputation, who afterwards defended Cork against King William.

² The Enniskilling volunteers were in arms for the protestant cause, and behaved with the greatest bravery.

regiment, with several others from other parts, towards Trim, twenty miles from Dublin, the place appointed for the general rendezvous of the army that are sent against Enniskilling; Colonel Sarsefield from Sligoe is to join them, and so to march to Enniskilling to attack it, with a resolution to bear it down: All Sir Michael Creagh's regiment raised in Dublin, Sir John Fitzgerald's from Munster, and most that are gone down there, are all raw fellows, not knowing how to fire a gun.

There are gone from Dublin General La Rose, General La Roy, Count d'Estrades, and several other of the general officers of France, towards Enniskilling, with four field-pieces. They have sent before-hand to buy up all the corn in East and West Meath, to be brought to Kells, twenty-seven miles from Dublin, and forty from Enniskilling, which is the place appointed for their store, for beyond that there is no manner of provision to be had; so that in all probability they will meet with the same penury and want that they have had these two months past before Londonderry.¹

Now for the state of Londonderry; it is said this morning at the castle, they have surrounded it within half cannon-shot, and taken the Wind-mill-hill, which the town quit- ted, and had thrown up their trenches, and drawn up all their army on Friday last, and so modelled and divided them into two bodies to compass the town, placing them in their several posts. Monsieur Pontee was to have bombed it before, but he found, when he came to examine, that the fusees of the bombs did not fit, some being too little, others too big, which he having new-moulded and worked up, did, as he himself said, intend to begin to bomb on Sunday the 2d instant. They hear that there are ships in the river, which they believe will endeavour to succour Londonderry; but by the help of Culmore Fort, with other batteries they have raised, together with the chain and bomb they have fixed across the river, they hope to prevent them.

There is an account sent² up from the camp of the names and behaviour of the several officers there, with which they make themselves sport at the castle, particularly the Lord Galmoy running himself into a ditch of briars, Lord Kingsland getting into a bush of furze, together with the valour of Sir Gregory Birne, and Sir Luke Dowdall, &c.

A dragoon that was shot into the shoulder, and came up to his friends near Dublin, to get cure, said, that abundance were lost for want of care being taken of them; that he himself had ended his days, if he had staid; that he left 400 lying of their wounds in the church of Culmore; that they had lost near 7 or 8000 by the sword and sickness, since they sate down before Derry.

The Duke of Berwick, James Fitz-James, and Lord George Howard, are said to be in Brook-hall, at Sir Matthew Bridge's house near Kilmore, a-curing of their wounds.

They likewise give out, they are in great want of provision in the town, and are so crowded, that they are very noisome and full of vermin, for that several who have been taken and killed, are found to be so. But in truth, as to the state of their own army, they have lost as many for want of conveniences as have been killed: For the bloody-flux, small-pox, fevers, and agues being among them, they die extremely fast in the Irish camp; the generality of their sustenance being nothing else but oatmeal and water, with some raw lean beef, insomuch that the spirits of the men are mighty low, and very weak.

There are gone down to them abundance of French officers, that are to be preferred as commands fall, with great resolution what they will do when they come there.

They did not carry any of their great guns or bombs over the river, but they lie on the other side, and so play over the water at Londonderry. Since their sending the

¹ James was so enraged at the delay, as to say, that had his army been English instead of Irish, they would have brought him the town stone by stone, in half the time his forces had been before it.

army towards Enniskilling, the people of East and West Meath have raised the price of corn extremely.

The Kerry forces are drawn to the Shannon to fortify all places on it, as Lymerick, Athlone, &c. All the best of the forces are clearly drawn out of Munster, except the major-general's regiment, which is now commanded by one Monsieur Boysloe, a most tyrannical Frenchman, who with his regiment is now at Cork, where he exercises an absolute authority, that no manner of complaint against him will be heard, though he thrust out one of the protestant sheriff of Cork's eyes, and swore he would make no more of blowing up all the protestants in their churches, than of a child in a cradle. He threatens to hang any that shall be taken going away; and if four protestants be together, he looks on it as a conspiracy, and sends them to gaol: They have likewise employed spies about Dublin, to see if any protestants meet or talk together; and are mightily incensed at the embargo in England, because they cannot have a free correspondence with their friends there.

June the 5th, the late king declared he expected in a week's time, if the wind served, a great fleet from France, and a numerous army of land-men; that the fleet after landing their men, would repair to the Downs, to find out and fall on the English fleet. Some of his council advise him to Scotland, others to Chester, with his French and Irish forces, as soon as Derry is taken.

They have lately imprisoned several persons in Dublin, on a pretence for plotting and corresponding with the rebels in the north and England, &c. and in searching for treasonable papers and arms, they took away whatever money they could find in the houses of the several persons: They likewise threaten another search for arms very suddenly, when it is not questioned but they will take all money and plate away, for they are erecting a mint for the coining of money. One thing more is to be observed, that the popish clergy have ordered all their people not to pay one farthing to any protestant, till they are compelled by law; the design being visible that they would utterly extirpate the English there.

The wind no sooner blows easterly, but they are in great dread and fear; yet they tell us there is confusion in England, and that there will no succours come from thence; that they will land an army in England suddenly; and that England fears an invasion from Ireland, more than it doth from them: Their usual saying is, "You whiggish dogs, we will make you know that the Prince of Orange is not come yet, and we will do your business before he comes, for when we come back from Londonderry we will make an end of you all." And the Irish tenants and neighbours of the English, that formerly lived in amity with, and chiefly depended on them, do continually send the soldiers to the protestants houses, telling them that the whigs live there, where they go and eat up their provisions, taking away their horses from the plough, and whatever else they have mind to, giving them horrid abuses besides; so that many families who formerly lived very plentifully have not now left them bread to eat.

The popish clergy appear in multitudes, and are going forward with all their chapels and buildings, and looking out for abbeys and nunneries, and do exasperate the king mightily against the protestants. The Lord Melfort is also very violent against them; and the lord chancellor (though an Englishman) worse than he.

On Whitsun Monday the town of Drogheda was alarmed by two officers, who rid through it towards Dublin, telling them that the Scots were within six miles, and had taken the great guns, carriages, ammunition, and provisions that were going to Derry, and had killed the convoy: Whereupon they immediately planted their guns, and shut up the gates, having only two companies of the new-raised men, and a few horse of the Lord Gilmoy, in the town. An express was sent immediately to Duleek, where the commissioners of enquiry into the estates of the absenters were met (who, being

busied in swearing and examining the tenants to the Earl of Drogheda and others as to what rents they paid, and what arrears of rent were due) requiring them to repair to the town, and bring with them what strength they could to fortify the town: Some being sent out to know the truth of the matter, returning, told them it was only a false alarm, though it was generally said and believed, that several cart-loads of their ammunition, provision, and arms were intercepted and taken by the people of Ballyshannon and Enniskilling.

There has been a motion in the House of Commons for the naturalizing all Frenchmen, insomuch that some said in the house, that they ought to have a day of thanksgiving for the coming of the Prince of Orange into England.

They are preparing for another court of claims, and reducing the fees of all offices, throwing all forfeitures into the stock of reprisals; into which stock the late king has thrown his private estate that he had in Ireland.

The old proprietors are taking possession daily, before the act that makes void the settlement of Ireland passeth, some of them paying the quit-rent to get into possession. Eight protestant peers, four being spiritual, and four temporal, entered their protest at the bill passing the Lords House, and Mr Justice Daly opposed it to that degree, that in his passion he said many things that were highly resented, the substance whereof was, "That instead of being a parliament, as we pretend, we are more like Massanelo's confused rabble, every man making a noise for an estate, and talking nonsense, when our lives are in danger; we expect a sudden invasion from England, and a bloody war likely to ensue, as persons altogether unmindful of the ruin that hangs over our heads; and without taking any care to prevent it, we are dividing the bear's skin before she is taken. All the honour we do his majesty is, by reflecting on his royal father and brother, as wicked and unjust princes, charging them with enacting those laws that were contrary to the laws of God and man." Which the house summed up in six articles against him. They would have been contented with a submission, but he refused any, saying, he would go to Jamaica rather; yet his friends prevailed on him at this juncture to ask the pardon of the house; and yesterday he was to have come into the House of Commons; and accordingly the house being sate, the usher of the black rod went in and acquainted the speaker that Mr Justice Daly was at the door; upon which it was put to the question, in the house, whether his asking of pardon should be a sufficient satisfaction for them to pass by his miscarriages; and it being carried in the affirmative, Mr Nugent of Carlingstown in West-meath, a member of the house, was ordered to go and acquaint him, that the house was resolved to accept of his submission, that so there might be admittance for his coming to receive pardon of the house. Mr Nugent returning into the house, told the speaker that Mr Justice Daly was very thankful, and ready to come in to make his submission, and at the same time said, "Mr Speaker, I have other great news to tell you, *viz.* Londonderry is taken." Upon which there was three great shouts set up in the house, and throwing up their hats, cried out, "No submission of Mr Justice Daly; we pardon him, we pardon him;" being transported with joy, suffered him not to come in, but pardoned him without any submission at all. But afterwards some of the members (none of Mr Daly's friends) finding it false, thought it was some trick put on them, and threatened Mr Nugent to bring him on his knees before the house.

They are now passing an act, that all leases above one-and-twenty years, of any corporation in Ireland, shall be void: and it is doubted whether Dublin will be excepted: They are likewise laying fifteen shillings a ton duty upon sea coals, and taking away the poundage act, which in corporations is the clergy's support. The Ulster act of tithes, and the act for impropriations and augmentation lands, that so by taking from the clergy their maintenance, the churches may fall of themselves. An act attainting

all persons by name, and another granting fifteen thousand pounds per month for supplies to King James.

There are five new peers created, viz.

Justin Maccarty, Lord Viscount Mountcashel.

Sir Valentine Brown, Lord Viscount Kenmare.

Thomas Nugent, C. J. Lord Baron of Riverstown.

John Bourk, Lord Baron Bouffin.

Sir Alexander Fitton, Lord Baron Gawsworth.

A Catalogue of all the Nobility of Ireland, such being marked who now sit in the Irish Parliament.

Dr Michael Boyle, Lord Archbishop of Armagh, primate of all Ireland.

† Alexander Fitton, Baron Gawsworth, chancellor.

Dr Francis Marsh, Lord Archbishop of Dublin.

Dr John Veasy, Lord Archbishop of Tuam, Archbishoprick of Cashell void.

Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork, lord treasurer.

Dukes.

James Butler, Duke of Ormond.

† Richard Talbot, Duke of Tyrconnel.

Earls.

John Fitz-Gerald, Earl of Kildare.

Henry O'Brian, Earl of Thomond.

† Richard Bourk, Earl of Clanrickard.

James Touchet, Earl of Castlehaven.

† Richard Barry, Earl of Barrymore.

† Alexander Mac Donnel, Earl of Antrim.

† Richard Nugent, Earl of Westmeath.

Cary Dillon, Earl of Roscommon.

Thomas Ridgway, Earl of Londonderry.

William Fielding, Earl of Desmond.

Edward Brabazon, Earl of Meath.

John Vaughan, Earl of Carbery.

Luke Plunket, Earl of Fingall.

Arthur Chichester, Earl of Donegall.

Richard Lambert, Earl of Cavan.

William O'Bryan, Earl of Inchequin.

† Donogh Mac Carty, Earl of Clancarty.

Lionel Boyle, Earl of Orrery.

Charles Coot, Earl of Mounteath.

Henry Moore, Earl of Drogheda.

Charles Talbot, Earl of Waterford, &c.

Hugh Mountgomery, Earl of Mount Alexander.

Roger Palmer, Earl of Castlemain.

Nicholas Taaf, Earl of Carlingford.

† Richard Poor, Earl of Tyrone.

Richard Jones, Earl of Rannellagh.

† Francis Aungier, Earl of Longford.

† Arthur Forbes, Earl of Granard.

† William Dungan, Earl of Limerick.

Viscounts.

† Jenico Preston, Viscount Gormanstown.

† David Roche, Viscount Fermoy.

† Richard Butler, Viscount Mountgarret.

George Villers, Viscount Grandison.

James Anslow, Viscount Valentia.

† Theobald Dillon, Viscount Castello and Gallen.

Nicholas Netterville, Viscount Dorath, a prisoner in Derry.

Arthur Loftus, Viscount Ely.

Thomas Beaumont, Viscount Sword.

† Arthur Magennis, Viscount Iveagh.

Thomas Needham, Viscount Kilmurry.

† Dominick Sarsefield, Viscount Kilmallock.

Theobald Bourk, Viscount Mayo.

Patrick Chaworth, Viscount Armagh.

George Sanderson, Viscount Castletown.

John Scudamore, Viscount Sligoe.

Richard Lumley, Viscount Waterford.

Philip Smith, Viscount Strangford.

Philip Wenman, Viscount Tuam.

Charagh Mullineux, Viscount Maryborough.

William Fairfax, Viscount Emely.

Pierce Butler, Viscount Ikerin.

Thomas Fitz-Williams, Viscount Mirrion.

† Maximilian O'Dempsey, Viscount Clanmalere.

Brian Cockin, Viscount Cullen.

Tracy, Viscount Rathecoole

Francis Smith, Viscount Carrington.

Richard Bulkely, Viscount Cashell.
 William Broucker, Viscount Lyons.
 Richard Ogle, Viscount Catherlagh.
 † Pierce Butler, Viscount Gilmoy.
 Nicholas Barnwel, Viscount Kingsland.
 Francis Boyle, Viscount Shannon.
 John Skevington, Viscount Mazareene.
 Hugh Cholmondy, Viscount Kells.
 † Daniel O'Bryan, Viscount Clare.
 Lewis Trevor, Viscount Dungannon.
 Maurice Berkely, Viscount Fitzharding of
 Beerhaven.
 William Canfield, Viscount Charlemont.
 Foliot Wingfield, Viscount Powerscourt.
 Murrough Boyle, Viscount Blessington.
 James Lane, Viscount Lanesburrōw.
 John Deny, Viscount Down.
 † Richard Parsons, Viscount Ross.
 William Stuart, Viscount Mountjoy.
 Adam Loftus, Viscount Lisburn.
 † Ullick Bourk, Viscount Galloway.
 † Justin Mac Carty, Viscount Mount-
 cashel.
 † Valentine Brown, Viscount Kenmere.

Bishops.

† Dr Anthony Dobbins, Lord Bishop of
 Meath.
 Dr William Morton, Lord Bishop of Kil-
 dare.
 Dr Hugh Gore, Lord Bishop of Waterford
 and Lismore.
 ——— Clonfort, void.
 ——— Clogher, void.
 † Dr Thomas Ottaway, Lord Bishop of
 Ossery.
 Dr Ezekiel Hopkins, Lord Bishop of Der-
 ry.
 Dr Thomas Hackett, Lord Bishop of Down
 and Connor.
 † Dr John Roon, Lord Bishop of Killa-
 low.
 † Dr Edward Wettenhall, Lord Bishop of
 Cork and Ross.
 † Dr Symon Digby, Lord Bishop of Lime-
 rick and Ardferf.
 Dr Richard Tennison, Lord Bishop of Kil-
 lala and Arconrah.
 Dr William Smith, Lord Bishop of Rapho.

Dr William Sheridan, Lord Bishop of Kil-
 more and Ardagh.
 Dr Narcissus Marsh, Lord Bishop of Ferns
 and Leighlin.
 Dr Edward Jones, Lord Bishop of Cloyn.
 Dr Capel Wiseman, Lord Bishop of Drum-
 more.
 ——— Elphin, void.

Barons.

† Almericus Courcy, Baron Kingsale.
 William Fitz-Morris, Baron Kerry.
 † Christopher Flemming, Baron Slane.
 † Thomas St Lawrence, Baron Hoath.
 † Robert Barnwell, Baron Trembleston.
 † Christopher Plunket, Baron Dunsany.
 † Pierce Butler, Baron Dunboyne.
 † Brian Fitz-Patrick, Baron Upper Ossery.
 Matth. Plunket, Baron Lowth.
 † William Bourk, Baron Castleconnel.
 † Pierce Butler, Baron Cahir.
 † Theobald Bourk, Baron Brittas.
 Stuart, Baron Castle-stuart.
 Thomas Folliot, Baron Ballishannon.
 William Maynard, Baron Wicklow.
 Richard George, Baron Dundalk.
 Robert Digby, Baron Geashill.
 William Fitz-Williams, B. Lifford.
 Henry Blaney, Baron Monaghan.
 † Dermot Malone, Baron Glanmahur.
 Edward Herbert, Baron Castle-Island.
 John Calvert, Baron Baltimore.
 William Brereton, Baron Leighlin.
 Henry Hare, Baron Coleraine.
 Benedict Sheridan, Baron Leitrim.
 † Connor MacGuire, Baron Enniskilling.
 † Claud Hamilton, Baron Straband.
 Francis Hauley, Baron Dunmore.
 William Allington, Baron Killard.
 Robert King, Baron Kingston.
 Richard Coot, Baron Killooney.
 Richard Barry, Baron Santry.
 Altham Ansloe, Baron Altham.
 † John Belew, Baron Duleek.
 Charles Bertie, Baron Shelborn.
 † Thomas Nugent, Baron Riverstown.
 † John Bourk, Baron Boephin.
 † Alexander Fitton, Baron Gawsorth.

The House of Commons consists of three hundred persons and upwards, only two protestants, Sir John Mead and Mr Coghlan; two others that have passed in former days, but now are looked upon to be of the popish interest.

The Substance of the new Irish Bill for making void the English Settlement of Ireland.

Imprimis. Act of Settlement, Act of Explanation and resolution of doubts, void.

1. Every one to be restored to his possession, as in 1641.
2. Attainders, outlawries, treasons, &c. made void, released, and discharged.
3. All records taken off the file, and cancelled before one or more of the commissioners.
4. Any officer not performing this, to forfeit five hundred pound.
5. Three or more commissioners for claims.
6. All injunctions to stay decrees of the said court, void.
7. The sheriffs refusing to deliver possession, to be punished.
8. Where deeds are wanting, the sentence of the commissioners not definitive.
9. All releases, conveyances, &c. to be good.
10. The old estate of transplinters to be charged with the interest of purchase-money, as they sold their interest in Connaught.
11. Reprizals for all honest purchasers, for good and valuable considerations, since the Act of Settlement.
12. Transplanted purchasers to be reprized of equal value and purchase out of the forfeited lands.
13. A rebellion is now begun, and several are gone to England, Scotland, Wales, and the Isle of Man, by which they forfeited from the 1st of August 1688. All entails, remainders, &c. to be cut off.
14. Commissioners to inspect into the forfeitures, in order to give reprizals by commissions under the great seal, if thought necessary.
15. In claim, to insert the quantity, quality, and true yearly value, county, and reserved rent.
16. To be reprized, such as really purchased before the first of November last, but not affinity.
17. Upon certificate of the commissioners, the lord chancellor to pass letters patent.
18. Before reprisal, to make full proof of the original money paid for the transplanted purchase. And the ancient estate to which he is to be restored, to be charged with, &c.
19. If the transplanted discover, &c. to discover the purchase, or to forfeit double the money; one moiety to the discoverer, and another to the king.
20. Provided the ancient, &c. invested in the king.
21. Newry restored to Dudley Bagnal, Esq. it being the estate of Nicholas Bagnal.
22. The quit and crown rent reserved, and forfeiting lands to be charged to lands to be restored.
23. All original debts in 1641, to be and stand charged; the lands to be restored.
24. All reprizals to be liable to the same conditions and debts as their former estates.
25. All incumbrances or judgments due on forfeiting persons, and entered before the 22d of May, 1689; and where he forfeited to be reprized.
26. Transplinters, proprietors, their reprizals or ancient estate, to be liable to the same incumbrances and conditions as the former estate.
27. Lessees to continue, in case it be not the mansion-house or demesne-lands, not exceeding one and twenty years, or three lives.
28. Whose husbands died out of possession, widows to be dowable.
29. The Lord Clanrickard, &c. that all deeds, &c. be good, saving to all old mortgages.

A Letter from Colonel Walker, giving a full Account of the Treachery of the late Governor of Londonderry.

Lundy, the governor of Londonderry for King William, was either a traitor or coward, or both. When King James approached on the one hand at the head of the besieging army, and two regiments had on the other arrived by sea from Liverpool for the assistance of the garrison, he had neither address enough to betray the plan to King James, nor courage sufficient to serve King William. But after having dismissed the reinforcements, under pretence that the place was not tenable, he escaped himself with difficulty from the fury of the people. It is well known that Colonel Walker, who here denounces Lundy's treachery, was appointed to succeed him in the hour of danger. Walker was slain at the battle of the Boyne, on which King William is said only to have remarked, that he had no business there. Lundy, with Richards and Cunningham, escaped with cashierment.

WHEN the Lord Montjoy left the garrison of Londonderry, he gave private orders to the colonel he left commander in chief, that he should punctually observe whatsoever directions he should receive from him from France. Now such were the circumstances of that unfortunate lord, that, being suspected by the late King James, and looked upon as the betrayer of that kingdom, he had no other way of insinuating into his favour, and regaining his lost reputation with him, but by promising to make Colonel Lundy an instrument to break and ruin the protestants, and render them incapable of opposing any army that should march against them.

The deluded protestants in Derry, and all over the north, were extremely overjoyed that they had so good a soldier for their head; one whom they really believed to be of their own religion, and who seemed to be so zealously and warmly affected to their interest; and therefore they entirely relied and depended upon his courage and fidelity, and submitted themselves to his conduct and management, never entertaining the least suspicion of him till it was too late; though it was whispered in every corner of the garrison, that he had said, he would heartily fight against Tyrconnel, but not against King James. At length a formidable and regular army of the Irish marched down towards the north, our forces then having not the least intimation of their approach, till they came almost to the towns where our men were garrisoned, which they were forced to quit in great disorder and confusion.

The colonel, in the mean time, sat quietly at home, neither made any provision for the frontier garrisons, nor gave any orders to fortify and secure them, and oppose the enemy, before they were blooded and animated with success. Soon after (without any opposition) they over-run the two great counties of Down and Antrim: And then the colonel sent letter after letter to the Lord Kingston at Sligo,² where there was good

¹ He was committed to the Bastile on his arrival at Paris.

² Lord Kingston and Sir Arthur Roydon had gathered together an army of 1500 foot and about 1200 horse. So that, had Lundy marched out with the Londonderry forces, about 6000 men, they might have struck an important blow ere King James's army was fully organized.

store of provisions and forage, to come and join his horse at last with the Lagan forces. The lord sent him word, that if the horse came away, the foot would not be persuaded to continue there; and that he feared there was not such plenty of provision for their horse and men in the Lagan as they had at Sligoe. Upon this answer, the colonel sends an express to my lord, that both his horse and foot should quit Sligoe, and march immediately to the assistance of Derry.

My lord, wearied with these importunities, and not in the least mistrusting the integrity of the colonel, advances with his forces, and was followed by all the inhabitants of the town. But no sooner were they come to Ballishannon, twenty miles from Sligoe, but they received a message from the colonel, that there was not forage for the horse in the Lagan. The enemy, by this time, had possessed themselves of Sligoe; so that they were forced to stay at Ballishannon, where both their horse and men were exposed to the greatest necessities, and were almost destroyed for want of provisions.

All this while the towns of Enniskilling and Ballishannon had no ammunition sent them from him, though he had, at the same time, above 500 barrels of powder in the Pullir store-house at Derry; neither could he be persuaded by any arguments to get forage into Derry, though the neighbouring country round about him had great quantities of hay and oats, and made a voluntary offer of them for the service of the garrison. Besides, as if he had all along designed the ruin of that place, and consequently of the protestant interest in Ireland, he still gave passes to every man that asked them: He endeavoured to possess them that were the most bold and resolute, with strange apprehensions of their danger; and where this succeeded not, out of the abundance of his affection, he courted and invited others to accept of passes.

Afterwards, when the enemy made their approaches nearer Derry, he drew out a body of 7000 men, pretending he would fight them at a pass they were to come over: But as soon as ever Colonel Sheldon (with his horse) advanced, he gave him the sign to come over, and ran away, swearing a great oath, and saying, Gentlemen, I see you will not fight; though, at the same time, they were, in all appearance, very zealous and willing to engage. From thence he immediately fled to the city, and then shut the gates upon thousands of souls, pretending scarcity of provisions, who all either perished for hunger, or were left as a prey and sacrifice to the rage and fury of their insulting enemies.

Soon after, Colonels Cunningham and Richards, with two regiments, came to the assistance of Derry, whom he discouraged from staying, declaring, That they had provision but for a few days, and that the people who were in the city were but a rabble.

However, all the transactions in their council of war, as they called it, (though none were admitted to it but the colonel's own creatures) were managed with the greatest secrecy; and, the better to delude the garrison, it was given out that the forces would forthwith land. And of this they were so fully persuaded, that many went aboard the ships that were in the harbour, to caress and congratulate the soldiers safe arrival, who were not suffered to return again; but against their inclinations were brought into England. Cunningham next day (when on board, and, as it was agreed betwixt him and the confederate colonel) sends him a letter, That he had discovered some ships at a distance, which must needs be further succours designed for the relief of Derry; that he would fall down to the harbour's mouth, and return again with the rest of the fleet. This letter was handed up and down Derry to pacify the people, though generally they began to apprehend they were sold and betrayed: And in this their suspicion they were confirmed by a lady (related to the colonel) who had forgot her cue, and unwarily told a lieutenant in the garrison, that Cunningham did not design to land, and that his letter was a mere sham. After this Cunningham set sail, and hovered at a little distance, expecting the colonel, who had promised him to make his escape, and go with him for England; but the colonel not coming according to the time appoint-

ed, he pursued his voyage, and left us under the apprehensions of immediate destruction.' But (blessed be God) we have hitherto made some tolerable defence for ourselves, and still hope to give a good account of the place. I am,

Yours,

G. WALKER.

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 Charges of both Parties by the aforesaid War, or Rebellion: With Inferences and Expostulations from the whole, faithfully calculated in so concise a Manner and Order as was never done before: Humbly rendered to the Consideration of the King's 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.

Printed in the Year 1689.

King James commenced in Ireland with those measures in favour of the catholic religion which at length cost him his crown. The furious measures of Tyrconnel produced the following expostulation from the protestants of Ulster and Leinster, who saw their destruction resolved upon. It is said to have been presented to James II. shortly before the Revolution; but was printed after that great event, with a dedication to King William; so that the latter monarch is addressed in the dedication, and the former in the body of the work.

To the King's 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 undetermined among the most deeply learned by which means a potent monarch gains the most durable renown, whether by erecting a new fabric of dominion, or by reforming the errors of an ancient constitution.

* Lundy himself stole away with a load on his back; a disguise suitable to the disgraced character who assumed it.