THE HISTORY OF

PART I.

CHAP. IV.

From the arrival of Cromwell to the landing of King William III in Ireland.

CROMWELL contrived to get himself appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and having completed an armament, he failed for Dublin, and landed there the fifteenth of August, 1649, with eight thousand foot, four thousand horse, and twenty thousand pounds in money. His first attempt was on Drogheda, which he took by assault, and put all the inhabitants to the sword, with the utmost barbarity. † His wish now was to garrison the other cities and towns of the kingdom. Wexford, Waterford and Limerick, peremptorily refused to obey his orders or receive his soldiers. Clonmel was bravely defended by Hugh O'Nei], with onethousand two hundred Ulster men. Cromwell lost two thousand of his best men, in attempting to storm it; the garrison began in April 1650, to want provisions, when the Marquis of Ormond, who now adhered firmly to the Kings cause, sent orders to Lord Castle Connell, and the Sheriffs to raise the county of Limerick, with a party of four hundred foot, to countenance the rising of the county, and prevent their being hindered to meet by the enemy's garrisons. The gentlemen of the county, on recei of his excellency's

† Leland, vol. 3. p. 351.
cellency's orders, met and agreed to raise one thousand one hundred foot, and three hundred horse, to attempt throwing succours into Clonmell, but this was prevented by the commissioners general, who disliked and forbade this method of rising. O'Neil having expended all his ammunition, withdrew his men at night from Clonmell. †

Ormond, in the mean time, patiently contending with his difficulties, formed a scheme for prosecuting the war with vigour and success. He had always considered Limerick as a place of the utmost consequence, which would soon be attacked by Cromwell's army. Could he prevail on the city to receive a garrison, he had no doubt of securing it, and in such a station, with the convenience of the river Shannon, to find quarters for his forces, to raise contributions for their support, and to recruit and discipline his army, so as to meet the enemy by spring in the field. He arrived in Limerick on the twenty fifth of February 1650, and represented to the citizens the absolute necessity of their receiving one thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse, not only for their own security, but the preservation of the kingdom; but they rejected his proposal. Ormond imputed this obstinacy to the intrigues of the clergy, who had opposed the peace, traduced his government, and exulted in his misfortunes. † By advice of the commissioners of
trust, he condescended to expostulate with them. On the eighth of March, he summoned twenty-four of their bishops to attend him in Limerick, that he might confer with them and the nobility, on some effectual measures for the King's service. However they might have disregarded the King and his service, they obeyed the Marquis, and assembled with apparent respect and submission. He conferred freely with them, represented the danger of that disobedience the citizens of Limerick had discovered, and proposed that they should freely declare their sentiments.

With an affected deference, they presented him with some propositions for removing the discontents of the people. The most important of their demands were, that the receiver general should account for the sums levied since the peace, and that a privy council should be composed of the native nobility, spiritual and temporal. Ormond answered that the king alone could name his privy council, but declared that all those who received any money for the king's service should be brought to a strict account. It was expected that such a declaration must make a favorable impression on the citizens of Limerick, and some of the bishops undertook to persuade them to receive a garrison. Ormond himself deigned to practice with their magistrates and principal leaders, but his conciliating

Friar in his habit, with a crucifix in his hand, came to the head of the men, and commanded them all, "on pain of " damnation, that they should not march," On which they all threw down their arms, and a mutiny ensued; the Marquis escaped with difficulty out of town, though the magistrates did all they could to reduce the rioters to obedience, some of whom were killed and many wounded. Clarendon's History, vol. 3, page 250. Folio Edition.
Ciliating address was secretly counteracted. They even refused to treat him with the respect due to his station; the commanders of the city guards, neither came to him for orders, or imparted to him those they had received; no officer could gain admittance to him, but by licence of the mayor. Lord Kilmallock, a Roman catholic peer, who served in his army, was committed to prison, for presuming by his order, to quarter a few soldiers in the liberties of the city. Exasperated at such insults, Ormond retired to Loughrea, whither he was followed by the bishops. * Before they left Limerick, they used their influence with the Marquis, to remove all the English out of the army and kingdom, as the best means to cure the jealousies the nation had entertained of him, on their account; in short they wanted to get the power into their own hands.

† At Loughrea, Ormond met the bishops and nobility. He was so wearied by their infidious conduct, he threatened to withdraw himself and his authority from the kingdom. They now dreaded if the Marquis went away, the people would submit to Cromwell, and they promised to reduce the disobedient citizens of Limerick, to their duty. The archbishop of Tuam, and Sir Lucas Dillon were sent to negotiate with the citizens, who desired Colonel Piers Walsh to be sent to command their militia, and required that their garrison should consist of Ulster men, who should not be quartered in the city, but in huts outside the walls, and be commanded by the bishop of Limerick, Hugh O'Neil, or Mortagh

† Clarendon; page 177, and page 178.
Mortagh O'Brien. The Marquis had now some hopes that Limerick would agree to his terms, but they were considerably damped by a tumult which happened at that time. There was a Dutch ship in the river, on board of which the Marquis sent two trunks filled with papers, which he wanted to secure by sending them abroad. It was reported they were full of money, and Dominick Fanning gathered a mob, entered the vessel, and broke open and rifled the trunks. The Mayor opposed them, but in vain, and the day after he convened the Common council, and called before him the rioters. They pretended ignorance that the trunks belonged to the Lord Lieutenant, and begged pardon; when the Mayor obliged them to disclaim the oath they had taken to stand by one another, and to take a new one to obey the Lord Lieutenant. As the magistrates seemed to have no hand in this tumult, to encourage their good inclinations, Ormond removed his troops to Clare (one thousand seven hundred foot, and three hundred and fifty horse,) and quartered them in that neighbourhood, to be ready to march into Limerick. He did this to defeat Cromwell's project, who offered the citizens their estates, religion, a free trade, and no garrison to be pressed on them, provided they would give his troops a free passage to Clare.†

The twelfth of June, the Aldermen Piers Creaghe and John Bourke were sent to the Marquis with the following letter.‡

May it please your Excellency.

"The council have commanded me to signify

‡ Clarendon, p. 179. Wynne's History of Ireland, vol. 3, p. 19
nify to your Excellency, that you will be
pleased to step hither to settle the garrison
here, with that expedition which our neces-
sity requires, for which we refer to Aldermen
P. Creaghe and John Bourke, to whom we
desire credence may be given, and to believe.
I will never fail to be

Your Excellency's
most humble servant

Limerick * JOHN CREAGHE, Mayor.
June 12, 1650.

To which the Marquis sent the following
answer.

"After our hearty commendations, we have
received your letter of this day's date, and
heard what the Aldermen Creaghe and
Bourke had to say; in answer to which,
we imported some particulars, to which, if
you send an answer to the rendezvous to-
morrow, we shall visit the city, and employ
our endeavours to settle the garrison, and
so we bid you heartily farewell. *

From Clare, Your very loving friend,
June 12, 1650. ORMOND.

The particulars he demanded was "to be
received as other Lord Lieutenants, to have
the command of the guards, to get quar-
ters in the city for one hundred foot and
fifty horse, which to take away all suspicion,
should be roman catholicks, such as had
been constantly of the confederacy, and were
interested in all the benefits of the peace." Not imagining they could refute such reason-
able terms, he advanced towards the city, and was met at the Mayor's stone, by the fame
aldermen,

aldermen, who informed him, that Francis Woulfe, a Franciscan friar and the head of that order, had raised a tumult to oppose his entrance, and having forced the keys from Mr. Sheriff Rochford, had seized and guarded the gates, so that it was not prudent for him to come, until the tumult should be appeased. The same night, June thirteenth, Alderman Fanning and his party called in Colonel Mor-tagh O'Brien, who was devoted to their faction, with his regiment increased with two hundred recruits; and though Mr. Creaghe, the Mayor opposed his entrance at the gates, he and his men forced their way into the city, seized the magazine of corn, laid up by Ormond for the use of his army, as he expected possession of the garrison, with a quantity of corn belonging to himself, and disposed of all at his pleasure. † The bishops pretended to condemn these outrages, but Ormond could not venture into a place, where Friar Woulfe's power was above civil and ecclesiastical authority, and possessed by a disaffected regiment. He retired that night to Shanbally, and from thence sent a letter to the magistrates, reminding them of the favours they had received from the crown, and desired to know if they would exert themselves for their own, and the nation's defence, and give him possession. The bishop was then sent to him with some proposals, and a request to forgive Colonel O'Brien, which he granted, if they would agree to his terms; this being refused, the commissioners of trust with the marquis of Clanricarde instilled that the bishop should excommunicate Colonel O'Brien.

† Clarendon, page 183.
O'Brien and Dominick Fanning, which he refused.

The strength and consequence of Limerick, must have been considerable at this time, when the Marquis of Ormond had two thousand men in the county of Clare, and Cromwell a large army on the other side, neither of whom could make any impression on the inhabitants. In July 1650, Ireton sent Sir Hardres Waller to invest the city, and threaten to besiege it; on which Ormond made another effort to get possession, and offered to share the same fate of the inhabitants. They wanted to have the garrison of their own choosing, and insisted particularly on O'Brien's regiment; that Colonel had made incursions into the county of Clare, and raised contributions on those who had honestly paid the same for the use of the army; the Marquis therefore sent orders to the Mayor and Hugh O'Neil, to seize O'Brien, and deliver him prisoner to a guard appointed to receive him. The mayor made answer he could not interfere, as O'Neil was governor of the city, and O'Neil more truly wrote to the Marquis, that he was only a cypher, and not suffered to act without the concurrence of the mayor and common council, who kept the keys of the city, and who were not ashamed to intercede for O'Brien; but the Marquis absolutely refused their request, nor could he ever get himself admitted into the city, but was treated with strange circumstances of insult and contempt. He quitted Limerick, and left Lord Castlehaven to command the army; his Lordship went into the city, and told the mayor &c. he was determined.

mined to defend them, if they would place themselves under his protection; after taking some time to consult, they consented, on which his Lordship visited the walls, took a view of Ireton’s army, and found them loose and exposed, if vigorously assaulted. He therefore resolved to march his troops into town, and before day break, to make a sharp sally. Sir Hardress Waller got intelligence of his design, and marched away all his troops the same night. The stubborn conduct of the important garrison of Limerick, proceeded entirely from the intrigues of the pope’s nuncio, and the clergy, who feared Ormond would make a treaty with Cromwell. Exceedingly anxious for the preservation of their religion and liberty, they engaged Lord Viscount Taaffe, Sir Nicholas Plunket and Jeffry Baron, to enter into a treaty with Charles the fourth, Duke of Lorrain, who in a letter to the mayor and Corporation of Galway, dated, Bruffells September the tenth, 1651, writes as follows: “To a high hope of your fortitude, bear in mind that the success of the enemy is hitherto permitted by the providence of God, to preserve the chief glory of vindicating the kingdom and religion to you and the Limerickians, as they have performed their part most nobly, and I doubt not, when occasion offers, you also will shew the like examples of constancy, with happy emulation.” * But however pleased the Irish might be with these flattering prospects, the obstinacy or misguided zeal of the citizens of Limerick, was fatal to many of them, and occasioned Ormond to take shipping at

* Cox’s History of Ireland, vol. 2. p. 63.
at Galway, and retire to France, leaving the Marquis of Clanricarde in the government.

Ireton commenced the campaign early in the year 1651. Judging Limerick to be more vulnerable at the county-Clare side than any other, he determined to attack it there. He lost some time in attempting to build a bridge at Castle Connell, and then marched his army to Killaloe; this important passage over the Shannon was defended by Colonel Feeney, who either deserted his post, or betrayed his trust, and Ireton soon appeared before Limerick, which he besieged closely for six months, during which time, it suffered much distress by sickness and the sword. The marquis of Clanricarde now offered to defend the place and share its fortune, but was refused as peremptorily, as Ormond had been. The Lord Muskerry marched from Kerry with a considerable force to relieve Limerick; the scouts brought word that he was at Castle-Ιθιν, a strong place, on which Lord Broghill marched to attack him, and about midnight, in a dreadful storm of wind and rain, fell on his horse guard, surprized the camp, and defeated him with considerable loss, taking Colonel Mac Gillacuddy prisoner. In the beginning of July, Ireton sent Colonel Tuthill's regiment to reduce the castle at the Salmon-weir. The garrison immediately retreated in boats, some of them landing at Parteen, and others at Corbally; those that landed at Parteen, were promised quarter by a Captain of Tuthill's regiment, but they were butchered in cold blood. Even the savage hearted Ireton disapproved of this proceeding.
which he saw must drive the Irish to despair; he therefore ordered those who landed at Corbally to be spared, and sent them into the city, with a message, expressing his detestation of breach of promise, informing them Colonel Tuthill and his Captain were cuffed, and offering any further satisfaction.†

Ireton knew the strength of Limerick, and that it was the only resource of the Irish; he knew the siege would prove tedious, and the event at last be doubtful; he therefore exerted all his skill and cunning to insure success. He pressed his approaches with vigour, he took the castle on the distant end of Thomond bridge, but the besieged rendered the bridge impalpable, by breaking down two of the arches. He now attempted to land on the King’s Island, by means of eleven boats and a float provided for the purpose, but the float proving too short, all the men, except seven who landed out of the first five boats, were either drowned or killed. In this enterprise Ireton lost one hundred and twenty men, with Major Walker, Captain Graves, and Captain Whiting. ‡ He also lost three hundred men in a sally made by the besieged.

Winter now approached, and the severity of the season, with the sickness of his army, must soon have obliged Ireton to abandon his enterprise, if treachery and sedition had not proved too powerful for the gallant governor O’Neil. His authority was always controuled by the magistrates, consequently flighted by his officers. Of these a number assembled tumultuously, and resolved to treat with the enemy,

† Wynne’s History of Ireland, vol 3. p. 74.
‡ Borlase, page 357.
enemy without objecting to any exceptions made by Ireton, of the lives of particular persons. Commissioners were to be chosen the next day to send to the army. The Bishops of Limerick and Emily went to the council chamber, and threatened to excommunicate all those who proceeded in such impious counsels, the effect of which would be to deliver up the prelates and clergy to be sacrificed by the enemy; but in the hour of terror and danger, their spiritual authority was utterly neglected.*

A treaty was agreed on and the commissioners met for several days, and dined together between the town and the camp, but the besieged required such high terms, it was broken off without coming to any conclusion. Another bridge was now completed to the king's island, and the general marched over with a great part of the army; he marked out ground for three bodies of men to encamp separately, each to contain of two thousand men, quartering them in brigades, to defend themselves or annoy the enemy. † As soon as the great fort, on which the men worked a long time, was finished, he drew off his troops, leaving one thousand foot, and three hundred horse on the island, ‡ commanded by Sir Hardress Waller. Numbers of people now endeavoured to get out of the town to avoid the plague, which raged there. The general threatened to shoot any who should attempt to come out; he took three or four in order to execute them, and caused others to be whipped back into town.

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‡ Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. 1. p. 358
† The remains of this fort are now to be seen.
One of those ordered to be hanged was the daughter of an old man, who was one of the number driven back; he desired that he might be hanged in the room of his daughter, but it was refused. After this a gallows was erected in sight of the walls, and two or three persons hanged for other crimes, but the besieged imagined it was for going out of town, and they attempted it no more.

It was now the end of October 1651, when Colonel Fennell, who betrayed the pass at Killaroe, and took shelter in Limerick, combined with some other officers; he got the keys of the city from the mayor, and seizing St. John's gate and tower, he drove away the guard which O'Neil had placed there. The governor sent for him to a council of war, but he refused to come. He was supplied with powder by the mayor, and turning the cannon on the town, declared he would not quit his post, 'till it was surrendered to the enemy; as a proof of his resolution, he received two hundred of Ireton's men into John's gate the same night. Thus betrayed, and invested on the county Limerick, as well as on the county Clare side, by a numerous army, which had received a reinforcement during the siege of four thousand men, and had shipping in the Shannon, laden with ammunition &c.—the brave Hugh O'Neil and his garrison, were constrained to agree to articles, of which the following is an abstract.

**Articles** agreed on the twenty-seventh of October, 1651, between Henry Ireton, the

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† Warner's History of Ireland, vol. 2. p. 244.
‡ Boulafe, page 359.
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the deputy General; and Barth. Stackpole, Recorder of Limerick; Alderman Dominic White; Nich. Haley, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel Pierse Lacy; Lieutenant Colonel Donogh O'Brien, and John Baggot, Esq; Commissioners on behalf of the mayor and inhabitants.

1. That the city and castle and all places of strength, be delivered to the deputy general on the twenty-ninth instant, by sunset, for the use of the parliament and commonwealth of England, for performance whereof, the said Dominic White, Pierse Lacy, Donogh O'Brien, and Nicholas Haley shall remain as hostages.

2. In consideration of which all persons now in the city shall have their lives and properties, except the following, who opposed and restrained the deluded people from accepting the conditions so often offered to them.

Major General Hugh O'Neil, Governor.
Major General Purcell.
Sir Geoffry Galwey.
Lieutenant Colonel Lacy.
Captain George Woulfe.
Captain Lieutenant Sexton.
Edmond O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick.
Terence O'Brien, Bishop of Emly.
John Quin, a Dominican Friar.
Captain Laurence Welch, a Priest.
Francis Woulfe, a Friar.
Philip Dwyer, a Priest.
Alderman Dominick Fanning.
Alderman Thomas Stritch.
Alderman Jordan Roche.
Edmond Roche, Burgels.
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Sir Richard Everard,
Doctor Higgins,
Maurice Baggot of Baggotstown,
And Jeffry Baron.

III. All officers, soldiers and other persons in the city, shall have liberty to remove themselves, their families and property to any part of Ireland.

IV. All citizens and inhabitants shall have liberty to stay in the city, until they get warning to depart.

V. All persons now in the city, except those mentioned in the second article, who shall desire to live peaceably, and submit to the parliament of England, shall be protected in any part of the kingdom.

When this capitulation was signed, Sir Hardres Waller was appointed governor, and O'Neil met Ireton at the gate and shewed him all the ammunition and provisions, sufficient to have lasted three months. The troops amounting to two thousand five hundred men, laid down their arms in St. Mary's church, and in marching out of the garrison, several of them dropped dead of the plague, according to Ludlow, who was a general at the siege.* Ireton now issued his bloody orders, and General Purcell, Sir Geoffry Galwey, the bishop of Emly, Alderman Thomas Stritch, Friar Francis Woulfe, Jeffry Baron, who was just returned from Bruffells, Dominick Panning, who formerly opposed the proclaiming of Ormond's peace, suffered by the hands of the executioner.

* Ludlow's memoirs, vol. 1. p. 372. This plague or malignant fever made great havoc in Ireland, especially among the English troops.
executioner. * The Bishop of Emly died with great courage, but General Purcell was so weak, he was held up at the place of execution by two soldiers. Fennell, notwithstanding his services, was tried for several crimes, and ordered to execution. The Bishop of Limerick, O’Dwyer, escaped among the troops, in the dress of a soldier, and died at Bruffells. The brave governor O’Neil, who had so provoked Ireton, by his defence of the city, and his former gallant behaviour at Clonmell, was tried by the gloomy republican, for a conduct that should have recommended him to the esteem of a soldier. O’Neil pleaded that he had taken no part in the original conspiracy, that he had been invited into Ireland by his countrymen, and ever acted as a fair and honourable enemy. But Ireton was inexorable, and the court martial

* The Hibernia Dominicana, by Dr. Bourke, titular Bishop of Offaly, page 568, has the following remarkable account of the Bishop of Emly. “Terence Albert O’Brien was a friar of the Dominican convent in Limerick, a doctor of divinity, elected provincial of that order in 1643, and appointed Bishop of Emly in 1644. He was so active in persuading the Irish to hold out against Cromwell’s forces, that Ireton, during the siege of Limerick, offered him forty thousand pounds, to desert from his exhortations, and quit the city, with a passport to any other kingdom. He refused this offer heroically, in consequence of which he was exempted from pardon, tried and condemned to be hanged and beheaded. He bore the sentence with resignation, and behaved to his last moments with manly fortitude. He addressed Ireton with a prophetic spirit, accusing him of the highest injustice, threatening him with life for life, and summoning him to the tribunal of God in a few days. Ireton caught the plague in eight days, and died soon after, raging and raving of this unfortunate prelate, whose unjust condemnation he imagined hurried on his death. The Bishop of Emly was executed on the eve of all saints day, and his head was fixed on a spike, at the top of a tower, near the centre of the city.”
tially condemned the general to death. Some of the officers more generous than the rest, expostulated with Ireton, and happily subdued his obstinacy; he agreed to take the opinion of the court martial a second time, and by a single vote O'Neil's life was saved. * Ireton having caught the infection in Limerick, died there the twenty-sixth of November, and was interred the sixth of February 1652, in Henry the seventh's chapel at Westminster, but was afterwards taken up, and buried at Tyburn. He was succeeded in command by Lieutenant General Ludlow. † Ireton was a man who knew the bottom of all Cromwell's counsels and purposes, of the same or greater pride and fierceness of nature. He was dark and reserved, absolute in his authority, never diverted from any resolution he had taken, and was often thought to prevail over Cromwell himself.

After the surrender of Limerick, Galway and other towns being easily reduced by the parliament army, the country was wasted and depopulated by a series of public commotions. Forfeited lands were assigned to satisfy the arrears due to the English army, but this was confined to those who served since Cromwell's arrival in 1649. Oliver having now usurped the Government of England, he sent his son Henry into Ireland, but he soon retired from thence, and from that moment the royalists conceived sanguine hopes of the king's restoration; most of the English and old Irish being devoted to his interest. Sir Charles Coote surprised Athlone, and some other officers, whom he

† Leland, vol. 3. page 391. Borlase, page 364,
he and Lord Broghill joined in the confederacy, secured Limerick, Drogheda, Youghal, Clonmell and Carlow. 

During the reign of Charles II, Limerick seems to have enjoyed a profound peace. On the accession of King James, in 1684, he advanced his brother in law, the Earl of Clarendon to be Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. In his public instructions, the king expressed a desire to introduce Roman Catholics into corporations, and to invest them with judicial offices, in consequence of which Sir William King, governor of Limerick was displaced, and Colonel Hamilton, a Roman Catholic, succeeded him, and took possession of the city for King James.

The Earl of Tyrconnell, who was strongly attached to the king, got a commission to regulate the army; he dismissed many of the old officers, and gave orders that none but Roman Catholics should be admitted. Lord Clarendon remonstrated against a conduct, which must inflame the animosities already excited in the kingdom, but in fact, Tyrconnell's power was supreme to his own; he therefore resigned the government, and Tyrconnell, who was a fit instrument to execute the king's measures, was appointed Lord Lieutenant. 

In March, 1686, twelve Roman Catholic merchants were made free of the council of Limerick, Henry Turner the recorder, becoming a Roman Catholic, prevailed on the Lord Lieutenant, that George Roche, the Protestant mayor, should be deposed, and Robert Hannan appointed in his room. Mr. Roche kept the

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‡ Leland, vol. 3. p. 405.
* See Appendix, No. 1.
sword of state until the year following, but Sir Stephen Rice, one of the barons of the exchequer compelled him to admit Hannan. * In the next year 1687, on St. Francis’s day, the Franciscans, countenanced by the governor, possessed themselves of their church in the abbey, which they had formerly rented from Mr. Pery’s family†.

King James sailed from Brest the seventh of March 1688, and landed at Kinsale the twelfth of said month; he had in his train one hundred French officers, and about one thousand two hundred of his own subjects. On his landing he created Tyrconnell a duke, and soon after made his public entry into Dublin. He established a mint in Dublin and Limerick, but his coin was not of the purest metal, old cannon, bells and household utensils were brought to the mint, and from every pound weight, worth four pence, pieces were coined to the amount of five pounds nominal value‡. This money was made current in all payments by proclamation; his army was paid with it; old debts of one thousand pounds were discharged with pieces of this metal, of the intrinsic value of thirty shillings. §

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