

COMMENTARIUS
RINUCCINIANUS

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RINUCCINIANUS

DE SEDIS APOSTOLICAE LEGATIONE
AD FOEDERATOS HIBERNIAE CATHOLICOS
PER ANNOS 1645-1649

FLORENTIAE
OPUS SUSCEPERUNT ATQUE ABSOLVERUNT
PER ANNOS 1661-1666

FR. PATER RICHARDUS (BARNABAS O'FERRALL)
LONGFORDENSIS

FR. PATER ROBERTUS (DANIEL O'CONNELL)
DESMONDENSIS

UTERQUE E PROVINCIA HIBERNICA
ORDINIS MIN. CAPUCCINORUM

NUNC PRIMUM E FONTIBUS TOTUM
EDENDUM CURAT

FR. PATER STANISLAUS (JOANNES KAVANAGH)
EIVSDEM ORDINIS ET PROVINCIAE

DUBLINI: ANNO MCMXLIX

COIMISIÚN LÁIMHSCRÍBHINNÍ NA hÉIREANN
IRISH MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

DE SEDIS APOSTOLICAE LEGATIONE
AD FOEDERATOS HIBERNIAE CATHOLICOS
PER ANNOS 1645-1649

VOLUMEN SEXTUM

I. HISTORY AND AUTHORSHIP

By STANISLAUS KAVANAGH, O.F.M.CAP., D.LITT.

II. SYNOPSIS AND INDICES

By NEWPORT B. WHITE, M.A.



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PART I.

BY

REV. STANISLAUS KAVANAGH, O.F.M.CAP., D.LITT.

HISTORY AND AUTHORSHIP
OF THE
COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

SOME ESTIMATES OF ITS IMPORTANCE

The causes which led to the Irish war of 1641 and the issues involved in it have been dealt with by many seventeenth-century writers, but by few more comprehensively than by the authors of the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*. The historical value of this work has long been recognised. For instance, as early as 1736, its objectivity won the praise of the renowned historian, Carte. Having acknowledged his indebtedness to it for 'many particulars which would not otherwise have come to light,' he stated that 'the compiler appears to have a great regard to truth, and to be fair and candid in his relation of occurrences.'¹ His contemporary, Warner, declared that 'these Memoirs² bring to light so many secret affairs of the Catholics in that period that it is impossible for any history of the Irish rebellion to be complete without the assistance of this manuscript.'³ In recent times Russell and Prendergast have said in a report to the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records that 'of the importance of this manuscript as a means of enabling the historian of the Irish war of 1641 to strike the balance of truth between the conflicting narratives, it is impossible to speak too strongly.'⁴

¹ T. Carte, *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (London, 1736), I, v. Carte's great interest in the work is shown by the fact that he compiled a lengthy summary of the Holkham transcript, which is vol. 97 of the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian library, Oxford.

² English writers, following Carte, usually refer to this work as *The Nuncio's Memoirs*.

³ F. Warner, *History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland* (2nd ed. London, 1756), p. xv.

⁴ *Thirty-second Report of the Deputy Keeper of the (English) Public Records* (London, 1871), appendix I, p. 116.

The value of this work could not be properly assessed owing to the confusion and uncertainty that surrounded the circumstances of its composition and authorship. That is why Warner, for example, wrote: 'I have made no use of those [materials in the Memoirs] which relate to the time in which the Nuncio himself was not in Ireland, as being of no certain authority.'¹ Happily we are now in a position, owing to researches conducted over a wide field of manuscript sources, as well as from internal evidence, to establish the exact authorship of the entire manuscript material.

The fact that this work existed only in manuscript, and thus was practically inaccessible to the public, has often been regretted. Appeals were made from time to time for the publication of the copy of the manuscript in the possession of the Earl of Leicester. In 1871 Russell and Prendergast, in the report mentioned above, wrote in this connection: "We would respectfully suggest that . . . it might with great propriety be selected for publication in connection with the series of 'Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland' published under your Lordships' direction."² Again, in 1883, John T. Gilbert, in a report on the contents of the Earl of Leicester's library, remarked that 'the particulars contained in the present report will, it is submitted, sufficiently demonstrate that the publication in full of the *Nuncio's Memoirs* would much advance our present knowledge of the period of British history to which they relate.'³ Students of Irish history, however, had to wait until the Irish Manuscripts Commission decided to make the work available. The task of preparing an accurate text of the original manuscript for publication was entrusted to the present writer, and the work has now been published in five volumes under the title 'Commentarius Rinuccinianus.'

THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT

The original manuscript in Milan, on which the published text has been based, was in six folio volumes, and was extant until 1943. The first 109 leaves (28cm × 20cm) of the manuscript

¹ *History of the Rebellion*, etc. p. xv.

² *Thirty-second Report*, etc., appendix I, p. 116.

³ *Ninth Report of the Royal Commission on Historical MSS.*, Part II, pp. 340-57.

were paginated, the rest were foliated. It had neither table of contents nor index. The following title stood at the head of the first page :

*De haeresis Anglicanae in Iberniam intrusione et progressu, et de bello Catholico ad annum 1641 caepto, exindeque per aliquot annos gesto Commentarius.*¹

The work was compiled in Florence between the years 1661 and 1666, and was written entirely in Latin. The handwriting was uniform, with the exception of folios 826-897v ; 930-1019 ; 1028-1127v ; 1129-1239v ; and 1247-1319v. Only on the title-page of the manuscript was there evidence of a third hand in the five-word emendation introduced in the first sentence.² The manuscript when finished was deposited in the library of the Rinuccini family in Florence. It remained there until about 1850, when, by the marriage of Marianna Rinuccini, the last surviving member of the family, with the Marquis (afterwards Prince) Trivulzi, it passed with other literary treasures to the Trivulzi library in Milan.³ When this library was acquired by the municipality of Milan in 1935 the manuscript was transferred to the Archivio Storico Comunale in the Castello Sforzesco. It is sad to have to record that, when this building was bombed in August, 1943, the six volumes, together with many other codices of the Trivulzi collection, were destroyed.

The manuscript begins with a conspectus of Irish history from 1170 to the end of 1642, while from the latter date to the close of 1654 events are described year by year in separate sections. The concluding section of the narrative continues the history of events, with particulars about many of the notabilities in the Irish war, up to 1666, the year in which the manuscript was completed. Hence, to quote the report of the Deputy Keeper of the English Public Records⁴ : ' the history possesses an additional value from the fact that it is continued after the break-up of the Irish party, both as to the events in Ireland, and also to the fortunes of the Irish exiles on the Continent, more especially in relation to the subsequent discussion and controversies at Rome.' Appended to the work

¹ *A Commentary on the intrusion of the English heresy into Ireland and its progress, and on the Catholic war which began in the year 1641, and was waged for some years following.*

² This page is reproduced in appendix III, pl. 1. In the printed work the original wording has been retained.

³ Seregni e Motta, *Biblioteca Trivulziana* (Milano, 1913), pp. 6, 7 and 13 ; G. Porro, *Catalogo dei manoscritti della Trivulziana* (Torino, 1884), p. 380.

⁴ *Thirty-second Report, etc.*, appendix I, p. 27.

is a Latin version of the Italian report which the Nuncio presented to Pope Innocent X after his return to Rome in November, 1649.

In the published work the title *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* has been substituted for the unwieldy inscription at the head of the manuscript, although this title, like that of the *Nuncio's Memoirs* given to the work by Carte, cannot be said to be fully adequate, inasmuch as it does not indicate the whole historical ground covered by the writers. Moreover, the preliminary section of the manuscript, dealing with the period from 1170 to the end of 1642, has been divided into five distinct parts. In addition the printed work includes (1) a Latin preface to volume I dealing with the authorship of the manuscript; (2) the marginal numbering showing the folios of the Milan original; (3) the consecutive numbering of paragraphs in each section; and (4) a Series Rerum, or synoptic table of contents, prefixed to each volume.

COPIES OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Half a century after the original manuscript was completed, probably about 1716-7, Thomas Coke, afterwards Earl of Leicester, during a tour of the Continent, procured a copy for the family library at Holkham, Norfolk. It was this copy which Carte consulted in 1733 in preparing his *Life of James, Duke of Ormond*. A second copy of the original was made about 1870 for Dr. (afterwards Cardinal) Moran, who published copious extracts in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*¹, and also drew largely on it for his *Persecutions of the Irish Catholics*.² This copy is among the papers of Cardinal Moran which are preserved in the archdiocese of Sydney, Australia. These are the only two copies known to have been made from the original.

About 1883 John T. Gilbert was permitted to make a transcript of the Holkham copy, and this transcript was acquired by the municipality of Dublin in 1900, two years after Gilbert's death. It is at present deposited in the municipal library, Pearse Street, Dublin. By the courtesy of the municipal authorities the Capuchin Fathers of Dublin made a typed copy of the Gilbert transcript in 1909. As neither the Holkham

¹ 3 vols., (Dublin, 1874-84).

² Dublin, 1884.

transcript nor its reproductions proved suitable as a basis for the printed work, because of numerous errors and omissions, it was necessary to have recourse to the original in Milan to obtain a full and accurate text.

THE NUNCIO AND IRELAND

The main body of the *Commentarius* treats of the Irish war which began in October, 1641. The central figure in the narrative is John Baptist Rinuccini, the distinguished archbishop of Fermo,¹ whom Pope Innocent X sent as Nuncio Extraordinary to Ireland in 1645. The war was already four years in progress and had reached a critical stage when Rinuccini landed at Kenmare on the south-west coast of Ireland on October 22 of that year. In a report which he sent to Rome in the following May² he dwells at some length on the disunion among the Confederates. The native or 'old-Irish' party was determined to continue the war until a satisfactory peace which would include complete freedom of worship was obtained, whereas the Anglo-Irish or 'new-Irish' were eager for an early peace, and would be satisfied with permission for the practice of their religion in private. They had already gone so far as to negotiate a truce with Ormond, even though he had shown himself an inveterate opponent of the Catholic cause. From the outset Rinuccini opposed those Catholic clergy and laity who were seeking a compromise with Ormond.³

By the end of 1647 the Anglo-Irish had gained a complete ascendancy both in the Supreme Council and in the General Assembly. They set themselves against the Nuncio's policy, disregarded his counsels, and severely criticised his conduct of affairs in letters and pamphlets. Notwithstanding the vehement opposition of Rinuccini, who was officially supported at this stage by the majority of the clergy, the Supreme Council decided in May, 1648, to enter into a truce with Inchiquin who had only a month previously declared for the royal cause.⁴

¹ Fermo was a principality under Papal rule, hence in the *Commentarius* Rinuccini is styled 'archbishop and Prince of Fermo.'

² *Commentarius*, II, 167-80.

³ The authors of the *Commentarius* represent Rinuccini as attributing to the 'new-Irish' the main responsibility for all the misfortunes and reverses of the war, and for the failure of his own Nunciature. (IV, 353).

⁴ *ibid.*, III, 93.

The truce was actually signed on May 20. In the meantime the Nuncio, apprehensive for his personal safety, had secretly stolen away from the Supreme Council's headquarters at Kilkenny and joined Owen Roe at Maryborough. Then on May 28, he excommunicated all who in any way subscribed to the truce, placing also under interdict such cities and towns as should dare to accept it.¹ The Supreme Council appealed to the Holy See against these censures,² and in the following September deputed Fr. John Rowe, Provincial of the Irish Discalced Carmelites, to press the appeal in Rome.³

From O'Neill's camp the Nuncio made his way to Galway which he reached in June, 1648. The opposition to him of the dominant party in the Confederation came to a head during the last months of his stay in Ireland. In October, 1648, the General Assembly supplied him with a list of the charges against him, twenty in number, which they were forwarding to Rome.⁴ At the same time they issued a decree ordering him to quit the kingdom without delay, and forbade the Mayor and citizens of Galway to have any further dealings with him.⁵ But the Nuncio stood his ground for the time being, and sent two priests to Rome to defend his cause, Fr. Joseph Arcamoni, his confessor, and Fr. Richard O'Ferrall, a Capuchin, who was at the time Superior of the house of his Order in Galway.⁶

Meanwhile Ormond, who had handed over the city of Dublin to the Parliamentarians and quitted the country in 1647, landed in Cork in the beginning of October, 1648. His return as Viceroy precipitated events. The General Assembly welcomed him to Kilkenny, and on January 17, 1649, concluded a treaty of peace with him.⁷ One of his first acts was to dissolve the Confederation. This was the final blow to Rinuccini's hopes and plans. With the passing of the native government he deemed his nunciature at an end, and sailed from Galway on February 23, 1649. After a sojourn of several months in various parts of France he passed into Italy and reached Rome in the following November.⁸

Massari's account of the reception accorded to Rinuccini at

¹ *ibid.*, III, 206-7.

² *ibid.*, III, 211-19.

³ *ibid.*, III, 579.

⁴ *ibid.*, III, 611-17.

⁵ *ibid.*, III, 627-8.

⁶ *ibid.*, III, 596.

⁷ *ibid.*, IV, I.

⁸ *ibid.*, IV, 348.

the Roman court is cited in the *Commentarius*. It appears from this that Pope Innocent X welcomed him with special marks of benevolence and esteem, and signified that he greatly desired to have a written report of his nunciature to be preserved in the Papal archives as a lasting memorial both of the Nuncio's labours and trials, and of his own great activity in the interest of the Catholics of Ireland.¹ A different account of the Nuncio's reception was given twenty-five years later by Fr. Peter Walsh, who stated that the Pope had reproached Rinuccini, saying 'you have acted rashly.'² But the eminent Dominican historian, De Burgo, writing it is true a hundred years later, calls in question the credibility of Walsh's statement. 'If, he writes, 'this story were true, then our countrymen (*nostrates*) would at once and without difficulty have been freed from that anathema [the Nuncio's excommunication], but quite the contrary occurred.'³

Meanwhile Fr. Rowe was engaged in promoting the appeal against the Nuncio's censures, but without success. The authors of the *Commentarius* cite a letter of December 4, 1649, from the Secretary of the Congregation for Irish Affairs to Massari, in which it is stated that the appeal had been rejected by the Cardinals of that Congregation.⁴ They further declare that Rowe was never admitted to audience with the Holy Father, who gave orders that he should leave the Papal States within three days on pain of imprisonment.⁵ There is no

¹ 'Fuit sua Dominatio Illustrissima die Dominica praeterita ad Sua Sanctitatis pedes, auditus cum singularibus benevolentiae et aestimationis demonstrationibus, et inter alia, quae Sua Sanctitas ipsi dixit, ostendit se magnopere desiderare ut omnium, quae in Ibernica successerant, Relationem videat, quatenus semper constet quantopere Illustrissimus Dominus in obeunda sua provincia laboraverat et passus erat, quantaque fuerat operata Sua Sanctitas ex parte sua in illorum Catholicorum utilitatem.'—*ibid.*, IV, 348. Massari, Dean of Fermo, had been auditor of the nunciature and left Ireland with the Nuncio. While on their return journey Massari was appointed to the secretaryship of the congregation of Propaganda and arrived in Rome on August 18, 1649 (*ib.*, IV, 189–90).

² P. Walsh, *History of the Remonstrance* (London, 1674), p. xxxiv. Walsh's words are: '... his frowning reception by the Pope in these words: *temerarie te gessisti* . . . My author is the Rev. Fr. John Roe'.

³ T. De Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana* (Cologne, 1762), p. 690. Canon O'Rourke, in *The Battle of the Faith in Ireland* (Dublin, 1887) understood *nostrates* to refer to the Dominican Order, of which De Burgo was a member, but Rinuccini makes it clear in his report (*Commentarius*, V, 471) that only one Dominican had incurred the censures.

⁴ *op. cit.*, IV, 357.

⁵ *ibid.*, IV, 375.

evidence that the Roman authorities ever formally revoked or invalidated the Nuncio's censures.¹

Rinuccini left Rome in June, 1650, while the controversy regarding the censures continued at the Papal Court. In the following October a Latin work was published in Paris assailing his nunciature in Ireland under the title *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Iberniae ad Alitophilum libri duo*. The author, who wrote under the pseudonym of Philopater Irenaeus, was an Irish priest resident in Paris named John MacCeallachan or Callaghan.² Doubtless the continued criticism of his conduct of affairs in Ireland was the chief factor in deciding Rinuccini to embark on a full history of his mission. The materials were immediately and fully available, for he had preserved copies of all his letters and reports to Rome, his correspondence with Cardinals, Nuncios, and other personages, as well as copies of the letters he received from Rome and elsewhere. On December 5, 1650 he wrote to Father Richard O'Ferrall, who was still acting as his agent in Rome, bidding him to come to Fermo to aid him in writing a history of Irish affairs.³ In a second letter, on January 19, 1651, he instructed Fr. O'Ferrall⁴ to await a further communication in which he would inform him of the books he was to bring to Fermo. He sent the promised list on May 8, but Fr. O'Ferrall had fallen ill before the letter reached him, and some months elapsed before he was able to proceed to Fermo. In the meantime Rinuccini's health had failed, and the project had to be postponed. He lingered on for two years, unable to undertake literary work, and died in Fermo on December 13, 1653, in the sixty-first year of his age. He is eulogised in the *Commentarius*⁵ as a prelate conspicuous for his learning, eloquence and piety, and deserving of lasting praise for his services to the Catholic cause in Ireland. His remains were

¹ Prelates were empowered on several occasions to free from the censures those who sought absolution. Even as late as 1697 the Holy See was petitioned to grant a general absolution *ad cautelam*, which would not imply an admission of guilt, but no document is forthcoming to show that it was ever granted. There is nothing in the document on which Dr. Hynes relies (*The Mission of Rinuccini*, 1932, p. 312), to warrant the inference that the Holy See granted a general absolution from the censures in 1698, in the terms requested the previous year by the bishop of Elphin, leaving the question of their validity still open.

² *Commentarius*, IV, 523-6; V, 232-4. By some writers (e.g. in *Catholic Encyclopedia*, London, 1907, II, 416) this work is attributed to Sir Richard Belling, but Belling's *Vindiciae*, written in his own defence, was not published in Paris until 1652 (*Comm.* V, 113).

³ *Commentarius*, IV, 527.

⁴ *ibid.*, V, 165.

⁵ *ibid.*, V, 167.

interred in the crypt of the cathedral, where to this day may be seen the mural monument erected to his memory by his brother Thomas. His epitaph (which is correctly reproduced in the *Commentarius*¹) was quite legible when the present writer visited the tomb in 1935.

COMPILATION AND HANDWRITING OF THE COMMENTARIUS

The manuscript of the *Commentarius* bore no name on its title-page, and various conjectures have been made regarding its authorship. If any tradition on the point existed in the Rinuccini household it was short-lived, for De Burgo, who consulted the work in 1770, little more than a hundred years after its completion, was told by the curator of the Rinuccini library that it had been written, not by the Nuncio, but by Massari, Dean of Fermo.² The curator's statement is disproved by one of the authors of the manuscript who remarks that he had never seen Massari.³ Some seventy years after, another curator of the same library, Aiazzi, stated⁴ that the work was incorrectly attributed to Rinuccini, that the handwriting was certainly not Italian, and that it might have been written by some learned Irish religious. Cardinal Moran asserted⁵ that it was penned by an Irish Capuchin, but he did not attempt to identify him.

From a passage in the text⁶ it is certain that the *Commentarius* was the work of two Irish Capuchins, one of whom was Fr. Richard O'Ferrall. As we have seen Fr. O'Ferrall was from the first associated with the preparation of a history of Rinuccini's mission in Ireland—a project which had to be postponed owing to the Nuncio's illness and death. For several years subsequently Father O'Ferrall's duties in Rome, principally in connection with Irish affairs, prevented him from proceeding with the work, but at length in 1659 he obtained permission to leave Rome, and on June 14 set out for Florence. The documents relating to the Irish nunciature had been

¹ *ibid.*, V, 166-7.

² Thomas De Burgo, *Hibernia Dominicana*, Supplementum (Cologne, 1772), p. 900.

³ *Commentarius*, V, 285.

⁴ G. Aiazzi, *Nunziatura in Irlanda* (Firenze, 1844), p. vii.

⁵ P. F. Moran, *Persecutions of the Irish Catholics* (Dublin, 1884), p. 156.

⁶ *op. cit.*, V, 425.

brought to that city after Rinuccini's death, and Fr. O'Ferrall consulted them in order to obtain materials for a history of the Irish war which Massari was then writing in Italian.¹ This task completed, he began work on the history of Rinuccini's mission in Ireland. But, according to the Commentarius,² from the time he left Rome his health had begun to fail, and this was probably his reason for calling to his assistance³ Father Robert O'Connell, one of his Irish brethren, from the Irish house of the Order in Charleville in France.⁴ The latter joined Father O'Ferrall in Florence in September, 1661, and became his associate, and indeed the chief scribe of the Commentarius.

Before considering the part taken by Fr. O'Connell and Fr. O'Ferrall respectively in the composition of the Commentarius it is worthy of note that the association of these two friars was observed by a contemporary Genoese Capuchin, Father Dionysius. Writing of what he had seen in Florence in 1662 he states⁵: 'Fr. Richard, an Irishman, wrote a large historical volume in which he treats in Latin of Irish affairs. . . . I saw that manuscript with Fr. Richard while he stayed in Florence in 1662. . . . Fr. Robert, also an Irishman, a companion of the same Fr. Richard, . . . wrote in Latin a volume of controversies.'⁶ I saw that manuscript, which was ready for press, with the author in Florence in the year 1662.'

In the manuscript of the Commentarius Fr. Robert O'Connell does not mention his name, nor indeed is he named anywhere in the work, but, nevertheless, it can be established that it was he who wrote the greater part of it. A manuscript volume called *Historia Missionis Hiberniae Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum*⁷ bears the name of Fr. O'Connell on the title page; the handwriting of the whole of this work and of the greater part of the Commentarius⁸ is identical. Moreover, this handwriting is exactly the same as that of two letters written and signed by Fr. O'Connell now preserved among the Wadding papers at Merchants' Quay, Dublin.⁹

¹ *ibid.*, V, 424.

² *op. cit.*, V, 428.

³ *ibid.*, V, 425.

⁴ This house was founded by Father Francis Nugent in 1615 for Irish Capuchins.

⁵ P. Dionysius Genuensis, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum* (Genova, 1680), p. 430.

⁶ No trace of this work of Fr. O'Connell has yet been found.

⁷ Bibliothèque de Troyes, Cabinet des MSS., no. 706. A photograph of page 562 of this manuscript is given in appendix III, pl. 9.

⁸ Two illustrations of this handwriting are given in appendix III, pls. 1 and 2.

⁹ One of these letters is reproduced in appendix III, pl. 10.

The evidence of the handwriting makes it certain, therefore, that Fr. O'Connell was one of the two authors, and this evidence is fully corroborated by what we learn of his career from the *Commentarius* itself. This information is further borne out by other trustworthy documents. In the *Commentarius*, on the one hand, the writer states that he was 'born of parents who are hereditary wardens of the royal house of MacCarthy Mor,'¹ which implies that he was a native of Desmond.² He gives us details concerning his study of philosophy in Cork in the year 1637,³ and his later education at Bordeaux on the Continent.⁴ He mentions that, although anxious to return to the Irish mission, he was ordered by his superiors to proceed from Charleville [France] to Florence, and there assist Fr. Richard O'Ferrall in writing his history.⁵ He also states that in 1659 he was in Paris.⁶ On the other hand he tells us in the *Historia* that he studied philosophy at Cork in 1637,⁷ and that in 1640 he attended the Jesuit College in Bordeaux.⁸ We learn that he entered the novitiate of the Irish Capuchins at Charleville from a manuscript register of receptions and professions in the Commissariate of Charleville, where it is recorded in Latin that 'Brother Robert, alias Daniel Connell, a native of Desmond, was received as a cleric on July 22, 1645.'⁹ We further learn from a manuscript diary of his superior, Fr. Bernardine,¹⁰ written at Charleville between 1656 and 1660, that in February

¹ *op. cit.*, V, 417.

² 'A considerable part of Kerry was formerly a distinct county in itself, called *Desmond*. It consisted of that part of Kerry which lies south of the river Mang, with the barony of Bear and Bantry in the county of Cork, and was a palatinate under the jurisdiction of the earls of Desmond.'—C. Smith, *Kerry* (London, 1774), p. 26.

³ *op. cit.*, I, 307-8.

⁴ *ibid.*, III, 342.

⁵ *ibid.*, V, 425.

⁶ *ibid.*, I, 472.

⁷ 'An. 1637. . . . Est autem Corcagia urbs Momoniae antiqua et celebris. . . . Etenim hoc ipso anno . . . ibidem saecularis adolescens Donatum O Kinellum Juris utriusque Doctorem in philosophicis audiens, 'etc.—*Historia*, p. 456.

⁸ ' . . . ut ad an. 1640 cum studerem Rhetoricae apud Burdegalam sub R. P. Fontanello, Jesuita,' etc.—*ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹ *The Book of all the Vestitions and Professions made among us Irishe Capucins in the Commissariate of Charleville* (1625-77). Archives départementales de l'Aube, Troyes, H.1. The quotation is from the transcript in the Capuchin archives, Dublin, p. 87. In the Act of his Profession, written in English, Fr. Robert on July 22, 1646, signed his name as 'Br. Robert, alias Daniel Connel.'—Transcript, p. 43.

¹⁰ Fr. Bernardine of Longford was Commissary General of the Irish Capuchins from 1656 to 1664.

1659, 'FF. Edward and Robert went to Paris for some affaires.'¹ This agreement of the evidence from the *Historia* and other contemporary Troyes sources with what we find in the *Commentarius* would be in itself weighty proof of Fr. O'Connell's authorship of that work, quite independently of the evidence of his handwriting.

Finally account should be taken of the fact that the *Commentarius* incorporates many passages from Fr. O'Connell's *Historia* without any indication or acknowledgment of that work.² This is just what we would expect of a writer using his own material. Some passages of the *Historia* are taken over precisely as they stand in the original. Some on the other hand contain verbal changes possibly intended to improve the Latinity. For example, there is the clause: *et alia multa dira et dura, quae in eodem edicto, quod nos brevitatis causa ad longum non citamus, apud libros ab ipsis Anglis editos legantur*,³ amended in the *Commentarius* to: *et alia multa dira duraque in eodem edicto sanguinario, quod brevitatis studio ad longum non inserimus, apud libros ab ipsis Angliae Catholicis editos legenda*.⁴ It seems legitimate to conclude that the writer of the *Commentarius* was identical with the author of the *Historia*, and that in both cases we are dealing with Fr. Robert O'Connell.

To return to Fr. Richard O'Ferrall, it should be mentioned that however important his part in the preparation and composition of the work, his association with it ceased in August, 1663, as he died at that time. But there is evidence, in the section of the *Commentarius* dealing with the events of 1647, that by 1662 the writing of the work was already well advanced.⁵ The writer, Fr. O'Connell, after alluding to a letter of Massari's written from Rome on January 26, 1647, remarks incidentally how perfectly preserved and legible it is 'to-day after fifteen years.'⁶ This implies that the authors were at work on this section of the *Commentarius* fifteen years subsequent to 1647, namely in 1662, and, since this observation is made in

¹ *Little Notes for to helpe my memory in matters occurreing from time to time.*—Archives de l'Aube, Troyes, 11, H,1. The quotation is from the transcript in Capuchin archives, Dublin, p. 67.

² For a list of some of these passages, and the text of one of them, see Appendix I, pp. 31-4.

³ *Historia*, p. 691.

⁴ *op. cit.*, V, 88.

⁵ The Genoese Capuchin, Fr. Dionysius, describes the manuscript work on Irish affairs which he saw with Fr. Richard O'Ferrall in 1662 as 'a large historical volume.' (*supra*, p. 12).

⁶ *Commentarius*, II, 574.

folio 1145 of the manuscript, it follows that, out of a total of 2666 folios, considerably more than one-third was written in the course of the first year. In this section of the work, therefore, Fr. O'Ferrall certainly collaborated.

We can only conjecture how much further the work had progressed at the time of Fr. O'Ferrall's death on August 15, 1663. There is internal evidence to suggest that he had some share in recording the critical events of the year 1648, for 73 out of 488 folios in this section are not in Fr. O'Connell's hand, but in a hand which we believe to be Fr. O'Ferrall's. Two passages of the narrative of 1648 in Fr. O'Connell's hand are of interest in this connection, as they contain incidental allusions which seem to refer to Fr. O'Ferrall. In the first Fr. O'Connell is detailing events which took place in Galway city during 1648, and observes: 'as one who lived in Galway at the time told me.'¹ Since Fr. O'Ferrall was resident in Galway at that time, the reference here would seem to be to him. In the second passage Fr. O'Connell makes the statement that the Nuncio after his return to Rome in 1649 confided in 'a certain Irish Capuchin whom he highly esteemed' (III, 476). This, too, suggests Fr. O'Ferrall, for no other Irish Capuchin, as far as we have been able to discover, was in Rome at the time of the Nuncio's return. It is later in the narrative of the same year (1648) that Fr. O'Connell first mentions by name his colleague, Fr. O'Ferrall,² when he states that the Nuncio 'had sent Fr. Richard O'Ferrall, the Capuchin who was very dear to him' (III, 478) from Galway to General Richard O'Ferrall to induce the latter to join his forces with those of Owen Roe O'Neill. Both scribes of the *Commentarius* wrote anonymously, and if Fr. O'Connell now refers to his colleague by name, the probable explanation is that Fr. O'Connell felt himself free to do so because Fr. O'Ferrall had died.³

Fr. O'Ferrall's share in the actual writing, as distinct from the preliminary compilation, does not admit of the same immediate proof as that of Fr. O'Connell. The greater part of the manuscript is in Fr. O'Connell's hand, but 187 folios in

¹ *ibid.*, III, 336. Fr. O'Ferrall lived in Galway from 1644 until November, 1648.

² Fr. O'Ferrall is named, it is true, earlier in this section (III, 198), but as the writer of a document cited in the text.

³ In this view it would appear that Fr. O'Ferrall died, or, at least, ceased to be associated with the work, between the writing of III, 476, in which apparently his anonymity is still preserved, and III, 478, in which his name for the first time appears.

volume II and 259 in volume III (73 of the 259 refer to the year 1648) are in a different hand.¹ The evidence as to the identity of the writer of these folios may not spring to the eye as immediately as in the case of Fr. O'Connell. But all the circumstantial evidence points to Fr. O'Ferrall. The fact that Fr. O'Connell speaks of himself as having been sent to assist Fr. O'Ferrall in the writing of the history² would naturally suggest that the folios not written by Fr. O'Connell came from Fr. O'Ferrall's pen.

One would imagine that, with existing specimens of Fr. O'Ferrall's handwriting before us, it should be possible to say at once whether these folios are his script or not. In this connection we include in the appendix a reproduction of three documents from the Propaganda archives in Rome.³ Two are letters bearing the signature of Fr. O'Ferrall, the third is a petition written by him in the first person—'Ego, Fr. Richardus,'—but not actually bearing his signature. These are the only authenticated specimens of his handwriting we have been able to discover. At first the handwriting of these documents and the handwriting of the folios in question from the *Commentarius* do not appear to be unmistakably alike. But closer examination reveals resemblances which establish beyond reasonable doubt the sameness of the handwriting.⁴ Allowance should be made for the possibility of a certain change in the style of script with the passage of time or the circumstances of the writing. It is to be remembered that a period of ten years elapsed between the writing of Fr. O'Ferrall's letters in Propaganda and the writing of the *Commentarius*. The latter in any case would have been written with care, whereas there are signs that the letters in Propaganda were written in haste.

When considering the problem of Fr. O'Ferrall's handwriting an unexpected complication arose from the discovery in the archives of Propaganda of a document⁵ in exactly the same handwriting as that of Fr. O'Ferrall, and yet, apparently, not his composition. This document is a petition of an Irish

¹ Reproduction of fols. 826, 1253v, 1254v, & 1270 r & v, which are not in Fr. O'Connell's hand, are given in Appendix III, pls. 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7.

² *Commentarius*, V, 425.

³ *Arch. di Prop.* Hibernia, vol. 298, fols. 408, 565 & 596. They are reproduced in Appendix III, pls. 8, 12 and 13.

⁴ See Appendix II, pp. 35-39.

⁵ *loc. cit.*, vol. 298, fol. 275, reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 11.

Capuchin, Fr. Bernardine of Longford. It is undated, but was evidently written between May, 1656, when Fr. Bernardine was appointed Commissary General of the Irish Capuchins, and February, 1657, when he was made Prefect of the Irish Capuchin mission. Fortunately Fr. Bernardine left a diary¹ which is still preserved in Troyes, and of portion of this we obtained a photograph.² A comparison of the handwriting of Fr. Bernardine's petition with the handwriting of his diary written about the same time proves conclusively that the petition, though in his name, was not written by him. The inference is that it was Fr. O'Ferrall who wrote the petition on behalf of his superior, Fr. Bernardine, then in Charleville in France. It is true the petition opens with the words: 'Ego, Fr. Bernardinus,'—but the fact that it is unsigned and that the superscription on the back includes the words: 'To the most Eminent Lords Cardinals etc., for Fr. Bernardine of Longford'³ would in any case raise serious doubts as to whether Fr. Bernardine himself wrote the petition. All things considered, the only possible explanation is that Fr. O'Ferrall, who was Fr. Bernardine's agent in Rome, penned and presented the document on his behalf. Fr. O'Ferrall's use of Fr. Bernardine's name in this instance is explained by the fact that, during his stay in Rome,⁴ he was one of the consultors of the Congregation of Propaganda, and acted as agent for the Commissary General who resided permanently in France. Fr. Bernardine records in his diary several instances in which he employed Fr. O'Ferrall in this capacity. Moreover, he requested the secretary of Propaganda 'to have the greatest confidence in Fr. Richard, an Irish Capuchin, in matters relating to the mission, for he acts in my name in everything.'⁵ In any case the identity of the handwriting of the petition with that of Fr. O'Ferrall's autograph letters⁶ would be sufficient in itself to prove Fr. O'Ferrall the scribe, and rule out Fr. Bernardine.

Two other documents in the same hand as that of Fr.

¹ *Little Notes for to helpe my memory*, etc.

² Reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 17.

³ 'Eminentissimis DD.CC.S. Congregationis de propaganda fide pro fratre Bernardino Longfordensi, commissario generali Capucinatorum Iberniae.'

⁴ Fr. O'Ferrall resided in Rome from 1649 to 1659.

⁵ 'Ceterum rogo ut P. Richardo, Capucino Hyberno, circa res missionem concernentes, nullam fidem non habeat; nihil enim nisi meo nomine peragit.'—Letter of Fr. Bernardine from Charleville, March 7, 1658. *Little Notes*, etc.

Transcript, p. 45.

⁶ See Appendix II, pp. 35-39.

O'Ferrall's signed letters are also to be found in the archives of Propaganda. The first is an unsigned memorial to Propaganda, dated July 20, 1656.¹ It is an account of the sufferings and death of an Irish Capuchin, Fr. Fiacre Tobin, based on information supplied from Monte Santo in Italy. Fr. Bernardine, the Commissary General of the Irish Capuchins, is cited in the last line of the document, not as the author of the account, but as one who can testify to its accuracy. Fr. Bernardine was then detained in Monte Santo,² whereas Fr. Richard O'Ferrall was resident at the time in Rome. Again the explanation would appear to be that Fr. O'Ferrall, having received a communication on the subject from Fr. Bernardine, actually drew up and presented the memorial to Propaganda on his behalf.

The other document, which is neither signed nor dated, is a memorandum on the subject of the various classes of Catholics who opposed the Nuncio in Ireland.³ It is in the same handwriting as Fr. O'Ferrall's letters, but it is just the kind of document that Fr. O'Ferrall, in his capacity as Rinuccini's agent, would have presented to Propaganda. It adds nothing, however, to our knowledge of Fr. O'Ferrall's connection with the *Commentarius*.

Mention should also be made of other evidence of Fr. O'Ferrall's share in the writing of the *Commentarius*. We know that he was primarily responsible for collecting and arranging the materials, and that one of the chief sources utilised in its composition was a manuscript volume, the *Nuncii Regestum*. The *Regestum* was a collection of letters and reports written by Rinuccini during his nunciature.⁴ Eighteen marginal notes have been inserted in the manuscript, three in English, two in Italian, and the remainder in Latin. It is likely that all these notes were written while the *Commentarius* was in preparation. Nine are certainly in the hand of Fr. O'Connell;⁵ the remaining nine are in a different but apparently uniform hand. As regards the three notes in English, the two on pages 307 and 343 respectively are in Fr.

¹ *Arch. di Prop.* vol. 298, fol. 239 r & v.

² Fr. Bernardine states in his diary (Transcript, pp. 5 & 6) that he was detained in Monte Santo from June 27 to Sept. 4, 1656.

³ *Arch. di Prop.* vol. 298, fols. 57-59v.

⁴ See particulars of this manuscript, page 23.

⁵ A note in his hand appears in the right hand margin of p. 225 of the *Regestum*, reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 15.

O'Connell's hand, but the third, on page 167,¹ as well as the cancelled marginal notes on folio 1254v of the *Commentarius*,² also in English, are in Fr. O'Ferrall's handwriting. An examination in detail of three of the nine notes in the *Regestum* not written by Fr. O'Connell³ leaves little doubt that in all three we have in fact the same hand, and that this hand in the *Regestum* is the second hand of the *Commentarius*, which has been already identified as Fr. O'Ferrall's from his autograph letters. There is abundant evidence that Fr. O'Ferrall worked over the *Regestum* both before and at the time he was collaborating with Fr. O'Connell in writing the *Commentarius*.⁴

It cannot be said that the *Regestum* in itself throws any fresh light on the handwriting of the scribe who collaborated with Fr. O'Connell in writing the *Commentarius*. Were Fr. O'Ferrall's autograph letters non-existent or inaccessible, the

¹ Reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 14.

² This folio is reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 5.

³ The handwriting in question appears in the margins of pp. 167 and 294, and at the top left-hand corner of p. 225 of the *Regestum*, all of which are reproduced in Appendix III, pls. 14, 15, and 16.

⁴ As regards the use made by Fr. O'Ferrall of the *Regestum* in the composition of the *Commentarius*, it may be mentioned that the Nuncio's Italian report of his reception in Ireland is taken from the *Regestum* and translated into Latin in folios 891-2 of the *Commentarius* (corresponding to II, 25-7 of the printed work). These folios are in the hand of Fr. O'Ferrall. We also find his hand in the marginal note on p. 167, that part of the *Regestum* which contains the Nuncio's Italian report. The presumption is that the writer, Fr. O'Ferrall, added the marginal note at the time that he was writing this section of the *Commentarius*.

Further evidence of the fact that Fr. O'Ferrall freely used the *Regestum* while actually writing the *Commentarius* is found in p. 225 of the *Regestum*. This page contains the opening part of the report on the state of Ireland which the Nuncio had written in Kilkenny on March 1st, 1646. A note inserted in the left-hand corner of the page reads: *colloca hanc Relationem retro hic 3 Maii pag. 278* (see illustration in Appendix III, pl. 15). The handwriting of the note and of the Latin version of the Nuncio's report in the *Commentarius* are the same, and the writer is again Fr. O'Ferrall. He introduces the Latin text of the report with the remark: *nec Romam ad Cardinalem Pamphilium nisi cum aliis litteris Kilkenniae 3 Maii 1646 datis missa* (*Comm.* II, 167). At this point in the margin of the *Commentarius* he cites the *Regestum* as follows: *Reg. pag. 278*, the reference being to the letters of May 3rd which appear on page 278 of the *Regestum*. Turning to the *Regestum* we find on p. 278 another marginal note in Latin: *vide hanc Relationem supra pag. 225*, also written by Fr. O'Ferrall.

Mention should be made of another marginal note on page 294 of the *Regestum* reproduced in Appendix III, pl. 16. The *Regestum* here records the Nuncio's report of the battle of Benburb, including a reference to Fr. Boetius Egan's services as a chaplain during the engagement. The Latin marginal note refers to Fr. Egan: *qui postea factus Episcopus Rossensis occubuit Martyr gloriosus*. The writer of the *Commentarius* was not content, as elsewhere, merely to translate the Nuncio's report from the *Regestum*, but drew on various accounts, including the Nuncio's report, for his narrative of the battle. It is of interest to note that Fr. O'Ferrall, the writer of this section of the *Commentarius* (II, 239) uses almost the same words as he used in the marginal note in the *Regestum* regarding Fr. Egan's subsequent appointment to the see of Ross and his martyrdom.

Regestum would only reveal that the second scribe utilised it as fully as Fr. O'Connell, that he knew English, and was familiar with the Irish background. It was the discovery of Fr. O'Ferrall's autograph letters in Propaganda that furnished in the nine notes in the Regestum so many additional specimens for the study of his handwriting ; otherwise the evidence from the Regestum as to Fr. O'Ferrall's authorship is largely circumstantial.

The main facts, then, that emerge from an examination of Fr. O'Ferrall's share in the authorship and handwriting of the *Commentarius* are, first, his primary responsibility for the preparation of the *Commentarius*, and his association with its composition until his death in August, 1663. Secondly, the evidence from the script of his autograph letters and from the Regestum that of the two scribes of the *Commentarius* he was one, and Fr. O'Connell the other. Fr. Richard O'Ferrall and Fr. Robert O'Connell between them prepared and wrote the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus*. It is true that much the larger part of the actual writing was done by Fr. O'Connell, but it would appear that the preparation and planning in the main are to be attributed to Fr. O'Ferrall.

It remains briefly to supplement the particulars already given of the careers of the authors.

Barnabas O'Ferrall, in religion Father Richard, was a native of Annaly, Co. Longford. He crossed over to Flanders for his education in 1630 in the company of Fr. Francis Nugent, the founder of the Irish Capuchin mission, and by the latter's direction entered the college of Lille.¹ He afterwards passed to the college of Douai, and in 1634 was admitted to the Capuchin Order at the Irish convent in Charleville in France. After his ordination in Poitiers where he had made his theological studies, he was sent to Ireland. He sailed from Rochelle in company with La Monerie, the French envoy to the Irish Confederates, and both landed at Waterford on January 13, 1644.² After a sojourn of some months in Dublin he was transferred at the end of the summer of 1644 to Galway. He was superior of the Capuchin community when the Nuncio came to that city in June, 1648.³

¹ Lille college was founded by Fr. Francis Nugent, a native of Meath, in 1609, for the education of students from Leinster and particularly from Meath.

² *Commentarius*, V, 419.

³ *ibid.*, III, 362.

In the following November Fr. O'Ferrall set out for Rome at the instance of the Nuncio, to uphold at the Papal court the validity of the censures issued by Rinuccini against the adherents of Inchiquin. On his arrival in March, 1649, he was appointed consultor of the special Congregation for Irish Affairs. When that body was dissolved some years later he acted in a similar capacity in the Congregation of Propaganda. At the request of Monsignor Albrizi, the newly-appointed secretary of Propaganda, he presented a report¹ on the state of Ireland on March 5, 1658, on the understanding that it was to be treated as a confidential document. Notwithstanding this stipulation the report came into the hands of the Nuncio's opponents, and was surreptitiously circulated. The *Commentarius*² records the storm of controversy that followed its disclosure in France and England, and the hostility Fr. O'Ferrall in consequence incurred.

The debate on the validity of the Nuncio's censures continued at Rome even after the death of Rinuccini, and as no decision was forthcoming, Fr. O'Ferrall at length left for Florence in 1659. Two years later, in conjunction with his confrère, Fr. Robert O'Connell, he began the writing of the *Commentarius*. He was obliged through ill-health to desist in the Lent of 1663, and died on the following 13th of August in the Capuchin convent of Montughi, outside Florence.³

Daniel O'Connell, in religion Father Robert, on the completion of his clerical studies in Paris was ordained in 1651, after which he returned to the Irish Capuchin convent at Charleville, France. Some months later he was assigned the duty of writing in Latin the history of the Irish Capuchin mission⁴ and completed it in 1656. In the following year the tide of war between France and Spain reached Sedan, where Fr. O'Connell was then resident.⁵ It is noted in the contemporary diary of Fr. Bernardine that he and another Irish friar 'assisted the wounded in the siege [of Montmedy] most faithfully and

¹ The original report cannot be located. A MS. copy (reproduced as an appendix in *Comm.* V, 485-504) is to be found in the British Museum (Additional MSS., 33,744), but, inasmuch as, on Fr. O'Ferrall's testimony (*Comm.* V, 297-8), corrupt versions had been in circulation, its value, in the absence of the original, cannot be established.

² *ibid.*, V, 288-302.

³ *ibid.*, V, 430.

⁴ *Historia*, etc. p. 7.

⁵ The Irish Capuchins at this time had two houses in France, one at Charleville, founded in 1615, the other at Sedan, established in 1641.

gloriously, being night and day in the trenches unto the edification and admiration of all the armie.'¹

Fr. O'Connell, who had joined Fr. O'Ferrall in Florence in September, 1661, remained there after his confrère's death, and completed the *Commentarius* in 1666. He appears to have then returned to his Irish brethren in France, for in a document which he signed on March 24, 1669,² he is described as Guardian of the Convent of Sedan. Another document³ shows that he was Commissary General of the Irish Capuchins in July, 1675. During his term of office as Commissary General he visited Ireland and laboured for a time on the mission. A letter from the archbishop of Cashel, Dr. Brennan, characterises Fr. O'Connell as 'a man of learning and of great zeal, and in the short time that he has been here, he has done a great deal of good by his learned sermons, wise discourses and religious deportment.'⁴ Fr. O'Connell left Ireland in October, 1677, to attend the General Chapter of his Order to be held in Rome in the following year. During its deliberations he became seriously ill, and died there on June 16, 1678.⁵

An authoritative presentation of contemporary Ireland was called for in the seventeenth century, since so many current Latin as well as English histories presented Europeans with a one-sided or incomplete view of the past and present history of Ireland. Irishmen on the Continent, as, for example, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, lamented the harm done to their country's reputation abroad by the distortion of Irish history. The authors of the *Commentarius* particularly call attention to the ignorance prevalent on the Continent regarding conditions in Ireland. It is not the least part of their merit to have compiled a comprehensive treatment of Irish affairs in Latin, which was still the common literary medium of educated Europeans. The result is a great mass of historical material in which Irish affairs are approached from a new angle, and presented with a wealth of detail far exceeding that of any other contemporary work.

The true historian, while intent on careful historical research,

¹ *Little Notes*, etc., transcript, p. 19.

² *Book of all the Vesitions*, etc., no. 79.

³ *ibid.*, no. 82.

⁴ *Arch. di Prop.*, Irlanda, vol. IV, f. 203,—translated by P. Canon Power, *A Bishop of the Penal Times* (Cork, 1932), pp. 56-7.

⁵ *Memorie di Uomini illustri dall'anno 1546-1700*, MS. in the Capuchin archives, Montughi, Florence, I, f. 754.

never forgets that a firm foundation of fact is but the essential preliminary to the higher and more difficult task of analysis and interpretation. That the *Commentarius Rinuccinianus* represents a factual contribution of the highest value is beyond question. Judged from the standpoint of interpretation the work of the authors is also one of the most remarkable achievements of the time.

SOME MANUSCRIPT AND PRINTED SOURCES AND REPRODUCTIONS

The sources used by the authors of the *Commentarius* are very numerous, including many printed as well as manuscript works. To attempt a complete survey of these would be an extremely difficult task, since in some cases their location is not known, and some may have perished. There are, however, a number of manuscripts which call for comment, since they formed part of the original collection of manuscripts which were preserved along with the *Commentarius* in the Trivulzi collection in Milan until destroyed in the disastrous fire of August, 1943.

One of these was the manuscript volume styled in the *Commentarius* the *Nuncii Regestum*, practically the whole of which has been embodied in the text. For the period of the nunciature it is one of the major sources of the history. It consisted of transcripts made by the Nuncio's secretaries of his reports to the Holy See, his letters to Cardinals, Nuncios and other dignitaries, and hence these were in different hands. These documents were in Italian, with the exception of three in Latin and one in French. The first of the series was a letter written by the Nuncio from Florence when on his way to Ireland. It was sent to the Secretary of State at Rome on April 7, 1645; the last was written from Lyons on July 21, 1649, on his return journey to Rome. The *Regestum* was brought from Ireland to Italy in 1649, and after Rinuccini's death was transferred with other documents from Fermo to Florence. It was at Florence that it was used between 1661 and 1666 by the authors of the *Commentarius*.

The *Regestum* contained 764 pages, and in the catalogue of the Trivulzi library was numbered cod. 1967. That this was the manuscript of the *Regestum* used for the *Commentarius*

is suggested by its presence in the Nuncio's collection, and proved by the marginal notes which, as we have already seen, the authors of the *Commentarius* inserted in the manuscript. The authors of the *Commentarius* cite in every case the pages of the *Regestum*, and all their references were found to agree with the pagination of the manuscript.

The writers describe the *Nuncii Relatio*, from which they quote largely, as 'consisting of 89 folio pages and of 36 chapters.'¹ This description applied exactly to the copy of the *Nuncii Relatio* in the Trivulzi collection, catalogue no. cod. 1968. That this was the copy used by the authors is borne out by the fact that it included some verbal corrections in the hand of Fr. O'Connell.

Among the manuscripts in the Trivulzi collection was a diary of Rinuccini's, catalogue no. cod. 1951. The *Commentarius* names the diary in marginal references, but, unfortunately, without indicating the pages of the original. That the diary to which the authors refer was Rinuccini's is not to be doubted, but whether they used the copy preserved until recently among the Trivulzi manuscripts cannot be said with certainty.

A number of contemporary documents in the possession of the Congregation of Propaganda in Rome have been reproduced by the authors of the *Commentarius*, in some cases with slight alterations. We have seen the following in the Propaganda archives (*Lettere antiche*, vol. 298): fols. 7-14, petition to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland on behalf of the Ormondists (*Comm. V.*, 255-262); fols. 24-27, document in Italian containing charges against the bishop of Ferns (Latin version, *Ib. V.*, 136-140); fols. 32-40, defence of himself by the bishop of Ferns (*Ib. V.*, 115-129); fols. 68-73, document by the bishop of Ferns on the needs of the Irish church (*Ib. V.*, 141-144); fols. 396-399, Massari's report on the Ormondist petition (*Ib. V.*, 263-65).

It is to be noted, as a point of some importance in the present connection, that the entire material of the manuscript volume, the *Nuncii Regestum*, is to be found in the *Nunziatura in Irlanda*, which was published in Florence by G. Aiazzi in 1844. But we must be on our guard against assuming that the authors of the *Commentarius* and Aiazzi worked from the same MSS. In fact, Aiazzi has taken his Italian text from a different and later, not from the original manuscript of the *Regestum* used

¹ *Commentarius*, I, 701-2.

by the authors of the *Commentarius*. Aiazzi's manuscript source also formed part of the Trivulzi collection and was numbered cod. 1966. It contained all the material of the *Regestum* together with additional documents copied from manuscript sources in the same collection. Almost the whole of the *Nunziatura* is available in Latin form in the text of the *Commentarius*. Aiazzi's work, however, has the advantage of retaining the Italian text, in which practically all the *Regestum* documents were originally written.

Among the published works utilised by the authors may be mentioned the following :

Giraldus Cambrensis, *Expugnatio Hibernica* and *Topographica Hibernica*.

Nicholas Sander, *De Schismate Anglicano* (Cologne, 1585).

Sir John Davies, *A Discovery of the true causes why Ireland was never entirely subdued nor brought under obedience of the crown of England until the beginning of his Majesty's happy reign* (Dublin, 1612).

David Roth, *Analecta Ibernica* (1616-19).

Peter Lombard, *De Regno Iberniae Commentarius* (Louvain, 1632).

Sir George Carew, *Pacata Ibernia* (London, 1633).

Philopater Irenaeus, *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Iberniae ad Alitophilum libri duo* (Paris, 1650).

Sir Richard Belling, *Vindiciae* (Paris, 1652), and *Annotationes in P. Poncium* (Paris, 1654).

John Ponce, *D. R. Bellingi Vindiciae Eversae* (Paris, 1653).

Sir James Ware, *Antiquities of Ireland* (London, 1654).

Dominic de Rosario, *Relatio Geraldinorum* (Lisbon, 1655).

Gratianus Lucius, *Cambrensis Eversus* (S. Malo's, 1662).

Francis Harold, *Epitome Annalium Waddingi* (Rome, 1662).

Frequently in the *Commentarius* authors are cited by name, but without indication of the title or identity of their work. Examples of such citations are : Keating, Camden, Stow, Colgan, Philip O'Sullivan, Ussher, George Leyburn, Baronius, Suarez, Roger Hoveden, etc.

So far as I have been able to trace, the following are the publications that contain reproductions or translations of documents or passages in the *Commentarius* : G. Aiazzi's *Nunziatura in Irlanda*, but although the same in substance as the *Commentarius*, we have seen that Aiazzi's material is derived in the main from a different and later MS. ; Miss Annie

Hutton's translation of Aiazzi's work, under the title *The Embassy in Ireland*¹; the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*² has many excerpts published by Moran from his copy of the Commentarius; some passages from the Commentarius, with an epitomised English version prefixed, are given by Gilbert in his *History of the Irish Confederation and War in Ireland*³; Birch, who disputed the accuracy of Carte's use of the Commentarius, cites verbatim in his *Enquiry*⁴ several passages from the Holkham transcript of the work; De Burgo in his *Supplementum* of 1772 to the *Hibernia Dominicana* (1762) published extracts from the original MS. None of these writers, with the exception of De Burgo, went to the original MS. of the Commentarius, and their references, when given, are to various copies, all with a different foliation from the original of the Commentarius, so that these references are useless as a guide either to the original MS. or to the present printed work.

It should be noted here that (1) the original English version of some documents in the first three volumes of the Commentarius is to be found in a collection of letters published by Carte in 1735. These letters are contained in the fifth and sixth volumes of the new edition of Carte's *Life of James, Duke of Ormond* (Oxford, 1851)⁵; (2) the English text of the Declaration of Charles II (*Comm.* V, 329–52), subsequently embodied in the

¹ Dublin, 1873.

² 3 vols., Dublin, 1874–84.

³ 7 vols., Dublin, 1882–91.

⁴ T. Birch, *An Enquiry into the share which King Charles I had in the Transactions of the Earl of Glamorgan* (London, 1756).

⁵ The following is a list of these documents in the Commentarius, with their respective locations in the new edition of Carte's work:

- Comm.* I, 253–60—Carte's Ormond, V, 273–76. XLVII. *To the king's most excellent majestie. The humble apolloge of the lords, knights, gentlemen, and other inhabitants of the English pale in Ireland for taking armes.*
(The text of the Commentarius is based on a copy different in some respects from the original or copy of the petition available to Carte.)
- Ib. I, 375–91—Carte, V, 408–24. CXXXVII. *The remonstrance of the catholics at Ireland, given at Trym, 17th of March, 1642.*
- Ib., I, 496—Carte, V, 9–10. XV. *The king to the marquis of Ormond.* (Duplicate of the 15 December).
- Ib., I, 520–21.—Carte, V, 8–9. XIV. *The king to the marquis of Ormond.*
- Ib., I, 521–2.—Carte, V, 13. XVIII. *The king to the marquis of Ormond, sent by the lord Taaffe.*
- Ib., II, 216–18.—Carte, VI, 361–63. CCCCXXXVI. *The king to the marquis of Ormond.*
- Ib., II, 277.—Carte, VI, 392. CCCCLIII. *The king to the marquis of Ormond.*
- Ib., II, 434–37.—Carte, VI, 463–66. DIX. *The marquis of Clanricard to the nuncio.*
- Ib., III, 610–11.—Carte, VI, 571–2. DLXXXIII. *Sir Richard Blake to the nuncio.*
- Ib., III, 611–17.—Carte, VI, 572–77. DLXXXIV. *Abstract of part of the charge against the Nuncio.*

Act of Settlement of 1662, is printed in the *Irish Statutes* (vol. 2, pp. 245-263).¹

We would also draw attention to the valuable guide and commentary on the Commentarius, for the period of the nunciature proper, published by Dr. Hynes under the title *The Mission of Rinuccini*. Dr. Hynes' work is based, not on the Milan original, but on the Capuchin transcript in Dublin. Unfortunately, the foliation of this transcript is altogether different from that of the Holkham or Gilbert copies or of the original MS. which was recently destroyed in Milan.

The writer expresses his gratitude to Cav. Professore Giovanni Seregni of Milan, to Ludwig Bieler, Ph.D., and to Professor James Hogan, D.Litt., of University College, Cork, for generous help and direction. Grateful acknowledgment is also made to His Excellency T. J. Kiernan, M.A., Ph.D., for photographs of documents in the Propaganda archives, Rome, and to Rev. Fr. Brendan Jennings, O.F.M., for the loan of photographs of documents from the same source.

FR. STANISLAUS KAVANAGH, O.F.M. CAP.

¹ *The Statutes at large passed in the Parliaments held in Ireland*. 20 vols. London, George Grierson, 1786-1801.

APPENDICES

- I. The *Commentarius* and the *Historia Missionis Hiberniae Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum*.
- II. The second scribe of the *Commentarius*. Subjoined (pp. 36-39) are tables showing points of resemblance between the handwriting of Fr. O'Ferrall's letters in *Propaganda* (vol. 298, fols. 275, 408, 565 & 596) and that of fols. 826, 1253v, 1254v, and 1270 r & v of the *Commentarius*.
- III. Reproductions of documents (17 plates).

APPENDIX I.

The *Commentarius* and the *Historia Missionis
Hiberniae Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum* (Biblio-
thèque de Troyes, Cabinet des MSS., no. 706).

Several passages of the *Commentarius* have been borrowed, without acknowledgment of their source, from Fr. Robert O'Connell's *Historia Missionis Hiberniae Fratrum Minorum Capucinatorum*. Among them are the following :

COMM. vol. I, 298, 1.30	to I, 302, 1.	5
„ „ V, 87 „ 12	„ V, 88 „	30
„ „ „ 90 par. (12)	„ „ 91 „	25
„ „ „ 91 „ (13)	„ „ 95 „	15
„ „ „ 175, 1.30	„ „ 176 „	37

As an illustration of the identity of the two texts the passage from the *Historia Missionis* corresponding to Vol. I, pp. 298-302 of the *Commentarius* is here given :

p. 495, line 12.

‘Inter haec haereticis, quorum res ita subito pessundatae essent, ut eos Catholici ipso primo Martis anno exterminassent, Simon Harcourtus ordinis equestris cum copiis militaribus ex Anglia Dublinium suppetias venit. Qui Kalendis Januarii urbem in Calvinistarum potestatem sitam ingressus est. Hujus milites non ita multo post “ Sacella parochialia (nostrum Archboldum¹ testem oculatum audis) et Religiosorum violenter ingressi sursumversum confundunt, sacras imagines diffringunt, altaria evertunt, capellas ipsas in stationes militum aliosque prophanos usus vertunt, furorem suum primo omnium evomentes in sacella Divi Francisci ejusque Religiosos. Ipsam statuum S. Francisci insanientes milites caeno conspurcatam per plateas raptabant, multa blasphemantes in Papam et in S. Franciscum, tandemque igni ut alias divorum effigies sub ollis, in quibus cibum sibi coquebant, in cineres comburunt. Luerunt primarii authores vehementibus correpti morbis, et ad mortem usque, erratum suum conscientia mordente fassi

¹ Archb. bell. Hib. cap. 5.

vel inviti, inde licet nihilo meliores effecti; sed et alii qui praedaturi irrumpebant in aedes nostras accelerata divinitus vindicta puniti sunt." Haec ille.

Ad hujus procellae exordium Barnabas Commissarius reliquique familiae nostrae Dubliniensis Capucini praefato Nicolao Archboldo et Felice O Conry, concionatoribus, necnon fratre Simone Layles Laico, exceptis, persecutionem declinantes se rus conferunt. Ex residuis autem Felix quod celebraret sacrum, bis carceri mancipatur, bis item Caroli Cootti Equitis aurati atque urbis Toparchae favore (p. 496) fretus liberatur. Ad extremum argentei calicis, pallii, vestiumque aliquot jacturam passus, urbem clanculum valere jubet, et in Conaciam, ex qua oriundus, proficiscitur.

Paucis post diebus cujusdam apostatae, non Capucini, fraudibus Nicolaus efferae satellitum manui proditur; at volonum gulae et proditoris avaritiae aliquantulum satisfaciendo dimittitur. Verum interjecto aliquot dierum spatio domum, apud quam Nicolaus cum Simone diversaretur, ad mediam noctem truculentissima Calvinistarum turba adoritur, quibus pessulatae fores, ne divulsis aliter cardinibus intruderentur, a bono patrefamilias aperiuntur. Intranit praedones et primum in Simonis cubiculum irruunt, quem Capucini habitu vestitum inopinato intercipiunt, multis ludibriis afficiunt, spoliant, et nisi hospite, viro gravi patrocinium cautionemque praestante, diutius vivere non permittunt. Interibi Nicolaus ex musaei in editiore domus parte constituti fenestra desilit, et unde non quo fugiat, considerans, densissimas inter tenebras in altum posticum se deorsum praecipitat. Nec propterea, licet marmore quadrato pavimento sterneretur, impingens in mensam ibi depositam, quam suo pondere frangit, nisi tiliarum altera sublaeditur, juxta illud, 'cum ceciderit non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum suam.'¹

Et haec quidem procella sic detumuit. Sed paulo post quidam centenarius, Hipsleius nomine, mali corvi pejus ovum, pseudo-ministri utique filius, stipante cataphractorum manipulo regressus, bibliothecam et reliqua omnia ad fratrum usus destinata ardenti avaritia depeculatur, ac Nicolao absente Simonem in ergastulum abripit. Cui sciscitanti si quis praeterea fratrum Dublinii maneret, frater Simon ingenue fatetur manere Nicolaum. Interrogatus quoque domum apud quam se teneret, veritatis amans, totum pandit. Quare

¹ Psal. 36.

mittitur puerulus qui Nicolaum advocet. Hic autem imperterritus se sistit et Simoni socium adjungit. Qua amborum sinceritate cum magnanimitate connexa civium Catholici, quum antea nonnullos e clero captos animo dejectos notavissent, multum confortati (p. 497) sunt, et ipse Hipsleius iisdem Christianae innocentiae speciminibus permotus utrumque jubet habere urbem pro custodia ea lege ut siquando citentur, appareant. Quod non minus praestant atque pollicentur.

Complures quoque aliorum ordinum tam Religiosi quam Religiosae simili modo ejusdem calicis amaritudinem gustarunt. Inter quam alacrem haereseos insolentiam Catholicorum municipum fortitudinem ac devotionem Deus mirabiliter auxit, ut si unquam alias certe tunc maxime sacramenta frequentarent, 'militibus armatis instar milvorum et vulturum (sunt ipsius Nicolai verba) prorumpentibus in domos civium ubicumque Missam celebrari suspicabantur.'¹

In his belli primordiis Calvinistae penes quos esset urbis propugnaculum, proindeque imperium, Orthodoxos Dublinii indigenas armis exutos ita civitate non ejecerunt, ut in sitibundas conversi hircines pene omnem eorum substantiam et sanguinem per continuas multas exugerent. Quod ipsum non Dublinii solum, sed etiam Vadiponti, Corcagiae, Kinsaliae, Yeocholiae et in caeteris per Hiberniam urbibus Catholico municipe refertis sub haeretici militis jugo positis fiebat.

Itaque Nicolaus Dublinii muris in carcerem obtentis mirum quantum in illo statu per mensem integrum prope noctu et interdiu civium devotioni satisfecerit. Demum ipse et Simon ab Hipsleio jam laudato in Lamberti novi Toparchae potestatem permissi, carceri mancipantur, quem Nicolaus convertit in sanctuarium. Adeo frequenter ac devote ad peccatorum absolutionem et Eucharistiae sacramentum ejus ministerio participandum confluebatur. Benigne et rationabiliter interpretans, hostias consecratas in mundissimo chartae folio asservabat, ut non solum illi qui rei sacrae interessent, sed etiam qui tardius appellerent, invenirent unde se spiritualiter reficerent. Quinimo eadem benigna legis interpretatione nitens, quo inter tantam sacerdotum paucitatem populi pietati non deesset, (p. 498) diebus festis modo ter, modo quater, profestis vero bis sacrum celebrabat. Quod contra juris pontificii externam litterae corticem non tamen contra spiritum et intentionem

¹ *Hist. Miss.* lib. 3, cap. 3.

(cui in pugna litterae cum intentione adhaerendum est) fecisse videtur.

Denique transacta in his ultimis vinculis hebdomade, ambo cum diversi status viris Ecclesiasticis duodeviginti ad festum Pentecostes Dublinio in Gallias exulare coguntur. Ubi ad Rhaeorum Insulam propter Rupellam septima die quam ex Hibernia solverunt terra potiuntur, indeque, salute plurima commilitonibus Catholicis juxta ac exilii sociis dicta, Carolopolim veniunt. Et hunc quidem exitum habuit Capucinatorum hospitium apud Dublinium, sicut communia eorumdem diversoria, cum sacellis Vadiponti, Corcagiae et Molingearrae, in quae loca haeretici ab ineunte bello involarunt, hac ipsa tempestate partim flammis hausta, partim heterodoxorum militum contuberniis et sceleribus prophanata fuere.

APPENDIX II

The second scribe of the Commentarius

It rests with the palaeographer to decide whether we are justified from Father O'Ferrall's signed letters in identifying him as the second scribe of the Commentarius. In the present instance Ludwig Bieler, Ph.D., formerly Keeper of Manuscripts in the State Library, Vienna, after an examination of the evidence given below, has fully endorsed the conclusion stated in the text. 'I do not think,' he writes, 'the resemblance of single letters is conclusive for the identification of an individual hand. Allowance must be made also for variation in the handwriting of one and the same individual. In the case of Fr. O'Ferrall the range of variation is considerable, cf. the two signed letters *Arch. di Prop.* 565 and 596. A similar range of variation can be observed in the problematical hand of the Commentarius, cf. fols. 826 and 1270 r & v. In a comparison of this kind the surest guide, in my opinion, is the recurrence of a group of letters written, and especially connected or disconnected, in the same way. You have given examples of identical sequences of letters in your list ; in making a case for Fr. O'Ferrall as the second writer or scribe of the Commentarius I would insist on these. The following instances seem to me most striking : -ibus, scr-, ostend-, vero, pro, ips-, and, most of all, Iberniam. A comparison of Iberniam, *Arch. di Prop.* fol. 275, line 11 and Iberniam *Comm.* fol. 1270, line 19, with Ibernus in *Arch. di Prop.* fol. 408, line 1, would, in my opinion, be sufficient to suggest the identity of hands, and as the letter *Arch. di Prop.* fol. 408, although not signed, is undoubtedly in the hand of Fr. O'Ferrall, he has also written the part in question of the Commentarius.'

The following are some points of resemblance between the handwriting of Fr. O'Ferrall's letters in Propaganda (vol. 298, fols. 275, 408, 565 & 596) and that of fols. 826, 1253v, 1254v and 1270 r & v of the Commentarius :

APPENDIX II—continued

Propag.	fol. 275		fol. 408		fol. 565		fol. 596		Commentarius		
	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word	fol.	line	word
vol. 298.											
-ibus . .			1	fnibus	20	oibus			826 1253v 1254v 1270	4 last 16 29	fluctibus quibus litibus pluribus
scr-			9	scriptis	16	scriptis			1270v	38	scribo
ostend-			10	ostendendo	19	ostendit			1270v	33	ostendet
vero			4	vero	21	verba			826	34	vero
pro-	7	proficiscendo	last	pro	21	pro	4	pro	826 " " 1254v 1270	10 30 last 41 31	pro propa- proficiscar proximo prout
ips-	5	ipsam					2	scripserunt	826 1253v 1270 1270v	22 21 23 39	ipse subscripserant ipsi ipsum
Ibern-	11	Ibernia	1	Ibernus					1270	19	Iberniam
-str-	6 11	vestra nostros	5	nostros			5	nostra	1253v 1254v "	34 1 3	nostram vestri instrukiones
mihi	8	mihi			18	mihi	5	mihi	1270 "	15 40	mihi "
fr.	1	fr.	1	fr.	last	fr.	last	fr.			

APPENDIX II—*continued.*

Propag.	fol. 275		fol. 408		fol. 565		fol. 596		Commentarius		
	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word	fol.	line	word
\ ol. 298											
qui-	11	quos	8	qua	4	qui	2	quidam	826 1253v 1270v " " " "	18 34 last 14 21 35	qui quibus " qui " " "
non	4	non	7	non	8	non			826 1254v	38 4	non "
hoc	5	hoc			12	hoc			1270 1270v	15 39	" "
cons-	2 4	constitutus consecro	3	conspicere	6	conclusum			1270 1270v "	30 31 36	constructionem constanter consilium
\ rá			8 & 12	vrá	22	Vrám			1270	35	Vrâe
qua-	8	quamvis	8	qua	8 9 12 19	quantocius quare quã quas			1253v 1270 1270v " " " "	36 32 24 34 39	quam " " " "
Vicar-			9	Vicarium	18	Vicariũ			826	1	Vicarium

APPENDIX II—continued.

Propag.	fol. 275		fol. 408		fol. 565		fol. 596		Commentarius	
	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word
vol. 298	3	Commissarius solus	1	Missionarius	8	quantocius			826	eximius
-ius	11								"	melius
									1253v	ulterius
									"	huius
									1254v	ullius
									1270v	Nuncius
rite	5	rite							826	rite
-unc	1	nunc							826	nunc
									1254v	"
									1270	hunc
									1270v	tunc
									"	"
humil-			8	humilitate	22	humillime	9	humillimus	1270v	humillimus
obeun-	6	obeundum							826	obeundum
dum										
pos-			3	possim	10	possū			1253v	possitis
			8	possum	17	possem			1254v	possiones
									1270	possessionem
									1270v	possem
unde			7	unde					1253v	unde
									826	"
man-	9	maneant			7	maneant			1254v	manibus
									1270	"
praeter	1	praeter							1254v	praeter

APPENDIX II—*continued.*

Fropag.	fol. 275		fol. 408		fol. 565		fol. 596		Commentarius		
	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word	line	word	
vol. 298	1	merita							826	18	meritis
merit-	3	etiam							826	37	etiam
etiam									1270	40	"
									1270v	17	"
									"	23	"

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

CORRIGENDA

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
I	xii	29	viatus ..	iratus
	xiii	27	perfunctione ..	perfunctioni
	xv	23	autographo ..	autographa
	xviii	2	aub ..	sub
	"	15	disponer ..	disponerer
	"	27	contritus ..	contritas
	xxiv	20	commemorantem ..	commorantem
	xxvii	10	Anglicani ..	Anglicanae
	xxviii	35	concessa ..	concessae
	xxix	7	1647 ..	1567
	"	21	vallem ..	valle
	"	22	Gleannaguintam ..	Gleannaguinta
	xxxv	44	proposita ..	propositae
	xxxvii	40	opem ..	operam
	xxxix	54	Florentiae ..	Florentia
	xl	26	epistola ..	epistolam
	xli	23	operum ..	operam
	2	19	et Ibernia ..	ut Ibernia
	"	40	Quare non ..	Quare nec non
	5	15	Hovendenus ..	Hovedenus
	10	6	Romae deliberationem ..	Romae in deliberationem
	11	16	instetisse ..	institisse
	"	17	Romae consultationem ..	Romae in consultationem
	17	29	Jonius ..	Jovius
	22	9	pro Regi ..	Proregi
	45	18	redicrit ..	redierat)
	80	11	Bulteri ..	Butleri
	81	32	1648 ..	1468
	86	39	observi ..	observavi
	112	38	Dominiae ..	Dominia
	133	2	Innocentia ..	Innocentio
	136	30	norman ..	normam
	163	32	latissimum ..	latissimam
	165	26	vetesibus ..	veteribus
	170	20	1° Februarii 1646 ..	10 Februarii 1567
	"	37	1647 ..	1567
	191	12	agnitis ..	agnitus
	194	6	allis ..	aliis
	199	1	Catholicis ..	Catholicus
	201	38	tumultum ..	tumultu
	231	40	paritur ..	patitur
	235	4	Nuntium ..	nuntium
	242	17	audiret ..	auderet
	249	30	qui ..	quo

CORRIGENDA

41

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR		READ	
I	264	12	eodem	..	..	eadem
	269	10	persundedisse	..	..	persundedisse
	284	20	Calvan-	..	..	Calvin-
	284	24	potestamet	..	..	potestatem
	298	38	parochialia Religiosorum			parochialia et Religio- sorum
	299	3	igni et	..	..	igni ut
	„	42	editione	..	..	editiore
	300	42	exurgerent	..	..	exurgerent
	306	18	Justitarii	..	..	Justitiarum
	307	8	Duachensis	..	..	Ruachensis
	„	41	perfunctione	..	..	perfunctioni
	309	17	advectus	..	..	advectis
	314	2	numerose	..	..	numerosa
	330	18	proint	..	..	promit
	333	2	66° ..	..	..	1616
	362	37	inde ..	..	..	inde
	367	11	liquidem	..	..	liquidam
	368	29	incipisti	..	..	incepisti
	382	32	(12) 8°	..	..	(12) “ 8°
	421	8	Sacrampo	..	..	Scarampo
	440	15	et quartus	..	..	quartus
	454	25	operam	..	..	opera
	„	27	fuisse	..	..	fuisse
	„	32	Ulteina	..	..	Ultonia
	467	32	Simoniae	..	..	Tomoniae
	468	2	1648 ..	..	..	1645
	469	40	principes	..	..	principis
	478	16	comite	..	..	comiti
	483	30	bauili	..	..	baiuli
	487	38	adoratus	..	..	odoratus
	490	5	latum	..	..	latam
	491	7	dure ..	..	..	dare
	498	40	si suum	..	..	si per suum
	501	15	pollicitur	..	..	pollicitus
	507	37	Huic	..	..	Hinc
	516	22	significaturum	..	..	significatum
	518	35	Regina	..	..	Regia
	520	31	Maturandem	..	..	Maturandam
	524	2	Prae-	..	..	Pre-
	534	10	Protestantes	..	..	protestantes
	„	27	Commissarii	..	..	Commissariis
	537	1	Anglo	..	..	Anglos
	541	17	timebitur	..	..	tenebitur
	544	10	Ibernia	..	..	Iberni
	545	9	Anglicae	..	..	Angliae
	549	42	isdem ..	..	..	iisdem
	556	31	vim ..	..	..	cum
	„	„	et cum	..	..	ut cum
	564	16	in ..	..	..	iri

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
I	577	16	aemules ..	.. aemulos
	578	24	spoliandos ..	.. spoliandos
	579	5	nennullis ..	.. nonnullis
	581	9	subscripturam ..	.. subscripturum
	„	14	10 Junii ..	.. 14 Junii
	584	28	sitam ..	.. si tam
	586	1	Catholici ..	.. Catholicis
	„	2	haeretici ..	.. haereticis
	„	3	ex ..	.. et
	„	5	involantes ..	.. involventes
	„	22	vitae ..	.. rite
	„	23	absoluta ..	.. absolutus
	„	32	inter ..	.. iter
	602	23	magnum ..	.. magnam
	610	33	viribus ..	.. ritibus
	611	26	desueverit ..	.. desueverat
	614	17	Et ..	.. Ex
	625	32	an mam ..	.. animam
	„	33	pret osiorem ..	.. pretiosiore
	626	31	ordinar us ..	.. ordinarius
	628	2	redimus ..	.. reddimus
	630	12	peramantes ..	.. peramanter
	„	31	explorare ..	.. explore
	„	37	exceptis ..	.. exceptus
	639	41	st pante ..	.. stipante
	641	38	potestatus ..	.. protestatus
	651	20	praesenserit ..	.. praesentari
	654	3	Necmultum ..	.. Nec multum
	„	24	scilicet ad ..	.. scilicet id
	„	26	ad si ..	.. ac si
	657	29	praefecturo ..	.. profecturo
	658	22	Regiorum ..	.. Regnorum
	659	21	obliva ..	.. oliva
	660	20	moverim ..	.. noverim
	662	24	ne demum ..	.. nec demum
	663	28	Majestati ..	.. Majestatis
	664	8	formidabilibus ..	.. formidabilis
	665	17	forma ..	.. fama
	„	23	ipso ..	.. ipsa
	667	26	obtineatur ..	.. abstineatur
	668	6	se ..	.. si
	671	15	mutaretur ..	.. mutuaretur
	673	9	a sui ..	.. ac sui
	„	20	externus ..	.. externas
	674	11	cappessivit ..	.. capessivit
	„	23	eosdem ..	.. eodem
	„	28	quam ..	.. quem
	675	8	sanctissimi ..	.. sanctissimis
	677	30	toto ..	.. tuto
	680	1	sil bimus ..	.. silebimus

CORRIGENDA

43

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
I	682	39	D. ..	et D.
	684	10	mihi ..	nisi
	688	4	subsidiolum ..	subsidiolum
	690	16	supersederunt	supersederent
	"	21	haec ..	hac
	"	28	quoad ..	quo ad
	"	32	factionis ..	facinoris
	691	15	fraudentem ..	fraudentem
	"	19	poteris ..	posteris
	693	5	perfectione ..	profectione
	"	19	expectationem ..	expectationem
	694	1	sentitum ..	sentitur
	"	39	ecclesiasticas ..	ecclesiasticis
	695	11	procuperent ..	percuperent
	697	19	1641 ..	1644
	701	8	judicavit ..	indicavit
	"	22	Nuncius ..	Nuncium
	704	26	cepi ..	caepi
	708	7	per quam ..	perquam
	709	18	ut ..	ut ad
	"	25	fruunt ..	ferant
	712	2	contigeret ..	contingeret
	"	10	suum ..	Summi
	"	18	cujuscunque ..	cuicunque
	713	31	Ibernia ..	Ibernis
	718	4	ad ipso ..	ab ipso
	"	7	Incunculam ..	Icunculam
	721	21	Nannetes ..	Nannetis
	722	8	beneficio ..	beneficium
	733	7	Illas ..	Illa
II	ix	5	20 ..	29
	x	31	Relatio ..	Relationem
	xi	3	nudi ..	nudam
	xii	23	Prestonus ..	Prestonum
	xv	3	Nuncio ..	Nuncii
	"	16	Athlonia ..	Athloniam
	xvii	23	Aprillis ..	Aprilis
	xx	33	Conacia ..	Conaciam
	xxii	2	litteras ..	litterae
	xxiv	34	habita ..	habito
	"	36	(718) ..	(716)
	17	12	promogenitum	primogenitum
	43	23	se se ..	sese
	48	32	ut ..	et
	56	37	alienandis ..	alendis
	83	25	consumetur ..	consummetur
	123	21	conjunctus ..	conjunctum
	146	23	et ..	a
	156	28	quid ..	quod
	158	9	ipsorum ..	ad ipsorum

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
II	176	15	charta ..	chartae
	181	13	Roman ..	Romam
	206	16	contribulus ..	contribulis
	211	34	iniquum ..	iniquam
	215	2	Laguntum ..	Saguntum
	„	5	suorum ..	suorum
	217	32	significato ..	significata
	241	19	Scoto ..	Scotos
	249	28	afflictas ..	afflictus
	267	15	Kilkenniam ..	Kilkennia
	267	40	Yeocheham ..	Yeocheha
	278	18	congerentur ..	cogerentur
	280	38	comveniendi ..	conveniendi
	293	13	difficultati ..	difficultati
	295	2	Orthodoxam ..	Orthodoxam
	326	1	Clamorganiae ..	Glamorganiae
	331	5	consultis ..	inconsultis
	343	19	statuto ..	statuo
	355	2	calvum ..	clavum
	366	36	devinctus ..	devinctas
	367	12	singulos ..	singulas
	384	17	montrosium ..	monstruosum
	444	39	contengentia ..	contingentia
	454	28	disponendas ..	disponendos
	466	25	animum ..	animus
	482	13	sollicitaveram ..	sollicitaverat
	491	27	Sequabatur ..	Sequebatur
	498	21	ipsi ..	ipse
	508	20	Scrampo ..	Scarampo
	509	11	Nuncio Italice ..	Nuncius Italice
	519	margin	Chris- ..	Christus
	531	39	taxicum ..	toxicum
	543	13	Vestrum ..	Vestram
	„	15	periclitatur ..	periclitetur
	551	20	eodem ..	eadem
	552	3	conservationem ..	consternationem
	„	35	dignita ..	dignata
	563	32	execueris ..	exequeris
	567	42	spritualem ..	spritualem
	574	15	calore ..	colore
	576	10	ratam ..	ratum
	579	16	etiam ..	et iam
	580	23	vixentur ..	rixentur
	595	19	se ..	ne
	634	23	dominum ..	dominium
	656	37	succederet ..	succederet
	665	41	Sec ..	Sic
	674	36	sequabatur ..	sequebatur
	687	23	Mononiae ..	Momononiae
	690	16	Brieni ..	Briani

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VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ	
II	690	21	consursu ..	conkursu	
	705	17	Proregam ..	Proregem	
	726	24	silis ..	siliis	
	727	4	affictantur ..	afflictantur	
	729	32	luxarunt ..	laxarunt	
	739	28	spirtus ..	spiritus	
	743	9	dominum ..	dominium	
	753	21	nuncio ..	nuncius	
	763	35	Episcopatum ..	Episcopum	
	786	13	Monstrosani ..	Montrosani	
	800	40	Fernensen ..	Fernensem	
	III	viii	39	Proclocutorem ..	Prolocutorem
		xi	1	Censuras ..	Censurae
		xi	50	Bellingus ..	Philopater
		xiii	33	40 ..	400
		16	34	Sanctitati ..	Sanctitatis
		20	30	sit obstaculo ..	sint obstaculo
		43	31	Vobis ..	votis
		47	6	Philistiim ..	Philistiim
61		21	Dubliniam ..	Dublinia	
66		38	Rege ..	Regi	
67		12	Anglia ..	Angliam	
77		12	quae ..	qua	
83		32	praefatum ..	praefatam	
91		6	abeundas ..	obeundas	
103		4	vis ..	via	
113		22	propondendae ..	proponendae	
114		2	Baronibus ..	Baronatibus	
117		37	possint ..	possit	
118		37	Principle ..	Principe	
119		13	confaederationem ..	Confaederationem	
125		28	malitum ..	molitum	
139		3	Suscipio ..	Suspicio	
147		26	norman ..	normam	
154		(margin)	Donina-	Domina-	
174		38	tantum ..	tantam	
178		29	praestatueros ..	praestitueros	
181		42	potuis ..	potius	
193		41	Prima ..	Primam	
207		21	del. 1648	
..		27	sint ..	sunt	
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227		39	solitas ..	solitos	
247		28	23 Januarii ..	28 Januarii	
249	18	23 Januarii ..	28 Januarii		
252	18	Concilio ..	Concilium		
256	32	quidam ..	quidem		
258	19	domini ..	domi		
261	35	delegatum ..	delegatam		
283	34	Reverendissimam ..	Reverendissima		

VOL.	PAGE	LINE	FOR	READ
III	286	2	quae ..	.. quam
	313	18	se ..	.. sed
	326	28	ab ..	.. ad
	328	2	ergo ..	.. ego
	329	3	est ..	.. es
	"	20	concludendum ..	.. concludendam
	332	14	appellationm ..	.. appellationem
	333	11	favebimus ..	.. fovebimus
	335	12	Mac-Guinnaeus ..	.. Mac-Suinnaeus
	352	21	tunc ..	.. nunc
	354	19	ponerent ..	.. parerent
	361	21	relgiionis religionis
	363	11	occurrentiis occurrentibus
	380	32	resumperunt resumpserunt
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	"	27	1646 1648
	403	24	haebebunt habebunt
	411	10	tacito tacto
	444	41	Synodum Synodus
	446	33	veniatur ..	.. uniatur
	449	32	trepidans ..	.. tripudians
	459	16	debant ..	.. debeant
	496	5	crudelitate ..	.. credulitate
	"	6	suscipit ..	.. suscipit et
	501	33	obire ..	.. abire
	"	36	Conacim irruperunt ..	.. Conaciam irruperint
	522	18	deficiendus ..	.. dejiciendus
	528	6	insurrarint ..	.. insusurrarint
	540	4	consilio ..	.. Concilio
	547	22	Moriartus P Moriartus O
	548	18	adhaesuri adhaesuris
	575	15	promoverentur promerentur
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	587	5	infidelitate infidelitati
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IV	ii	47	aliae scripturae alias scripturas
	iii	27	Maium Martium
	ix	24	sententia sententiam
	37	19	hunc ..	.. hanc
	37	20	luctuosissimum ..	.. luctuosissimam
	50	28	voluisse ..	.. noluisse
	55	40	fore nobis forte vobis
	84	10	1645 1647
	87	35	occidentem orientem
	88	40	Januarii Februarii
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	118	13	Ludguno Lugduno
	122	26	Ludgunum Lugdunum

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IV	143	head	An. 16489 An. 1649
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	209	42	Trologh Torlogh
	247	37	direm- dirim-
	273	9	praetendarunt praetenderunt
	343	32	Hoc ..	.. Hac
	353	27	inverit ..	.. iniverit
	365	6	opportunum ..	.. opportunam
	366	29	furit ..	.. fuerit
	380	40	tamdui ..	.. tamdiu
	446	36	Iretenus Iretonus
	452	37	illos criperunt illos scriperunt
	473	17	magis magnis
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	504	4	perspectum perspectam
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	505	1	tinendum stituendum
	511	20	deturbatam deturbatum
	511	26	imprudentissime impudentissime
	513	9	pingium ..	.. pinguium
	545	29	duae ..	.. duo
	548	6	autumno ..	.. autumo
	563	9	propensiones ..	.. propensiones?
	581	last	Diaconus ..	.. Decanus
	588	7	decepi ..	.. decipi
	598	3	23 ..	.. 22
	598	15	Ceallagh. ..	.. Ceallagh
	599	9	ej ..	.. ejus
	610	33	formula ..	.. formulam
	616	6	litteras, apographis, dedit in Ibernia ad Episcopum Dromorensem	apographis, dedit in Ibernia ad Episcopum Dromorensem litteras,
	650	5	pures pares
	656	28	onarum sonarum
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	vi	50	Alii Aliae
	xi	30	illius illud
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	79	10	Reverendorun Reverendorum
	91	32	permissus permissum
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	212	37	Judaeos Judaeis
	..	39	Athanosii Athanasii
	223	35	Hispanias Hispaniam
	283	41	quamque quemque
	307	14	Portividea Pontividea
	362	9	falsantas falsantes

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V	391	31	Spirtus Spiritus
	401	35	si sic
	413	6	aliquandui aliquandiu
	416	21	Londoni Londini
	445	11	Conacia	..	.. Conaciam
	501	32	Ibernian	..	.. Iberniam

PART II

BY

NEWPORT B. WHITE, M.A.

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

SYNOPSIS OF VOL. I

PART I TO 1553 A.D.

Early history of Ireland. Invasion of the Milesians from p. 1
Spain. [1].

The mission of St. Patrick. Brian Boru's victory in 1014. 2
The quarrel between Dermot MacMurchadha, king of Leinster,
and O'Rourke. Dermot's appeal to King Henry II. [2].

The English invasion. The King sailed to Ireland in 3
November, 1171. [3].

Text of the Bull *Laudabiliter* of Pope Adrian IV. Suggestions 4
of various writers against the authenticity of this Bull. After
his return from Ireland in 1172, the King obtained a Bull from
Pope Alexander III. Ecclesiastical reforms by the Council
of Cashel, 1171. [4-5].

English colonies planted and encouraged in Ireland by Henry 5
II and his successors. In the following centuries most of the
Anglo-Irish became assimilated to the Irish, adopting their
language and way of life. Remarks by Sir John Davies on
the 'degenerate' families, who assumed Irish names. Finally,
only the four counties of Dublin, Meath, Louth and Kildare
remained obedient to the English Crown. By Act of Parliament
passed at Drogheda about 1466 all the Irishmen in the four
counties were ordered to take English surnames. [6-13].

Discussions at Rome about a title of honour to be conferred 10
on King Henry VIII. Bull of Pope Leo X, Oct. 11, 1521,
conferring on him the title of Defender of the Faith. [14-20].

Citation from Duchesne about the alliance in 1523 between 14
James Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, and Francis I, King of
France, with a view to supporting the claim of Richard de la
Pole to the English Crown. [21-27].

Accusations made by Cardinal Wolsey against Gerald 16
Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare. Enmity between the Earl
and Piers Butler, Earl of Ossory. [28-29].

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- p. 17 Warfare of Conn Bacach O'Neill against the English. In 1528 the Earl of Kildare incited O'Neill and O'Connor to make war on the Anglo-Irish. [30].
- 18 Text of the Sentence of Pope Clement VII in the matter of the King's Divorce, March 23, 1534. [31-32].
- 19 Kildare was sent back to Ireland, and was restored as Lord Deputy in 1532. His Parliament at Dublin, 1533. In 1534 he was again summoned to England. The revolt of his son and heir, 'Silken Thomas.' Sir William Skeffington made Lord Deputy a second time in July, 1534. Lord Leonard Grey succeeded him in Feb., 1536. Thomas and his five uncles were executed early in 1537. [33-37].
- 23 The Lord Deputy Grey obtained hostages in Munster from the Earl of Desmond. He then proceeded to Connacht against the Bourkes. History of that family. Conn Bacach O'Neill, who had invaded the Pale, was defeated by Grey at Bellahoe in 1539. A formal submission to the King was made by O'Neill, the O'Reillys, the Bourkes, and others, but it was not till long after that the Irish princes submitted to English laws. [38-41].
- 25 James FitzThomas, Earl of Desmond, died in 1536. In 1520 he had been defeated at Mourneabbey by Cormac MacCarthy and MacCarthy Reagh. [42].
- 26 Bull of Pope Paul III against King Henry VIII. Aug. 30, 1535. [L.D., I, no. 17]. [43-60].
- 38 The Pope postponed promulgation of his sentence. The King intensified his warfare against the Church. Parliament held at Dublin under Grey in 1536. Remarks on the Irish Parliament, its composition and its statutes. [61-62].
- 40 Texts of Poynings' Law, and of the Statute of 1536 repealing it, and of a Statute excluding clerical proctors from Parliament. [63-71].
- 45 An Act was passed for the attainder of the Earl of Kildare and others. [72].
- 46 Act for the royal succession. [L.D., I, no. 2]. [73-77].
- 55 Act making the King supreme head of the Church of Ireland, and other acts, including one forbidding tributes to be paid to Irishmen. [78-83].
- 58 The last-mentioned Act shows the ingratitude of the Anglo-Irish to the old Irish, by whom up to this time they had been supported, and with whom they had ties of affinity and friendship. [84-85].

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- Act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome. [L.D., I, p. 59 no. 3]. [86-89].
- An Act was passed ordaining the payment of the twentieth of ecclesiastical revenues to the King. The Chapter of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, went over unanimously to heresy. [90]. 66
- It is clear from the Act mentioned in the following paragraph that the old Irish did not sit in this Parliament, and that it was made up of Anglo-Irish and perhaps not a few English. [91]. 67
- Citation from the Act for the English order, habit and language. Notices of Act for suppression of abbeys, Act of faculties, and Act for first-fruits of abbeys, priories and colleges. [92-96]. 67
- Text of Bull of Pope Paul III against King Henry VIII, Dec. 27, 1537. [97-102]. 70
- The Anglo-Irish despised the papal fulminations, and adhered obstinately to the King. But for this, the old Irish would have easily shaken off the tyrant's yoke. [103]. 73
- Narrative of the recall of Grey to England, the charges against him, and his execution on June 28, 1541. [104-106]. 73
- The early days of Gerald Fitzgerald, son of the 9th Earl of Kildare. His family connections in South Munster, especially with Eleanor Fitzgerald, wife of Daniel MacCarthy Reagh. His stay on the Continent. His reception at the Court of King Edward VI. From Queen Mary he received the titles of Baron of Offaly and Earl of Kildare. [107-109]. 75
- Thomas Leverous, chaplain to this Earl Gerald, was made Bishop of Kildare in 1555, deprived of his see under Queen Elizabeth in 1560, and died in exile in 1577. [110]. 77
- Death in 1539 of Piers Butler, 8th Earl of Ormond. He had given powerful assistance to the introduction of schism and heresy into Ireland. Account of the settling of the family of the Butlers in Ireland and of its history. Account of Ann Boleyn, and of her family relationship to the Butlers. [111-122]. 78
- Sir Anthony St. Leger was appointed Lord Deputy in July, 1540, and gave strenuous support to the King in the propagation of heresy. A Parliament was opened at Dublin on June 13, 1541. Act for the King and his successors to be Kings of Ireland. Citation from another Act, referring to the narrow compass within which the English dwell, and their restraint from intermarriage with the Irish. Acts were passed for marriages, for capacities, for tithes, and for erecting of vicarages. [123-129]. 87

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

- p. 90 Notes as to various Acts passed at a session of Parliament held at Limerick in 1542. One of these (Act for lands granted by the King) is quoted textually to show how the propagation of heresy was fostered by the creation of titles of nobility, and the endowment of nobles with ecclesiastical lands. Act for the suppression of Kilmainham and other religious houses. After an adjournment to Trim, the Parliament was dissolved at Dublin in November, 1543. Remarks on the limits of the English Province. [130-135].
- 95 Conn Bacach O'Neill was created Earl of Tyrone on Oct. 1, 1543 [*recte* 1542]. [136].
- 95 Passages cited from O'Daly's 'Account of the Geraldines' about James, 10th Earl of Desmond, Thomas Maol, 11th Earl and his son Maurice, and others of the family. [137-140].
- 97 In July, 1544 [*recte* 1543], Murrough O'Brien was created Earl of Thomond, and Ulick de Burgh, Earl of Clanrickard. In spite of his submission, the Earl of Thomond maintained his ancestral liberties and remained faithful to Catholicism. James Butler, 9th Earl of Ormond, died in London on Oct. 19, 1546. [141-142].
- 98 Remarks on King Henry VIII. He died early in 1547. [143].

PART II. A.D. 1553-1599.

- 103 King Edward VI died in 1553. His successor, Queen Mary, restored the Catholic religion. [1].
- 103 Texts of two Bulls of Faculties granted by Pope Julius III to Cardinal Reginald Pole, Legate to the English realm, March 8, and June 28, 1554. These faculties were afterwards extended by Pope Paul IV to Ireland. Reconciliation of the realm of England to the Apostolic See. [2-6].
- 111 Decree of Pope Paul IV about the Lordship of Ireland, June 7, 1555. [7].
- 112 That the concessions made with regard to England were extended to Ireland may be inferred, both from an Act of the Anglo-Irish Parliament in 1557, and the following Act of the Legate. [8].
- 112 Act of Cardinal Pole relating to Ireland. [L.D., I, no. 4]. [9-10].
- 118 Both in this Dispensation, and in all the Acts of the Irish Parliament, references to Ireland must be understood as

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concerning, not the Irish nation, but only the Anglo-Irish and the English in Ireland. [11].

In 1556 the Irish Parliament passed an Act for the repeal of all statutes and provisions against the Apostolic See made since the 20th year of Hen. VIII, and also for confirmation of grants of spiritual possessions made to lay persons. The author cites the earlier portion of this Act textually, and gives a summary account of the remainder. [12-15]. p. 119

Sordid avarice of the Anglo-Irish in insisting, under the Catholic sovereigns Philip and Mary, that they should not be compelled to restore ecclesiastical possessions. Reasons for supposing that Pope Paul IV and Cardinal Pole must have been misled by false information about Irish matters. The author gives a lengthy discussion of the intentions and wording of the Bulls of Pope Julius III and the Cardinal's Dispensation. He considers that the Cardinal exceeded the limits of his mandate. The Anglo-Irish secured themselves by an enactment referring to the Statute of Praemunire. Mentioning a number of abbots and priors who took part in this Parliament, the author points out that these ecclesiastics were largely English, some of them being kinsmen to persons who had been enriched by the spoiling of the Church. Acts passed in the Parliament for the elimination of heresy, were, a few years later, repealed in the Parliament of the 2nd year of Elizabeth. [16-28]. 121

Under Edward VI, war was waged by the Lord Deputy against the O'Mores and other Irish princes ruling in Leinster on the borders of the English province. Under the Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy for Philip and Mary, acts were passed empowering the Deputy to dispose of the territories of Leix and Offaly, and to make them into counties, Queen's County, with the fortress of Maryborough, and King's County, with the fortress of Philipstown. [29]. 133

In 1558 Queen Mary died, and Queen Elizabeth came to the throne. Remarks about Mary, Queen of Scots. In 1558 England was in a difficult position owing to foreign war, debt, and other causes. It would under these circumstances have been easy for the Anglo-Irish to preserve Ireland from Elizabeth's tyranny and the reviving English heresy, if they had submitted to the most Catholic and lawful queen, Mary Stuart, had obeyed God and the Church in spiritual matters, and had made a Catholic league with the princes of Ireland, an alliance which was whole-heartedly desired by those princes. [30-31]. 134

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

- p. 136 The Earl of Sussex was continued as Lord Deputy under Queen Elizabeth, and carried out her ecclesiastical policy. Parliament of 1560. Texts of Act for restoring the ancient ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Crown, and Act for the uniformity of common prayer and the administration of the sacraments. Summaries of the Act of first-fruits, and the Act for electing and consecrating of archbishops and bishops. Text of the Act of recognition of the Queen's title. Notices of an Act imposing penalties for denying the Queen's title, and an Act relating to the priory or hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, and its priors Rawson and Massingberd. [32-71].
- 158 The author cites Bishop Rothe's *Analecta* (1617) with reference to a story that the Acts imposing the Oath of Supremacy and abrogating papal jurisdiction were passed by means of a trick of the Speaker (Stanyhurst), with an allegation that the Acts were never properly promulgated. Bp. Rothe supports this view by observing that for many years under Elizabeth these Acts were not observed, or at least those who disobeyed them were not punished. Similar statements in this connection are quoted from writings of Abp. Peter Lombard, Dr. Walter Enos, Gratianus Lucius, and George Dillon. As against these statements, the author points out that all these writers were Anglo-Irish, and so inclined to exonerate their friends. There is no doubt that the Anglo-Irish accepted Elizabeth as queen, and so opened the door to heresy. It is true that, though the Acts were put into execution, the heretics showed restraint in enforcing them; this was for fear lest the Anglo-Irish might shake off the royal authority. [72-80].
- 166 On his creation as Earl of Tyrone, Conn Bacach O'Neill had secured the right of succession for his natural son Matthew (Ferdorach), who was made Baron of Dungannon. This meant the exclusion of Tyrone's eldest legitimate son, Shane O'Neill 'the Proud.' Matthew was slain (in 1558) by Shane or by his people. (Matthew's son Hugh was afterwards 2nd Earl of Tyrone). On Conn Bacach's death (about 1559), Shane assumed his rights, and made war in defence of the Faith against the English, the Anglo-Irish, and the heretics of Scotland. Accounts of this warfare up to the time of the slaughter of Shane in the camp of the MacDonnells in June, 1567. [81-84].
- 171 Text of the Bull *Regnans in excelsis* issued by Pope Pius V against Queen Elizabeth. [85-89].
- 173 In obedience to this papal mandate, MacCarthy Mór waged

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war against Q. Elizabeth. He sought aid from the Pope and the King of Spain. James FitzJohn, 13th Earl of Desmond, died in 1558, and was succeeded as 14th Earl by Gerald, who remained a supporter of the Queen for the next 40 years. His first wife was Joan Fitzgerald, widow of James, 9th Earl of Ormond. Quarrels arose between Earl Gerald and Thomas, 10th Earl of Ormond, and Desmond began to be held in suspicion by the English government. [90-93].

James Fitzmaurice, a cousin of the Earl of Desmond, arrived p. 176 at Smerwick on July 18, 1579, bringing money and soldiers supplied by the Pope and the King of Spain, and accompanied by Dr. N. Sanders, papal legate. Fitzmaurice was slain on August 18 in a fight with the Bourkes of Castleconnell. [94].

Text of Bull of Pope Gregory XIII in favour of the Geraldines, 177 May 13, 1580. [95-96].

John and James, brothers of the Earl of Desmond, joined 178 in the war. The former was slain, and the latter executed by the English at Cork. Earl Gerald was beheaded at Glengageenty in Kerry on Nov. 11, 1583. His estates were confiscated by Act of Parliament, 1586. The author remarks on the zeal of the nobility of Munster, both old Irish, and many Anglo-Irish, in defence of the Faith. [97].

In Leinster James Eustace, 3rd Viscount Baltinglass, and 176 Fiach McHugh O'Byrne rose against the Queen. Baltinglass fled to Spain, and in 1585 he and his brothers were outlawed by Act of Parliament. O'Byrne made terms with the Government. Narrative of a prophecy (with Irish and Latin texts) made to Thomas Eustace, created Viscount Baltinglass in 1541; he had been granted the lands of Baltinglass Abbey. Citation from Peter Lombard as to the cruelties exercised by the English in Munster. [98].

Note on the princes of Munster who were vassals to MacCarthy 181 Mór. The MacCarthy lordship maintained its existence in full up to the time of Q. Elizabeth. Fall of the house of Desmond, descended from Maurice of Windsor. Their iniquitous conduct towards the MacCarthys. [99-100].

Further struggles in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. 182 In 1570 Conor O'Brien, 3rd Earl of Thomond, attacked Sir E. Fitton, the President of Connacht. His struggle against his uncle Donnell involved the question of the introduction of the English law of inheritance. [101].

In Connacht, in 1572, Ulick and John Bourke, sons of Richard, 182

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- 2nd Earl of Clanrickard, rose against Fitton. They were fighting again in 1576. Ulick became the 3rd Earl on the death of his father (in 1582). John, who became Baron of Leitrim, was slain in 1583. Both the 2nd and the 3rd Earls fought on the Queen's side. Others of the family fought in 1585 against Sir R. Bingham, governor of Connacht. [102].
- p. 183 In Leinster the O'Mores made war in 1572, and again, in alliance with the O'Connors, in 1573. By 1575 they had succeeded in recovering Leix and Offaly. [103].
- 184 In Ulster, Turlough Luineach O'Neill took up arms in 1569, and in 1573 he repulsed the attempts of the Earl of Essex. The English had to beg for peace from him in 1575. [104].
- 184 Mary, Queen of Scots, was martyred in 1587, and in the following year Philip II of Spain prepared his attack on England, and Pope Sixtus V issued a Bull deposing Queen Elizabeth. [105].
- 184 In 1588 the Spanish Armada was defeated; many Spanish ships were wrecked on the Irish coast, and many Spanish soldiers and sailors were scattered throughout Ireland. Severities were exercised by the Government against any persons who gave aid to these Spaniards. Among the leading men who did so was O'Rourke, lord of Breifne; he was executed in London on Nov. 3, 1591. [106].
- 186 In Ulster MacMahon, Maguire, and Red Hugh O'Donnell, (who had escaped in 1591 from Dublin Castle), joined together to shake off the English yoke. This Catholic league was gradually extended throughout the country, and finally, in 1598, to Munster, where the lead was taken by Donald MacCarthy, natural son of MacCarthy Mór. Names and descriptions of the many Ulster nobles who joined in the war. In 1599 Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, the new Lord Lieutenant, led a large army into Ireland; these forces were routed, and Essex was executed in London in Feb., 1601. [107-108].

PART III. A.D. 1600-1641.

- 191 In Jan., 1601, Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, was made Lord Lieutenant, and Sir, George Carew, President of Munster. The war which followed in Munster up to 1603 is narrated in Carew's book *Pacata Hibernia* (printed in London in 1633). The leaders on the Catholic side were the newly-recognised MacCarthy Mór, and James FitzThomas Fitzgerald, the 'Súgán'

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Earl of Desmond. Against MacCarthy the Queen employed Florence (Fineen) MacCarthy Reagh. He had been committed to the Tower of London about 11 years before, and was now, in 1599, sent back to Ireland. He had married Helen, heiress of Donald MacCarthy Mór, Earl of Clancarty. The English government undertook to support his claim to the MacCarthy inheritance. Donald was deposed in 1600, and Florence took the title of MacCarthy Mór. Against the 'Súgán' Earl the Queen put forward James Fitzgerald (son of the 15th Earl of Desmond), called the 'Tower' Earl. He was granted the title of Earl, and encouraged in his hopes of recovering his patrimony. On his arrival in Ireland he was at first welcomed, but his attendance at the protestant church service at Kilmallock was fatal to his prospects. The 'Súgán' Earl was in May, 1601, captured by the White Knight, and committed to the Tower, as was also Florence MacCarthy Mór. Donald continued the fight against the English. [1-3].

These artifices of the English did much injury to the Catholic p. 193 cause, but that cause suffered much more harm by the policy of the Anglo-Irish faction in fighting for the Queen, under pretext of owing obedience to her. [4-5].

Text of a Brief of Pope Clement VIII to the prelates and 194 people of Ireland, April 16, 1600, supporting their war. [6].

Text of Judgment of doctors of the universities of Salamanca 195 and Valladolid as to the Irish war, with an explanation of Pope Clement's Brief. [7-11].

It was a just judgment of God that the Anglo-Irish, who in 198 the reigns of Henry VIII, Edw. VI. and Elizabeth had prevented the triumph of the Irish, should after the war beginning in 1641 have been deprived of their goods by the same English heretics on whose side they had fought in the earlier period. [12].

On Sept. 3, 1601, a Spanish fleet arrived at Kinsale. The 199 beleaguered Irish surrendered to the Lord Deputy on Jan. 2, 1602. Under King James I the Irish Catholics were most cruelly harried. Flight of the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnel to Flanders, September, 1607. [13].

Under King Charles I the persecution abated, the Catholics 201 being usually permitted to exercise their religion in private houses. During both these reigns the properties of many Irish nobles, especially of the ancient stock, were extorted from them for reasons of state, and assigned to heretical colonists brought over from England and Scotland. [14].

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- p. 201 Attempt of King Charles to enforce the use of the Book of Common Prayer in Scotland, with consequent tumults and protests. [15].
- 202 Text of the Confession of Faith of the Church of Scotland, 1638. [16-21].
- 211 Struggles between the King and the Scots. A meeting of the Parliament of England was summoned for April, 1640. Early in the year Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Lord Deputy of Ireland since 1633, was promoted to the title of Lord Lieutenant, and sent over to hold a Parliament. The votes for supplies in this Parliament were willingly acceded to by the Catholics. [22-23].
- 212 In view of dissensions which had arisen among the English Catholics on the appointment of the Bishop of Chalcedon as Vicar Apostolic for England and Scotland, Pope Urban VIII sent envoys to England, George Panzani, and George Conn. After the latter's return to Rome, the Pope sent Count Charles Rossetti as apostolic minister to England. [24-30].
- 215 Letter of Pope Urban VIII to Queen Henrietta Maria, introducing Rossetti, April 16, 1639. [31].
- 215 Text of faculties granted by the Pope to Rossetti, June 30, 1639. [32-45].
- 217 Rossetti went to London in August, 1639, and acted as apostolic minister openly (not secretly, as Panzani and Conn had done). His work resulted in no small progress for the Catholic faith, opportunity for such advance being afforded by the zeal of the Queen and of her mother, Marie de' Medici, who was then in England. [46-48].
- 218 Strafford returned from Ireland. The English Parliament assembled on April 3, 1640, but, on its resistance to the King's demand for a subsidy for the Scottish war, was dissolved on May 5. On June 13 the King issued a Declaration announcing a new persecution of the English Catholics, and the suppression of all dissenting Protestant sects. [49-50].
- 219 Text of a statement sent in August by Rossetti to Sir F. Windebank, Secretary of State, protesting against the persecution, and urging the conversion of the King and the realm. [51-54].
- 222 A new Parliament was summoned for Sept. 5. In October certain articles were put forth by delegates of England and Scotland; this statement indicated a coalition of the seditious parties in both kingdoms against the King. [55-60].

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- In December Archbishop Laud and the Earl of Strafford p. 223
were committed by Parliament to the Tower. [57].
- Narrative of the trial of Strafford for high treason, and his 223
execution on May 12, 1641. [58-61].
- Text of Act of the English Parliament against the Catholics, 226
May, 1641. Sir William Parsons and Sir John Borlase were
made Lords Justices of Ireland ; they acted in the Parliamentary
interest. [62-67].
- The Queen sought aid from the Pope. She had discussions 229
with Rossetti, who explained the objections to the granting of
aid by the Holy See to an heretical prince. Text of a lengthy
letter from Rossetti to Windebank, enforcing the arguments
in favour of the King's conversion. [68-88].
- Windebank fled to France. He and his wife became Catholics, 241
as he did his son, Sir Thomas Windebank, and his wife and
children. [89].
- Abp. Laud opened indirect negotiations with Rossetti, 241
offering to go to Rome and profess the Catholic Faith, on con-
dition that he should receive an annual pension from the
Pope. Laud's incarceration in the Tower prevented develop-
ments in this direction. He was executed in January, 1645,
dying a heretic. [90].
- Similar overtures to the Pope were made by James Ussher, 242
protestant Primate of Ireland, but his avarice made him
procrastinate. The troubles beginning in 1641 deprived him
of his archiepiscopal revenues. What happened in the end is
not known for certain, but the author has heard that it can
hardly be doubted that Ussher died a Catholic. [91-92].
- Letter of Card. Barberini to Rossetti, April 13, 1641, signifying 244
the Pope's approval of his endeavours. In the same year
violent action was taken by the Puritans against him, and he
fled to Belgium. There he received two letters from the Cardinal.
[98-98].
- The King, finding it impossible to restrain the fury of the 248
Parliament, left London for Scotland on Aug. 10. The army
which had been raised in Ireland by Strafford to fight for the
King against the Scots and other rebels was discharged by the
Lords Justices. This army, although its principal officers were
heretics, was almost entirely Irish and Catholic. The King of
Spain desired that these forces should be transported to fight
for him against the French, but this proposal was rejected by
the Parliament. [99-101].

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- p. 249 In the Parliament at Dublin a statement of grievances was put forward by the Catholics. Under the influence of the Lords Justices and the English Parliament, the King gave less attention to these grievances than he might have done, and it was contrived that his concessions should be made ineffectual. The Puritans of Ireland did not desire that their corruptions of justice and their avarice and ambition should be investigated, and the English Parliament wished to employ these people as a means for crushing the royalists in Ireland. The author cites from Gratianus Lucius his argument that, as the Parliamentarians had made a conjuration to exterminate the Catholic religion in Ireland, the Irish could not justly be reckoned as rebels, when they took up arms in defence of religion, King, and country. [102].
- 251 The Irish Catholics, driven to desperation, commenced war on October 23, 1641. The leaders of the outbreak were Conor Maguire, Baron of Enniskillen, Sir Phelim O'Neill, the O'Reillys, the MacDonalDs, the O'Cahans, and many others of the Irish of Ulster. Maguire and MacMahon went to Dublin with the intention of seizing the Castle, but on the night of Oct. 23 this plan was disclosed to the Lords Justices by Owen O'Conally. [103].
- 251 In Ulster Phelim O'Neill and others attacked the heretics. Of some of these they made a great slaughter; others were imprisoned, others sent away, and almost all were despoiled of their goods. The author remarks on the various feelings aroused by this event in the minds of the three sections, the English and Scots in Ulster, the Catholics, and the English of the Pale. The last-named preferred to adhere to the English. [104-106].
- 253 Some of the Catholics in Munster, Connacht and Leinster attacked the heretics. Others, especially the Anglo-Irish, appealed to the Lords Justices for aid against the Ulstermen, but being repulsed in their application, a large proportion of them joined the Ulster forces. [107].
- 253 Text of an Apology addressed to the King by the English Colony. [L.D., I, no. 5]. [108-122].
- 260 On Feb. 8, 1642, the Lords Justices and Council issued a Proclamation 'declaring the chief persons that are in rebellion.' [The English text of this Proclamation was printed in *The particular relation of the present estate, &c.*, London, 1642]. Text of a statement by the Catholics of the colony, protesting

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against their being comprised under the rebels. [123-129].

Account of the siege of Drogheda, and of other successes obtained by the Ulstermen. The siege was begun in 1641 and continued during some months of 1642. Preparations against a siege were made in Oct., 1641, by Charles Moore, Viscount Drogheda. With regard to the narrative of the siege published in 1642 by the protestant minister Nicholas Bernard, the author says its evidence ought to be distrusted (*detrectandum*) by all Catholics. The great majority of the population of the town was Catholic; there were many secular priests and religious in the town, where for some year the persecution had much abated. In December, the Catholic forces opened negotiations with the citizens, offering them the Confederate oath. Text of the oath. The Governor, Sir H. Tichborne, announced that he would defend the town, and imposed on all the inhabitants an oath of obedience to the King. [130-145]. p. 264

PART IV. A.D. 1642.

At the beginning of 1642 Drogheda was in great difficulties through lack of food, fuel and fodder, and there was much disease. The English Parliament had recently sent supplies of men and money to Ireland, and some ships were sent from Dublin with aid for the town. The soldiers of the garrison did outrages to the Catholics in the town, under pretext of searching for soldiers of the Catholic forces in hiding. [1-5]. 275

Viscount Moore sent to Sir Phelim O'Neill a copy of a speech of the King to Parliament [apparently the speech of Dec. 2, 1641], in which the Irish insurrection was condemned. O'Neill replied, protesting his loyalty and questioning the authenticity of the document. [6]. 280

Letter of Richard Plunkett to Moore and Tichborne, complaining of the conduct of some soldiers under their command. [7]. 281

Extreme sufferings in the town for lack of food and through disease. [8-9]. 281

The King returned to London in December, 1641. The Parliament sent over £20,000 to Ireland. Sir Simon Harcourt arrived in Dublin with his regiment on Jan. 1, 1642. [10].

The King on Jan. 1 issued an edict declaring the Irish to be rebels. It was the dishonest aim of the Parliament to keep 283

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the war in being, and to make disagreement between the King and the Irish, lest the latter, having obtained reasonable conditions from him, might send over an army from Ireland to serve him. [11].

- p. 284 Discussions about the transporting of a Scottish army into Ulster. The King agreed to the Act for Adventurers. By this Act money was to be raised by offering the confiscated estates of Irish rebels to subscribers (*periclitatores*). It was decreed by the Parliament, with the King's assent, that the war should go on until Parliament should issue a declaration that Ireland was entirely subdued. [12-15].
- 287 Continuation of the narrative of the siege of Drogheda. Provisions sufficient for 3 or 4 months were brought to the town by sea. Sir Phelim's men made an unsuccessful attempt to scale the walls. The Catholic inhabitants suffered despoiling of their goods. [16-19].
- 289 Art Roe MacMahon was wounded and captured, and made terms for his life. [20].
- 290 In November, 1641, the King appointed the Earl of Ormonde lieutenant-general of the forces in Ireland. Account of Ormonde's family and ancestors, with remarks on his education and personal characteristics. His policy was much influenced by the fear of losing his estates. He now moved from Dublin with a view to raising the siege of Drogheda: He pillaged the county of Meath. The Catholic forces retired from Drogheda. [21-24].
- 293 Ormonde arrived at Drogheda in March, after the siege had been raised. He planned to pursue the Catholics into Co. Louth, but was recalled to Dublin by the Lords Justices. Tichborne and Moore harried the counties of Meath and Louth. The author finds fault with Bernard's narrative for giving the credit for the raising of the siege to Moore and Tichborne, instead of to Ormonde, and for his statements as to defeats suffered by the Catholics in sallies made by the defenders of the town. He describes Bernard as an impious and heretical trickster, and a continual flatterer of the governors of Drogheda, and says that his reports deserve little or no confidence. [25-31].
- 298 In Dublin Sir Simon Harcourt exercised tyranny over the Capuchins and other religious. At Whitsuntide, 1642, the two Capuchins still in Dublin, with 18 other ecclesiastics, were compelled to go into exile in France. [32-39].

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- Narrative of the martyrdoms, in 1642, of Fr. Peter Higgins p. 302
and Fr. Henry White. According to several authorities
mentioned by the author, Ormonde was stained with the blood
of these martyrs. [40-41].
- In Leinster, the Catholics had frequent successes, though they 305
were ill-armed, and as yet had little experience in military
discipline. Sir Simon Harcourt fell in one fight and Sir Charles
Coote, the elder, in another. [42].
- Observations on the state of Munster, its wealth and fertility, 306
and the state of peace in which it had remained up to the
beginning of this war. It was now ravaged by the Governor,
Sir William St. Leger. Gradually almost all the Irish of the
province joined in the war. Notices of Daniel MacCarthy,
Florence MacFíneen MacCarthy, and Richard Butler, Viscount
Mountgarret. [43-46].
- The city of Cork had remained faithful to its ancestral 307
Catholic religion, and at this period very few families within
the walls professed heresy, and the municipal offices were in
the hands of Catholics. Now the gates were opened to St.
Leger by the Mayor, Maurice Roche, an act which led eventually
to the loss of the whole province. [47-48].
- The English or Anglo-Irish heretics of Munster now got 309
control of the towns of Bandon, Kinsale and Youghal. On
the death (in July) of St. Leger, Murrough O'Brien, Baron
Inchiquin, became Governor of Munster. He had been educated
(under the regulations of the Court of Wards) as a protestant,
and had become confirmed in heresy. [49-50].
- Limerick and Waterford closed their gates to the heretics, 310
as did also Cashel, Clonmel, Kilmallock and Fethard. By the
frauds of English magistrates, the Catholics, as well as nearly
all the rest of the Irish, were without warlike equipment.
[51-52].
- After the Desmond forfeitures, an English colony had been 310
planted at Tralee. The Irish captured the castles (formerly
belonging to the Earl of Desmond), which were now occupied
by Sir Edward Denny and Sir Thomas Harrison. Denny
refused terms offered him by Richard O'Conald, Bishop of
Ardfert, and retired to England. Some years before this time
Patrick Fitmaurice, Baron of Lixnaw, had professed heresy
and gone to England, where the Government promised to place
a force under his command to enable him to recover his Irish

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possessions. Now the Parliament assigned these forces to fight under Essex against the King. [53-54].

p. 312 In this year Fr. Michael O'Cuilleán, Capuchin, was deputed by the Irish leaders in Munster to go to France to procure supplies. [55].

313 At the beginning of the war the Irish of Cos. Kerry and Cork made such progress that they were able to encamp close to Cork city, but on St. Leger's approach they took to flight, except Florence MacCarthy, who fell gloriously in battle. [56].

In Connacht, much service was done by the O'Ferralls, a family who had wide sway in Co. Longford. They took Longford, Rathcline, Ballyleague and Castle Forbes. [57].

314 A Provincial Council of Armagh assembled under the presidency of the Primate, Hugh O'Reilly, and deliberated about the war. Text of the Acts of the Council. [L.D., I, no. 6]. [58-72].

320 Decree of a General Congregation of the Clergy held at Kilkenny. [L.D., I, no. 7]. [73-105].

326 Text of the Confederate Oath. [106].

327 In Connacht, a siege by the Catholics of a fort near Galway was raised by forces sent by the Earl of Clanrickard. The author criticizes the favourable account given by Richard Bellings of Clanrickard's attitude during the war. A number of castles defended by heretics were aided by Clanrickard against the Catholics. Scattery Island, sacred to St. Senan, was attacked by Lord Forbes; the author narrates, following Dr. John O'Mollony, the miraculous manner in which the attacking forces were dispersed. [107].

328 Coleraine, besieged by the Irish, was relieved by the Earl of Antrim. Several minor castles were attacked by the Catholics of Ulster, without success. In the spring the English army in Ulster was augmented by forces sent from Scotland under Major-General Robert Monro, who took Newry. The author castigates Bernard's description of certain religious papers and documents as 'diabolic incantations.' John O'Cullenan, Bishop of Raphoe, was captured by the heretics. The cathedral church of Armagh was burned down by Phelim O'Neill; it had been garrisoned by Q. Elizabeth, and O'Neill feared that it might be made a stronghold for the heretics. The Catholics of Ulster were anxious that the Scots should unite with them, but the Scots declined this, for fear of confiscation of their possessions and ruin of their Calvinistic religion. [108-110].

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Phelim O'Neill's forces having been defeated at Lisnegarvey p. 331 [Lisburn], the Ulster nobles held a meeting to discuss future policy. An account of this conference is given from N. O'Byrne's *Relation*, particularly as to the views expressed by Conn O'Neill, nephew of Owen Roe. In July Owen Roe O'Neill landed at Castle Doe from Flanders. He and his companions were received with enthusiasm, and conducted to Charlemont Fort and other secure places in Ulster. [111-112].

Account of the life on the continent of John O'Neill, who on the death in 1616 of his father Earl Hugh assumed the title of Earl of Tyrone. He died in Catalonia on Jan. 27, 1641. The title of Rory O'Donnell, Earl of Tyrconnel, Tyrone's companion in flight in 1607, who died in 1608, was taken by his son Hugh. He served under the Spanish King, and perished (in 1642) in a naval battle against the French. The death of these two Earls was a great loss to the men of Ulster. [113]. 332

History of the O'Neills, Earls of Tyrone. John's natural son Hugh was declared legitimate by King Philip IV. He remained in Spain, in obscurity. Note as to the sons of Conn Bacach, first Earl of Tyrone. Owen Roe was son of Art, younger brother of Earl Hugh, and grandson of Matthew, Baron of Dungannon. Phelim O'Neill was descended from Owen, grandfather of Conn Bacach. Remarks on Owen Roe's character, and about his military experience on the continent. His return to Ireland aroused jealousy and alarm in the minds of his Irish clansmen, especially Phelim. [114-115]. 334

The Pope sent briefs, dated Oct. 18, 1642, and Aug. 15, 1643, to Owen Roe, commending his enterprise. [116]. 336

Provincial Councils were held at Kinard and Clones, and Owen Roe was unanimously elected General of the Ulster forces. Phelim O'Neill was the first to press for this appointment, to which his own claims, as the author intimates, were inferior. Owen Roe never claimed the title of Earl of Tyrone; he was discouraged from doing so, both by the claims of others, and by the weakness, in point of legitimacy, of his own claim. [117]. 336

At this time military supplies were sent to Wexford. It is not clear whether Owen Roe sent these supplies, or whether they were the supplies brought from the continent by Thomas Preston. Preston was brother of Viscount Gormanston. He had distinguished himself greatly in the Spanish service in the Netherlands, particularly in his defence in 1641 of Genappes 337

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against the French. He was now invited to Ireland by his friends in the English colony in Leinster. [118-119].

- p. 338 In the summer the castle of Limerick was taken by the Catholics. The city, which was entirely Catholic, was now able to introduce the free and public exercise of the Faith. In September Inchiquin routed the Catholics at Liscarroll. [120].
- 338 Affairs in England. The King acceded to demands of the Parliament which were ruinous to himself, but finally, in fear of the citizens of London, he withdrew to Hampton Court. Accounts of attacks on the Capuchin Fathers attached to the Queen's household. The Queen sailed to Holland in February, and the King negotiated with the Parliament from Newmarket. The whole royal fleet revolted to the Parliament. [121-123].
- 341 On June 10 the Parliament decreed that its supporters should take up arms, and that the money which had been voted for the Irish war should be diverted to the purpose of fighting against the King. The King laid siege to Hull. On July 12 the Parliament appointed Robert Devereux, Earl of Essex, General of the army. [124-126].
- 342 In August the King erected his standard at Nottingham. In September Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, and his brother Maurice came over from the Continent and were given military commands. At the Battle of Edgehill (Oct. 23) Prince Rupert was successful in his command of the cavalry. Battle at Brentford, Nov. 13. [127-128].
- 343 Text of the Acts of the General Assembly held at Kilkenny on Oct. 24, 1642, by which a form of government was established [L.D., I, no. 8]. It was ordained by those Acts that the Roman Catholic church was to have the rights secured by Magna Carta, and that the Common law and existing Statutes were to remain in force so far as they were not adverse to that religion or to the liberties of the natives and subjects of Ireland. Loyalty to King Charles and his successors was enjoined. A Supreme Council was instituted, to consist of 24 persons, four from each province of Ireland. This Council was to have control of all military officers and civil magistrates, and jurisdiction in all matters save disputes about right or title to land. Provincial and County Councils were to be set up. Lands taken from their owners since Oct. 1, 1641, were to be restored, except in case the old owner should be declared by the Council to be a neutral or an enemy, in which case the lands were to be surrendered, not to him, but to the Council. The

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possessions of the Protestant bishops and clergy were to be reckoned as belonging to the Catholic bishops and clergy. [129-167].

Text of a Declaration of the Catholics, sent to the King. p. 352 [L.D., I, no. 9]. This document contains references to the Ulster plantation, and to the oppressions of the Earl of Strafford and Sir William Parsons. [168-200].

It was decreed in the General Assembly held at Kilkenny in October and November, 1642, that all the Confederated Catholics should take an oath, to fight for the Catholic faith, King, and Country. [201]. 364

In December and January the Lords Justices gave a commission to Henry Jones and seven other protestant ministers to collect evidence from heretics as to outrages committed on them by Catholics since the beginning of the troubles, and to draw up a report. This report was published in London in 1642 (under title, *A Remonstrance of divers remarkable passages*, etc.). The author says that this report does not deserve refutation; the condition of the Catholics from 1603 to 1641 had been a slow martyrdom. [202]. 364

Narrative of the foundation of the houses of the Irish Capuchins at Charleville and Sedan. Texts of letters sent to Fr. G. Blakney by the Archbishop of Rheims and the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, and of a petition in the interest of the Irish Capuchins sent by Irish prelates to the Congregation. [203-214]. 365

On the setting up of the Catholic Confederation's government the protestant bishops and ministers were driven out, the Catholic bishops and clergy restored, and the churches opened to, and frequented by, Catholic congregations in the cities, towns and garrisons and throughout the vast regions of the island which were under Confederate control. [215]. 372

PART V. A.D. 1643.

The King, fearing lest the Confederates might triumph throughout the whole realm, and anxious to get aid from Ireland against the ruin with which he was threatened by the English and Scottish rebels, entered upon a policy of inducing the Confederates to make peace with him. With this view, he gave authority to certain heretics in authority in Ireland to treat with the Confederates. [1]. 375

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- p. 375 Text of Remonstrance of the Catholics of Ireland, presented by delegates of the Confederates at Trim, March 17. [L.D., I, no. 10]. In this statement complaint is made that by the operation of the penal laws Catholics had been debarred from offices in the service of the State, and deprived of university education. Special indignation is expressed at the activities of Parsons in depriving Catholics of their estates. A free Parliament is asked for. [2-17].
- 391 Ormonde set out with his army from Dublin, and took Timolin. He besieged New Ross, but had to retire before the Irish forces. The men of Munster destroyed the English forces at Cloghleagh. In Connacht, the Catholics took a fort garrisoned by heretics near Galway. As a thank-offering for these and other successes, the citizens of Galway this year introduced the Capuchins into the city. [18].
- 392 The Pope sent Fr. P. Scarampi, Oratorian, as apostolic minister to Ireland. [19].
- 392 Text of Papal Brief addressed to the prelates of Ireland in reference to Scarampi's mission, April 18, 1643. [20].
- 393 Text of an Indulgence (*jubilaeum*) sent by the Pope to the Confederate Catholics, May 15, 1643. [21].
- 395 Letter from the Supreme Council to the Pope, July 23, expressing gratitude for Scarampi's mission, and recommending Fr. Luke Wadding to the Pope's favour. [22-23].
- 395 Letters to the Pope about Scarampi, from the Abp. of Tuam, July 26, and the Abp. of Dublin, Aug. 8. [24-26].
- 397 Letter in the same connection from John Bourke, general of the army of Connacht, to Card. Barberini, in reply to a letter from the Cardinal. [27-28].
- 398 Letter on the same matter from the Supreme Council to the Pope. [29-30].
- 399 Text of a communication from Card. Barberini sent to Scarampi on Nov. 11. The Pope had recently set up a Congregation to deal with Irish affairs. In this Congregation, on July 21, a letter had been read from Scarampi announcing his arrival in Ireland. With the letter he had sent a lengthy statement as to the position in Ireland. The Congregation had taken into consideration memorials from the Catholics with regard to their enjoyment and retention of ecclesiastical property, and the questions of conscience arising in this connection. The Cardinal explains the concessions which had been granted by the Pope as to such possessions. [31-38].
- 401 This great controversy as to ecclesiastical lands held from the Crown by lay persons was reported to the Pope by Scarampi

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in a letter of Aug. 21. Many Catholic inheritors of such property considered that they were not bound to make restitution, and supported their claim by reference to Cardinal Pole's Dispensation. The author observes that the confiscations of abbey lands made by Kings Hen. VIII and Edw. VI were confined to the narrow limits within which the English laws were in force. [39-40].

Text of a Brief of Pope Urban VIII, Nov. 9, 1635, to the p. 402
Earl of Westmeath (who was in possession of the lands of Fore Abbey and some other religious houses), permitting him to retain the property during the schism, on condition that if the schism should come to an end, he should restore the abbeys to whatever Order had held them, and that, meanwhile, he should give alms to any persons of the same order who might be remaining in the country, or else to the poor: [41].

It is to be inferred that the Pope dealt with other holders 403
of monastic property in the same manner as with the Earl. Text of a petition presented to the General Assembly by members of the Cistercian Order, asking that houses of their Order now in the hands of the Confederates might be let to them at a moderate rent, and that Catholic holders of Cistercian property might contribute to the sustenance of the monks. [42-43].

This and other similar petitions were examined by a com- 404
mittee of the Assembly. Text of the decision of the Assembly, issued probably in 1643. Monks (few of whom, it is stated, were remaining in the country) were to receive payments for their support, and the surplus arising from their property was to be converted to pious uses. Mendicant friars were to receive a tenth of their lands and tithes. [44-53].

Text of a petition presented to the Nuncio by the Carmelite 406
Prior of Knocktopher, with an annexed list of Carmelite houses in Ireland. (These were the Calced Carmelites, not the Discalced; the latter were the more numerous in Ireland). [54-57].

When Queen Henrietta Maria went over to Holland in 408
1642 she pawned her jewels in order to raise money for the King. Early in 1643 she returned to England, bringing considerable supplies. [58].

The Catholics of England displayed great constancy under 408
the persecutions of the Parliamentarians. Account of the sufferings of the French Capuchins attached to the Queen's household. In 1642 the Parliament made a decree for their

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- arrest, and outrages were inflicted on them in March, 1643, by H. Martin, J. Clotworthy, and others. [59-64].
- p.412 Progress of the war in England. Waller, parliamentary General, was defeated by Wilmot (at Roundway Down) in July. Bristol and Exeter surrendered to the royalists. Newcastle defeated Fairfax (at Adwalton Moor), and invested Hull. The King ordered Gloucester to be besieged, but on the enemy's approach he had to withdraw from there, and his army was routed by Essex at Newbury. Matters being now in equilibrium between the opposing parties, the King was more inclined to making a cessation of arms with the Irish. This offer was at first rejected, but afterwards the Confederates presented to Scarampi arguments in favour of it. [65-67].
- 413 Texts of a Memorial submitted by the Confederates to Scarampi, July, 1643, and of Scarampi's Reply. [L.D., I, no. 11]. The Memorial recounts the grievances of the Catholics, refers to the communications sent by the Confederates to Viscount Taaffe and Colonel Barry, and argues that it was necessary for the Confederates to show that they were not rebels, and to ensure that the army opposed to them should be brought over to England, while they themselves, joined with the English, would drive out the Scots. [68-89].
- 421 Letter of Card. Barberini to the Nuncio, Nov. 11, intimating that, if the Catholics are not hopeful of making progress, the Cessation may be agreed to, provided that before everything else satisfaction should be obtained in points relating to religion. [90-91].
- 422 The war in which the Pope was at this time engaged with the Prince of Parma and other Italian princes prevented him from sending larger supplies to Ireland. Card. Barberini informed Card. Grimaldi on Dec. 16 that the Pope had sent such supplies as were possible. [92].
- 422 Opinions in Ireland and England about the Cessation varied in accordance with party differences. The state of affairs in England at this time offered a most happy opportunity to the Confederates, if they had been willing to take advantage of it. Owen O'Neill fought with varying success. In September he obtained a victory at Portlester. [93].
- 424 Although at first the aboriginal Irish and the Anglo-Irish fought as a united body, the zeal of the latter too quickly cooled. [94].
- 425 From the very first years the Anglo-Irish faction which came

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to be distinguished as Ormondists was practising plots and deceptions. Ormonde had his supporters in the very bosom of the Supreme Council, notably Gerald Fennell and Richard Bellings. Viscount Taaffe became one of Ormonde's instruments for promoting the Cessation ; he used his credit as an Irishman and a Catholic for the purpose of deceiving the nation. [95].

Under such influences, a Cessation for a whole year was concluded on September 15, 1643. Owen O'Neill retired with his army to Ulster. The King professed that the truce had been made, not, as the Parliament alleged, for the advantage of the Catholics, but in order to save the protestants in Ireland from destruction. [96-97]. p. 426

The Parliament declared that the Cessation contravened an Act about the Irish War passed in 1642. [98-99]. 427

The Cessation having been made, the Confederates made a grant of money to the King. Letters from Rome indicated that the truce was not found acceptable there. [100]. 428

In letters to the Pope and Card. Barberini, the Supreme Council requested that Scarampi should be given the status of Papal Nuncio. [101-103]. 429

Scarampi corresponded with Rome about the case of Thomas Dease, Bishop of Meath, who, for his opposition in the preceding year to the Catholic war, had been suspended by his metropolitan. It appears that the Bishop joined the Confederation later, but not until after the truce had been made. [104]. 430

Card. Barberini wrote to Scarampi about scandal caused by Fr. Dominick de Burgo, O.P., directing that he should be removed from Clanrickard's house. [105]. 431

In November the General Assembly met at Waterford, to deliberate about sending envoys to the King to make a peace. At the same time and place there was a Congregation of prelates, to which Scarampi submitted considerations in favour of the acceptance in Ireland of the Tridentine Decrees. Two declarations were signed by prelates signifying their acceptance of the Decrees, so far as the circumstances of the time permitted. It does not appear that the Supreme Council accepted the Decrees. [106-119]. 432

PART VI. A.D. 1644.

Letter of the Dominican provincial and diffinitors to Scarampi about the reception of the Tridentine Decrees, Jan. 23. [1-2]. 439

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- p. 440 Similar letter sent by the Franciscans after a meeting of their provincial council on Aug. 4. [3-4].
- 441 Letter of Fr. Robert Nugent, S.J., on the same matter, Sept. 18. In his reply, Oct. 11, Scarampi complained of the vagueness and generality of the reply of the Jesuits as to the Decrees. Their attitude caused displeasure at Rome. With regard to the Discalced Carmelites, the Cardinal ordered that they should be compelled to observe the Decrees. [5-9].
- 443 Efforts were made to conclude a final peace with the King. The Marquis of Ormonde had been appointed Lord Lieutenant in Nov., 1643, and was sworn in on Jan. 21, 1644. Text of the oath then taken by him. [10].
- 444 The tendency of Ormonde's mind is shown by a citation from Dr. Enos giving the names of those whose advice Ormonde made use of, such persons as Parsons, Temple, Adam Loftus, and Bolton. His inaugural oath, though couched in terms befitting a Christian viceroy, in fact tended to the ruin of the Catholics. Except in Leinster, the heretics themselves gave little obedience to Ormonde. [11-12].
- 445 The King assented to the Acts of Parliament against the Catholics. Later, when the King had to raise forces against the Parliamentary rebels, the latter described his forces as a 'papistical' army. [13].
- 446 Text of Oath and Covenant set forth by Parliament to be taken throughout the whole realm. This was ordained after the Parliament was in arms against the King. [14-15].
- 447 After suffering many defeats from the King, the Parliamentarians appealed to the Scottish Calvinists to aid them. Text of the Solemn League and Covenant, 1643. [16-24].
- 451 A copy of the Covenant, together with a Declaration of the English Parliament, was sent to Ireland. Text of Admonitions of the Supreme Council (with a reprint of the Covenant and Declaration), printed at Waterford, Jan. 26, 1644. [L.D., I, no. 12]. [25-26].
- 453 In January the Scottish army, under the Earl of Leven and David Leslie, came into England. Heretical forces, which had fought in Ireland for the King up to the time of the Cessation, now crossed to join his forces in England. [27].
- 454 Narrative about the Earl of Antrim. Various details are taken from a narrative by James MacDonnell (kinsman to Antrim). In May, 1642, Antrim was captured at Dunluce Castle by Monro, and confined at Carrickfergus. After about

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six months he escaped to the King in England. Returning (in May, 1643) to Ireland, he was again captured and imprisoned by Monro. After about nine months he again escaped, and went to Charlemont, where he was gladly received by Owen O'Neill. Proceeding to Kilkenny, he was invited by the Confederates to join their association, but declined, and went to the King's court. There a plan was mooted that the Confederates should send a force into Scotland, and that Antrim should be placed in command of the Irish and the Hiberno-Scots, and co-operate with Montrose, who was to command the Anglo-Scots. Antrim returned to Ireland early in 1644, and negotiated with the Council and Scarampi. The Scottish expedition was approved by the Council and by Ormonde. Fighting continued in Scotland for three years under Alaster MacColl MacDonnell. Remarks of the author about the Earl of Argyll, and about Montrose. [28-46].

Progress of Leven's army in England. Success of Prince p. 465
Rupert against Essex. The sides were so equally balanced in this year, that the King would have been victorious, but for the Scottish aid obtained by the Parliament. The Queen went to France, shortly after the birth, in April, of her daughter Henrietta (afterwards Duchess of Orleans). Sir John Hotham, formerly governor of Hull, was executed in December. [47-50].

Names of the Confederate envoys to the King, appointed 467
in November, 1643. The principal person among them was Viscount Muskerry. The Nuncio more than once described him as the leader of the Ormondists. An account, with many names and details, of the MacCarthy family, and of Muskerry's descent, with observations on the claimants, on the death in 1596 of the Earl of Clancarty, to the MacCarthy Mór succession, with special reference to Florence MacCarthy Reagh, and about the difference between Irish and English rules of succession. There were suspicions that Muskerry had secret aims towards recovering his patrimony. It seems certain that he, and many others of the Confederates, mostly of English descent, were in a secret conspiracy with Ormonde. Letters of Card. Barberini to Scarampi about the negotiations for a peace. [51-62].

Intimation in letters of the Cardinal that the Pope had 477
requested the French Queen Regent to advise Harcourt, the French envoy, to promote the Irish cause in England. On

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Jan. 13 De La Monnerie, French envoy to the Confederates, arrived at Waterford. [63].

p. 478 The Confederate commissioners arrived at Oxford in March. They were accompanied by Robert Barry, vicar apostolic of Ross, who had been sent by the clergy. Text of the Propositions of the Irish Roman Catholics presented to the King. [L.D., I, no. 13]. In these propositions it was demanded that penal laws should be repealed, the disabilities of Catholics removed, a Parliament called, with abrogation of Poyning's Law, all forfeitures made in Connacht, etc., since 1634 annulled, the Court of Wards abolished, and that the present Catholic government should continue with its jurisdiction until the meeting of Parliament, and afterwards until the grievances should have been redressed by Acts of Parliament. On April 18 a counter-petition was presented to the King by envoys sent over by the English and Scots in Ireland. The King could not be persuaded to assent to the wishes of the Catholics, and their envoys returned to Ireland in June. [64-84].

483 The sincere Catholics believed that the Ormondist section among the envoys to the King had the aim that the King should strengthen Ormonde's position by giving him authority to arrange a peace. Citations in this connection from Dr. Enos. [85-89].

485 In a meeting of the General Assembly at Kilkenny in July the Confederate Oath was revised. Text of the Oath. Commissioners were appointed to go to Dublin to negotiate with Ormonde. The Cessation of Sept. 23 was prolonged. [90-92].

487 After the making of the Cessation, Inchiquin brought his forces over to England. He made efforts to obtain from the King the post of President of Munster. Ormonde and the Confederates desired that Muskerry should obtain this office. Disappointed in his ambition, Inchiquin returned to Ireland, and decided to go over to the Parliamentary side. He offered the forts of Munster to the Parliament, on condition that he should retain the command of them. Muskerry made a plan to surprise the city of Cork, with the assistance of Catholic citizens, especially Fr. Francis O'Mahony. This Father's plans were discovered by Inchiquin, and he was tried and executed. Inchiquin then expelled about 5,000 Catholics from Cork, and eventually almost all the Catholics of Cork were exiled. [93-94].

488 After the Cessation a large portion of Ormonde's forces in

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Leinster were sent over to England, and placed under Monck's command. The Scots in Ulster fought against both the King and the Irish Catholics, while the other, less numerous, heretical forces in Ulster, namely, the English in Londonderry and some other places, sooner or later adhered to the Parliament. [95-97].

Making a simulated flight (really a mission from Ormonde), p. 490 Castlehaven went from Dublin to Kilkenny, and was given a command by the Confederates. He led an expedition into Ulster, where he acted treacherously, giving protection to the heretical army against which he was sent, and taking Charlemont from Phelim O'Neill. Afterwards he took to flight, leaving Owen Roe at the mercy of his enemies. He was tried for high treason at Kilkenny, but escaped death by the connivance of his judges. In the following year, he was placed in command of the Confederate forces in Munster. [98].

The intricate question of ecclesiastical possessions proved a great hindrance to the conclusion of a peace. Cardinal Barberini informed Scarampi on April 4 of the Pope's decision in this matter. It was ruled that Benedictines and other regulars were not to recover their possessions without a licence from the Apostolic See. The author holds that this postponement of a final decision by the Holy See was injurious to the Catholic cause, as it caused many Ormondists to delay the full extirpation of heresy, for fear of losing the monastic lands in their possession. [99-100]. 491

The Confederate commissioners at Dublin presented to Ormonde the Propositions already offered at Oxford, with additional articles. Ormonde's replies, with the author's comments, describing them as full of artifices. The Viceroy said that he must consult the King, and suspended the negotiations, which were to be resumed on Jan. 10. Text of a letter to him from the King, Dec. 15, ordering him to conclude a peace privately. [101-102]. 493

Letter of the Queen to the Supreme Council, Dec. 28. She thought that the Council should be satisfied with the very full commission given by the King to Ormonde. In February Scarampi sent a copy of this letter to the newly-elected Pope, Innocent X, with his comments; he remarks that the Queen in her anxiety for a peace does not discuss conditions regarding religion, holding that all good hopes for the Catholics depend on making a peace with the Protestants. [103-105]. 495

Text of certain decrees of a Clerical Congregation held in 498

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November. Preachers are to declare that the war is just and lawful. Records are to be published of sufferings of the Catholics at the hands of the heretics. [106-111].

p. 500 Text of a Brief of Pope Urban VIII to the people of Dublin, commiserating with them in their sufferings. A similar Brief was sent to Drogheda. [112-113].

501 Cardinal Barberini, in reply to a letter from Preston of Oct. 20, 1643, wrote congratulating him on his zeal for the Catholic cause. He wrote also to the Earl of Castlehaven. [114].

501 Pope Urban VIII died on July 29, and on Sept. 15 Giovanni Battista Pamfili was elected his successor, and took the name of Innocent X. To him the Council sent as an envoy Richard Bellings, Secretary of the Council. The author quotes from Ænos a very unfavourable account of Bellings; he is noted as the originator of every dissension that arose among the Confederates. [115].

502 The Countess of Clanrickard, who, like her husband, had English connexions and sympathies, declined to accept the Indulgence granted in 1643 by Pope Urban VIII. In the first years of the war, Clanrickard has assisted the heretics in Connacht against the Catholics; he now took up a position of neutrality. Letter of Edward Shelley, an English priest who was chaplain to the Countess, protesting against the Indulgence, as alarming to the Protestants and English Catholics exiles now living under Clanrickard's protection. There was a question as to the validity in Ireland of the faculties which Shelley had exercised in England. In a letter to English priests in Paris he asked for assistance in this matter. The Bishop of Clonfert wrote to him refusing to admit his claim to faculties. Invernizzi submitted a statement to the Pope as to the harm done by the neutrality of certain Catholics. [116-123].

512 As the result of a visit made in 1644 to the Irish Capuchins at Sedan by the Archbishop of Rheims, a restitution to the Church of ecclesiastical benefices and estates was effected. [124].

PART VII. A.D. 1645.

515 Abp. Laud, who had been in the Tower since the end of 1640, was tried at Westminster, and executed in January, 1645. [1].

515 The Parliament decreed on Oct. 24, 1644, that any Irish

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Catholics taken prisoner in England and Wales, or at sea, should be put to death, with entire exclusion from any terms of surrender. Thirteen men were actually executed under this decree. In retaliation Prince Rupert executed thirteen Parliamentary soldiers. Text of letters exchanged between him and Essex. In April, 1645, Essex resigned his command, and Sir Thomas Fairfax was made commander-in-chief of all the English rebel forces. [2-5].

As to retaliatory executions, some were done by naval p. 518
captains of the Confederates, though no decree in the matter was issued by the Supreme Council. The Parliamentary party discontinued this practice. Quotation from Enos about warfare at sea. During six years the Irish cutters based on Wexford captured 1900 ships, and took many prisoners. [6].

The King urged the Queen to obtain reinforcements from the 520
King of France and the Duke of Lorraine. His chief hope, however, was to obtain forces from Ireland. Citations from letters written by him to Ormonde between Dec. 15 and Feb. 27, urging haste in the conclusion of a peace. The last of these letters was found in the King's papers taken at Naseby, and was published by the Parliament. In spite of these directions, Ormonde continued to delude both sides. Esmond, the heretical governor of Duncannon Fort, had revolted to the Parliament, and the fort was taken on March 19 by Preston's forces. The peace negotiations with Ormonde went on, with delays. [7-10].

In May, queries (breathing the genuine Ormondist spirit) 524
were submitted to the Clerical Congregation at Kilkenny, about the interpretation of articles of the Confederate Oath. [11-16].

Text of the reply to the queries by a committee of theologians, 525
May 20. [17-22].

Text of a query submitted on May 25 by some lay members 526
of the Assembly, as to whether conscience required restitution of churches and religious houses, and of the Congregation's reply, stating the reasons why the obligation did exist. [23-31].

Ormonde demanded as a necessary condition of peace that 529
the churches should be restored to the heretics. Text of decree of the Assembly, June 9, absolutely refusing this condition. [32-34].

While in older times, monastic abbots and priors had the 530
right, as bishops had, to sit as peers in Parliament, in the Confederate Assembly the only prelates admitted were arch-

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bishops and bishops, Ormondist influence having prevailed with the Pope for the exclusion of monastic prelates. [35].

p. 531 The Clerical Congregation sent a deputation to the Commissioners of Instruction about peace-terms. After queries had been proposed to the clergy, and decisions and explanations given by them, of which the texts are given, an agreement was reached on June 16. The clergy, remarks the author, were at this time deceived; afterwards, they insisted on the view which they had taken at an earlier period. [36-46].

536 Other queries proposed on June 2 in regard to questions of conscience were answered by the clergy in the negative. [47].

536 Suggestions had been made, both in conversation and in published writings, by Shelley and other priests of English sympathies, that it was not lawful for the Irish Catholics to make war against the King and his adherents, though heretics. By order of the Supreme Council Dr. Enos compiled an answer to these pamphleteers, which was approved by a committee, but at the request of the Council its publication was indefinitely postponed, for fear that it might discourage the Confederates from making a peace. Text of a decree of the General Assembly, July 4, against scandalous books. This affair shows the falsity of the suggestion made by Ormondist apologists that before the Nuncio's arrival the Confederates were in complete accord, and that it was the Nuncio who had brought about discord. The Assembly was dissolved on July 5, with a view to meeting again on August 7. [48-51].

542 Events in England and Scotland. Cromwell won victories at Islip and elsewhere, and Fairfax laid siege to Oxford. The King took Leicester. Account of the Battle of Naseby, June 14, in which Fairfax and Cromwell routed the royal forces. Fairfax recovered Leicester, and relieved Taunton. In Scotland, Montrose had under his command both the Irish who had gone over in 1644 and the highland army. He defeated the Covenanters on Aug. 15 at Kilsyth, but soon afterwards he was defeated near Selkirk (the battle of Philiphaugh, Sept. 13), and practically the whole of Scotland went over to the rebels. [52-55].

544 Though Ormonde pretended to desire a peace, it would seem that in reality he was determined that no peace should be offered except on such terms as could not possibly be accepted by the Irish. When the appointment of Rinuccini as Nuncio became known, the King, perhaps fearing that the Nuncio's

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arrival might raise the spirits of the Irish, determined to send over the Earl of Glamorgan to offer to the Catholics in the King's name conditions which were to be kept secret until the King should be in a position to acknowledge them openly. Text of three commissions given to Glamorgan, dated Jan. 6, Jan. 12 and March 12. Glamorgan crossed over to Ireland in July, and was present in Dublin on July 12 at meetings of the Confederate Commissioners who were there treating with Ormonde. When the Commissioners returned to Kilkenny, Glamorgan also went there. Letter of Ormonde to Muskerry, Aug. 11, in which he speaks highly of Glamorgan. The Nuncio was by this letter led to suppose that Ormonde would support any agreements that might be effected by Glamorgan. [56-65].

After considering on Aug. 14 the conditions proposed by P. 550
the Commissioners to Ormonde, and his replies, the Confederates decided to enter upon negotiations with Glamorgan. Text of a statement sent to Rome by Scarampi, as to conditions necessary in ecclesiastical matters. [66-73].

Text of an Ormondist reply to these propositions. [74-84]. 552

Text of a second statement by Scarampi, presented to the 553
Confederates, and by them forwarded to Rome. It points out the insecurity and danger of the proposed terms as regarding tithes and church revenues. [85-90].

As to the peace to be obtained from Glamorgan, the Assembly 555
decided that any articles which had not been or could not be obtained from Ormonde should be kept secret, while the terms obtained from Ormonde should be published. Scarampi, in another statement, objected to the plan of publishing civil terms and concealing those relating to the Church. The Glamorgan peace was concluded, partly on Aug. 25 and partly on Sept. 7. [91-93].

Text of the Glamorgan Peace. [L.D., I, no. 14]. By its 557
terms free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion was granted to all, the Catholics were to have all churches, except such as were actually in Protestant hands, the jurisdiction of the Protestant clergy over Catholics was abolished, an Act of Parliament was promised to remove the penalties imposed by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and (under certain defined conditions) the temporalities possessed by the Catholic clergy since Oct. 23, 1641, were confirmed to them. It was undertaken by the Confederates that they would send over for the King's service 10,000 men, to be shipped to any port in

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Britain chosen by Glamorgan, and to be kept together in one body under his command, the other officers to be selected by the Confederates. [94-111].

p. 564 Decree of the Assembly, Sept. 1, declaring that until the Peace should be fully established by Parliament, the Confederacy was to remain in existence, and its Oath to stand in full force. [112-115].

567 The agreement for a peace made with Glamorgan was not to have binding force, unless the other part of the peace should be concluded with Ormonde. Scarampi signified to Rome his disapproval of the Glamorgan terms. The Commissioners returned to Dublin in September, but their negotiations with Ormonde hung fire. Scarampi told the Supreme Council that they were in a contradictory position; they were eager for the arrival of the Nuncio and the papal supplies, while at the same time they were treating for peace-terms which would involve the exclusion of the Nuncio. [116-122].

565 After the taking of Duncannon, Preston went to Youghal, which was being besieged by the Munster forces under Castlehaven. Quotation from Enos about Castlehaven's appointment in this year to the Munster command, and his slackness in his duty under the influence of the Ormondist section of the Council. In the autumn, Youghal was relieved by aid from the Parliamentarians. [123-124].

570 Viscount Taaffe was made General of the Connacht forces. He was completely under Ormonde's influence, and Enos describes how his actions were hampered by the Ormondists. On Oct. 17, Sligo, which had been occupied by the heretics in the summer, was besieged by the Connacht forces, now commanded by Taaffe's brother. The Catholics were defeated in a battle, in which Malachy O'Queely, Archbishop of Tuam, was killed. List of the officers taken prisoners. A misleading account of this battle was printed at London (*Good News from Ireland*, London, 15 Jan., 1645). The heretics invaded the barony of Tireragh. The author comments on the folly of giving commands to Castlehaven and Taaffe, when much more worthy persons were available. [125-126].

572 In this year a German named John Vangyrish, who had commanded cavalry for the King, came over to Ireland. He professed skill in engineering and mechanical arts. After failing to obtain Ormonde's approval of his device for setting fire to some Parliamentary ships riding in Dublin Bay, he went to

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Kilkenny. The Confederates sent him to serve under Taaffe in Connacht, where he was put in control of military engines. He remained in Ireland some years, and in 1647 asked the Supreme Council to grant him a licence for exploiting metal mines. [127].

In Ulster, Charlemont was now the only fortress in Catholic hands. Since the Plantation the number of Ulster Catholics had been reduced by persecution and forced exile. Those who remained lacked warlike equipment, and owing to the lack of harbours for foreign commerce they were in poverty. Another cause of weakness was the enmity between Owen Roe and Phelim O'Neill. Large numbers of the people took to wandering out of the province into the other parts of the island, even as far as Munster. Sometimes they received hospitality and charity, but there was antipathy and dread felt by many about them, as many of them took to plundering, especially in driving off herds with violence and use of arms. Text of a Decree of the General Assembly, June 7, ordering measures to be taken against such outrages. [128-130].

Owen Roe proposed to move into Ulster, and called a meeting of the Provincial Council at Aghaboe. He was checked at this time, but was able to re-assemble his army. Sir W. Coote moved towards Sligo. Roger Maguire made an attack on the island of Bava in Lough Erne, where the men of Enniskillen kept a large quantity of stores. After carrying off much prey near Enniskillen, Owen Roe moved into winter-quarters in Co. Monaghan. [131-134].

Text of a letter to the Parliament, dated at Belfast, Nov. 19, from Sir A. Annesley and other leading Ulster Parliamentarians. Ormonde, they state, is looking for an opportunity of breaking off negotiations with the Catholics, and has suggested to the writers a scheme by which the forces of England and Scotland might be united with him against the rebels. Statement of Ormonde's conditions for this alliance. [135-136].

Comments on Ormonde's motives in making this proposal. After the rout of the King at Naseby, various other victories were won by Cromwell and Fairfax. The Scots took Carlisle, and would have obtained greater success in England, had they not been obliged to go to the aid of their own country, which had been devastated by the Irish and the Hiberno-Scots. The King was defeated at Rowton Heath (Sept. 24). [137-138].

Pope Innocent X appointed several bishops for Ireland.

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Text of Papal Briefs to the Supreme Council and each of the four Archbishops. These were sent with Edmund O'Dwyer, who had been made co-adjutor to the Bishop of Limerick. [139-144].

- p. 585 The author now enters upon the narrative of the Nuncio's appointment, and his journey to Ireland. Birth and parentage of Abp. Rinuccini. The biography written by him of the Capuchin Father Archangel (George Leslie). Letter to him from Cardinal Rossetti, March 13, in response to a request for information about the British Isles. [145-151].
- 590 Letter of Cardinal Panciroli to Thomas Rinuccini, the Nuncio's brother, about the latter's appointment. [152-153].
- 591 Papal Brief conferring faculties on the Nuncio. [L.D., I, no. 15]. The Nuncio was empowered to hold visitations, to make reforms in accordance with the Tridentine Decrees, to have a court of appeal, and to convoke national synods. All his powers were to prevail over ordinary exemptions. With regard to ecclesiastical property now in the hands of Catholic laymen, the holders were not to be disturbed, provided they promised to abide by any future judgment of the Church in this matter; they were to be advised to give alms to the dispossessed Religious or to the poor, and in the case of a parish church, to give an annual allowance to the pastor. [154-156].
- 601 With regard to the Instructions given to the Nuncio, the author warns the reader not to be surprised at certain statements notoriously contrary to fact made in these documents about the past condition of Ireland. These statements, he says, were due to the influence of certain persons residing at Rome, who were hostile to the ancient Irish race. Text of the Nuncio's Instructions, and of the more private Instructions. [L.D., I, no. 16]. On his arrival in Ireland, the Nuncio is to explain to the Archbishops the purpose of his mission, and to inform them about the subsidies to be expected from the Pope and others. He is to deal prudently with those who feel satisfied with a private exercise of the Catholic religion under a Protestant viceroy, or who are alarmed at the prospect of a restoration of strict ecclesiastical discipline. He is to encourage the religious orders, and especially the Jesuits in their educational projects. He is to beware of Ormonde's artifices for dividing the Catholics, and to repose special confidence in the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Clogher. He is to make it clear that he is impartial in regard to the conflicting interests of the

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French and the Spaniards. In the Secret Instructions the Nuncio is directed not to linger on his journey. In passing through France, he is to assure the Government that nothing unfriendly to the French Crown is in view, and to urge upon Queen Henrietta Maria that the aid of the Irish Catholics is now the only resource remaining to the English Crown and the Catholics of England. He should try to find out whether the Queen has any influence over Ormonde, and, if so, whether a secret arrangement could be made by which Ormonde would hand over Dublin and Drogheda to the Confederates. Bearing in mind the natural antipathy between the English and Irish nations, he is to be suspicious of the motives of the English Catholics frequenting the Queen's court. On arriving in Ireland, he should recommend to the Supreme Council that Duncannon should be taken, and Limerick won over from its neutrality. He is always to insist firmly upon the identity of the interests of the Catholics and the English Crown. With regard to the Queen, any plan for her coming over to Ireland should be discountenanced. An attempt should be made to win over Ormonde to the side of the Confederates, by the influence of his friends among them. [157-218].

Departure from Rome of the Nuncio and his company. p. 624
 At Florence he bade farewell to his parents. The author remarks on the exemplary virtue of the Nuncio in sacrificing ties of home and country, quoting Acts XX, vv. 22-24 (*Alligatus Spiritu vado*, etc.). [219-220].

Texts of Papal Briefs to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Grand Duchess, and the Duke's uncle, Cardinal C. Medici. 625
 With each Brief was a letter of Cardinal Pamfili, in commendation of the Nuncio. [221-226].

The Nuncio wrote to Cardinal Pamfili on Apr. 7 from Florence. 627
 He went on to Leghorn, and thence to Genoa. In a letter from Genoa, Apr. 15, he states that the English (especially Parliamentary) merchants at Leghorn had been trying to obtain information about his journey. [227-231].

Text of Papal Briefs presented by the Nuncio to Cardinal Durati, and the Doge and Governors of Genoa. 629
 [232-233].

Text of report sent to Rome by the Nuncio on Apr. 21 about his reception at Genoa, where he was given the honours customary for a royal ambassador. 630
 [234-246].

From Viareggio the Nuncio wrote to Sforza Pallavicino, S.J., and from Genoa to several Cardinals. He landed in France 633

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at Cannes, and arrived at Marseilles on Apr. 30, reporting from there to Pamfili. In a letter to another Cardinal he comments on the French customs and manner of life, as very different from those of Italy. [247-248].

p.634 Continuing his journey by way of Avignon, the Nuncio arrived at Lyons, where he presented a Papal Brief to the Cardinal Archbishop. Leaving Lyons on May 10, he reached Paris on May 22. He was received with honour by the Apostolic Nuncio in France. The Nuncio found that he would be delayed in Paris by business with the French King and the English Queen. The latter had recently sent an envoy to the Pope, and another (Glamorgan) to Ireland. This, it was thought, was due to suspicions about the Nuncio's mission felt by the Queen's advisers. [249-257].

637 Papal Briefs, presented on June 8 by the Nuncio to the King and the Queen Regent of France. Narrative sent to Pamfili of the reception at the court. The Queen Regent expressed good will towards the Catholics of Ireland. [258-267].

640 The Nuncio visited the Prince of Condé and Cardinal Mazarin, and presented Briefs. In private conversations, Condé suggested measures for mitigating the resentment against the Pope at that time felt in the French court. The Nuncio received visits from Ambassadors, Bishops, and others. [268-274.]

643 Relations between France and Pope Innocent X. The election of this Pope had been opposed by France (while favoured by Spain), and the French refused to send a Nuncio to Rome, while Innocent X declined to confirm Monsignor Bagni's position as Apostolic Nuncio in France. The mutual distrust was increased by the Pope's attitude towards a Frenchman suspected of complicity in a plot against the life of Mazarin. The Pope had directed Rinuccini to work at Paris towards removing the suspicions and resentments of the French, and the Nuncio was able to exercise influence at Paris which was of great advantage to the whole church, and especially to the church of France. Letter of Pamfili, Apr. 6, about a gift of a Golden Rose which the Pope sent, to be presented to the Queen Regent. [275-280].

646 Both the Queen and Cardinal Mazarin had spoken privately to the Nuncio on the French grievances against Rome, and he received from Condé a statement pointing out the power wielded by Mazarin in the State, and the necessity of conciliating him, and referring to the violent dissensions existing among the

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French bishops. On June 16 the Nuncio reported to Pamfili on the Prince's suggestions. [281-290].

The Nuncio wrote to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, urging him p. 649 to use his influence with the Pope so that a remedy might be found for the difficulties between him and France. The Nuncio, however, finding it impossible for these matters to be accommodated completely, decided not to present the Pope's Golden Rose to the Queen Regent. The suspicion of Spanish partiality on the part of the Pope and the Nuncio contributed much afterwards, says the author, to the destruction of the Irish cause. [291-295].

Dealings of the Nuncio with Queen Henrietta Maria. She and her husband had been alarmed at the Nuncio's appointment, thinking that the real object of the embassy was, under pretext of propagating the Faith, to deprive them of their kingdom of Ireland, and they had made great efforts to hinder the Nuncio's journey. The Pope had given no occasion for their suspicions; on the contrary, he had more than once instructed the Nuncio in the opposite sense. In a letter of July 3, Card. Pamfili directed the Nuncio that he was not to have the least thought of prejudicing anyone's temporal dominion. The Queen refused to give the Nuncio a public audience, on the ground that it would lead to the stirring up by the rebels of hatred against the King, and for other reasons. The Nuncio declined, as derogatory to his own dignity and the Pope's, the Queen's offer to receive him in private audience. On July 17 Pamfili informed the Nuncio that he might, if he thought proper, use an intermediary for communciations with the Queen. Letters of the Nuncio to Pamfili, July 4, Aug. 4, and Aug. 11. The Papal Brief to the Queen, with a letter from Pamfili (the texts of which are given), was presented, not by the Nuncio, but by Spinola. [296-325].

Memoranda sent by the English Catholics to the Nuncio at Paris. [L.D., I., no. 17]. It is represented that, although the Catholics of England have always been loyal, the King nevertheless has been influenced by calumnies spread against them, and even the Queen, influenced by heretical counsellors, has abandoned them. Consequently, many of the leading Catholics have withdrawn to France or Flanders. They place their best hopes in the making of an agreement between the King and the Irish. Conditions in favour of the English Catholics might be included in the terms of such an accommodation.

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Terms might be made under which the Irish would send an army to England. The Pope might be asked to refuse the supplies which the Queen is seeking from him through Sir Kenelm Digby, unless the King should grant the Irish demands relating to religion. It would be necessary, in order to secure the fulfilment of the conditions, that all Irish fortresses should be put under the control of Irish and English Catholics. In view of the confusion and dissensions among the Protestant sects, there was reason for hoping that, if the Catholics obtained religious liberty, the conversion of the whole realm might follow in a few years. [326-345].

p. 671 The King's views fluctuated. The rebels called him a favourer of Papists, and even a Papist himself. Corrupt courtiers influenced him towards fearing ruin from the very quarter where his best hopes of safety lay. In his innermost heart he felt that the Catholics were the only people whom he could really trust. Report of the gist of a Memorial presented to the Pope by Sir Kenelm Digby, the Queen's envoy. [346-352].

676 Text of a Reply by the Nuncio to Digby's Memorial, July 21. The division of the Pope's subsidy between the King and the Irish is objectionable. The English Catholics themselves feel that the only course possible now is to pacify the Irish. Digby has exaggerated the goodness of the intentions of the Queen and the King; the latter has never shown any propension in favour of the Catholics. Cardinal Pamfili replied that the Pope would be cautious in his dealings with Digby. Eventually, the Pope gave Digby certain supplies for the King and Queen, but these were smaller than he would have given if the conditions in favour of the Catholics had been granted. [353-362].

680 On July 10 Jermyn, on behalf of the Queen, requested Mazarin to intervene in the matter of the Peace. The Cardinal referred the matter to Richard Bellings and Fr. Hartegan. Text of terms of peace suggested by Fr. Hartegan, and of letters exchanged between the Nuncio and Pamfili. The feeling of the Nuncio was that there was nothing in these negotiations but a device either for preventing him from going to Ireland at all, or at least for ensuring that his arrival there would be too late. [363-387].

689 The Nuncio continued his application at Paris for subsidies, and finally he obtained some money from Cardinal Mazarin. [388-396].

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- Letter of the Nuncio to Pamfili about the troubles in the French church. Many of the clergy and people were addicted to Jansenism, and there was a dispute between the seculars and the regulars. A general assembly of the clergy was held in Paris. [397-401]. p. 693
- Richard Bellings had been sent as an envoy to the Pope in 1644. Letter of the Supreme Council to Albizzi about this matter, Nov. 23, 1644. Letter of the Pope to the Council, March 25, 1645. Bellings did not obtain supplies at Rome. [402-406]. 697
- Bellings proceeded, with Papal Briefs in his support, to make applications to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, the Doge and Republic of Venice, and the Doge and Governors of Genoa. [407-410]. 699
- Bellings met the Nuncio at Paris on May 25. The author remarks that while what Bellings and the Ormondists wanted was, not the sending of a Nuncio, but simply supplies from the Pope, the old Irish on the other hand desired both, and, as the Nuncio's report shows, they were even more anxious for a Nuncio than for supplies. Bellings went to look for supplies in Belgium, and then joined the Nuncio in France. [411-417]. 701
- The Nuncio obtained letters from the Pope to the Spanish authorities in Belgium, and sent Invernizi there. The latter was able to purchase some frigates in Belgium. [418-430]. 705
- The Nuncio wrote to the Supreme Council on July 4. He did not receive a reply till October 4. In August he heard from the Primate and the other archbishops of Ireland. [431-433]. 711
- The Queen sent to Ireland her chaplain, George Leyburn, an English priest who passed under the name of Winter Grant. He was to promote the Glamorgan peace, and create hindrances for the Nuncio. [434]. 712
- Pamfili wrote to the Nuncio about his delay in France, and on Sept. 18 sent an order from the Pope that he should sail for Ireland immediately. [435-439]. 713
- The Nuncio left Paris on Aug. 29 or 30, and reached Orleans on Sept. 8. Accompanied by Bellings, he proceeded down the Loire, and arrived at La Rochelle in the beginning of October. [440-450]. 717
- Contrary to Scarampi's expectation, the Peace was not concluded, and the Pope changed his mind about the necessity for the Nuncio's immediate departure. [451-459]. 721

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- p. 726 By letters and messages from Ireland the Nuncio was satisfied that he was being invited both by the Confederates and by Glamorgan. He sent Spinola before him on Sept. 13, and the Council heard from Spinola an explanation of the nature and purpose of the Nuncio's mission. [460-461].
- 728 Text of an instrument drawn up by the Supreme Council and the Assembly in October 3. It implied that the Nuncio was receiving a pressing invitation from the Ormondists. [462-470].
- 732 Account by Massari of his voyage from Pamboeuf to join the Nuncio at La Rochelle. Both during this, and the Nuncio's own, voyage attacks were made by hostile and piratical ships. The Nuncio and his party set out on Oct. 16, and on Oct. 21 they arrived at Kenmare Bay, and received hospitable entertainment in the castle of Ardtully. [471-473].

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PART I. A.D. 1645

In a letter to Cardinal Pamfili, from Ardtully, Oct. 25, the Nuncio gives an account of his voyage. He set sail from St. Martin's island on Oct. 16. His frigate, the *St. Peter*, was pursued by several Parliamentary vessels, in particular, by some commanded by one Plunket, an Irish rover. Having been driven out of their course, they sighted the coast of Ireland on Oct. 21, landed in the Bay of Kenmare, and soon after came to Ardtully. Another letter to the same of Oct. 16 recounts the difficulties of his negotiations at Paris with Cardinal Mazarin, and on the same day the Nuncio wrote a short letter to the Pope. [1-23]. p. 1

The Nuncio had a monument with an inscription erected in St. Mary's Church near Fermo, as a thank-offering for his safe arrival in Ireland. [24-25]. 9

Letter of Massari written to Florence from Limerick, Nov. 10. This gives details of the Nuncio's journey from Ardtully to Limerick. Remarks on the nature of the land of Ireland and its natural abundance, and of the physical character, dress and food of the people. Observations on the MacCarthy family and Viscount Muskerry. [26-49]. 11

The Nuncio arrived at Limerick on Oct. 30. He found there Scarampi, whose office in Ireland as apostolic minister now terminated. Papal brief to Scarampi. Cardinal Pamfili's reply to the Nuncio, Rome, Jan. 21, 1646. [50-54]. 21

The Nuncio arrived at Kilkenny on Nov. 12. Text of an account of the reception of the Nuncio by the Kingdom of Ireland, describing the ceremonial reception at a meeting of the Supreme Council. Details were arranged by Bellings. [55-64]. 25

Papal Brief to the Supreme Council, presented by the Nuncio. The Council's Reply. Letter from Cardinal Pamfili to the Council. Papal briefs to each of the four archbishops of Ireland, with their Replies. Letters from Cardinal Pamfili to the same. [65-80]. 28

A narrative about Malachy O'Queely, archbishop of Tuam, who was killed near Sligo on Oct. 25. [81-85]. 36

An account of the papal subsidies, and of the purposes to which the Nuncio devoted them. [86-92]. 38

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- p.42 Text of a statement handed to the Nuncio, entitled "The many roots and sources from which scandals, dissensions and many evils arise among our people." [93-106].
- 45 Statements sent by the Council to the Nuncio. The author characterizes these documents as full of artifice (*praestigiarium*): 1). (pp. 45-49). "The Catholics of Ireland for many years, and especially from the beginning of the reign of Queen Elizabeth, have suffered monstrous persecutions in many ways on account of the Catholic religion, etc."; 2). (pp. 50-56). A compendium under four heads of the concessions which His Majesty has been graciously pleased to grant to his Roman Catholic subjects in the treaty for a peace now under discussion; 3). (pp. 56-59). Observations on the parts of the treaty which relate to religion; 4). (pp. 59-62). Scheme of the government to be exercised by the Confederates, when the treaty has been settled, until the summoning of Parliament; 5). (pp. 63-64). Objections to the present settlement of peace arising from imminent dangers; 6). A brief description of the present state of Ireland, offered to the Nuncio by the delegates of the Supreme Council. [L.D., II, no. 1]. [107-190].
- 66 Letter (in French) of King Charles I to the Nuncio, April 30. A Latin translation of the same. Letter of the Nuncio to Cardinal Pamfili, enclosing a copy of the King's letter. [191-196].
- 70 Text of graces and faculties granted by the King to Glamorgan. [197-206].
- 72 Statement sent by the Nuncio to the Council. He objected to the proposal that the articles of the Ormonde Peace should be published, while the articles relating to religion should be kept secret, until confirmation of them should be obtained from the King. Reply of the Council, pointing out that further concessions might be expected from the King, and that the present government of the Confederates would remain until the Peace should be confirmed. [207-237].
- 85 The Nuncio explained to Glamorgan that he was himself as well affected towards the King's cause as was Glamorgan. He had been sent with supplies to Ireland by the Pope, not merely for the advantage of Ireland, but in order that when Ireland was released from the yoke of heresy the restoration of the Church and the King of England might be made a means to the advantage of Ireland. Reply of Glamorgan, Nov. 22. [238-240].

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The Nuncio suspected that the Peace had been already p. 86
secretly concluded with Ormonde. He adopted two precautions
to safeguard the interests of the Church. In the first place, he
assembled the Bishops who were then at Kilkenny, and got
them to sign a protest against the Peace. Text of this Protest.
This document was not to be published, unless the peace
should be hurriedly completed by the Council. Secondly,
he applied to Glamorgan to make a supplementary concession.
Glamorgan's further concessions, Dec. 20. He agreed that should
the peace be proclaimed and the ten thousand soldiers sent over
to England, the articles shall be not made known until the private
concessions are ratified by the King. The King will undertake
that the Viceroy shall be Catholic, and that the Catholic bishops
shall have seats in parliament. The Catholic religion shall be
established in all places taken by the Confederates before the
confirmation of the treaty. [241-253].

On Dec. 23 the Nuncio wrote to Pamfili about his doings 89
since his arrival at Kilkenny in November. He wrote again
to him on Dec. 26, and a few days later sent him two statements,
containing the Council's views, and his own, about certain
proposed episcopal appointments. [254-259].

The Nuncio set up a Chancery, with Massari at the head of it. 93
Letter of Pamfili to the Nuncio, May 20, 1646. He pointed out
the difficulties preventing the Pope from sending further
supplies to Ireland, on account of the needs of the Venetians in
their war with the Turks. [260-266].

Note of three particular matters of importance:— 95
1). Admission by Bishop Arthur of the Discalced Carmelites
into Limerick; 2). Settlement of a dispute at Galway between
the religious orders as to precedence; 3). Petition of Dutch
and Flemish merchants resorting to Waterford that the ruined
church of St. Olaf should be granted for their use. [267-269].

Glamorgan by order of the Viceroy was imprisoned in Dublin 97
Castle. [270].

PART II. A.D. 1646.

Notice of state of affairs in Ireland, England and Scotland. 101
[1-2].

Letter of the Nuncio to Pamfili, Jan. 1. He speaks about 102
Lord Digby, gives an account of the articles found among the
Archbishop of Tuam's papers and printed by the Parliament,

COMMENTARIUS RINUCCINIANUS

- of Glamorgan's arrest, and the alarm prevailing at Kilkenny, and his suggestion of making an attack on Dublin. [3-12].
- p. 106 Letters of the Nuncio to the Queen of England, and to Mazarin, Jan. 2. [13-16].
- 107 Glamorgan was set at liberty, and returned to Kilkenny. He presented a Memorial in favour of making a peace with Ormonde, pointing out that the articles include a clause that concessions are to be observed, which indicates that there are concessions not yet known to all. [L.D.,II, no. 2]. [17-37].
- III The author gives dates (from July 24, 1644) of the powers given by the King to Ormonde to make a peace, and his urgent desire for this. Ormonde made a shameful abuse of these powers. Nothing could have been more injurious to the King and the Catholics, and more useful to the Parliamentarians, than his conduct. His artifices showed that he would consent to no peace but a most unjust one. He pretended that the Catholics were always demanding new and harder conditions. The author makes a short review of Irish history with regard to the royal claims, and shows that the ancient Irish ruling families made no claim to repudiate the King's authority. [38-41].
- 117 The Pope was well satisfied with the Nuncio's reply about Digby's memorial. [42-43].
- 118 Articles, sent by the Pope's authority to the Nuncio, to be obtained in the matter of the Peace, with power of adding to them or reducing them as circumstances should require. Signed by Pamfili, Nov. 30, 1645. Received by the Nuncio, Feb. 10, 1646. These articles stipulated for the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Ireland, and the revocation of the penal laws. There was to be a free Irish parliament; the principal commands were to be given to Catholics, and they were to be given other places of honour. Dublin and other strongholds were to be committed to Irish, or at least English, Catholics. If these terms were granted, the Pope promised to grant 100,000 Roman crowns. The Pope promised another subsidy, if the King would revoke the laws in England affecting Catholics, especially the oaths of supremacy and allegiance. An army of Irish and English Catholics, under their own officers, was to aid the King in England. [L.D.,II, no. 3]. [44-56].
- 121 Petition of English Catholics to the Pope forwarded from Rome to the Nuncio. [L.D.,II, no. 4]. This asked for further provisions about the army to be raised and about the securities

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- to be given by the King. Digby left Rome in December with the treaty. [57-67].
- In the Assembly of the Realm the Nuncio made a speech p. 124 in Latin about the Pope's goodwill towards Ireland. Papal Briefs were then presented to the Assembly and the prelates, clergy and people. [68-76].
- The Nuncio treated with the Assembly and with Glamorgan 128 about the Papal Peace. [77-86].
- Glamorgan suggested to Ormonde that, if he wished the King 131 to receive aid, he should join in aiming at the same goal as the Nuncio. [87-97].
- Summary of the second speech of the Nuncio to the Assembly. 135
The Assembly was divided into its views as to the Papal Peace. [90-102].
- Glamorgan spoke in the Assembly, with the object of obtaining 138 supplies for the King to be sent into England. [103-107].
- The Nuncio disputed for several days with commissioners 140 delegated to him. Glamorgan made efforts to bring this controversy to an end. [108-131].
- An agreement was made on Feb. 19, by which the Cessation 146 was prolonged to May 1. The Assembly also decreed:—
1). That in future the Supreme Council should consist of eight councillors, with the Secretary as a ninth member, and, 2). That the clergy alone should have the management of ecclesiastical property. [132-140].
- Strenuous efforts were made by Glamorgan that the forces 150 assigned for the King should be speedily sent over to England. [141-149].
- Message of the King to the Parliament of England and the 153 Scottish parliamentary commissioners about the Earl of Glamorgan, and about officers of state, liberty of religion, etc. Jan. 29. [L.D., II, no. 5]. [150-158].
- The Council published a decree forbidding the sending of 158 soldiers to England. This was the end of the Glamorgan peace. [159-165].
- The Nuncio received supplies for the Irish war from the 161 King of Spain. Requests were made by the Spanish King's Resident, and by the French King's envoy and Mazarin, for permission to enrol military forces in Ireland for service in their respective countries. Both these proposals were rejected by the Confederates. [166-170].

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- p. 163 The Marquis of Antrim brought over forces into Scotland. [171].
- 164 The Nuncio was engaged in restoring to the Irish Church the solemn rites used in Catholic countries. He made efforts to draw Ormonde into the Catholic religion and the Catholic Confederacy. [172-177].
- 167 The Nuncio's Report of the state of the Kingdom of Ireland, March 1, 1646. [L.D., II, no. 6]. Beginning with political matters he refers to the evils arising from the addition of supernumerary members to the Supreme Council. The number of Ormondists in the Council became greater and the disunion between the old and the new Irish (always the greatest obstacle to the progress of religion) was increased. He gives a character of Ormonde, as a person of attractive and courteous manners, under which he conceals his ambitions. He employs arts to ingratiate himself with everyone. It is said that he intends to use the Peace to be made between the King and the Irish as a stepping-stone to his own advancement. His party believe it better to trust to him personally, even in matters of religion. As regards military affairs, if the Irish at the beginning of the war had been able to take possession of all the fortresses in the kingdom, especially Dublin, they would now be masters. They ought to have professed to hold all for the King, and not to have made cessations with the Puritans, from whom no religious concessions could be expected. Evils arising from the military inexperience of most of the members of Council, and the bad financial management, the pay of the soldiers being always in arrear. The generals are allowed to act independently. The quarrel between Preston and Castlehaven. Suspension of progress in Ulster owing to dissensions between Owen O'Neill and Phelim O'Neill. As to ecclesiastical matters, a trouble has been the habit of the old bishops of celebrating their functions in secret, without regard to the dignity of religion. They dislike being subjected to forms in dress and ceremonial. The slackness of the regulars in ecclesiastical discipline; they have been accustomed to live out of their convents and act as chaplains to noblemen. The character of the nation is careless and negligent; they have little ardour either in ecclesiastical or in secular affairs. The cause of this may be, besides the climate of the country, the long vassalage to the English. The Nuncio has debated with himself whether it would be better for Ireland that the King should recover his power, or that the Parliament should

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- get control. He is alarmed by the opinion generally held of the King's inconstancy and bad faith, and is disposed to believe that the destruction of the King would be more useful to the Irish. [178-203].
- The Nuncio wrote to Rome on the matter of appointments to p. 182
bishoprics. An expostulation was addressed to him about
certain persons who had been proposed. [204-208].
- The Nuncio gave a third part of the Papal subsidies to Owen 185
O'Neill, and two-thirds to Preston. [209-210].
- Documents relating to a reconciliation between the Bishop 187
of Clogher and Owen O'Neill on the one part, and Sir Phelim
O'Neill on the other. [212-217].
- The Marquis of Clanrickard, who up to this time had been an 190
enemy, consented to fight for the Confederates, but refused to
take the Oath. It was decreed in the Council that Preston
should wage war in Connacht under Clanrickard, and that
O'Neill should command in Ulster, and Muskerry in Munster.
[218-219].
- Text of an order of the Nuncio about army chaplains. 191
[220-226].
- Text of a Constitution of a Council of War. Sign. R. Bellings. 192
[227-235].
- The Council sent Commissioners to Dublin to conclude a 193
peace with Ormonde. The Nuncio wrote to inform the Council
that he could not consent to such a peace. [236-240].
- The King's Declaration about Glamorgan having become 195
known, the Nuncio wrote to the Council on March 20. The
Council's reply. [241-253].
- The Prince of Wales escaped to the Scilly Islands. The 197
Nuncio dealt with the Council about the question of receiving
the Prince in Ireland. [254-268].
- In March, the Earl of Thomond went over to the Parliament. 202
In the same month, the people of Limerick joined the Catholic
confederacy. On April 18 the Council left Kilkenny for
Limerick. [267].
- Letter of the Nuncio to the Council about Ormonde, Apr. 27. 203
This letter was not read in any public sitting of the Council,
nor was any reply given to it. [270-277].
- The Nuncio was expecting Sir Kenelm Digby with the 206
autograph of the Papal Peace. Digby however, did not come
over. From letters of Wadding and Cardinal Pamfili it is plain
that the Nuncio acted with perfect good faith about the papal

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- peace and Digby. Two conjectures offered about Digby's delay. [278-285].
- p. 210 Letter of the Nuncio to the Council against the conclusion of a peace with Ormonde. At the time the Nuncio was unaware that the peace had already been concluded, on March 28. [286-300].
- 215 The Nuncio arrived at Limerick from Kilkenny on May 18. He instituted devotional exercises of thanksgiving for the storming of Bunratty. [301].
- 215 The King of England went from Oxford to the Scottish camp. Before leaving Oxford he wrote to Ormonde. [302-306].
- 218 The prosperity of the cause of the Confederates was hindered by the division among them. On June 8 and 10 the Nuncio wrote to the Council against the Ormonde Peace, sending a Protest drawn up by himself with the Clergy on Feb. 6. Summary of the Council's Reply, June 13. Another letter of the Nuncio to the Council, June 25. Amid these contests the Nuncio learned for certain that the Ormonde Peace had already been concluded. [307-343].
- 235 An account of the victories of the Catholics of Ireland in 1646 in Ulster and Munster. Complaints of pillaging done by the army of Ulster. [344-350].
- 238 Account of the victory won by the Catholic Confederates at Benburb on June 5, 1646. Owen O'Neill and Richard O'Ferrall deserved special praise. [351-366].
- 247 Boetius MacEgan arrived at Limerick on June 13 with 32 enemy standards. The Nuncio celebrated a thanksgiving, and on June 16 sent a Report to the Pope. The Council wrote letters to the Pope and Card. Pamfili. [367-373].
- 249 The Pope ordered the Report and the letters of the Nuncio and the Council to be printed and held a thanksgiving at Rome. Letter of Pamfili to the Nuncio, Aug. 27. A Papal Brief was sent to the Council. [374-380].
- 252 Letters of Wadding and Card. Pamfili to the Nuncio about the papal subsidies. [381].
- 254 There were many arguments between the Nuncio and the Council about the Ormonde peace. Dr. Tyrrell was sent on a mission to France. Letters of the Nuncio to the Queen of England and Cardinal Mazarin, and the Queen's reply. [382-391].
- 258 The Nuncio wrote to Rome against John Callaghan, whom the Council had recommended for the bishopric of Cork. [392-394].

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- The Nuncio when at Paris had appointed Invernizi to go to p. 259
Belgium to obtain frigates. Invernizi at last set sail from
Dunkirk on Apr. 9, but perished in a shipwreck. [395-398].
- The Supreme Council prudently prevented the Duke of 261
Lorraine from making a levy of soldiers. [399-400].
- Clanrickard promoted the Ormonde peace. Preston laid 261
siege to Roscommon. On July 9, the ninth day of the siege,
the garrison made terms for surrender. [401-409].
- After the Earl of Thomond's defection to the Parliament, his 265
palace, Bunratty, was besieged by the Confederates. On
July 13 the garrison made terms for bare life, and sailed away
to Cork. A papal brief was presented by the Nuncio to the
people of Limerick. [410-428].
- The Papal Brief for Clanrickard was not presented to him by 273
the Nuncio. [429-431].
- Naval actions. In England, Oxford was surrendered to 275
Fairfax. England at this time was inflamed by a twofold
dissidence. The Irish forces in Scotland distinguished them-
selves. A letter of the King to Ormonde in June. [432-435].
- Lord Digby returned to Ireland at the end of June, and 277
revived Ormonde's inclination to conclude a peace. On July 7
the Nuncio sent to Rome a copy of the King's letter to
Glamorgan. Digby tried to diminish the Nuncio's reputation.
Letter of Walsingham to the Nuncio, Aug. 7. The deceptions
of Walsingham and Digby came to nothing. [436-445].
- The Ormondists alleged that, unless an opening was allowed 283
for the Ormonde peace, France would be hostile to the Confed-
erates. The Nuncio accordingly put obstacles in the way of an
attack on Dublin by the Catholic forces. [446-448].
- The Nuncio went to Waterford. The Council took measures 284
for concluding the peace with Ormonde. Owen O'Neill did
nothing more after the battle of Benburb. He and Preston
secretly offered to the Nuncio to besiege Dublin. [449-453].
- Admonition to the Confederates by the Bishop of Ferns. 287
[L.D., II, no. 7]. The Nuncio reposed great confidence in the
Bishop, a confidence which was ruinous to his own and the
Catholic cause. [454-492].
- Ormonde and Digby made great efforts to entice Owen to 296
their party. Letter of Owen to the Nuncio, July 29. The
Nuncio and the clergy placed the greatest hopes in Owen.
Preston received a mandate from the Council to proceed no
further. The Ormonde Peace, which had been concluded on

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- March 28, was at last published by Ormonde on August 1. [493-497]. [L.D., II, no. 8].
- p. 299 The Articles of Peace. Decree of the Council ratifying the Peace, Aug. 4, 1646. [498-531].
- 318 The Nuncio assembled the prelates and clergy at Waterford. He sent supplies to Owen. Letters of Owen to the Nuncio and the Bishop of Ferns, Aug. 17. The cities of the Confederates took their stand with the Nuncio. [532-451].
- 324 The synod of clergy at Waterford held its first meeting on Aug. 6. It condemned the articles of peace. The Nuncio made a speech to the clergy of the Kingdom against the Ormonde peace. Two members of the Council came to Waterford for the purpose of proving the honesty of the peace. A statement full of dishonesty was given by the Council to the Nuncio, and sent by him to Rome. [542-558].
- 330 Reply of the Clergy, Aug. 22. [L.D., II, no. 9].
- 340 The Synod made various decrees to prevent the seduction of the people. The commissioners were threatened with excommunication if they should go to Dublin for the purpose of prosecuting the peace. An interchange of letters between the Nuncio and Bellings. [583-588].
- 342 Text of Propositions presented to the clergy of Ireland by Glamorgan. [589-593].
- 344 Decree of the clerical congregation, publishing ecclesiastical censures, Aug. 17. [594-596].
- 346 David Rothe, bishop of Ossory, protested against the Peace as unjust. The Peace was proclaimed at Kilkenny and Cashel. It was repudiated by the clergy and people of Limerick. [597-598].
- 347 A declaration of the clergy was sent to the Council, with an annexed letter to Viscount Mountgarret written on Aug. 24. The Council made no reply, but forwarded a petition. [599-616].
- 354 The magistrates of Waterford and Galway adhered to the clergy against the Peace. [617].
- 355 Ormonde, Clanrickard and Digby arrived at Kilkenny at the end of August. On Sept. 1 the congregation of the clergy pronounced excommunication against those adhering to the Peace. An effort was made by the Nuncio to call back Ormonde into the bosom of the Church. The Nuncio's reply to Castlehaven's letter. [618-623].
- 358 A great effort was made by Ormonde to entice Preston to his side. Preston published the Peace in Connacht. His reply

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to the chancellor of the congregation, Aug. 16. Letter of Robert Talbot to Preston, Sept. 3. Preston replied to the Nuncio on Sept. 6. [624-631].

The Council sent Lucas Dillon and others to the clergy at Waterford. Ormonde attempted without success to induce P. 364 Peter Fitzgerald to accept the peace. The gates of Clonmel and Kilkenny were shut to Ormonde, and he returned to Dublin. [632-638].

Replies given to the propositions of the clergy, Aug. 24. 367 [639-646].

The supporters of Ormonde were divided in policy. The 368 great change at this time was described by the Nuncio in his Relation presented to the Pope on his return to Rome. [647-649]

The Nuncio had sharpened his pen against the clergy in his 370 Relation sent to Rome on May 1. But on Dec. 1 he altered his opinion. [650].

The clerical Congregation sent Massari to Rome with a letter 371 written on Aug. 15. A eulogy of the Nuncio was written on Aug. 17 by the prelates and clergy of Ireland to Card. Pamfili against the calumny published by Digby. A letter sent to Rome about Massari's embassy. [651-662].

Certain persons were recommended for bishoprics by the 376 Nuncio on Aug. 11. [663].

On Aug. 31 Massari started his journey to Rome. He wrote 377 to the Nuncio from La Rochelle. He arrived at Rome on Nov. 4, and did business with the Pope about Irish affairs on five occasions. [664-675].

Conferences took place between Sir Kenelm Digby (a Catholic) 381 and Lord Digby (a heretic). Kenelm worked much at Rome against the Nuncio, but with no measure of success. [676-677].

Inchiquin returned from England in August, and pillaged 383 the province of Munster in a lamentable manner. The magistrates of Waterford ordered that a guard should be provided for the Nuncio. [678-679].

Text of a solemn protestation by the Clergy of faith in God 383 and obedience to the Prince, published at Waterford on Sept. 10. [680-685].

Many leading men and nobles, who up to this time had been 386 on the Viceroy's side, assembled at Waterford in order to provide for the safety of their lives and property under the protection of the clergy. [686].

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- p. 387 A solemn office and mass was celebrated by the Nuncio at Waterford for his mother, who had died at Florence. [687].
- 387 On Sept. 18 the Nuncio left Waterford for Kilkenny, where the citizens received him with notable enthusiasm. [688].
- 387 The clerical Congregation decreed that O'Neill should undertake the siege of Dublin. Efforts were made for a conjunction of O'Neill and Preston. Bellings and others were imprisoned. [689-691].
- 390 Decree of the clerical Congregation on Sept. 26, for the setting up of a new Council. [692-695].
- 392 The Nuncio visited the Ulster forces stationed near Kilkenny. He supplied money to O'Neill and Preston for the siege of Dublin. Muskerry was placed in custody and Glamorgan made commander of Munster. [696-697].
- 392 Letter of the King to Glamorgan, July 20. [698-699].
- 393 A statement by Glamorgan of reasons why the King should be invited to Ireland. [700-708].
- 395 The Nuncio considered the question of having Glamorgan made Viceroy. He sent Viscount Somerset, Glamorgan's brother, on a mission to Rome. Letters of commendation written to the Pope, Pamfili, and others. The oath of fidelity taken by Glamorgan on Sept. 28. [709-717].
- 399 The Clerical Congregation wrote to the Pope on Oct. 2 about the repudiated peace. Glamorgan wrote on Oct. 22 to Pamfili asking that trust should be reposed in his brother. The same Congregation had granted to Viscountess Muskerry a mandate for her admission into possession of Bunratty. [718-723].
- 402 A correspondence between the Nuncio and Pamfili, which makes it clear that the Holy See had acted consistently in this war of Ireland. [724-730].
- 407 A complete narrative of the proscribed Peace was written and sent by the Nuncio to Mazarin and the Nuncio in France. Letter of the Nuncio to the Queen of England, Oct. 4. The Ormonde Peace was most unfortunate, not only for religion, but for the King also. [731-733].
- 409 The Nuncio ordained a fast for three days. Decree of excommunication against the authors and adherents of the Peace. [734-736].
- 410 Ormonde having returned to Dublin made preparations for the defence of the city, and requested supplies from the Parliament of England. Text of Questions proposed by Ormonde

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- to the clergy of Dublin, and their replies. These ecclesiastics wrote an apology to the Nuncio and clergy on Oct. 9. [737-749].
- O'Neill moved through Leix, and after taking many places p. 415 occupied Athy, to which place the Nuncio set out on Oct. 8. Ormonde laid waste the country near Naas. Phelim O'Neill moved against him, and Ormonde's forces retreated. [750-753].
- Digby, disappointed of permission to betake himself to parts 416 beyond the sea, offered proposals to the Nuncio, to which the latter turned a deaf ear. [754-760].
- Decree for taxation and collection of money, issued by the 419 Nuncio and the Congregation at Kilkea. Oct. 28. [761-767].
- The Nuncio received subsidies from France. Ormonde 422 fortified Dublin. Owen O'Neill reviewed his army. [768].
- Preston, though he had promised to attack Carlow, did not 423 do so. He took Castlejordan and other castles. The Nuncio and the Council went to Harristown. Robert Talbot was thrown into prison. [769-770].
- A letter sent by O'Neill and Preston to Ormonde on Nov. 2, 423 with proposals offered to Ormonde by the Council, to which he replied on Nov. 4. [771-781].
- The Nuncio and the Council went to Naas on Nov. 6. Preston 425 arrived with his army at Lucan on the 9th, and the Nuncio and Clanrickard at the same place on the 11th. An extract from the Relation afterwards presented to Innocent X. [782-786].
- The Nuncio had hopes of recalling Clanrickard to a better 429 mind. On the 14th the latter offered conditions to the Council. These were rejected, and the Council set out for Kilkenny. [787-788].
- Clanrickarde offered second, and third, conditions to the 430 Nuncio. Considerations of the Nuncio on these proposals. The Nuncio returned to Kilkenny. Letter of Clanrickard to the Nuncio, Nov. 20. [789-811].
- On Nov. 19 Preston and his adherents associated themselves 437 with Ormonde and his peace. A protestation signed by them. Obligation given by Clanrickard, Nov. 19, 1646. [812-827].
- Decree of the Council and Congregation against the aforesaid 441 obligation. Nov. 24. [828-839].
- The Council placed Duncannon Fort in a secure position. 446 A letter of apology from Preston to the mayor of Kilkenny, Nov. 24. [840-843].

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- p. 448 Ormonde did not abide by his agreement with Preston. Reasons of the convention with Clanrickard made by Preston, sent to the Council and the Congregation, and Preston's letter of Dec. 7 to the same about Duncannon Fort. [844-852].
- 450 When it was learned that the siege of Dublin was not to be prosecuted by the Council, Owen crossed the Liffey to Leixlip and penetrated into Meath. Excommunication of Preston and his army, issued by the Nuncio on Dec. 5. [853-854].
- 452 The clergy of Dublin, (a few priests and religious), rebelled against the whole clergy of the kingdom. Their replies to Ormonde were sent to Rome by the Nuncio on Dec. 29. [855-863].
- 454 In his fluctuation between two sides, Preston was sensible of the Nuncio's clemency towards him. It is evident that Preston made an improper use of public faith. [864-868].
- 458 Owen settled at Maryborough. Preston went from Kilkenny to Waterford, and sent to the Nuncio on Dec. 22 a narrative of the conjuration made with Clanrickard. [869-871].
- 460 Preston performed his word given to Ormonde. He was suspicious of Owen's concealed ambition. James Dillon joined Ormonde. The Nuncio regretted, too late, that he had not given the whole of the papal subsidies to Owen. [872-873].
- 462 Ormonde moved from Dublin in order to get possession of Owen's artillery deposited at Ticroghan, but disappointed of his hope he returned to Dublin. [874-879].
- 467 Viscount Dillon, president of Connacht, was put out of Athlone in September. The Nuncio restored him to the Catholic church on Dec. 6. The Council decreed that Athlone should be given back to him ; he did not, however, recover it at once. [880-884].
- 469 O'Ferrall and Maguire penetrated into Connacht, and compelled Clanrickard's men to swear the Catholic oath. [885].
- 469 The Bishop of Ferns and Plunkett were responsible for plans from which all the subsequent misfortunes might have been foreseen. At the end of November the nine members of Council who had been imprisoned were released. A meeting of the General Assembly was fixed for Jan. 10. [886-890].
- 471 Letter of O'Neill to the Nuncio, Dec. 18. [891-893].
- 472 Account of the conspiracy devised by Ormonde and the Councillors at Kilkenny against Owen O'Neill. [894-897].
- 476 On Dec. 29 Owen O'Neill and Preston signed declarations of friendship and reconciliation. Another letter written by

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- Owen to the Nuncio on Dec. 30. God did not permit the violence of Inchiquin against the Nuncio and the Catholics of Munster to be unavenged. [890-902].
- Geoffrey Barron accomplished hardly anything in France. p. 479
- Letter of Mazarin to the Nuncio, Dec. 28. The Nuncio was anxious for peace with the King, but his feelings were different from Mazarin's. [903-906].
- Alexander MacDonnell devastated Scotland. A supplication 483
of the protestant clergy of Scotland to the *Judices Deputati Statuum et Parliamenti* against MacDonnell's proceedings. [907-910].
- The Grand Duke of Tuscany recommended Fr. Nicholas 485
Donellan for the archbishopric of Tuam. There was also in this year a petition made for the promotion of Dr. Thady Clery to the bishopric of Derry. [911-912].
- Card. Pamfili intimated to the Nuncio the views of the 486
Pope about the Council of War. The Nuncio signified his obedience to this direction. He devoted himself at Kilkenny to many exercises of public devotion. [913-914].
- Petitions about the restoration of monasteries were submitted 487
to the Nuncio by Regulars. [915].
- Obituary notices of persons who died in Ireland this year, 487
viz., Inchiquin's brother, Dominic Spinola, Gerald Barry, Sir Piers Crosby, and three prelates, viz., W. Tirry, bishop of Cork, R. Arthur, bishop of Limerick, and M. Hurley, bishop of Emly. [916-923].

PART III. A.D. 1647.

- A meeting of the General Assembly was held at Kilkenny in 495
January. At the same time and place the Nuncio assembled the prelates of the kingdom. Owen O'Neill did not appear at the Assembly. Victories were won by Philip O'Reilly in Co. Cavan and by John O'Cahan at Kells. (1-3).
- On Jan. 18 the Assembly proclaimed the Blessed Virgin 496
Protectress of the Assembly and the whole kingdom. The Nuncio provided for the celebration of more offices of devotion. [4-7].
- Compendium of the Nuncio's Speech to the Assembly on 497
Jan. 22. [8-20].
- An account of the Peace published in August. [L.D., II, no. 10]. 500
[21-33].

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- p. 506 Decree of the Council, Feb. 2, proscribing the Ormonde Peace. [34-38].
- 507 Letter of the Nuncio to Pamfili about Bellings, Feb. 23. This letter was received at Rome, and Pamfili replied on May 20. [39-41].
- 508 Molineus, exceeding the limits of his commission, interfered in the business of the Ormonde peace. [42].
- 510 The Oath of the Catholic Confederacy was renewed in this Assembly. [43-44].
- 512 Propositions presented by the Clergy, mentioned in the aforesaid Oath. [45-48].
- 513 The Oath and the Propositions were modified by two decrees of the Assembly. The whole history of this affair was communicated by the Nuncio to Pamfili on March 4. [49-52].
- 516 On March 1 the Nuncio wrote to Pamfili a statement of the controversy about the manner in which promotions to bishoprics should be made during the war. Text of his agreement on this question with the Assembly. Pamfili replied to the Nuncio on May 20. [53-64].
- 520 Efforts, which the Nuncio resisted, were made towards a reconciliation between Ormonde and the Confederates. Oath of accommodation with Ormonde. [65-81].
- 523 The Assembly drew up articles to be presented to Ormonde for the completion of an accommodation. The Nuncio's statement against these articles. The clergy insisted on the insertion of four articles. A truce for 20 days was made with Ormonde on Feb. 26. [82-105].
- 526 Propositions presented on March 3 by Fenell and Barron in the name of the Assembly for making a conjunction with Ormonde. [106-115].
- 528 Ormonde's replies and interrogations. Answers to these made on March 4. [116-127].
- 529 On March 28 Ormonde declared that he was unwilling to consent to the Assembly's propositions. He handed over to the Parliamentary commissioners hostages to be sent to England. [128-130].
- 530 On March 17 the Parliament in Dublin passed a declaration of thanks to Ormonde. His Reply. [131-133].
- 532 Papal brief sent to Viscount Costello on May 5, but not delivered to him. Some years later at Brussels the Viscount's wife abjured heresy. [134-137].
- 534 Theobald Magawley refused to admit the Viscount into

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- Athlone. Letter of Magawley to the Nuncio about Athlone Castle, Feb. 15. A full account of this matter was sent by the Nuncio to the Council. [138-147].
- Letter of Owen O'Neill to the Nuncio, April 8. The latter p. 538 returned to Kilkenny on April 25. Owen arrived at the city on April 22, but hurried away on April 26. The Ulster soldiers did damage to Mountgarrett's towns, and Owen had seven of them executed for these depredations. [148-150].
- Text of a narrative about Owen O'Neill, sent by the Nuncio to Rome on April 29. [151-152]. 540
- Writing from Maryborough on May 2, Owen explained to the Nuncio his reasons for leaving Kilkenny. The Nuncio left the city on May 4 to meet Owen. Letter of Owen about Athlone Castle, May 22. [153-159]. 542
- Cardinal Panciroli replied on July 1 to the Nuncio about the accusations against Owen reported in the statement sent on April 29. When informed of these charges, Owen wrote to the Nuncio on Feb. 15, 1648. The Nuncio replied to this letter on Feb. 23, and wrote to Panciroli on the same day. [160-171]. 545
- The author explains that the charges against O'Neill were not really justified; there was some misunderstanding on the Nuncio's part. Letter of Scarampi to the Nuncio, from Rome, June 29. [172-176]. 548
- Text of Articles exhibited in the Council against General Preston, Feb. 1648. [L.D., II, no. 11]. [177-189]. 553
- Text of the protest of the clergy against Preston, Kilkenny, April 1, 1647. The Nuncio interposed his authority, and there was a full reconciliation. [190-191]. 557
- A dispute arose between Muskerry and Glamorgan about Bunratty. The Council decreed that the place should be levelled to the ground. The Nuncio effected a reconciliation between the disputants. [192-195]. 558
- The Assembly made a decree on March 30 that in future the Capuchins and the Jesuits should be ranked as members of the clergy of Ireland. [196]. 562
- Permission was granted by the Assembly to the Spanish and French agents to recruit soldiers in Ireland. [197-204]. 562
- On March 8 the Nuncio wrote to the Council urging that a new Council should be chosen as soon as possible. Muskerry was made a member of Council. The election of the new Council was announced on March 17. The Nuncio wrote to Rome on March 6 and April 7 about this new Council. [205-208]. 566

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- p. 568 The General Assembly made a declaration of devotion to the Blessed Virgin. The session of this Assembly lasted about three months. [209].
- 569 Cardinal Panciroli was appointed by the Pope to be his Secretary, in place of Cardinal Pamfili. [210].
- 570 Panciroli informed the Nuncio on April 24 that his prudent conduct had given much satisfaction to the Pope, and that he had acted wisely in not delivering the Papal Brief to Clanrickard. Letter of the Nuncio to Rome, March 25, about the proposal which had been mooted for electing some foreign prince to be Protector of Ireland. Reply of Cardinal Panciroli, July 22. [211-217].
- 573 Scarampi at last obtained permission from the Pope to return to Rome. He sailed from Passage on February 12, and reached Paris on March 20. His letter to the Nuncio, March 30. Cardinal Panciroli found fault with him on the ground that he had gone beyond the limitations proper for one who was a private individual, and a foreigner in Ireland. He arrived at Rome on May 15. [218-225].
- 579 The English Parliament laid down two foundations for its policy of destroying the King. Civil dissensions began among the victors. In England there were almost as many different sects as families. A statement (*schedula*) written by some Italian in London and sent to Rome. [226-238].
- 584 The French Agents busied themselves to bring Ormonde into agreement with the Confederates. Winter Grant arrived from France, in order to promote the same matter with Lord Digby. The Nuncio wrote to Panciroli on April 28 about the matters then in debate. [239-242].
- 586 Letters of the Queen of England to the Nuncio, in March, and to the prelates and clergy of Ireland. [243-245].
- 588 Letter of the Bishop of Chalcedon and others of the English clergy to the Nuncio, from Paris, March 12. [246-250].
- 590 Panciroli's reply to the Nuncio, July 1. Ormonde, however had put an end to the controversy by going over to the Parliament. [251-254].
- 591 The Supreme Council's Report sent to the French Court. [L.D., II, no. 12]. [255-265].
- 595 Articles presented to Ormonde by G. Barron and Fennell in the name of the Assembly, and Ormonde's reply, from which it may be inferred that he had never desired any pacification with the Catholics on fair terms. [266-280].

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On May 23 the Council wrote to the Nuncio about the Cessation p. 598 to be arranged with Ormonde. The Nuncio sent to the Council on May 25 a letter with an attached statement arguing against the truce. [281-291].

In Munster discords occurred between the Marquis of Worcester and Muskerry. Inchiquin occupied Cappoquin and Dungarvan, and wrought slaughter and bloodshed in the whole province, with impunity. [292]. 601

On May 26 the Council wrote to the Nuncio about the question of holding an Assembly at Limerick on June 4. This letter, with an annexed statement, was sent to Panciroli on May 28. It was well understood that the Queen and the Prince of Wales had resolved to transfer themselves to Ireland. [293-299]. 602

The Nuncio left Kilkenny on June 3 and went to Clonmel, to which place he summoned the Prelates. Text of Proposals offered to the Congregation of the Clergy by Winter Grant. The ecclesiastics decided to leave the settlement of the Cessation to the Council. Ormonde admitted the parliamentary forces into Dublin. Cruelty exercised by the latter on priests. [300-309]. 606

The Council sent proposals to Ormonde. In Munster on June 12 Muskerry put the Marquis of Worcester out of his command. The parliamentary forces destroyed the church of St. Gobneta. Inchiquin occupied Cappoquin. Dungarvan surrendered on April 9. [310-314]. 608

There was a recrudescence of the disputes between Worcester and Muskerry. On June 24 the Council sent complaints about three Dominican Fathers, and on May 29 requested all the members of Council to come to Clonmel on June 4. [315-319]. 611

The people of Kilkenny repaired their walls for the purpose of defence. On June 3 the Nuncio retired from Kilkenny to Clonmel, and on June 16 he requested Muskerry to obey the decrees of the Council. [320-326]. 613

On June 19 Muskerry presented articles (*capita*) and demands to the Council. [327-347]. 616

The Ormondists fashioned a device against Owen. The troubles in Munster were composed. The Nuncio suggested that some of the things done in this matter had been absurd. On June 9 the Council asked the Nuncio to compel the accused Fathers to retire from Munster. The Nuncio agreed to this. [348-349]. 619

The quarrels of the Munster army had by this time caused 621

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- dissensions in the city of Limerick. On Aug. 2 the Bishop of Ferns wrote to the Nuncio to defend himself. Moriarty O'Brien refused to fight under Muskerry, and set out with his men to join Owen. [350-353].
- p.623 Inchinquin was declared a rebel by the English Parliament. This opportunity was made useless by the discord among the Catholics. [354].
- 624 Up to the end Ormonde never ceased deluding the Council and the Confederates. [355-357].
- 626 Text of Articles of Agreement between Ormonde and the Parliament. [L.D., II, no. 13]. [358-368].
- 629 The author summons Ormonde to the tribunal of truth, and asks with what intention he surrendered the city and castle of Dublin to the rebels. An examination of the lies made up by writers in defence of Ormonde. [369-377].
- 634 Ormonde handed over Dublin Castle and the King's Sword to the Parliament on July 17, and sailed to England. [378].
- 634 In England a quarrel arose between the Independents and the Presbyterians. At the beginning of June the soldiers snatched the King out of the hands of the Parliament. On Aug. 6 Fairfax was appointed by Parliament commander of the forces in England. In August he had the King brought to Hampton Court, where he allowed Ormonde to visit him. [379-384].
- 637 Some say that the King was angry with Ormonde. All Ormonde's hopes in the Puritans and Parliament vanished. He did not receive the money promised him at Dublin, except a payment for travelling expenses. [385].
- 638 In May, Tallon, the French agent, diverted to France a regiment which had been raised by D. de la Torre, the Spanish agent, together with another regiment raised by himself. [386-387].
- 638 At the end of November, 1640, the Nuncio had ordered Fr. P. Darcy and Fr. D. Bourke to retire from Dublin to Kilkenny. Letter of Clanrickard to the Nuncio about Fr. Bourke, March 6. The Nuncio's reply. [388-396].
- 642 Letter of the Nuncio to Fr. Darcy about the missionaries in Dublin, March 26. [397-398].
- 643 Ormonde's agreement with the Parliamentarians was equivalent to delivering the Catholics into their power. The Catholics in Dublin and other garrison-towns were expelled by the Parliamentarians. [399-402].

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Letter of the Nuncio to the Nuncio of France about the p. 646
results of Ormonde's defection, with a letter enclosed to the
Queen of England, Aug. 11 and 12. [403-404].

An account, sent to the Council, about the state of Munster, 648
and the battle fought with Inchiquin at Barrebothar on Aug. 4.
Inchiquin went into Connacht, and afterwards returned to
Cork. Measures were taken by the Council for the demolition
of Bunratty. [405-408].

On Aug. 8 Muskerry resigned his command of the forces of 650
Munster, and yielded his place to Viscount Taaffe. [409].

On May 12 the Council appointed Richard O'Ferrall lieutenant- 651
general of the Ulster forces. The Nuncio intimated to Owen
that he was about to go to Connacht. Owen's reply, May 15.
[410-414].

On April 13 the Nuncio visited New Ross, Wexford, and 652
Waterford. He arrived at Kilkenny on April 24. Starting
from there on June 3 he journeyed to Clonmel, Cashel, and
Limerick. He reached Galway on June 28, and stayed some
months there. He had plans for liberating St. Patrick's
Purgatory from the heretics, as he related in his Report after-
wards presented to Pope Innocent X. [415-416].

Richard O'Ferrall vanquished the Scots in Ulster. The 654
Council asked Owen that, when operations in Connacht were
completed, he should attack the Scots in Ulster. Disputations
occurred again in Connacht about the expenses and provisions
necessary for carrying out the expedition. Reply of the Council,
July 22, to the Nuncio's letter. [417-426].

The Parliamentarians invited the Scots from Ulster into 659
Leinster for the purpose of attacking Preston. The Council
and the Nuncio asked Owen to hinder this coalition, but when
they failed to supply the necessary means for an advance,
he stayed his steps. [427-436].

The Council wrote letters to the Nuncio on Aug. 2 and 8, 663
urging the Ulster expedition. Preston's army was routed in
Leinster on Aug. 8. Preston had taken Carlow on May 2.
[437-445].

The Archbishop of Dublin held a Provincial Council. At the 666
end of May the Catholic forces in co. Meath fought with the
heretics. On July 1 the Council passed a decree guaranteeing
safety to those heretics who were well affected towards the
King. The Nuncio was very indignant because two bishops
put their hands to this edict. [446-452].

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- p.670 In July the Catholic army vanquished the enemy at Trim and Naas. The town of Naas and other forts of less importance were attacked, and Maynooth, the Earl of Kildare's palace, was taken. [453-454].
- 670 Ormonde sailed to England on July 28. On July 29 some of his 'courtiers' (*aulici*), while returning to their homes after bidding farewell to Ormonde at Dublin, were attacked by Preston. Some places of minor importance in co. Meath were stormed by him, and he would have seized Dublin and other garrisons of the heretics in Leinster, had he not been checked by the futile negotiations of the Council with Ormonde. [455-458].
- 673 Text of an account of the battle fought on Aug. 8 at Trim. The actual place of the battle was Dangan's Hill (*Collis Leisius*). List of Catholic officers captured by the enemy. [459-464].
- 677 Letter of Preston to the Nuncio, Aug. 28. Letter of the Nuncio to the Pope, Aug. 29. Funeral rites for the fallen were celebrated by the Nuncio at Galway, and by the Bishop of Ferns at Kilkenny. [465-469].
- 679 Disagreement between the Connacht Commissaries and Owen O'Neill about supplies. After Preston's defeat the Council, on Aug. 12, and the Nuncio, on Aug. 14, requested Owen to move into Leinster. Owen's reply to the Nuncio, Aug. 21. He intends, provided he receives supplies promised to him, to attack Dublin. He fears hindrances from certain persons. He advises the Nuncio to take up his residence at Athlone. [470-481].
- 685 A quarrel between Owen and Roger Maguire was composed by Richard O'Ferrall. Preston returned to Carlow. Reply of N. Plunkett, Sept. 5, to letter of the Nuncio of Aug. 21 about Preston. Such part of the latter's army as remained was united with Owen's forces. [482-485].
- 686 An agreement was made between Jones, the governor of Dublin, and Inchiquin about the reduction of Kilkenny. In September Inchiquin sacked Cashel. Jones took the castle of Portlester. Athboy surrendered without shedding of blood. [486-489].
- 688 In November Owen moved against the enemy, but when they did not approach to join battle, he returned to Castlejordan and placed his soldiers in winter-quarters. The officials who had been captured in battle by Jones on Aug. 8 were ransomed. [490-491].

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The province of Connacht suffered very bad treatment. p. 689
 There was a quarrel among the Franciscans on the question of dividing the Franciscan province of Ireland into two provinces. Letters written by the Bishop of Clogher, Owen O'Neill, and the Nuncio on this matter. [492-498].

The Council assigned the command of Connacht to Daniel O'Neill; he did not however function in this office. Letter of the Council to the Nuncio, written at the end of August. [499-501]. 693

The Bishop of Ferns on Sept. 6 set forth arguments in defence of the Council's edict of July 1. The Nuncio sent this statement, together with his own refutation of it, to Rome on Nov. 3. The author weighs the statements of the Nuncio in this refutation. [502-512]. 695

A detection of the schemes devised by George, Lord Digby, against the Nuncio and the Catholic cause in Ireland and elsewhere. Two letters of Digby to Taaffe, written in August, and a third to Mazarin. Censure by the author of Digby's political suggestions. [513-538]. 700

At Rome Massari asked for supplies for the Confederate Catholics, but Kenelm Digby made every effort to ensure that the supplies should be given rather to the Queen. Digby made reflections on the reputation of the Nuncio. Diploma of Innocent X by which on April 27 he granted subsidies to the Catholics of Ireland. Others also at Rome made contributions of money. [539-547]. 716

Massari left Rome on May 8. It is clear how little the Queen and the Prince of Wales favoured the Nuncio and the Catholics of Ireland. Letter of Massari on July 9 to the Nuncio's brother about a conversation between the General of the Capuchins and the Queen relating to the conclusion of a peace. [548-554]. 722

Massari suffered many annoyances in France in the business of arming and equipping two frigates. Mazarin lent his ear to Digby's suggestions. A list of the persons who abstracted booty from Massari's frigate, with note of the quantity of the stolen goods. Letter of Massari to the Nuncio, from La Rochelle, Dec. 27. Irish interests were injured by the retardation of the Papal supplies. [555-565]. 727

Papal briefs to the Nuncio, the clergy of Ireland, and others. [566-573]. 736

A restitution to the Church of ecclesiastical property was 740

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made by Terence MacCoghlan. The Pope sent a brief to him. [574-575].

- p. 741 Viscount Somerset was treated with honour at Florence by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and at Rome by the Pope and the Cardinals. Letters of Massari and Somerset to the Nuncio. [576-580].
- 743 Massari learned that Scarampi, during his return from Ireland to Rome, was acting with all his strength against the Nuncio. It is to be inferred from Massari's words that the Pope had given him reason to hope that the Nuncio would be made a Cardinal. [581].
- 744 Somerset returned with a Papal brief to Glamorgan, and letters from Card. Panciroli to the Bishop of Ferns and the Nuncio. Somerset's embassy came to practically nothing. Letter of congratulation from Cardinal Rapacciolus to the Nuncio, Jan. 7. Two letters to the Nuncio from abbots of the Order of St. Bernard. [582-590].
- 748 A statement sent to Rome by an Irish Franciscan about restoration of the Franciscan mission in Scotland. The mission was set up by the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda, who appointed a superior and associates for it on Jan. 22. [591-596].
- 751 The Marquis of Antrim, with a large company of Scotch-Irish nobility, arrived at Kilkenny from Scotland on Jan. 17. The Earl of Crawford sailed to France to ask for aid for the Scottish war. The Nuncio sent with him a letter to Mazarin. On May 4 the Earl made an abjuration of heresy. The forces of Antrim left by him in Scotland had to fight under hard conditions. An account is given of the deeds of Montrose and Alexander MacDonnell in Scotland. [597-604].
- 756 Antrim, who had married the widow of the Duke of Buckingham, was made a member of the Council. Letter of his wife, the Duchess, who was living in exile in Belgium, to the Nuncio, Feb. 20. The Nuncio provided her with funds for her voyage to Ireland. [605-608].
- 758 Account of the imprisonment of the Bishop of Raphoe, derived from his letter of Jan. 30, 1654, to Fr. Richard O'Ferrall. [609-611].
- 760 A number of appointments to bishoprics were made in this year. The Nuncio arranged that these ecclesiastics, though not yet consecrated, should be admitted into the Assembly. [612-619].
- 765 Account of certain actions of the Nuncio at Galway. When

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- Worcester was setting out, the Nuncio gave him a letter, dated Sept. 24, to the Nuncio in France. Letters written in September to Card. Panciroli and the Pope. [620-625].
- Letter of Worcester to Sir N. Plunkett, Oct. 19. Worcester postponed his departure for some time. [626-628]. p. 767
- Clanrickard went to Galway on Sept. 10. The Nuncio sent a statement on this matter to Panciroli on Oct. 2. [629-630]. 768
- Another statement sent to the Cardinal on Oct. 1, about the book of Constantine Marullus concerning the King's rights in Ireland. [631]. 769
- Text of Discourse about the coming meeting of the Assembly, to Cardinal Panciroli. This document was sent on Oct. 6, and another statement on Nov. 3. Remarks by the author. [632-639]. 770
- The Nuncio left Galway on Nov. 8. During his journey he made, at Clanricard's request, a stay at two of the Earl's houses. He wrote to the Earl from Portumna on Nov. 11. [640-644]. 775
- On Nov. 16 the Nuncio arrived at Kilkenny. The Assembly had already begun its meetings. It was reported that a battle had been fought in Munster between the forces of the Catholics and the heretics. [645]. 776
- In September Taaffe sent Stephenson to lay waste the county of Cork, and placed a garrison in Clonmel, under Alexander MacDonnell. The garrison of the castle of Cahir surrendered to Inchiquin. [646-648]. 777
- Narrative of the tragic storming of Cashel by Inchiquin. [L.D., II, no. 14]. The author adds certain circumstances not mentioned in this narrative which he is citing. Inchiquin took Fethard, and Callan was despoiled by his cavalry. [649-656]. 778
- Alexander MacDonnell was in this autumn made lieutenant-general of the Munster forces. Narrative of the defeat of Taaffe by Inchiquin in the battle of Knocknanuss (*Mons Ramosus*) in Munster, Nov. 13, 1647. Alex. MacDonnell fell in this battle. Text of his epitaph (in English). Taaffe retired to Limerick. At the beginning of December Inchiquin made a hurried retreat to Cork. [657-666]. 783
- Dispute in the Council as to the admission of Bishops who were not yet consecrated. Admonition by the Nuncio to the Council, Nov. 20. Considerations put before the assembled 787

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clergy by the Nuncio on Dec. 1. The prelates made a decree against the artifices of the Ormondists. [667-690].

- p. 793 Text of a report called 'Relation of what occurred relating to the Bishop of Clogher,' written by the Nuncio to Panciroli on Dec. 18. It was very important for the Ormondists that the Bishop should not be left behind in Ireland. [691-700].
- 798 On Dec. 17 the Nuncio advised Preston not to disturb the peace of the realm. Owen O'Neill and Preston came to Kilkenny on Dec. 19. A contest occurred in the Assembly about the appointment of a new Council, and the Nuncio sent a statement about the struggle to Panciroli on Dec. 24. The result was recorded subsequently by the Nuncio in his Report to the Pope. List of the members of the new Council. [701-705].
- 801 Two statements sent by the Nuncio to Panciroli on Nov. 21 and Nov. 23 about the question of electing a foreign Prince as Protector of Ireland. [706-707].
- 803 The assembly appointed the Bishop of Ferns and Nicholas Plunkett to go as their envoys to Rome. The Nuncio wrote to Panciroli on Dec. 24 about these envoys. [708-710].
- 804 On Dec. 27 the Nuncio wrote to Cardinal Mazarin about the Confederate envoys appointed to go to the Court of France and Queen Henrietta Maria of England. He wrote again to the same Cardinal on Dec. 28 with relation to a conversation with the French Agent in Ireland. [711-714].
- 807 In Meath a castle and two small garrisons were captured. At Kilkenny an incident occurred which caused much vexation to Owen O'Neill and to the Nuncio. Outrages had been done by some of Owen's soldiers, and crowds of women made a clamour at Owen's door, and made similar lamentations outside the Nuncio's residence. On Dec. 28 Owen returned from the city to his camp. [715-716].

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Statement sent by the Nuncio to Card. Panciroli about the sending of envoys to Rome. That the people have lost heart, as the envoys have stated, is true, but the real reason is not the weakness of the country, but the discord of rival parties. The trouble is want of money and of quarters, and the hindrances from his opponents suffered by O'Neill. [1-6]. p. 1

Instructions given by the Nuncio to the Bishop of Ferns and N. Plunkett, January 16, 1648. They were to inform the Pope of the need for sufficient money and arms. The Nuncio did not think the plan with regard to the Prince of Wales would be much favoured at Rome. If the Pope would not accept the position of Protector, he was to be asked for his advice in obtaining help otherwise. The envoys sent to France will do nothing till Rome has given a decision. [7-22]. 3

Letters of credence given to the envoys. Letter of the prelates to the Pope, asking that the Nuncio should be made a Cardinal. The Nuncio wrote various letters to Rome in favour of the envoys. [23-31]. 8

Report on the State of Ireland, 1647. [L.D., III, no. 1]. He finds a great change as regards four points: 1). the lack of money, 2). great increase of dissensions, 3). loss of certain places in Munster, 4). the poverty of the country by devastations of the enemy, and even by the marches of our own troops. These matters are interconnected, and one is the cause of another. In Ulster, the Scots have done little since our victory in 1646. In Connacht, Sligo is the only important place not yet recovered. In Leinster, the only change is that the Parliamentarians have obtained Dublin. Preston's defeat was not so injurious as was feared. In Munster, various towns have been lost, but Inchiquin is in difficulties. If the papal subsidy should arrive, it might be possible this year to make an attempt on Dublin, to reconstruct Taaffe's army in Munster, and to send O'Neill's army through Connacht into Ulster. [32-44]. 13

Owen O'Neill and the Bishop of Clogher sent Fr. B. Davet, S.J., to Rome with letters. [45-46]. 16

Instructions to the envoys sent to France, and proposals drawn up by the Clergy to be added to these instructions. [L.D., III, no. 2]. The envoys are to inform the Queen and the Prince of Wales of the state of Ireland, putting matters in as 17

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favourable a light as possible, to ask for such guarantees of religion as had been granted in the Ormonde and Glamorgan peaces, to obtain an assurance about property in regard to the confiscations under James I, and to seek for a loan, giving lands belonging to the enemy, and even to Catholics, as security. [47-81].

- p. 24 Letter of the Nuncio to the Nuncio in France, Jan. 9. The Nuncio was convinced that Lord Digby and Sir Kenelm Digby had conspired with others to put him out of Ireland. He lent money to the envoys for their travelling expenses. They arrived at Rome on April 23. [82-86].
- 26 Statement presented by Sir Kenelm Digby to the Pope. [L.D., III, no. 3]. He had been sent by the Queen of England to ask the Pope for pecuniary aid for the King. He refers to the Queen's efforts to obtain relief for the Catholics of England, and to mitigate the suspicions of Protestants as to the Pope's policy. Such suspicions have been increased by the appointment of Rinucinni as Nuncio. Of Rinuccini it is said that he has a habit of imagining chimeras and conceptions peculiar to himself, and is more apt at raising dissensions than at settling matters of importance. He has done business in Ireland with a royal sceptre rather than with a pastoral staff. He had refused to visit the Queen in Paris. Digby asked the Pope to remove Rinuccini, and appoint someone of more moderate views. A refutation of this Statement was written at Rome by the Bishop of Ferns. [87-102].
- 38 Digby changed his opinion several times in the matter of religion. The author gives a short analysis of his Statement. [103-106].
- 41 Statement presented to the Pope by the Bishop of Ferns as to the Nuncio's exemplary manner of life and behaviour among the Irish. The Bishop also wrote a short narrative of the Irish war, addressed to the Pope, the latter part of which is given in the text. [107-125].
- 49 On May 15 the Pope received the Irish envoys and Fr. Davet. The envoys for France sailed from Waterford in February. [126-127].
- 50 At the beginning of the year the Nuncio wished O'Neill to restore the castle of Athlone to Viscount Dillon. Letter of O'Neill to him on this subject. The Nuncio changed his mind, and the castle remained on this occasion in O'Neill's hands.

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Text of decree of the Council, which seems to have misled the Nuncio. [128-141].

On Jan. 25 the Nuncio went to Waterford, and from there p. 53 wrote a letter to the King of Spain. He baptized four Mahometans in the Cathedral. The Earl of Crawford arrived from Spain and met the Nuncio. [142-145].

Massari returned from Rome. He landed at Duncannon on 55 March 13, and met the Nuncio on his return to Waterford on March 18. Massari brought with him the bulls for the six bishops recently appointed, and these bishops were shortly afterwards consecrated by the Nuncio. [146-149].

The Nuncio on May 1 wrote from Kilkenny to the Pope. 57 Massari delivered papal briefs to Preston and Owen O'Neill. On May 4 the Nuncio wrote to Card. Panciroli about these briefs. The brief addressed to Viscount Dillon was never delivered to him. [150-156].

Verses (in English) about the Earl of Tyrone's Sword, which 60 had been sent to Owen O'Neill. Fr. Luke Wadding was considered at Rome to be a particular favourer of the Ormondists. [157-158].

Inchiquin and Jones went out of garrison for the purpose 61 of plundering. Inchiquin took Carrick and Callan. O'Neill cut off Jones from joining Inchiquin. [159-161].

On Feb. 18 the Nuncio wrote to the Supreme Council. He 63 mentions rumours that Inchiquin was getting aid from some of the Confederates, and laments that money and arms of the Catholics are passing to the enemy by plunder or by contribution. The Council replied on March 6 denying the truth of the rumours, and pointing to their deplorable condition because so few persons were willing to lend money for the public service. [162-168].

Letter of the Nuncio to the Bishop of Limerick, from Dun- 65 cannon, March 12, about some judicial difficulties. Richard O'Ferrall made preparations for the siege of Sligo. [169-170].

A short account of affairs in England and Scotland. After 66 the defeat of the King's party in the previous year, and when the King had been delivered by the Scots into the power of the Parliament, Fairfax had joined the Independents against the Presbyterians. Negotiations of the Parliament with the King. The decree of the Parliament on Jan. 17, 1648, indicated that they were resolved to make an end of monarch and monarchy, and bring in a tyranny. From this there followed

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a great change of feeling in England, Scotland and Ireland. [171-174].

p. 69 Jones, Governor of Dublin, adhered to the Parliament. Inchiquin went over from the King's side to the Parliament. [175-176].

70 Ormonde went over to France, to gain the favour of the Queen and Prince of Wales, in order that he might be sent back to Ireland as Viceroy. To the same end he sent over to Ireland his partisan, Col. John Barry, who negotiated with Inchiquin and the Council about a truce. The author observes that he has used here a Diary of the Council which was given to Fr. Rowe, when sent as procurator to Rome, and was used by Philopater Irenaeus in his *Vindiciae*. The terms demanded by Inchiquin were most impertinent. [177-184].

73 The Provincial Council of Ulster ordered Owen O'Neill not to make a truce with the Scots, but to attack them and liberate the whole province. On March 13 the Nuncio wrote from Duncannon to the men of Ulster, sending Fr. Paul King with the message, recommending that the Ulster army should move into Munster against Inchiquin, instead of returning to Ulster. This plan did not succeed. [185-192].

75 Inchiquin intended to make a truce with the Council, unless he should receive from the English Parliament assistance which he despaired of. Texts of a letter sent by his military council to the Parliament, and of another letter sent by his officers to the Speaker on March 4. The Council sent a letter on March 15 to the Nuncio by G. Barron, who reported on his return to Kilkenny that the Nuncio was opposed to a truce either with Inchiquin or with Jones. [193-197].

80 Instructions for Sir Richard Everard in his embassy to Inchiquin. [198-203].

81 Letter of the Council to Inchiquin, stating they were sending Sir R. Everard and Corn. O'Callaghan to explain matters. Instructions to these envoys. [204-216].

83 From an intercepted letter written by Inchiquin, the Nuncio discovered the secret conspiracy of the Ormondists and Inchiquin against himself and his party. [217-218].

84 Declaration of the Protestant army in Munster. [L.D., III, no. 4]. They complain of the action of the Independents in delaying supplies, and their disparaging of the motives of the Munster army, and renew the protestation in favour of the Protestant religion and the King. [219-228].

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Correspondence between Inchiquin and the Council. On p. 93
 Apr. 4 Inchiquin sent a note of his proposals, and on Apr. 14
 he signified his agreement that negotiations should take place
 at Dungarvan on the 22nd. [229-242].

Letter of the Nuncio to the Council, Apr. 6. He refers to the 95
 plunderings and devastations of Inchiquin ; it would discredit
 the honour of the Confederates to make a truce with him.
 They should use their money, not to supply him, but to recover
 what has been lost in Munster. The Council's reply, Apr. 13.
 They remind the Nuncio that he had himself favoured a truce
 with the Scots, and with Inchiquin. What favour can they
 expect from the Queen and the Prince of Wales if they reject a
 truce with those who have taken the King's side? [243-271].

Reply of the Nuncio to the Council, Apr. 20. He denies that 103
 he had ever approved of a truce with the Scots or with Inchiquin,
 unless the advantage of the Church and of the King was secured.
 There is a danger that Inchiquin may ally himself with Jones
 at Dublin, and the latter also declare himself for the King.
 The Council replied on Apr. 23, sending a statement of reasons
 why the truce was both necessary and useful. [272-300].

The Council summoned meetings of the Provincial Councils 111
 of Munster and Leinster at Kilkenny on Apr. 20, and also a
 meeting of the full Supreme Council. Instructions to the envoys
 sent to Inchiquin. These included answers to the proposals sent
 by Inchiquin. The King's service is the central point in the
 Confederates' actions. Certain baronies in Cos. Waterford
 and Kerry are to be allowed to Inchiquin. All the Catholics
 in Inchiquin's territory are to have free exercise of religion.
 The tithes in the baronies granted to Inchiquin are to be res-
 erved, or exchanged for an agreed price. [301-328].

Reasons urged by the Clergy against the cessation. If 116
 Inchiquin is actually an enemy of the Parliament, he cannot
 expect aid from them, while if he is merely pretending to be
 for the King, his frauds ought to be shunned. He has always
 been hostile both to the clergy and to the people of Ulster.
 [329-344].

Reply of the Council to these Reasons, and to the appendices 119
 to the same. They argue against the charges relating to a plot
 said to be contrived by Ormonde and Barry, and refer to the
 intercepted letter of Inchiquin to J. Plunkett. [345-361].

The two provincial Councils and the full Supreme Council 126
 consented to the proposed truce. [362-377].

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- p. 133 Declaration of the Congregation of Clergy at Kilkenny against the truce, delcaring it to be ruinous to the Catholic religion, April 27. [378-381].
- 135 Petition (*exceptio*) of the chief men and nobles of Munster against Viscount Taaffe, asking for his removal from his command, on the grounds that he was unpopular, and unskilled in military affairs, and had followed instructions given to him by Lord Digby. Taaffe was nevertheless re-appointed. [382-393].
- 137 Objections of the Clergy, after the declaration of Apr. 27, and reply of the Council, who suggested that Clanrickard should be substituted for Taaffe. Clanrickard never took the Confederate oath. [394-403].
- 140 Decree of the Clergy, May 2, giving authority to the Nuncio and four bishops to act on their behalf in all matters, especially in carrying out the censures in relation to the peace. Inchiquin's cessation with Taaffe was extended for 14 days. The Council prolonged the time for negotiations, and sent commissioners to Inchiquin. [406-413].
- 144 Further Instructions by the Council to the commissioners sent to Inchiquin, May. 9. [414-424].
- 147 The Nuncio left Kilkenny on May 9. While on his journey he wrote to Preston, saying he could not honourably stay at Kilkenny now that negotiations for peace had been continued after the declaration of the Clergy. Reply of Preston. On his arrival at Maryborough the Nuncio wrote to the Mayor of Kilkenny, May 11. His letter to the Council, May 9. His departure caused great anxiety to the Council, who wrote on May 11, stating that their instructions related only to an extension of Inchiquin's quarters, and that certain conditions for the good of the Catholic religion had been added. Certain propositions of the Council. Letter of the Nuncio to the Council, May 13. He was ready to return to Kilkenny if this would be of any use, and security were given for his safety. He referred to the question of the disposal of the papal money and arms. With this letter, the Nuncio sent a statement of Conditions and Remedies necessary for the security of the clergy and their adherents, so that the Cessation with Baron Inchiquin might be made with a safe conscience. [425-450].
- 158 Rivalry between Phelim O'Neill and Owen O'Neill. Phelim made an attempt to win over some of Owen's troops. The matter became known to the Nuncio and Owen by an intercepted

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letter of E. Bermingham to Phelim, May 11. The Council sent an explanation to the Nuncio, May 18. Reply of the p. 162
Nuncio, May 26. [451-457].

Letter of Richard Everard and the other commissioners to the Council, May 10. Inchiquin, they reported, demanded the whole of Co. Waterford. As regards the articles for the Catholic religion, he would only promise not to disturb the clergy during the cessation. Further instructions by the Council 166
to the Commissioners. [458-473].

Articles of agreement for a cessation between Inchiquin and the Supreme Council, May 20. [L.D., III, no. 5]. The cessation was to last till Nov. 1. No Confederate Catholic was to be molested on account of his religion, except in the places already held by the Baron. All who declare for the King will enjoy the benefits of the cessation. Decree of the 170
Council confirming the truce, May 22. [474-491].

An account of the manner of election of members of the Supreme Council from a list of nominees of the Provinces. Lists of names, under provinces. Alterations of the rules as regards voting, made by the Ormondists, who thus strengthened their position in the Council. Remarks by the author about the 174
persons who signed the truce. [492-497].

Decree of the Council, May 22, denying that the chief object of the truce was to introduce the rejected 'Ormonde' peace. Letter of the Council to the Nuncio, sending the text of the Cessation and Replies to the Propositions sent by the Nuncio 179
on May 13. [498-513].

The Nuncio went to Kilminchy on May 13, and from there wrote a letter to the Council on May 25, saying that he could not in conscience approve of the Cessation, and that he would now be simply a spectator of events. Declaration of the Commissioners of State in Scotland in favour of Inchiquin. Dis- 184
satisfaction of Owen O'Neill with the Cessation. [514-523].

Massari had posted on the doors of the churches of Kilkenny copies of the clerical decree of Apr. 27 against the truce. These were torn down. On May 27 the Dean published an excommunication, reserved to the Nuncio, against all persons uttering anything against the Declaration of Apr. 27. Letter of the Council to the Nuncio, about the calling of a National Synod, May 25. The Nuncio summoned the bishops, who had been made delegates with him, to meet him at Ferbane; they sent excuses. On May 27 at Kilminchy the Nuncio and four bishops

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published Censures. The author explains the reasons for this action of the Nuncio. He gives a narrative about Fr. Oliver Walsh, Carmelite, who had warned the Nuncio of a conspiracy against his life. [524-557].

- p. 210 On May 31 seven members of the Council, with other Ormondists, made an Appeal to the Holy See. [L.D., III, no. 6]. They said that they had been injured in their honour, office and person, and that the Nuncio and the bishops assisting him were suspected, hostile, incompetent and prejudiced judges in this case concerning the state of the realm and the preservation of the Confederates. On June 4 at Kilcolgan the Nuncio and the assistant bishops issued *apostolos refutatorios* (formal objections) against the Appeal. The Censures were supported by 17 bishops, and opposed by 8. Some of the religious orders supported the Truce. [558-565].
- 224 The supporters of the truce and the appeal put forth a pamphlet in English at Kilkenny, and another statement in Latin was published by D. O'Kinellus, J.U.D. Masari wrote a statement as to the objections to the truce, and was supported in another publication by B. O'Leyn, J.U.L. The author says that the decision of this controversy rests on a question of fact. While the Council affirmed that the truce was both necessary and useful, the Nuncio denied both these points. The author discusses various essential considerations about Inchiquin's position and prospects. [566-580].
- 238 When the edict of the Clergy was published on Apr. 27, the Council requested the clergy to explain what was repugnant to conscience in the truce at that time in preparation. The clergy then presented five objections, and the Council made the same number of replies. Afterwards the Council maintained that the truce had not been concluded until it had been corrected in accordance with the objections of the clergy, and that therefore there was no foundation for the censures fulminated after the truce. The author proceeds to examine at length the objections and the replies. [581-614].
- 261 Discussions of the authority of those who issued the censures, of the nature of the delegation made on May 2, and of the form and method of the Censures. [615-627].
- 277 On June 2 the Council protested to the Nuncio against the holding of a National Synod. The Nuncio replied that the Council had no authority in a matter depending on the will of the Pope. On June 3 the Council issued a decree forbidding

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all ecclesiastical Superiors to interfere with their subjects on the ground of the censures, which, the Council declare, are suspended by the Appeal. On June 4 the Council summoned theologians of the whole realm to meet at Kilkenny on the 18th. On June 3 the Archbishop of Dublin and four bishops wrote to the Nuncio asking him to suggest some moderate solution. The Nuncio wrote to Rome about the Bishops of Meath, Ardagh and Dromore. He realized by experience, afterwards, that many of his actions had proved prejudicial to his own and the Catholic cause. [628-651].

The Nuncio went to Kilcolgan, and from there to Athlone. p. 290
Protest by Owen O'Neill and the officers of the Ulster army, June 11. They have always been faithful to their oath, while the Council has been disposing of both temporal and spiritual things to the support of the King's enemies. These have been the acts of a certain number of the Supreme Council of malignant disposition, and in opposition to the rest of the Council and the whole Clergy. [652-654].

Declaration of the Supreme Council, May 27, stating that 296
they were appealing to the Pope. Against this edict and the Appeal a Vindication of the Nuncio and the Bishops by the Bishop of Clogher and three other bishops was issued at Athlone on June 12. It is not true, they say, that the effect of the excommunication is removed by the appeal. The malignant party is helping the enemy to get his forces together again, and exercise tyranny over the Confederates. One June 13 the Nuncio sent his first announcement about the Censures to Cardinal Panciroli. [655-672].

Two or three days afterwards the Nuncio sent to the same 309
a statement of Reasons why he thought it right to proceed to an excommunication. Among the reasons he gives are the iniquity of the truce, the purpose by means of it to revive the Ormonde peace, and the intention, as it appears, of the Ormondists to crush the Clergy, the men of Ulster, and the Nuncio also. With this statement the Nuncio sent a report of charges brought against him by the Council, in regard to certain financial arrangements, etc., and a letter saying that he had been perplexed as to whether he should leave the country or continue to oppose the Ormondists; he did not care to leave the ecclesiastics a prey to the wolves. These documents are dated June 16. The author adds some remarks. [673-696].

How the clergy and people behaved with regard to the 317

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censures. Various letters of bishops and others. Of the nine bishops of Munster all except the Bishops of Limerick and Kilfenora adhered to the Nuncio. [697-719].

p. 327 In the province of Dublin, the Archbishop, with the Bishop of Leighlin and the Vicar Apostolic of Kildare, supported the Censures. The Bishop of Ferns had reached Rome before the storm arose. The Bishop of Ossory at first stood for the Censures, but afterwards changed his mind, and a pamphlet published at Kilkenny against the Censures appeared under his name. [720-732].

335 In the province of Armagh, the Primate and four of his suffragans supported the Nuncio. The Bishop of Kilmore wished to do the same, but felt unable to take action, being obliged to live in retirement. The Bishops of Meath and Dromore were in favour of the truce. As to the attitude of the Bishop of Ardagh, a controversy arose. [737].

337 At Galway, the mayor and some of the citizens were about to publish the truce. The clergy of St. Nicholas' College intervened, and there was danger of a riot. A declaration was issued by the mayor and certain of the citizens, and a decree threatening excommunication by the Warden of St. Nicholas. After this publication of censures, those of the other side submitted certain propositions to the theologians at Galway. The censures were also published at Athenry, and perhaps elsewhere. The Nuncio repaid the money lent to him by Clanrickard; letters exchanged between them. Clanrickard was appointed by the Council to command the forces of Connacht, in place of Richard O'Ferrall. Letter of Owen O'Neill and his officers to Clanrickard, saying that the truce was the device of the factious part of the present Council, who had broken their promises not to make truces unless they were satisfactory to the Nuncio. Declaration issued secretly by Clanrickard, from Portumna, June 10, accepting his appointment as commander, protesting his fidelity to the Roman Catholic religion in which he had been brought up, and his intention to support its rights, and also the prerogatives of the King. Letter of the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Killala and Kilfenora, June 17, advising the Catholics of Connacht to pay due obedience to Clanrickard. Letter of Clanrickard to the Nuncio, from Tirellan, June 18. Protest of the clergy of the diocese of Tuam against the Inchiquin truce, June 24. The Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Killala and Kilfenora decided not to publish

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the Censures until the Nuncio should exhibit his faculties. The Bishops of Elphin and Clonfert stood with the Nuncio. The Bishop of Kilmacduagh was at this time in Spain. [734-792].

Letter and statement sent by Clanrickard to the Nuncio, p. 363
 June 28. He believes in Inchiquin's sincerity, regrets that the Nuncio bases his actions on the suggestions of persons not considerable in number or standing, and promises that if the Censures are removed, satisfaction will be given to the Nuncio for any offence done to him. The Nuncio paid no heed to these approaches by Clanrickard. In July the envoys who had been sent in the spring to France returned to Ireland. [793-804].

Narrative of events in Scotland and England. Doubts of the Catholics of England as to whether they should join with the Independents, who now had the upper hand, rather than with the Presbyterians. [805-807]. 367

Ormonde negotiated at Paris with a view to returning to Ireland with the title of Lord Lieutenant. The Nuncio took action against the grant of that office to anyone but a Catholic. Propositions presented to the Queen and the Prince of Wales by the Marquis of Antrim and the other envoys of the Confederates, April 2. They state that the matter of religion not being as yet ripe for discussion, they are asking only for those concessions which had been given in the articles of the Ormonde Peace, with certain amendments. Interrogations by the Queen, May 10, and Replies of the envoys. [808-844]. 370

Letter of Patrick Creilly, abbot of Newry, to the Nuncio, from Paris, May 11. Creilly had been sent by the Nuncio with Antrim, in order to prevent Antrim from being unduly influenced by the other two agents, Muskerry and Browne, who desired Ormonde back as Lord Lieutenant. Creilly describes the Queen and her councillors as 'presbyterians'; he reports an opening has been made for the Catholics to act with the Independents against the Presbyterians. [845-847]. 381

Statement by the Queen and the Prince, May 13, breaking off the negotiation with the Irish envoys. They will grant authority to some person or persons to make such concessions to the Confederates as may be consistent with justice and the King's honour. Letter of Creilly to the Nuncio, May 24, stating that Muskerry and Browne had acted perfidiously, and Antrim piously and honourably. Documents were conveyed from Paris to the Nuncio by one Boyd, a Scotsman. [848-853]. 383

The envoys sent to France, except Antrim, were disobedient 388

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to their instructions. The Bishop of Ferns and N. Plunkett arrived at Rome on April 23. Demonstration of the great damage done to the Catholic cause by Muskerry and Browne. Certain points worthy of attention arising from a consideration of dates. The Nuncio recorded in his Diary his opinion of the Irish envoys. [854-863].

p.396 Narrative of the manner in which the Bishop of Ferns and N. Plunkett carried out their mission at Rome. Their letter to Card. Albizzi, June 10, with a statement of three principal reasons on account of which the Irish confederate Catholics expect subsidies from His Holiness. Two more letters to Albizzi. Memorial as to the use made of the money borrowed by the Nuncio; the supplies sent by Massari had been largely used to pay debts. Articles as to religion which in consideration of the present state of affairs are considered opportune, presented to the Pope by Cardinal Capponi. Card. Panciroli informed the Nuncio on July 20 that the envoys were anxious to be dismissed as soon as possible. The envoys left Rome at the end of August. In letters of Aug. 20 and 31 Panciroli informed the Nuncio that it was not the Pope's custom to intervene in a matter of peace between Catholics and heretics, and that as to the question of a protectorate, he had always protected the Catholics of Ireland and would continue his paternal care and assistance, as need might require. N. Plunkett was made by the Pope a knight of the Golden Spur. The author examines certain points in the letter from Panciroli. The envoys presented to the Pope 25 banners won from the heretics. [864-900].

412 It is clear that not only Muskerry and Browne, but the Council also, had conspired to bring about Ormonde's appointment as Lord Lieutenant. Warfare of the pen between Fr. Paul King and Philopater. The Nuncio and the clergy charged the Council with the pernicious purpose of this conspiracy. A statement as to who were its authors. To bring in Ormonde as Lord Lieutenant was equivalent to putting the Nuncio out of Ireland. Endeavours of the clergy to check this torrent of evils. [901-920].

430 The Nuncio appointed a meeting of a National Synod at Galway on August 15. The Council hindered the meeting of the Synod, and the Nuncio consequently revoked the summons. Certain questions were brought to the Nuncio, to be propounded to the Synod on the part of the Bishops of Leighlin and Ardfert, about the dilapidation of ecclesiastical property. [921-961].

448 The Council hindered the meeting of a Synod, for fear lest

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- the clergy might display to the people the iniquity of the truce. An oath to be taken by all was drawn up on June 27 by the Council and other lay persons, all Ormondists. This oath was subscribed to by no one who was not a supporter of Ormonde. Commissioners were appointed by the Council to administer the oath. [962-967].
- Text of Instructions given to the commissioners appointed to administer the oath in the city and diocese of Limerick. p. 455
- A digression relating to Br. John Verdun, a Capuchin laybrother. [968-978]. 461
- The Council appointed a gathering of its own Ormondist partizans for Sept. 4. Two men of Galway, who had been captured by soldiers of the Ulster army, were liberated by Owen O'Neill. [979-980]. 462
- Great efforts were made by Clanrickard to incite Connacht against Owen. The latter went into Connacht in order to repel the attack. John de Burgo and other nobles of Connacht showed no small energy in support of the Nuncio and Owen. [981-993]. 468
- The Council compelled the people of Wexford to accept the truce. On Aug. 6 the Nuncio wrote from Galway a letter to the Mayor and bailiffs of Wexford, and relaxed the Censures. On the last day of June Magawley surrendered Athlone Castle. Dissidences between prelates, secular priests and Regular priests. Dr. Walter Enos was twice captured and twice escaped. The Nuncio wrote to Clanrickard about the taking captive of Fr. MacKiernan. Clanrickard replied on Aug. 8. [994-1001]. 468
- Text of questions proposed to the Nuncio by the Marquis of Clanrickard. These questions, and the letter, contain nothing but ineptitudes based on false assumptions. The Archbishop of Dublin became aware of the tempest raised by the Ormondists. [1002-1011]. 473
- Richard O'Ferrall adhered to the side of the Nuncio and Owen. There was an exchange of letters between the Archbishop of Tuam and the Nuncio about a union of the Confederates, which had been suggested to the archbishop by the Council or by Clanrickard. The schismatic theologians of Kilkenny gave answers to the questions proposed in August by six members of Council. A brief analysis and dissection is given of the statement in English containing the theologian's reply, and an account of the persons who signed it. [1012-1043]. 478
- For the most part the old Irish were on the side of the Nuncio 492

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and Owen, but the Anglo-Irish were for the Council. Some castles on the borders of Leinster and Munster were taken by Owen. Clanrickard threatened to besiege Galway, and offered protection to the Nuncio. On Aug. 30 the Nuncio and the clergy wrote to the people of Galway. Clanrickard, having received money, raised the siege. The Censures were treated with contempt by two Carmelites and by the Archbishop of Tuam and two other bishops. [1044-1056].

- p. 501 Owen took Birr. Clanrickard raised the siege of Galway. Preston again besieged Athy. A most seditious letter was written on Sept. 10 to Jones by Preston and the commanders of his army. [1057-1068].
- 507 O'Neill, on five occasions, gave security for religion. The Ormondists sent four regiments at various times to Jones. Ormonde and Inchiquin laid many false charges on Owen, and denigrated his actions with evil interpretations. [1069-1070].
- 510 Roger Maguire relieved Athy. Jones reduced Ballysonan. Owen turned all his forces against Clanrickard, Taaffe, and Inchiquin. [1071-1074].
- 511 Inchiquin forced Fort Falkland to surrender. Owen, for many reasons, was unable to join battle with Inchiquin. When this opportunity for asserting the cause of religion and country had once been let slip, all hope vanished of success in arms for the Nuncio and his side. Owen's army was made up of men from different provinces. [1075-1083].
- 519 Ormonde landed at Cork at the beginning of October. Notice of his character and ancestry. Though he was a most truculent foe of the Confederation, the Confederation was useful to him, so that raised on the shoulders of the Catholics he might pave his way to an ampler fortune to the prejudice of all Catholics. He was the prince of all tricksters, so versatile that he was able to persuade all people that he was on their side, so astute in finding methods of deceiving everyone. His family had for 400 years adhered to the English Crown. He and his wife and children professed heresy. He declared war on the Catholics. He had been made Lord Lieutenant in 1644. Now in 1648 he was appointed again to this post. The reasons why this was done by the Queen and Prince and their Council were: 1) Because the King's appointment made it impossible to appoint any other person; 2) Because he was able to put the blame for his ill administration on the Nuncio and the Irish clergy and

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people, and was supported by Muskerry and Browne ; 3) Because he was thought the most suitable person to unite the two parties, the Catholics of his own faction, and the forces under Inchiquin, so that the Catholics adhering to the Nuncio might be diverted or broken up ; 4) Because the Queen and Prince were being persuaded by some that it was the aim of the Nuncio's party to shake off the yoke of the English Crown ; 5) Because of varying sympathies as regards foreign relations, the Nuncio being supposed to favour Spain, as did the Independents in England, while the Ormondists and the King's party in England favoured France. The author lays emphasis on the importance of the 4th of these considerations, and refers to the alarm aroused by the arguments against the English sovereignty in Ireland put forward by Constantine Marullus in his work printed at Frankfort in 1645. [1084-1019].

There was no foundation for the suspicions spread among the people by the Ormondists that the Nuncio intended to introduce a foreign prince into Ireland. [1091-1096]. 525

Quotation from Dr. Walter Enos with regard to nine individuals whose actions were largely responsible for the ruin of the Irish nation and church ; these were Muskerry and Browne, because of their policy in the Council and their conduct in the embassy to France, and seven members of Council, viz., Athenry, L. Dillon, R. Lynch, R. Devereux, R. Bellings, P. Brian and G. Fennell. [1097-1101]. 531

The pseudo-Assembly at Kilkenny sent envoys to Ormonde. Declaration of Ormonde for establishing the Protestant religion etc., 1648. [L.D., III, no. 7]. Remarks on this declaration:- 1) The surrender of Dublin and other places to the Parliament is excused on the ground that they would ultimately return to the King ; 2) Ormonde's undertaking to restore the Protestant religion shows the madness of making him Lord Lieutenant over the Confederate Catholics ; 3) His declaration about the rebels shows his intention of suppressing all Catholics who should not agree to the conditions in his instructions ; 4) His promises to Inchiquin's nefarious army mean servitude and ruin for the Catholics. [1102-1113]. 534

Operations by Owen O'Neill in cos. Westmeath and Longford. He liberated Fr. Thomas Makiernan. In November Roger Maguire fell at Drumreask. In his Relation the Nuncio made complaints about Owen. He indicated to Card. Panciroli three alternative methods by which money might be conveyed to 541

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- Ireland. If supplies had arrived, the Catholic faith would have triumphed in Ireland, and also, by means of forces from Ireland, in England and Scotland. [1114].
- p. 545 John de Burgo altered his intention of adhering to the Nuncio's party, and joined Clanrickard. Other nobles, however, of Connacht, followed the Nuncio, from whom they requested supplies on Oct. 27; in the following month they cut off Aran Island. The Marquis of Antrim rebelled against the Council, and advanced into Ulster. [1115-1120].
- 548 Castlemaine in Co. Kerry was besieged by Inchiquin, and lost by the perfidy of the heretics. The truce was repudiated by Wexford and by Duncannon Fort. [1121-1124].
- 551 The inhabitants of Galway and clergy of Kilkenny petitioned the Nuncio for a relaxation of the interdict. The petition of the new mayor of Galway and others was sent at the beginning of October, and a petition from certain of the religious orders at Kilkenny on Nov. 5. The Nuncio granted this request. There were also, in November, similar petitions from the Bishop and clergy of Waterford and the clergy of Clonmel. It is very probable that the Nuncio assented to these also. [1125-1137].
- 558 The author now proceeds to an account of the conduct of the various religious orders in this controversy. All the Dominicans, with one exception, stood for the Censures. Letter of their Provincial, G. O'Ferrall, to the Nuncio, Oct. 19. [1138-1140].
- 559 Of the Franciscans, few, considering their large number, opposed the Nuncio. Letters of the pseudo-Council to the Pope and the Minister General of the Franciscans against those of the order who were fighting for the Nuncio. When Fr. Rowe was setting out for Rome he was supplied with Advices (*monita*) concerning the Order of St. Francis. Fr. A. Gearnon was sent on the same mission as Fr. Rowe. Letter of the General Assembly about him to Card. Barberini, Dec. 16, 1648. On July 19 the Nuncio issued a sentence of suspension against Fr. G. Dillon and Fr. Valentine Browne. Letter of the Council to the Minister General in favour of these Fathers. They both, afterwards, made a penitential submission to the Nuncio. [1141-1163].
- 572 Fr. Rowe, and three other Fathers of the Discalced Carmelites, were on the side of the Council. When this was known at Rome, a Visitor was sent from Belgium to Ireland. Two Carmelites had recourse to the Council and to Ormonde. [1164-1166].

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The Jesuits, not all but most of them, did great disservice p. 573 to the Irish church in these controversies. Of the Augustinian Order about three or four resisted the Nuncio. The Benedictines, Bernardines and Capuchins all stood for the Nuncio. He established the Capuchins at Galway. In 1646 Fathers of the Congregation of St. Vincent de Paul took up residence at Limerick. None of these opposed the Nuncio. [1167-1168].

As regards the secular clergy, it has been shown that only seven or eight of the bishops adhered to those who favoured the truce. Some priests turned aside to the pseudo-Council, but these were few in comparison with the great majority who took the side of the Church. Many unjust acts were passed by the pseudo-Council. Mission of Fr. Rowe to Rome; he was sent by a few Ormondists in order to promote the Appeal. Letter of the General Assembly to the Pope, Sept. 17. Text of a Report sent to the Nuncio about the machinations of Rowe and Callaghan against him at Paris. Letter of Fr. John Ponce to the Archbishop of Dublin, Oct. 25. He is glad to learn from a letter of Fr. Peter Walsh that the Archbishop has given up any adherence to the Council in the matter of the truce. He is certain that Fr. Rowe will not succeed at Rome. [1169-1177].

Letter of the Nuncio to the Pope, Nov. 7, commending Fr. Joseph Arcamoni, whom he was sending to Rome to manage his case as regards the Appeal. Text of the Nuncio's Instructions to Arcamoni, Galway, Nov. 11. If Arcamoni convinces the Roman authorities of the iniquity of the truce, it will be easy to show that the Nuncio could neither leave Ireland, nor remain as a mere spectator of events, which would have been the case if he had not proceeded to the Censures. Granted that the country is now governed by the authors of the last Peace, nevertheless three quarters of the Confederate Catholics are still openly on the side of the Church. It was not so much the appeal itself which troubled the Nuncio's adversaries as the refusal of the appeal *ad effectum suspensivum*. They were not familiar with the technical terms used in such cases, and on the advice of incompetent persons they thought that any appeal would enable them to elude a judgment. It may be just as well that the Anglo-Irish have shown their perverse inclinations; the Holy See may now consider it better to give support to the old Irish, who have never defected from the Catholic religion. Remarks of the author on these Instructions. [1178-1195].

The Nuncio directed Fr. Richard O'Ferrall, Capuchin, to 596

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accompany Fr. Arcamoni. They set sail on Nov. 17, and arrived at Paris on Dec. 25. [1196].

p. 596 Petition to the Nuncio by Patrick Lynch, Warden of St. Nicholas' College, Galway, with regard to the regulations and revenues of the College. A copy of this petition was given to Fr. Joseph before his departure for Rome, with a memorandum of the requests which he was to make in favour of the College. [1197-1212].

599 A meeting of the General Assembly was called by the pseudo-Council for Sept. 4. Writing to the Nuncio on Aug. 9 the Bishop of Limerick suggested that the prelates should attend in order to receive the reports of the agents sent to Rome and France. The Nuncio replied that spiritual matters should be dealt with only in an ecclesiastical convocation. He issued a decree forbidding any prelates to attend the Assembly. On Sept. 18 the Bishop of Limerick stated that he would attend, in spite of the prohibition. A few Ormondists assembled at Kilkenny, but none of the party of the faithful clergy. They issued a decree on Sept. 14, denying rumours that they purposed a peace neither honourable nor safe for religion. On the same day Richard Blake, Speaker of the Assembly, wrote to the Bishop of Leighlin, threatening him with confiscation of his property. The Bishop replied on Sept. 18, saying that he feared personal danger if he went to Kilkenny. Various iniquitous decrees were passed by the Council, including orders for punishment for bishops who should refuse to take an oath of obedience to the Assembly, and imprisonment or exile for clergy. [1213-1233].

610 By order of the Assembly, Richard Blake wrote to the Nuncio on Oct. 19, enclosing a Compendium of part of the charges against the Nuncio, which the Assembly was about to present to the Holy See. [L.D., III, no. 8]. The Nuncio is advised to set about his journey to Rome to answer the charges, and no longer by means of his instruments concern himself with the affairs of Ireland. The author characterizes this letter as nefarious. The charges state that when the Nuncio arrived in Ireland in Oct. 1645 he found the Confederates unanimous, and inclined to a peace on honourable terms, and the Catholic religion publicly (*cum splendore*) exercised in more than three-quarters of the kingdom. He had not carried out his promises of help in 1646. He had not accounted for the money and military supplies sent by the Pope. After promising to confirm the Bull and Dispensation of Cardinal Pole about ecclesiastical

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property he had made edicts against certain Catholics in possession of monastic property. His actions with regard to the appointment of bishops were against the laws of the realm. There were also complaints about his abrupt departure from Kilkenny to join O'Neill, and his actions when presiding over the Supreme Council. The author replies to these charges, point by point, maintaining, *inter alia*, that already before the Nuncio's arrival the clergy had resolved against the Peace. He defends the conduct of the Nuncio in regard to his promises of help, and his dealing with funds. With regard to ecclesiastical property, it was not possible for him to give dispensations to lay persons, except on certain conditions. With regard to episcopal appointments, even before the defection of Henry VIII the laws of England were effectual only in a small corner of the country. [1234-1302].

Decree of the pseudo-Assembly, asserting that the Nuncio p.627 had committed innumerable offences, and threatening penalties against his adherents. Letter of the Bishop of Elphin, Nov. 18, urging the Nuncio to remain in the country. Grief felt by the Nuncio at the injuries done to him by the Ormondists. [1303-1308].

Letter of Fr. Paul King to the Bishop of Clogher, at the end of July. An agreement was made between Fr. Paul and Massari that Owen should be invited to Kilkenny. Texts of Articles of Accusation exhibited by James Cusack, advocate general of the confederates, against Fr. Paul King, Nov. 29, and of his Replies, Dec. 1. He denied that he had made any plot, nor written to anyone since he had been imprisoned on Aug. 1. He had not invited Owen, but had only said that, if Owen should come, he would do this or that. He sent a petition to the pseudo-Council. He came under suspicion of having promoted with the Council a scheme against the Nuncio. [1309-1328]. 632

A dispute arose between the Nuncio and the Spanish Agent about the booty captured by the frigate *St. Peter* on Nov. 20, 1647. The pseudo-Council wrote letters to the Nuncio on June 19 and 22 claiming jurisdiction in this matter. The Nuncio declared that the case had devolved upon the Pope and the King of Spain. Correspondence between the Spanish Agent and the Nuncio. Articles of Accusation exhibited by the Advocate General against Massari. He was first confined to his house, and afterwards allowed his liberty in the city, on 639

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giving an undertaking not to interfere in business in ways prejudicial to the Council and the Assembly. In October Athlone Castle was restored to Viscount Dillon. The English soldiers began to behave riotously at Cork and elsewhere. [1329-1361].

p.658 Fr. B. Davet, S.J., who had been sent to Rome, and had reported from there that the Bishop of Ferns and N. Plunkett had openly gone over to the party opposed to the Nuncio, died at Florence on Sept. 24, while on his return to Ireland. The Bishop and Plunkett arrived back in Ireland on Nov. 21. Quotation from the Bishop's Apology (presented at Rome in May, 1653), in which he denies the charge that he had not on his return honestly reported to the Council the replies of the Pope, and particularly the Pope's declaration that he could not approve of any truce negotiations in a matter of religion between a Catholic people and an heretical prince. The author remarks that of the five Irish agents sent to the Continent (three to France and two to Rome) all had failed disgracefully except the Marquis of Antrim, who rebelled against the pseudo-Assembly. [1362-1366].

665 Brief of Pope Innocent X. to the Supreme Council, dated Aug. 18, urging union and concord among the Catholics of Ireland. The author notes that this Brief was written before the two envoys came under suspicion. The Pope also sent a letter to the Bishops, in reply to their letter of Jan. 18. Bp. French delivered this Brief, not to the prelates who were supporting the Nuncio at Galway, but to the seven bishops who were in opposition. These seven wrote on Nov. 30 a citation to the other bishops of the realm to come to Kilkenny, claiming that the Brief was a lawful excuse for neglect of the Nuncio's inhibition. The Nuncio informed the bishops thus summoned that the Brief had no such effect. The Bishops of Ferns and Plunkett wrote to the Nuncio on Nov. 25, expressing their regret at the division among the Confederates, and asking him to permit the bishops to assemble. The Nuncio replied, and the Bishop and Plunkett wrote again on Dec. 11. Text of Brief Reasons why the Nuncio should remove his inhibition on the attendance of the bishops. [1367-1406].

681 By a note written in cypher on Sept. 7, the Pope left the whole business of the Censures to the Nuncio, but the latter got little advantage by this direction. An exposure of the frauds and trickery of the Bishop of Ferns and Plunkett. They

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spread a rumour that the Pope, and certain of the Cardinals, especially the Cardinal Protector, and the whole Roman Court, had a bad opinion of the Nuncio's policy about the Censures. To support this view, they obtained (by a noxious artifice, in the author's view) a letter from Cardinal Roma to the Nuncio, dated Aug. 24, intimating that though no doubt the Nuncio had acted with zeal, either his authority had not extended so far, or the state of affairs had called for some accommodation (*conniventia*), as the worst of all evils had now followed in discord among the Catholics themselves. [1407-1413].

The Nuncio wrote to Card. Roma on Jan. 24, 1649, and also p. 687 sent to Fr. J. Arcamoni Instructions as to the replies he was to make orally to the Cardinal. These contain a defence by the Nuncio of his rights as to excommunication included in his faculties, and as to the Cardinal's suggestion that there should be an absolution *ad cautelam*, and state that all towns which had requested liberation from the interdict had been granted this, and nearly all individuals had been absolved, except the Council, the army commanders, and the city of Kilkenny, and he did not expect that the last-mentioned would apply for absolution. [1414-1418].

Thomas Roche, governor of Duncannon, stood with the Nuncio. Owen O'Neill had to exercise prudence in order to avoid the artifices of the Ormondists. Leinster was laid waste by Jones, Governor of Dublin. [1419-1423]. 689

O'Sullivan Beare, who had lived in exile in Spain, was slain by John Bath on July 16, 1618. His son, the Earl of Bearhaven, was in 1648 sent by the King of Spain as his Agent to the Confederates. He was accompanied to Ireland by the Bishop of Kilmacduagh. The author gives an account of the appointment of a native of Flanders to be Abbot of Shrule; the persecution put an end to this question. [1424-1430]. 691

The year 1648 was most unfortunate (*infaustissimus*) for the Confederate Catholics. If they had been of one mind, they would have been triumphant in this year. [1431]. 694

- p. 1 On Jan. 17 the pseudo-Assembly published the Peace with Ormonde. The articles were not made known as long as the Nuncio remained in the country. Summary, from Philopater Irenaeus, of the articles relating to religion, with notes by the author. The Roman Catholics were to be exempted from the Oath of Supremacy in spiritual matters, and all penal laws were to be abrogated in the first free Parliament held after the making of the peace. Undisturbed possession of churches, church property and jurisdiction is granted till the King's will is declared in a free parliament. Impediments to the sitting of Catholics in parliament will be removed. Catholics will be eligible for offices. They will have universities. They will have possession of towns and forts now under their control, till a decision is made in Parliament. After arguing, point by point, against these articles, the author proceeds to show how in other ways this peace was most unjust. [1-35].
- 24 This Peace of 1649 was more unjust than that which had been proscribed in 1646. Text of Latin elegiac verses written by Sir R. Blake in celebration of the Peace. Elegiacs on the contrary side were written by Dr. Edmund O'Meara, and given to the Nuncio at Galway. To the latter the Nuncio added an epigram of his own composition, with a reply in verse by the same Dr. O'Meara. [36-41].
- 37 Ormonde was admitted by the pseudo-Assembly as Lord Lieutenant, and the Catholic Confederation was dissolved. A mixed regimen of Ormondists and heretics was set up (the Commissioners of Trust). With this commission the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishop of Ferns were associated as 'secondary assessors,' on condition that they should not use their ecclesiastical titles in subscribing public acts. Letter of the Archbishop of Cashel and ten other bishops, from Kilkenny, Jan. 17, to the people of Galway, advising acceptance with alacrity of the Peace, which they certify to be satisfactory, considering both its actual conditions and the hope of further graces to be obtained from the King. Letter of the Bishop of Ferns to the Nuncio, Jan. 19, in words deviating in no small degree from the right. He will endeavour as soon as possible to visit the Nuncio. The negotiations for peace have, he says, been brought to a conclusion not unworthy of religion and piety. [42-50].
- 45 Owen O'Neill and his army were invited to submit to Ormonde.

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As they saw that they were far inferior in strength to the Ormondists, they sent envoys to Kilkenny to negotiate. But the envoys, refusing to accept the iniquitous conditions offered to them, came home again. The Peace was published in the places belonging to the Confederates, excepting such places in Leinster as were in Owen's hands, and excepting also Galway. [51-53].

Letter of the Earl of Bearhaven to the Nuncio, from Waterford p. 46
Jan. 3, asking for a dispensation as regards laws of fasting. The author adds observations on the strictness of such laws prevailing among the ancient inhabitants of Ireland. After an unsatisfactory negotiation with Ormonde about soldiers to be sent to Spain, the Earl returned to that country. [54-57].

Clanrickard wrote to the Nuncio on Feb. 19, complaining 49
of certain devastations said to have been done by the authority of Owen and with the ratification of the Nuncio. The Nuncio replied denying that he had given authority to any soldiers. [58-59].

Viscount Dillon wrote on Feb. 16 from Athlone to the Nuncio 50
complaining of the action of the Provincial of the Franciscans in inflicting censures upon certain members of the order who had assisted the Viscount and other Ormondists in the controversy about the truce. Fr. P. Tiernan wrote on this matter on Feb. 18. A commission was given by the Provincial, Fr. T. Makiernan, and Diffinitors, to Fr. Paul King, to go to Rome to report on the excesses of certain friars, and to ask for an impartial Apostolic commissioner to be sent to visit the Order, Feb. 13. After his arrival at Rome, Fr. King held the office of Guardian at St. Isidore's. [60-64].

On Feb. 19 a commission was given by the Bishop of Clogher, 55
Owen O'Neill, and R. O'Ferrall to Fr. Francis Nugent, Capuchin, to go to France to explain to the Queen of England and King Charles why they had refused consent to the peace with Ormonde. [65-69].

In the year 1648 the General of the Jesuits appointed Fr. M. 56
Verdier as Visitor of the Jesuits in Ireland. This followed on complaints made by the Nuncio of the action against the Censures taken by a majority of the Society. Text of charges of the Nuncio against the Kilkenny Jesuits, alleging that in a congregation there they had declared that the excommunication and interdict should not be observed, with particular charges against Fr. W. Malone. [70-94].

The Nuncio advised Verdier not to go to Kilkenny, but 60

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he went there and received a letter dated Jan. 20, 1649, from the Archbishop of Tuam and six other bishops. The letter was full of the usual absurdities of the Ormondists. According to it the Nuncio had been "preoccupied by sinister informations" about the Fathers. Later, after his return to France, the Nuncio wrote to the General of the Jesuits, from Gaillon, May 19; he had only asked the Fathers to be impartial judges, or to keep silence till the Pope had settled the quarrels. [95-101].

p. 64 Account of another matter of dispute between the Jesuits and the Nuncio. In 1646 Fr. R. Nugent, moderator of the Jesuits, had lent to the Nuncio money for the purpose of preventing the conclusion of the Ormonde peace and helping the proposed expedition. This money had not been repaid at the time expected. [102-107].

68 The Nuncio was convinced that the Jesuits had been the corner-stone of all the co-operation which had been made with the Ormondists. Though it was not denied by anyone that the Jesuits had done brilliant work in the Irish vineyard, yet, as the Nuncio's opponents were dominant in the Jesuit mission in Ireland, the result was ill-treatment for the Nuncio's adherents. [108-111].

72 The author gives a particular notice of Fr. Maurice O'Conald, S.J., a native of Desmond. He adds, as regards the Nuncio's general attitude, that he honoured the holy Society of Jesus with special devotion. [112].

73 Text of a True Memorial and Petition presented to the Nuncio by the Franciscan missionaries in Scotland, from the Convent at Galway, Jan. 9, recounting their sufferings at the hands of the Puritans in Scotland. [113-115].

76 Letters written to the Nuncio when he was on the point of departure from Ireland. The Bishop of Leighlin on Jan. 22 spoke of the benefits which he had done to the Confederates, and the value of his labours in teaching and preaching. The Bishop of Elphin, on Feb. 13, asked him to plead on the Continent the cause of the Catholics of "this desolate realm." General R. O'Ferrall expressed his sorrow on Feb. 23. The Nuncio's farewell letter to the Bishop of Leighlin, Feb. 19. His letter to six prelates, giving his reasons for leaving, and granting them authority to grant absolution from the Censures. [116-125].

81 Massari left Kilkenny to join the Nuncio at Galway, who was now joined by all those of his company (*famulitium*) who had been separated from him. [126-127].

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A list of the Relics which had been brought from Rome by p. 84
Massari in 1647, and of the bishops to whom they were given.
On Feb. 18 the Nuncio created seven doctors at Galway. After-
wards he visited the bishops who had been with him there,
and his friends and the magistrates, and made his farewells.
[128-129].

Of the many sermons preached in the years 1647-49 by the 85
Nuncio at Galway, two were specially noteworthy, one of
Nov. 7, 1647, when he was about to go to Kilkenny, and the
other a farewell sermon preached on Feb. 22, 1649. Text of a
compendium of the latter discourse. He said that no Apostolic
Nuncio would be sent to Ireland for many years to come,
as the people had put a heretic ruler over them. On the same
evening he went on board ship. [130-133].

The Nuncio set sail on Feb. 23 in the same frigate, the *St.* 88
Peter, as he had come in, three years before. He landed on
French soil on March 2. [134].

The French Agent, Monnerie, informed the Nuncio on Jan. 20 89
that he would sail from Ireland very shortly. On Jan. 25 a
petition was sent by the Archbishop of Tuam and five bishops,
asking that absolution should be granted to all *ad cautelam* ;
they offer themselves as mediators in a spirit of charity, not
having been themselves touched by the Censures. The Arch-
bishop of Cashel signified his approval of this letter. The author
points out the many follies in the letter. It was very 'political,'
but unworthy of Catholic prelates, and they themselves in the
following year, 1650, dismissed Ormonde. [135-139].

On the last day of February, the Bishop of Ferns and N. 93
Plunkett wrote from Kilkenny to the Nuncio, who was by this
time on the Continent. The author says that in its most
important points this letter was nothing but trickery. The
writers explain why they had been unable to see the Nuncio
at Galway. They had been unable to obtain from the ex-
communicated persons that acknowledgment of their fault
which the Nuncio had demanded ; they considered themselves
to be innocent. It was believed that the Bishop and Plunkett
had in fact refused to meet the Nuncio at Galway. The action
of those who placed Ormonde in power was equivalent to an
expulsion of the Nuncio from the country. The principal
Ormondists had used religious zeal as a cover for the advance-
ment of their own interests. [140-146].

The Nuncio waited for a passport from the French court 99
to enable him to continue his journey in safety. His letter to

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- Card. Panciroli from St. Vaast, March 14. He remarks that he has accomplished nothing except delaying this wretched Peace for three years; he thinks also that he has done good in unveiling the real inclination of the dominant Anglicizers, whose religious views are almost the same as those of Henry VIII and Q. Elizabeth. At the same time he forwarded three documents :- 1) About the agents sent to Rome; 2) About the Censures; 3) About the method, substance and effect of the Peace made with Ormonde this year. The author touches on the change in the Nuncio's feelings about the Bishop and N. Plunkett; this was after the Nuncio had reached Rome, and the Bishop and Plunkett had openly gone over to the Ormondists. Cardinals Albizzi and Panciroli wrote to the Nuncio. [147-178].
- p. 115 Account of the Nuncio's journey and of events relating to him. The Pope left it open to him either to make a stay in Belgium or to return to Rome without delay. The King of France gave him permission to go, not to Flanders, but from Lyons to Rome. [179-183].
- 119 Letter of Panciroli, May 31, intimating that the Pope desired the Nuncio to return to Italy and Rome. Massari had been sent to Paris, where the Queen of England's ministers advised her not to receive him. She complained of the Nuncio's action in condemning the peace with Inchiquin after the latter had gone over to the King. Massari did not visit the Queen. In a letter from Sens, June 3, the Nuncio informed Panciroli why he had avoided Paris, and about other matters. [184-191].
- 122 Correspondence between the Nuncio and Dr. James Piers, moderator of the *Schola Aquitanica* at Bordeaux, who desired the Nuncio's help towards his obtaining an ecclesiastical benefice in Ireland. [192-196].
- 128 At Dijon the Nuncio visited the Prince of Condé, who made particular inquiries about Owen O'Neill's strength, and about his real attitude to Spain. When the Nuncio was at Rouen he received a visit from Dr. E. Tyrrell, Fr. John Ponce, and J. O'Mollony (dean of Cashel), who came from Paris. Letter from the Archbishop of Rouen, June 23, expressing the hope that the Nuncio Rinuccini might return to Paris as Nuncio to France. [197-207].
- 133 Narration of the method pursued in putting an end to the litigation at Rome about the Censures of 1648 and the Appeal. Fr. Rowe, the envoy of the pseudo-Council, had in 1648 tried to get a decision in his favour from the University of Paris. He arrived at Rome at the beginning of 1649, when Panciroli

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informed the Nuncio that Rowe would not easily get an audience from the authorities in Rome. Fr. Joseph Arcamoni, the Nuncio's envoy, arrived at Rome at the beginning of March, and drew up a Statement of charges against Fr. Rowe. [208-217].

The progress of this affair is narrated from letters of Fr. p. 137 Joseph to the Nuncio's brother and the Nuncio himself. At that time at Rome matters relating to Ireland were managed by a special Congregation of four Cardinals, at whose meetings the Pope often presided in person. The cause of the Appellants was at this time managed at Rome by the Bishop of Ferns, Sir N. Plunkett, and Fr. Luke Wadding. [218].

Text of a Candid and Brief Account of what passed between 139 the Supreme Council and the Nuncio about the Cessation made with Inchiquin in 1648. [L.D., IV, no. 1]. This document was presented on behalf of the Appellants. The author points out, under various heads, how this Report deviates from truth and integrity. [219-294].

Fr. Joseph was advised by Card. Panciroli to draw up a 152 written statement of what he intended to say to the Pope, and to insert in this statement reasons why the Censures should be explicitly confirmed by the Pope. (It had previously been intended to obtain a remission of the matter to the Nuncio, without a papal decision.) Fr. Joseph accordingly drew up two statements, one in Italian for presentation to the Pope, and another in Latin. The author adds some criticisms on the document. On April 18 Fr. Joseph was admitted to a papal audience; he gave an account of it in a letter to Tho. Rinuccini, Apr. 26. The Pope said much in praise of the Nuncio's zeal and labours; he denied the truth of the report that the Nuncio's sentences had displeased him; he had in fact refused to hear those who had asked for a suspension of the excommunication. [295-326].

The author does not understand why the Nuncio did not 164 insist on the matter being brought to a judicial decision. At the end of April the Nuncio sent suggestions to Fr. Joseph. The Archbishop of Tuam should be summoned to Rome to answer for actions of himself and the Bishops of Killala and Kilfenora, and judicial or other action should be taken against the Bishop of Ossory, Fr. Peter Walsh, the Prior of the Carmelites at Galway and Fr. Brown, and Fr. W. Malone, S.J. [327-335].

Fr. Rowe laboured to procure the admission of the Appeal, 167

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or else the granting of absolution *ad cautelam*. On this matter Fr. Joseph, in a letter to the Nuncio on July 24, puts forward Albizzi's suggestion that the appellants should give satisfaction to the Church before they seek any favour with regard to absolution or admission of the Appeal. The author considers that Fr. Joseph put forward his case in an awkward (*sinistre*) and preposterous manner, and suggests a method by which he might have obtained success. [336-337].

p. 171 Text of a second Memorial presented to the Pope by Fr. Joseph. He said that the granting of a conditional absolution would prejudice the credit of the Nuncio and the bishops associated with him, and injure the authority of the Sacred Canons. [338-347].

175 Dr. John Creagh, Vicar General of Limerick, arrived in Rome on June 13, and presented to the Pope a narrative of events in Ireland after the Nuncio's departure. His letter on Sept. 3 to the Nuncio, who was returning to Rome, mentioning his audience with the Pope, to whom he had given various reasons against the granting of an absolution. He played a great part at this time in the agitation of this controversy. [348-352].

179 Suggestions sent by the Nuncio to Fr. Joseph, from Bellegarde, July 9, after he had learned of the divergence of opinions among the Cardinals at Rome about the controversy. He proposes to make a general revocation of all the privileges of missionaries in Ireland. These privileges had been used by the ecclesiastics adhering to the Ormondists for the purposes of their own faction and to the detriment of the Church. An example of this in the fact that at this time Fr. L. Wadding received a letter from Ormonde himself, asking him to support the efforts of those Observants who favoured him. [353-359].

185 On July 21 the Nuncio wrote from Lyons to Fr. Joseph detailing a number of conditions which ought to be required if absolution were granted from the Censures. Fr. Joseph replied on Aug. 9. [360-367].

188 In 1646 the clergy of Ireland had instructed Massari to obtain in their name from the Pope a Cardinal's dignity for the Nuncio, but the Nuncio had enjoined on Massari not to do this. On the death in this year of Fr. Ingoli, Secretary of the Sacred Propaganda Congregation, Massari was appointed to succeed him. He arrived at Rome on Aug. 18. The controversy was suspended until the Nuncio himself should reach Rome, and the author remarks on the awkward management

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of Fr. Joseph, who should have aimed with all his power at getting a judicial decision. [368-372].

Narrative of events in England. King Charles I was beheaded p. 191 by the wicked regicides on Jan. 30. Account of his trial and death. Text of Act of Parliament for abolishing the royal dignity. [L.D., IV, no. 2]. [373-386].

On Feb. 26 the Prince of Wales was proclaimed King by Ormonde and the Catholic Commissioners. Rupert, Prince Palatine, was sent by the new King to Ireland with some ships. He put in at Kinsale, and was shortly after visited by Ormonde. [387-388]. 222

Great efforts were made by Ormonde and the Catholic Commissioners to obtain the submission of the whole kingdom to the Peace. It was accepted by not a few Catholics, not without reluctance, in deference to Ormonde. Far the largest part of the clergy shunned the Peace. Twelve prelates subscribed to it, and two archbishops and thirteen bishops declined to do so. [389-391]. 203

Ormonde and the Commissioners were anxious that the Franciscans should swear to the Peace. The Provincial, Fr. Thomas Makiernan, refused this. Fr. Peter Marchant, a Belgian, Franciscan Commissary General, appointed Fr. Raymond Carron, one most zealous for the Ormondists, as Commissary General for Ireland. Letter of the Bishops of Ferns and Kilmacduagh to Fr. Makiernan, March 19, charging him with adherence to Owen O'Neill in rejecting the Peace, stating that many of his Order were seducing the hearts of the people from peace and quiet, and threatening that if he should not submit he will be proclaimed a traitor to the peace of the realm. Letter of the Commissioners to Card. Barberini, May 10, saying that no Visitor sent to replace Carron would be accepted, and asking for a Bull for a division of the Franciscan Province. Letter of Ormonde to Carron, May 15, enclosing a List of seditious Franciscans, who were endeavouring to turn away the subjects from fidelity to the King, and were disturbing the tranquility of the realm. Letter of G. Lane, Ormonde's Secretary, to Carron, May 22, enclosing articles of accusation against certain friars, who are named, with particulars given of offences committed by each. [392-414]. 205

Letter of the Commissioners to Fr. Carron, May 18, enclosing a statement of complaints against the Provincial and other friars, and saying that if they find him supine or partial in this case, they will use the royal authority against him. The Pro- 215

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vincial on June 2 sent a statement to Fr. Carron. He had requested him to defer the execution of his commission until he had shown his credentials to a convocation of the Fathers of the Province and the Diffinitors, and to associate with himself some assessors. Fr. Carron had refused these requests, and the Provincial must therefore regard him as a judge suspected of partiality. Censure issued on June 13 by the Bishop of Ossory and other bishops and fathers, threatening excommunication against those who should refuse submission to Fr. Carron. Fr. Carron had excommunicated the Provincial on June 1. The author gives many citations from Philopater Irenaeus, Ormonde's apologist, to the credit of those who suffered persecution and the reproach of their adversaries. A congregation of the Friars Minor was held at Kilkenny on July 8, Fr. Carron presiding. Castlehaven attended this meeting on behalf of Ormonde, and four members of the Supreme Council were also present. Text of Acts of this assembly passed on July 10 and 20. At a later date, all the Ormondist Franciscans recanted, except Fr. Peter Walsh. [415-462].

p. 229 On June 13 Fr. Anthony Sweetman preached an incendiary sermon in the Franciscan church of Kilkenny. A long statement is given of its principal points. Its tendency was to persuade Ormonde and the Ormondists, and even those heretics who were submissive to Ormonde's authority, that it was much to their interest that Carron and his party should prevail. The author thinks that the sermon was probably delivered under public authority. [463-486].

234 The two Franciscan parties presented their cause at Rome. Among the Irish Franciscans then residing at Rome were Fr. Francis Bermingham, Diffinitor General, and Fr. Luke Wadding, historiographer of the Order. Fr. Joseph suspected Wadding of secretly supporting the Nuncio's opponents, and consequently did not communicate his plans to him. Even before this, the Nuncio himself was also suspicious of Wadding. The latter wrote to the Nuncio on May 17, congratulating him on his departure from "that unfortunate island"; he blushes whenever he thinks of "that infamous Peace." Various matters were brought up against him by the Catholic party and even by the Irish Franciscans themselves. Fr. Wadding was a citizen of Waterford, a city which had always championed the English Crown. He showed partiality in his recommendations for Irish benefices. In his History of his Order he showed his favour for the Anglo-Irish. He credited Pope Innocent X

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with a remark about Irish politics, which the Pope repudiated. The Ormondists in the Supreme Council made him their Agent at Rome, and instructed the Bishop of Ferns and Plunkett to do nothing without consulting him. Other charges were made. After the defeat of Ormonde in August, many who had before loaded the Nuncio and his party with calumnies began to change their views. This change appears in Wadding's letter of Oct. 2 to the Franciscan Vicar General, in which he recommends the cancelling of Carron's commission, alleging the wrongful acts he had done at the suggestion of a few turbulent and scandalous friars, adherents of the heretical Viceroy. The Pope directed that Wadding should no longer be consulted about Irish affairs. [487-499].

The author says that he has recorded these various con- p. 249
jectures, because truth requires that we should not only firmly assert what is certain, but also take account of mere conjectures. He gives a warning that conjectures are very often deceptive, and he has such a high regard for Wadding that he is almost persuaded that in the thorny controversies of Ireland he did not behave otherwise than his conscience commanded him. He mentions that Carron was deprived of his office as Commissary and Visitor. [500].

The author passes to the Discalced Carmelites. It has been 249
recorded above that their Provincial, Fr. Rowe, had been sent by the Ormondists to Rome to promote the Appeal. Letter of certain members of the Order, dated April 21. They had held a Provincial Chapter, by order of which the Chapter was divided into two chapters, one of which, apparently, was Ormondist. As to the other religious orders in Ireland, they do not appear to have opposed the Peace with Ormonde, though they did not all swear to it or sign public instruments in support of it. [501-504].

The Bishop of Ferns and N. Plunkett were sent on March 22 251
by Ormonde and the Commissioners of Trust to treat with Owen O'Neill about a reconciliation of parties. No agreement resulted. At this time Owen, finding that his own condition and that of his people was almost desperate, was thinking of making some agreement with the English Parliament. His letter to Monck, then governor of Dundalk, Apr. 25, enclosing a statement of Proposals to be presented by General O'Neill and the Confederate Catholics of Ulster to the Parliament of England. Reply of Monck, sending some emendations of Owen's proposals, and suggesting a truce for three months. The author argues

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against the statements made by Philopater Irenaeus as to Owen's action, and states that neither by the Proposals referred to, nor by any others at least up till May 18, did Owen confirm a treaty with the Parliament. [505-525].

p. 257 Letter of the Archbishop of Armagh, Owen O'Neill, and others to the Pope, May 18, sending Denis O'Driscoll, Archbishop of Brindisi, as their agent to Rome. They say that Ulster especially, and the greater and sounder part of the clergy, together with a certain number of the nobles of the other provinces, are constant in their purpose to continue the war. Text of an instrument giving authority to the Agent at Rome, and letters of the Archbishop and others to the two Cardinals Barbarini, and of Owen to Cardinal de la Cueva, Cardinal Pamfli, the Nuncio Rinuccini, and Dean Massari, May 18. [526-536].

263 In this summer Ormonde moved not only against the parliamentary forces, but also against Owen O'Neill. Inchiquin, who had now joined Ormonde, reduced Trim, Drogheda and Dundalk. The Scots in Ulster, following the royal party, complied with Ormonde's wishes so far as to deprive the parliamentarians of certain forts of minor importance, and they besieged Londonderry. So by July the whole of Ireland was under Ormonde's authority, except Dublin and Londonderry, which were both for the Parliament, and the forces of O'Neill, which were in a straitened position between the two parties. Ormonde made preparations for besieging Dublin. [537-540].

265 Owen O'Neill entered upon negotiations with Prince Rupert, who had shortly before the Nuncio's departure arrived at Kinsale, in order that he might under the Prince's authority fight against the Parliament. The intermediary was one John Vangyrish, a German soldier, who had been fighting with the forces of Connacht, and had been made by Owen governor of the Aran Islands. He was known to the Prince, and went to him bringing letters from various military commanders. Letter of Prince Rupert to Ormonde, suggesting that envoys should be sent to deal with Owen O'Neill for an accommodation. Owen made a pact with Charles Coote, and raised the siege of Londonderry. The author gives (against Philopater) the circumstances excusing Owen's action. [541-551].

274 Patrick Crelly, abbot, had in 1648 gone with the Marquis of Antrim to France. There were plans concerted by Antrim and Montrose for renewing the war against the Scottish Puritans. After Antrim's return home, Crelly went to Rome

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to seek help for him. Text of a statement of reasons why the war against the Scots should be supported by the Pope and others, containing references to the successes of Alexander MacDonnell. Many in Scotland under Antrim's influence have abjured heresy, and the Gordons and other noble families are in heart and mind Catholic. Finding his efforts at Rome were fruitless, Crely went to London and negotiated with the Independents, from whom a small number of the English Catholics had hopes of obtaining concessions. These negotiations of Crely had no success. Letter of Crely to the Nuncio, July 9, and another of August 13, entreating that a settlement of the affairs of the Catholics should be suspended, no matter what suggestions may be made by the King and the Queen. Cromwell is waiting at Milford for favourable winds for his Irish voyage. The author suspects that the Parliamentarians may have corrupted Crely and bought his support. [552-565].

Account of the battle of Rathmines, Aug. 2, in which p.284 Ormonde's forces were defeated by the Parliamentarians under Michael Jones. This narrative is based on a letter of Michael Jones to the Parliament, printed at London on Aug. 11, with an appendix by Capt. Otway, and on the works of Philopater Irenaeus and R. Bellings. Lists of the slain of Ormonde's army and of those taken prisoners. The author remarks that not a few suspected hidden treachery on Ormonde's part. [566-577].

If Ormonde had at that time taken Dublin, it is probable 292 that Cromwell would not have crossed over to Ireland, or at least would have been repulsed with little trouble. He arrived at Dublin on Aug. 20. On Aug. 30 the Commissioners of Trust sent a letter to each of the Bishops. They refer to rumours spread among the people by the ill-affected that the English rebels will concede better terms to the Irish Catholics than had been granted by the King's authority in the recent articles of peace. The Bishops are to inform their diocesans that these rebels have already decreed that the people of Ireland are to be extirpated. With this letter was sent the form of an oath of allegiance to King Charles II to be taken by all. [578-583].

The garrison at Drogheda had been strengthened by Ormonde, 295 after his defeat at Dublin, and the town placed under the command of Sir Arthur Aston. On the twelfth day of the siege Cromwell stormed the town. The principal commanders and almost all the soldiers of the garrison were slain, and nearly four thousand Catholic citizens were butchered, though they had been promised safety by Cromwell's officers. With an equal

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violation of public faith Cromwell slaughtered the soldiers and citizens who were in the Mill Mount. [584].

p. 296 Cromwell sent reinforcements to Coote in Ulster, and made preparations at Dublin for his expedition to Wexford. Trim, Dundalk, Newry and Carlingford were surrendered to the Cromwellians without resistance. Arklow was abandoned, although the enemy had not appeared. The people of Wexford declined an offer of aid from Owen O'Neill. Some auxiliary forces were introduced by Castlehaven and by Ormonde himself. Taking of the Castle, and of the town, by Cromwell, with an immense slaughter of citizens. [585-586].

298 Cromwell now proceeded to New Ross, where Luke Taaffe had been made governor by Ormonde. The latter decided to ask for terms. Letter to him from Cromwell, Oct. 19, defining his attitude as to terms, and saying as regards liberty of conscience, that if that meant liberty to celebrate Mass, such a liberty would be by no means allowed wherever the Parliament of England had control. The town was surrendered. It was afterwards alleged, as against the account given by Bellings, that it might easily have been defended, and that Ormonde himself ordered the surrender. [587-589].

300 The Parliamentarians, now that matters were going so much more in their favour, rescinded all the agreements made between O'Neill and Monck, as discreditable to the new republic. There was urgent necessity for reconciliation between O'Neill and his army on the one side, and Ormonde and the Catholic parties, hitherto discordant, on the other. Fr. Francis Nugent, Capuchin, negotiated with the King of England about equitable conditions to be granted to O'Neill. In September the King sent Fr. Thomas Talbot with letters to O'Neill and Richard O'Ferrall, dated from St. Germain's. O'Neill's illness now was daily getting worse, and his recovery was despaired of. [590-595].

304 On Oct. 12 an agreement was concluded between the Ulster army, represented by the Bishop of Clogher and T. O'Boyle, and Ormonde and the Commissioners of Trust, represented by N. Plunkett and R. Barnewall. O'Neill insisted that an article should be included providing that a petition should be made to the Pope to release the realm from the Censures, and that a friendly letter should be written to the Nuncio, asking him to forget anything done in the past at which he might have taken offence. This article was accepted, but, as well as some of the other articles, was kept secret. The author points out the

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inadequacy and vagueness of the article regarding the censures. He gives the text of the first two articles from Philopater. Letter of Ormonde to O'Neill, Oct. 18, expressing his satisfaction with the agreement, and his friendly feelings towards O'Neill himself. Reply of O'Neill, Nov. 3, solemnly protesting that his views in these wars had never been his personal advantage, but the cause of religion, loyalty, and the just liberty of the nation. [596-604].

Cromwell moved to attack Duncannon, but hastily retreated p. 308 in fear of O'Neill's approaching army. Praise of the loyalty of Thomas Roche, governor of Duncannon. Cromwell returned to New Ross, whence he got his forces across the Barrow into Co. Kilkenny. Carrick was given up to him by Ormonde's garrison of English heretics. Treachery of some of these in deserting to Cromwell's side. Cromwell, having crossed the Suir at Carrick, took the fort of Passage, and proceeded to besiege Waterford, whence he retreated on the approach of the army of Ulster. The author notes that before the arrival of this army Ormonde had not defended any town or castle against Cromwell. [605-609].

The forces of the enemy were now reduced in number, and the Irish began to promise themselves victory. But the English heretics under Inchiquin holding Cork, Kinsale, Youghal, Dungarvan and Bandon, now, largely on the instigation of Viscount Broghill, went over to Cromwell. This action meant the end of Inchiquin's tyranny, and such was the sad issue of the wicked sagacity of the pseudo-Council and the Ormondists in making the truce with Inchiquin in 1648 and the Peace of this year 1649. The Ormondists gave more weight to the sacrilegious advice of Fr. Peter Walsh, Fr. Thomas Talbot, and other apostles of that sort, than to the warnings given under divine inspiration by the Nuncio and the Clergy. [610-613]. 311

Many now altered their views, and came to believe that it was the Nuncio and his party who had acted wisely. Many miseries followed on the change in the fortunes of the war. In August, the month of Cromwell's arrival, the plague began to rage in Galway, and from there devastated almost the whole island, except Ulster, into which province it never penetrated. [614-615]. 314

Early in May the Archbishop of Tuam held a Provincial Synod at Tuam. He ordered his suffragans to discontinue payment of contributions from tithes to the public treasury. 318

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It was said that this money was being spent for the support, not of soldiers, but of protestant ministers. The Archbishop of Cashel also held a Provincial Synod, at the end of August, at Cashel, and afterwards at Limerick. There was a discussion in this Synod about a question of jurisdiction which was then in dispute between the Archbishop and the Bishop of Killaloe. [616-617].

p. 318 The Clergy appointed a meeting of an Ecclesiastical Congregation to be held at Clonmacnoise on December 4. The prelates of both parties (all except the Bishop of Kilmore) attended the meeting either personally or by procurator, as did almost all the regular prelates of Ireland. The meeting was consented to by Ormonde and the Commissioners of Trust from reasons of policy; in fact they desired it, in order that harmony might be attained among the people, after all Cromwell's expeditions and the defection of Munster. The two parties of the Clergy agreed in certain deliberations, but as to other articles they were at variance. Most of the Congregation joined in a letter to the Pope, Dec. 12, referring to certain acts of the pseudo-Assembly passed by the Ormondists against the Nuncio in 1648; these acts were passed in the absence of the Archbishop of Tuam and other bishops, and on examination have been found to be calumnious. On the same day another letter was written to the Pope by the Archbishop of Tuam and others who had opposed the Nuncio, stating that they believed the excommunication to have been without the requisite foundations; all the same, they ask for a conditional (*ad cautelam*) absolution. On the following day, a third letter was written by the Archbishop of Armagh and the other supporters of the Nuncio; believing that the excommunication rested on solid foundations, and that the Appeal was frivolous, they also ask that the excommunication may be removed *ad cautelam*. Both sides wrote on Dec. 13 to the Pope, recommending the Bishop of Down and Connor, whom they are sending to Rome to explain the tyranny under which the country is suffering, and to ask for succour from His Holiness. [618-627].

325 On the same day, Dec. 13, the Congregation sent letters to Cardinals and others at Rome, to inform them of the coalition of the two Catholic parties, and to recommend the Bishop of Down. They appointed Fr. William Burgat as a colleague to the Bishop. On Dec. 13 they wrote to the Nuncio, asking him to forget past offences, and to support their agents. The Puritans from England, they declare, are openly announcing

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that the Mass will nowhere be permitted under the Parliament. Another letter was written to the same by the Archbishop of Dublin and others. They say that they heard that it was by the direction of the Nuncio, acting through the Capuchin Fr. Nugent, that recently, when Owen O'Neill was at the point of death, the Province of Ulster had come to an agreement with Ormonde. [628-631].

The author shows that the belief about the Nuncio's action p. 327 stated in the preceding letter was mistaken. The Nuncio was indignant with those who spread this rumour about him. It is not to be doubted that the conclusion of the agreement with Ormonde by Owen O'Neill and the Bishop of Clogher was only to a slight degree, if at all, due to the influence and advice of Fr. Francis. Letter of the latter to the Nuncio, from Paris, Aug. 18. [632-634].

The Congregation included some prelates who had stood for 329 the Censures, some who had openly opposed them, and some who were neutral, namely the Bishops of Ferns and Kilmacduagh. The Bishop of Ardagh did not subscribe either for or against the Censures. Text of the Acts passed unanimously by the Congregation on Dec. 13. [635-649].

The Congregation received various informations as to the 337 corruptions of Ormonde's government, and complaints from Munster and Leinster. Such grievances gave an excellent opportunity to the clergy to depose Ormonde, and the author observes that it would have been much better if this had been done at this time, rather than in the following year, when it was too late. Quotation from a letter of the Nuncio to the Archbishop of Dublin and others, Feb. 12, 1651, showing that the Bishop of Clogher had supported Ormonde in the Congregation, so as to effect a shadowy and superficial union with him. The Bishop was appointed to take Owen's place, and to command the Ulster forces. [650-651].

Francis Esmond and James Dillon, who had gone to the 341 Continent with recommendations from the Nuncio, had little success in their applications for supplies. At this time Dr. Daniel O'Daly was doing good service in Spain to the King and the Queen Mother of England. Fr. P. Crelly, after his unsuccessful embassy in London, went over to Paris, and soon afterwards returned to Rome. [652-654].

The King could not in this year be induced by the Scots to 344 make any decree prejudicial to the peace made with the Catholics of Ireland. Correspondence of the Nuncio about the

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case brought against him and Massari by Didacus de la Torre concerning the booty taken from the Nuncio's frigate in 1647. [655-656].

- p. 348 Continuation of narrative of the Nuncio's journey. Leaving Lyons, he proceeded by Turin and Bologna to Florence, and arrived at Rome about Nov. 8. Massari in a letter of Nov. 21 to Thomas Rinuccini states that the Pope received the Nuncio with remarkable expressions of goodwill and esteem, and desired him to compile a Narrative of his Embassy, for preservation among the Papal archives. Text of the opening paragraphs of this Report. All the misfortunes of the Catholics and of the Nuncio's embassy are ascribed to the party of the more recent Irish, which he calls the Ormondist faction. [657-662].
- 354 Letter of the Commissioners of Trust to the Pope, Oct. 4. They deny the charge of having passed acts prejudicial to the Church. As to the Nuncio, they regret that having on his arrival in Ireland found a united people, he had divided them into parties, and had exercised his authority to the hurt and ruin of the nation. Meanwhile, Fr. Rowe by letters from Rome was keeping his friends in France and Ireland in suspense, promising them that a victory over the Nuncio was almost certain. He wasted this whole year in prosecuting the Appeal. Letter of Cardinal Albizzi to Massari, Dec. 4, denying that Fr. Rowe had been granted an audience of the Pope. [663-667].
- 357 Various letters were written from Rome showing with what applause the Nuncio had been received by the Pope and the Cardinals. [668].
- 357 James MacDonnell, a kinsman of Antrim, who had served under him and Montrose in the Scottish war, went to Rome in this year. He returned to France in the following year. He was the compiler of a narrative of the Scottish war. Owen O'Neill died on Nov. 6, and was buried in the Franciscan Convent at Cavan. An account of his descent, and texts of three epitaphs on him in Latin verse. He had been a steady supporter of the Nuncio and his party. [669-676].
- 362 At the end of this year Dr. Robert Kearny died at Paris. John O'Mollony, theologian, was appointed to succeed him as Dean of Cashel. The Duchess of Buckingham, wife of the Marquis of Antrim, died on Nov. 16. [677].

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PART II. A.D. 1650

The coalition of the two Catholic parties effected in October, p. 365
1649, did not prove enduring. The Bishop of Down did not set
out for Rome till 1652. His letter to the Nuncio from the
Ulster camp near Newry, May 24, 1650, about the embassy
which had been entrusted to him by the Clonmacnoise Con-
gregation. [1-4].

On March 8 Fr. J. Ponce wrote from Paris to the Nuncio 367
informing him that Fr. Rowe had been giving out that the
Nuncio was now little thought of at Rome, and that the Pope
had forbidden Dr. Creagh and other Irishmen to interfere with
Irish affairs at Rome. Letter of Fr. Rowe to Fr. R. O'Ferrall,
March 13, saying he had been enjoined to warn all his country-
men not to take part in business relating to Ireland, except under
instructions from authorized persons. This letter became
known to the Pope, and much displeased him. The author
explains how Fr. Rowe's position deteriorated owing to the
depression of the Ormondists in Ireland brought about by
Cromwell and the Cromwellians. [5-8].

Letters of Fr. Hugh Rochfort to Fr. John Colgan, March 9, 369
and of the latter to Fr. Paul King, March 12, explaining the
circumstances of the pact insisted on by Owen O'Neill on Oct.
12, 1649, securing that all Catholic commissaries, officials and
soldiers should ask for absolution. These letters gave much joy
to the Nuncio and his supporters at Rome. The author explains
the misunderstandings which had arisen. It was not the case,
as was supposed, that the prelates in the Congregation who
were against the Nuncio had really changed their views about
the Censures, though they were prepared to submit to the Pope's
decision. There was ambiguity in, and mis-reporting of, certain
phrases, made easier by the absence of texts of the Congregation's
Decrees. [9-13].

Fr. Rowe was never admitted to audience of the Pope. 374
The Pope ordered him to be expelled from Rome. Petition of
Fr. James Talbot to the Queen, May 12, making accusations
against Fr. Rowe. He had betrayed his country, by sending
false reports from Rome regarding the progress of his mission.
He had by such falsehoods kept alive the discord between the
clergy and the Kingdom ; if these disputes had been reconciled
in time, the Kingdom would have been able to free itself from
the yoke of the rebels. [14-18].

Letter to Fr. Rowe from Lord Cottingham, envoy of the King 377

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- of England in Spain, from Madrid, Feb. 14. He says the Spanish Court is very well disposed to King Charles. The King of Spain has written to his ambassador at Rome to negotiate with the Pope in favour of the English King. Letter on the same matter from Sir Edward Hyde, joint English envoy in Spain, to an Englishman who was managing the affairs of the English King in Rome, Madrid, Feb. 13. It can be seen from this correspondence with what dexterity the heretical English ministers were employing underground minings to deceive the Pope. The efforts of Catholic princes had much to do with bringing it about that the Pope never issued a sentence in favour of the Nuncio. [19-26].
- p. 383 Fr. Scarampi brought it up against the Nuncio that he had acted imprudently. On the Nuncio's return to Fermo, the whole clergy and people received him with honour, and offered thanks to God. [27-29].
- 384 In this year Cromwell took Cahir Castle, and several other forts, including Kiltinan, which belonged to Lord Dunboyne. Letter of Lord Dunboyne to the Nuncio, March 7, asking him to obtain from him the Pope's absolution from the Censures. The Pope sent him a Brief of absolution in the following year. Kilkenny being infected with the plague, and apprehension being felt owing to the movements of Cromwell's forces in the vicinity, Ormonde and the Commissioners of Trust transferred themselves to Thomond. The people of Limerick declined his proposal to introduce a garrison into the city. [30-33].
- 387 Cromwell laid siege to Kilkenny. The city surrendered on April 7 on conditions which, though iniquitous, were not altogether bad considering the circumstances. Narrative relating to certain Capuchins of Kilkenny. In September, Fr. Fiacre was discovered by the guile of a spy, and languished in prison for the rest of this year. David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory, died [on April 20]. He had suffered ill treatment from heretic soldiers. Mention of his writings, the reputation of which was tarnished by the English pamphlet against the Nuncio's Censures, issued under his name in 1648. The author finds no evidence that he was ever absolved by the Nuncio from the Censures. [34-36].
- 390 Cromwell moved against Clonmel, which was under the governorship of Hugh O'Neill, Owen's nephew. On his first approach, Cromwell suffered great losses from the defending forces, and retreated. Hugh O'Neill, despairing of aid from Ormonde, and expecting no fair terms from Cromwell, left the

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town by night and went to Waterford. On the following day the town surrendered on terms. Ormonde went from Limerick into Connacht. Account of his conduct in a letter of the Archbishop of Dublin and others to the Nuncio, from Galway, Feb. 12, 1651. Many evidences showed that Ormonde preferred to cherish his enemies rather than to weaken and oppose them. [37-40].

Boetius Egan, Bishop of Ross, who had raised a hasty levy p. 391 of soldiers at Killarney, fell in with Lord Broghill. The Bishop's forces were put to flight and the Bishop was captured and hanged, thus ending a pious life by a glorious martyrdom [in May]. His letter to the Nuncio, March 17, 1649, about persecution suffered by him for his adherence to the Nuncio. He was one who never betrayed the trust given to him. The other Boetius Egan, Bishop of Elphin, died on April 19. [41-45].

After the convention made with Ormonde in Oct., 1649, the 394 Ulster army had done good service in checking the enemy, and had then (with the exception of the forces in Ulster under Hugh O'Neill) retired into winter-quarters in Ulster. The Bishop of Clogher was appointed general of the Ulster army in place of Owen O'Neill. Formal submissions and acts of penitence were made by the colonels, commanders, and others of the army who had revolted against the Censures. This submission gave great joy to the Pope, as was indicated in a letter from Massari to the Nuncio, July 2. [46-50].

Ormonde confirmed the Bishop of Clogher's election, and the 397 army penetrated into Ulster. There were two parties of heretics in Ulster, the English, some of whom, after Cromwell's arrival, had joined with the people of Londonderry, and the Scots, who had in the proceeding year embraced the Ormonde Peace, but afterwards on Cromwell's arrival had again gone over to the Parliament. Battle in Tirconaill [at Scariffhollis, near Letterkenny], June 21, in which Sir C. Coote defeated the Catholic army, the flower of the Ulster army being destroyed. Many of its leaders, including Henry O'Neill, though they had been promised their lives, were executed by the victors. The Bishop was kept in custody for some time, while a decision was awaited from the English parliament, and on Sept. 17 he was hanged at Enniskillen. Charlemont was surrendered on terms to Coote and Venables. [51-53].

Ticroghan and Carlow were reduced by Cromwell's forces. 399 Text of the terms of surrender of Carlow, July 25. Most

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(almost all) of the Ormondists, some earlier and some later, availed themselves of the absolution from the Censures granted by the Nuncio's delegates. [54-65].

p.401 An audacious and insolent letter written from Ghent, Feb. 5, to a certain Franciscan by Fr. Peter Marchant, Franciscan Commissary General, by whom Fr. R. Carron had been sent to Ireland as Visitor in the preceding year. He protests against the rumours against him prevalent at Rome. Mandate issued from Madrid, Feb. 4, by Fr. P. Manero, Vice-Commissary General, revoking Carron's commission. It has been learned that his arrival was untimely, and his 'style' irregular, and that he had disturbed the peace of the Province, and divided it into two factions, the one fighting for the rule of religion, and the other revolting against the authority of the Holy See. Fr. Owen Field was made Commissary, and held a Provincial Council in August. Submissions were made by Fr. J. Fitz-Simon and other friars who had adhered to Carron, at Kilconnell, Aug. 18, and by Carron himself, Aug. 19. Joint letter of Fr. Sullivan, Provincial, and Fr. T. Makiernan, ex-provincial, to the Nuncio, Aug. 24. [66-75].

406 Fr. Anthony Dalaghan had been appointed as envoy to Rome in 1649, and again on April 12, 1650. He was to explain to the Pope and the Nuncio the reasons for Owen O'Neill's convention with Ormonde. This embassy came to nothing. Another embassy entrusted this year to Col. Robert FitzMaurice was equally fruitless. [76-77].

407 The Scots had been presenting to the King the conditions under which they would submit to him. One of these conditions was that he should rescind the peace made with the Catholics of Ireland, and proscribe them as public enemies. During the year 1649 he refused to accept this condition, and that he persisted in this determination for a certain time during 1650 is shown by his letter to Ormonde from Jersey, Jan. 13. [78-79].

409 Viscount Taaffe sailed from Ireland on June 29, as an envoy from Ormonde to the King, in order to report the present state of affairs in Ireland. On arriving in France he found that the King had already crossed over to Scotland. His letter to the King, from Paris, Aug. 16. He stresses Ormonde's need for supplies. If only aids are obtained, many places can be recovered. He gives a list of places and counties still in Ormonde's control in Munster and Leinster. Charlemont in Ulster and some other castles, and the whole of Connacht, are held by him. Letter of Taaffe to the Archduke Leopold.

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governor of Belgium, Sept. 19, asking for aid. Letter of the Archbishop of Dublin and others to the Archduke's chamberlain, April 26. [80-86].

In the now unfortunate state of Catholic affairs, many p. 413 accusations against Ormonde came in from various parts of the realm. Many suspected him of secret treachery, and most people charged him with very bad administration. Fr. Ponce reported that the Bishop of Ferns had publicly declared in a sermon at Limerick that he had been deceived in the things that he had done against the Nuncio's wishes. The Bishop of Limerick, writing to Dr. Creagh on June 9, fears that our perjuries and false oaths, and the detestable machinations towards procuring the departure of the Nuncio, have to a great extent been the origin of our misfortunes. The author makes a number of remarks on this letter. [87-89].

On July 29 the Clergy informed Ormonde that they were about 416 to hold an Ecclesiastical Congregation at Jamestown in Connacht in order to settle whatever they might judge to be conducive to the public good, and suggested that he might send one or two persons to bring forward proposals in his name for the safety of the realm. The Congregation held its first meeting on Aug. 6, and after considering the innumerable charges against Ormonde, issued a Declaration [L.D., IV, no. 3] on Aug. 12, which was signed by other prelates at Galway on Aug. 23. In the Declaration they point to the conclusion of the Peace in 1649 as a proof of their loyalty, it having been made at a time when the King was imprisoned, and the Queen and the Prince were in no position to give aid to the Confederates, who might by coming to terms with the Parliament have obtained as good, or better and ampler, conditions for their religion, life, liberty and possessions. Having made the Peace, the Catholics submitted with alacrity to the royal government in Ormonde's person, and had given much money and military supplies. Afterwards, Ormonde disappointed everyone's hopes, and was author of the ruin of the whole realm. The Declaration proceeds to give details of his misdeeds. He gave military commands to Protestants. He handed over garrisons and ports of Munster to perfidious persons. He deprived Catholic officers of their posts, and replaced them by Protestants. He substituted the use of petitions for proper legal procedure. He suppressed the navigation of the realm. The Catholics were forcibly deprived, by Inchiquin, of the cathedral of Cloyne. The oblations and other dues which should have been paid to

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the Catholic clergy in Cos. Cork, Waterford and Kerry were usurped by heretical ministers. His control of the army was improvident and without circumspection. The prelates of the Congregation of Clonmacnoise, instead of being praised by Ormonde for their promotion of the King's service, were made objects of suspicion and blame. After the Peace was made, Ormonde and Inchiquin relaxed from their former industry and activity, and spent their time in remote places, far from the enemy, in Connacht and in Munster, occupying themselves in sports, amusements and banqueting. Other charges are added, and the Congregation declares that Ormonde has shown himself incapable of his office, and the people are admonished to obey the form of government which will be prescribed by the Congregation, pending other regulations by the General Assembly, or the King. A form of excommunication against all who shall oppose this Declaration is added, dated similarly to the Declaration. Alone of all the prelates of the realm, the Bishop of Kilfenora refused subscription to the Acts. It is to be noted that neither the Inchiquin truce, nor the Ormonde Peace, is expressly condemned in the Acts; it is Ormonde personally who is condemned. [90-126].

p. 431 The question of the use made by Ormonde of money supplied to him occasioned a literary warfare between the Bishop of Ferns and Fr. J. Ponce, writing against Ormonde, and R. Bellings, writing in his defence. The Acts of the Jamestown Congregation had described the money supplied to Ormonde as the 'nerve' of the war. Bellings enlarges upon Ormonde's great difficulties for want of money. The author gives the text of a Statement of Taxation imposed by the Commissioners on the province of Munster, and concludes that the clergy were fully justified in charging Ormonde with peculation. [127-129].

436 At the time of the Jamestown Congregation, the Archbishop of Cashel and other prelates of Munster were at Limerick. Text of a petition presented to them by the people of Limerick, with a statement of reasons why a declaration should be issued against the present government, and why the army and the civil government should be transferred to good Catholics and faithful subjects. They say that the conquest, by so despicable an enemy, of the whole kingdom up to this small corner (Limerick) would have been impossible but for the manifest treachery of those in control of the government, and they enumerate the various places lost, and give examples of Ormonde's incompetence in choosing commanders. Text in

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Latin of Questions regarding the present government presented to the Bishop of Limerick by the citizens. (The English text came into the hands of the enemy, and was printed at London, Oct. 24). They ask the Bishop why he persists in his error, if, as appears by his private conversation, he has come to recognize it. As he favours heretics, is it not more lawful for his flock to disobey him, than for him to rebel against the Pope and the Pope's Nuncio? Will not the citizens in the present extremity act more prudently in making terms with the Parliamentarians rather than in trusting themselves to the rule of a domestic enemy? They point out what has been the fate of other Catholic cities. The Congregation gave a favourable reception to the complaints presented to them, and then went to Galway. [130-145].

The Congregation at Jamestown decided to postpone the publication of the excommunication until Ormonde should have replied to certain conditions proposed to him. They transferred the whole authority of the Congregation to Commissaries. [146].

Cromwell having been summoned back to England, his son-in-law Ireton was made his deputy in Ireland. Ireton offered terms of surrender to Preston, who was then governor of Waterford in succession to Richard O'Farrell, who had made a splendid defence of the city against Cromwell, during the preceding winter. Preston said that he had never been asked to surrender a city without a siege, nor had conditions ever been offered to him before he asked for them. The position having deteriorated, the citizens, on the advice of Ormonde, agreed to a surrender on Aug. 6. Text of the terms. Ireton in a letter to London, Aug. 12, said that the city was so well fortified and supplied with food, that he was surprised at the speediness of the surrender. A different view of the situation was expressed by the Bishop of Waterford on the Continent in July, 1651. After a long siege Duncannon was surrendered in the same month on similar terms. The governor, T. Roche, had died some months earlier. [147-155].

Text of Instructions given by the Jamestown Congregation to their envoys sent to Ormonde. [L.D., IV, no. 4]. Ormonde was to be told that the people have lost all hope of defending what they possess, and are inclined to make terms with the Parliament for their lives and goods. It is proposed that Ormonde should entrust the royal authority to four commissioners, chosen by him from eight persons proposed by the Congregation. The envoys arrived at Loughrea on Aug. 12,

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where they had no success. They retired to Galway, and from there made a report to the Commissaries. [156-168].

p. 450 The Bishop of Clonfert wrote to Clanrickard's army urging them to seek absolution from the Censures of 1648 from his delegate, Fr. D. O'Kelly. Clanrickard retorted by writing to the Bishop to tell him that he had ordered his soldiers on pain of death not to sign any public instrument without his consent. He sent a warning on Sept. 7 to Major D. Costello. After a fruitless controversy, the prelates decided to publish the Declaration against Ormonde and the annexed Excommunication. Letter of the Commissaries of the Congregation to the Commissioners of Trust, Sept. 6. Ormonde proceeded to arrest the Bishop of Killaloe, but after the bishops had interposed their authority, he was liberated. [169-181].

456 Ireton now divided his forces, sending one part under Waller to cut off Limerick and make a way for its siege, and himself with the other part moving through Co. Wicklow and other regions of Leinster. After the taking of Charlemont, Coote left Ulster, and his forces and Ireton's were now proceeding to attack Athlone, and to penetrate by its bridge into Connacht and Thomond. The Commissioners of Trust sent Lord Athenry and G. Browne to the Commissaries of the Clergy at Galway. Texts of the proposal sent by the hands of these envoys, Sept. 28, and of the replies of the Commissaries, Sept. 29. [182-189].

459 On Sept. 29 the prelates issued a decree suspending the excommunication so long as military resistance was maintained, and calling upon all Catholics to unite in repelling the enemy. Arrangements made by the Commissaries for assembling of forces and appointment of officers. In September the enemy attempted a siege of Limerick, which was shortly afterwards abandoned. [190-191].

461 Earlier this year Hugh Rochfort had been sent as a public envoy to negotiate with the Duke of Lorraine about aid for Ireland. Lorraine having given hopes of this, Ormonde sent Taaffe on a similar errand. On discords arising between Ormonde and the Clergy, the clerical Commissaries on Oct. 5 appointed the Bishop of Ferns and Hugh Rochfort to treat with any Catholic prince, state or person in any manner advantageous to the Irish Catholics. A fight occurred between the Irish in Co. Wexford and English forces. Efforts of Ormonde, Clanrickard, Inchiquin and their supporters to bring about a

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revocation of the acts of the Jamestown Congregation. [192-196].

Having crossed over to Scotland, Charles II reconciled the p.463 factions there and obtained a union in his favour against the English Parliamentarians. He issued at Dumfermline on Aug. 16 an edict describing the Irish as rebels, and revoking the Peace made with them in 1649 as sinful and unlawful. Letter of Ormonde to the Commissioners of Trust, Oct. 23. He said that the Declaration had been obtained from the King by improper methods, and that in spite of it he (Ormonde) would continue to consider the Peace as valid, provided the declarations and excommunication issued at Jamestown were cancelled. To this letter, and to the royal declaration and to certain proposals made by the Commissioners of Trust, the Commissaries of the Clergy issued a Reply on Oct. 29. [L.D., IV, no. 5]. They held that the Declaration implied that Ormonde's authority had ceased. They believe that if his authority is continued, the people will make terms with the Parliament. They decline to revoke their declaration and excommunication. [197-216].

Ormonde summoned a meeting of the Assembly of the Realm to be held at Loughrea on Nov. 15. The Commissioners of Trust supported this summons by letters, and the Commissaries of the Congregation suspended the declaration and excommunication. Owing to the power of the enemy, the attendance was comparatively small, and the Ormondists contrived that their partizans should be in a large numerical preponderance over the honest party. An account of the assembly is given, based on its diary and principal acts, a statement of which was drawn up. Letter of Ormonde to the Assembly, Nov. 16. All the prelates present at the Assembly opposed Ormonde. The view of the latter's party was that no return should be made to the previous Confederacy, but the Peace of 1649 should be maintained, because the King's Declaration had been made under compulsion. (The author maintains that there was no justification for this view about the King). The Ormondists held that Ormonde's power still existed, but that he should entrust it to a person under whom the people might continue the war against the Parliament, and so be in a position to obtain their rights from the King, in the event of his restoration. On Nov. 30 R. Blake, prolocutor of the Assembly, sent in the name of both parties in the Assembly a reply to Ormonde's letter of the 16th. Further demands were made by the latter in a letter of Dec. 2. [217-232].

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- p.485 Two bulky bundles of documents were delivered to the Assembly from Ormonde. The calumnies of the factionists were refuted by the prelates. [233-237].
- 489 On Dec. 7 the Commissaries of the Assembly issued a declaration affirming their loyalty to the King, and asking Ormonde to leave the royal authority in the person of someone faithful to the King and acceptable to the nation. Ormonde, being now about to leave the kingdom, delegated his authority to the Marquis of Clanrickard. The Assembly issued on Dec. 24 a declaration of obedience to Clanrickard. [238-244].
- 495 The author gives a statement under various heads as to what may definitely be considered as certain in the confusion of the controversy in agitation from August to December, and in the great variety of Acts drawn up during this time. [245].
- 501 Ormonde left the country on Dec. 12. Inchiquin sailed with him to France. They both visited the Queen Mother of England. [246].
- 502 The clergy and their supporters seem to have acted in an absolutely insane manner, in agreeing that Ormonde's place should be taken by Clanrickard. The author gives a brief explanation as to what the fraud was on the part of Ormonde and the Ormondists by which the devil prepared his way to this great evil. [247-250].
- 507 The controversy about the Censures of 1648 was discussed in the pseudo-Assembly, and a futile form of submission was drawn up to be sent to the Pope. This document stated that the letter from Richard Blake to the Nuncio dated Oct. 19, 1648, in which Rinuccini was invited to prepare his defence at Rome against the accusation sent against him, had been cancelled. The Pope was asked (saving the benefit of the Appeal) to free the petitioners from any censures they might have incurred. The author makes a number of remarks on this submission, and adds that it was never actually sent to the Pope. On Dec. 10 the Bishop of Dromore made a report to the Assembly about the position of the Ulster Army. Some of the Leinster representatives desired that this army should be sent into Leinster, others feared the ravages they might cause there. It was decided on Dec. 19 that the Ulster men should move out of Connacht with a view to continuing the war in Ulster. [251-256].
- 513 Fr. Fr. Maguireck returned from Rome to Ireland. Some information about his doings at home is quoted from a letter of his from Galway, Oct. 5. Fr. P. Crelly, abbot, had come

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under suspicion of having betrayed the trust placed in him. He returned from Rome in this year. After spending some months in England, he returned to Paris. Text of a statement which seems to have been presented by some Irishman to Card. Mazarin. The writer of this statement refers to the declaration of the prelates against Ormonde, and points out the opportunity thus presented to France, if not of attracting the Irish to come under French protection, at least of taking measures to prevent any conjunction of the Irish with the Parliament of England. An envoy ought to be sent to offer to the Irish conditions on the part of France. [257-266].

Text of petitions made to the Pope on July 4 on behalf of the kingdom, in relation to appointments of superiors or visitors of religious orders, appointments to vacant sees, and privileges and faculties of ordinaries and regulars. The Pope, in testimony of his good-will to the Irish Capuchins, decreed that they should have for ten years authority to erect convents in Ireland. [267-269].

Disputes at the University of Paris in this year. There were many Irish exiles there, priests and young secular students. Among them was Dr. R. Nugent, who had been accustomed to hold gatherings of Irish priests to discuss spiritual matters, and also for the purpose of considering means for giving aid to the Faith in Ireland. A proposal was made to found a new and larger Irish college, and the question was disputed as to provincial representation among the prelates and students of the college. With a view to uniting the dissidents, Dr. Nugent proposed that they should unite in a decree against Jansenism, a 'sect' then widely diffused in France and Belgium, lest Ireland might be infected by this doctrine. A decree was signed by Dr. Nugent and about 26 other Irishmen, condemning certain propositions containing the Jansenist doctrine. This Irish protest was approved by the Faculty of Paris. The Jansenist propositions were afterwards condemned by Pope Innocent X. [270-279].

In this year Dr. John Callaghan published at Paris his work entitled *Vindiciarum Catholicorum Iberniae, authore Philopatro Irenaeo, ad Alitophilum libri duo*. The publication at this time of this book much prejudiced the Catholic cause in Ireland and elsewhere. The Nuncio Rinuccini, in a letter from Fermo, Dec. 5, informed Fr. Richard O'Ferrall that he had decided to publish the history of Irish affairs at that period in a different manner. [280-282].

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PART III. A.D. 1651

- p.531 Letter of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Clonfert, and other ecclesiastics to the Nuncio in Italy, from Galway, Feb. 12. The writers give a narrative of events, particularly as to the Jamestown Congregation and the Loughrea Assembly. Letter of Dr. James Fallon, vicar general of Achonry, giving an account of ill-treatment suffered by him from the Council sitting at Kilkenny, Feb. 20. Letter of Fr. Paul Nash, who had joined with the Bishop of Ossory in the statement against the Nuncio issued at Kilkenny in 1648, to Fr. J. King, asking him to obtain for him absolution from the Censures. [1-13].
- 539 In February the Bishop of Ferns prepared for his journey to the Continent to obtain aid for Ireland. He wrote on Feb. 16 to Clanrickard asking for commendations to Lorraine and other princes, and requesting that certain castles and ports should be assigned as security for money to be obtained, and requesting letters of credence to Card. Mazarin and certain French archbishops. Clanrickard refused these requests, as he held the Bishop in suspicion on account of his efforts in the Loughrea Assembly towards placing of the government, not in Ormonde's hands or his deputy's; but with the Supreme Council. The Bishop, having been furnished by some of the prelates with a secret authority to treat with Lorraine in the matter of the Protectorate, left Ireland at the end of February. His letter to Card. Albizzi, from Paris, April 21, enclosing a statement of the principal acts of the Jamestown Congregation, and a narrative of Irish affairs written in Paris by himself. He expects no good from Clanrickard or other ministers of the King. Lorraine, who had been expelled from his dominions by the French, was now in Belgium, and in alliance with the King of Spain. In the previous year Hugh Rochfort, with the King's approval, had negotiated with the Duke, who sent an Irish officer, Col. Synnott, as his envoy. As a result of Synnott's arrival, Ormonde sent Viscount Taaffe to the Duke. Letter of the Duke to the Pope, mentioning the difficulties impeding his desire to accede to the Irish appeal for aid, and hoping that His Holiness will deign to supply aids both spiritual and temporal. In a letter in January to the government of Ireland, the Duke said that he was sending Stephen de Henen, abbot of St. Catherine's, as his envoy, to discuss the proposals made to him by Taaffe, or any which the government might afterwards

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make, about the protectorate. Disagreement arose among the prelates at Galway as to the conditions proper to be accepted from the Duke. [14-21].

On St. Patrick's Day Clanrickard made a solemn entry into Galway. Shortly before the commencement of negotiations with Lorraine's envoy, Anthony MacGeoghegan, prior of Connall, returned from Paris to Ireland, furnished with a commission from Massari, Dean of Fermo. Much of the author's narration about MacGeoghegan's embassy, is, he states, derived from a Relation afterwards presented by him at Rome. On March 16 he communicated the reasons of his coming to certain bishops at Galway, under an oath of secrecy. Some of the bishops were suspicious because he refused to transmit his instructions, and because Massari's letter did not contain the clause "by command of the Supreme Pontiff." On March 25 he communicated to certain prelates, whom he considered zealous, the matters which he was to promote, viz., 1) That there should be a new Confederation; 2) That full satisfaction should be given to the Apostolic See for the injury done to it in the persons of its ministers; 3) That, in order to obtain means for prosecuting the war, the Irish should come under the protection of some Catholic prince; 4) That some faithful and noble prelate should be sent to Rome. [22-25].

On April 3 MacGeoghegan revealed to the Duke of Lorraine's envoy, S. de Hennen, the cause of his coming. He effected hardly anything with Hennen or with the clergy. On April 8 the Archbishop of Tuam wrote to the Primate, asking him to sign the letters which were being sent to Rome with the Bishop of Down and Fr. Oliver de Burgo. Reply of the Primate, Apr. 27, giving his reasons for declining to sign the letters. He states that he had not been present at the Loughrea Assembly, protests against the power which has been exercised by laymen, and asks why the envoys appointed by the congregation at Clonmacnoise had been hindered from going to Rome. These envoys were the Bishop of Down and W. Burgatt, for the latter of whom Fr. O. de Burgo had been substituted by the Loughrea Assembly. [26-29].

In March S. de Hennen offered money and other aids from Lorraine on certain conditions, of which the principal one was that the Duke should be adopted as Royal Protector. An instrument was drawn up and signed and sealed by Clanrickard on April 4, confirming the conditions. The towns of Limerick and Galway were granted as security for the repayment of 200,000

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florins granted by the Duke. Text of instructions given by Clanrickard to Viscount Taaffe, Sir N. Plunkett, and G. Browne, April 12. They were directed to visit the Queen, the Duke of York, and Ormonde, to deliver letters from Clanrickard, and to explain the circumstances of the negotiation with Lorraine. They are to relieve Lorraine from any anxiety about the repayment of his money, but to proceed no further until they have received authority from the King's ministers. [30-37].

p. 551 The sincere section of the Irish Catholics was described by the Ormondists as the Duke of Lorraine's faction. The latter was now offering hopes of his crossing to Ireland, and the Ormondists were accordingly making efforts to secure Ormonde's return to Ireland before the Duke's arrival. Indications of these machinations can be seen from two letters cited from Ormondists, one signed 'O.R.', the other written by Peter Butler to Edmund Butler, Ormonde's chamberlain, both in May. Letters to the Cardinals of the Congregation for Irish Affairs from the Archbishop of Armagh, March 24, and the Bishop of Kilmore, relating to a second delegation to Rome now entrusted to Fr. F. Maguirck, and denying that the writers had been present at the Loughrea Assembly, or had assented to its acts and decrees. [38-43].

557 Letters to the Nuncio from Viscount Roche, April 29, and Fr. Patrick Hacket, O.P., April 21, supporting the negotiation with Lorraine. Lord Roche stated that Hugh Rochfort had approached the Duke, who had promised every kind of aid, with the approval of the King and the Duke of York. On hearing of this, Ormonde and Inchiquin sent Viscount Taaffe to the Duke to win his good opinion for them. According to Roche, they were afraid of being brought to account for loss and waste of revenues and subsidies. Hacket in his letter gives an account of the various ecclesiastical congregations held since Sept. 1649, and of the Loughrea Assembly. [44-48].

562 Text of Advices given to the Duke of Lorraine about the Irish expedition. Oration delivered before the Duke by Sir N. Plunkett, in the name of himself and his fellow-envoys, Viscount Taaffe and G. Browne, on behalf of the realm of Ireland. [49-58].

565 These three envoys were furnished with Clanrickard's authority. Another embassy under different authority was committed to the Bishop of Ferns and Sir J. Preston. Letters of credence given to them by the Bishop and the Mayor of Limerick, Jan. 11, and by representatives of the city of Galway,

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Feb. 20. Mandate in the same connection signed by the Archbishop of Dublin and other bishops, and ratified by the Mayor of Galway, April 7. [59-65].

Text of Articles concluded between the Duke of Lorraine p. 568 and the Commissioners of the realm of Ireland. In a letter dated Oct. 10 Clanrickard informed Plunkett and Browne that these articles had no relation to the Viceroy's commission, nor to any authority granted by the King; he considers the articles to be of a 'transcendent' nature, and incompatible with the King's authority and the subject's duty. He also wrote to the Duke informing him that the articles could by no means be accepted by Catholics; a different pact must be made. [66-83].

A distribution of part of the money sent this spring by Lorraine was made to the soldiers, and the war was renewed 573 with greater hopes owing to the King's movement from Scotland against the Parliamentarians in England. Coote entered Connacht, and on July 8 reduced Athlone. Treachery in this matter on the part of Viscount Dillon, commander of the Castle, Sir R. Talbot and Sir J. Dillon was alleged in a letter to Clanrickard from the Archbishop of Dublin and others. Clanrickard entrusted the examination of the case to a Council of War, which discussed the matter in a meeting held in August, but in the end no punishment was inflicted on Viscount Dillon or the others. [84-87].

In the summer Ireton crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and did deplorable devastation in Connacht and Thomond. Castlehaven was accused by Moriarty O'Brien of having treacherously allowed Ireton to cross the river. Afterwards the enemy's forces divided into two parts, one under Ireton besieging Limerick, and the other under Coote attacking Galway. Clanrickard meanwhile achieved practically nothing with his forces. [88-89].

Fr. Anthony Mageoghegan advised Clanrickard that, as he 577 was a Catholic, he should try to earn the goodwill of the Pope. The Primate appointed a meeting of a Provincial Council of Armagh, to be opened at Cloughouter on July 29. Speech of Fr. Anthony to this Synod. [90-92].

Text of the Acts of the Cloughouter Provincial Council, 579 held 29 July to 1 Aug. These included a declaration that Owen O'Neill's stipulation that the Pope should be petitioned for absolution from the Nuncio's Censures must be maintained, and that the Duke of Lorraine is Royal Protector of the

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Catholics of Ireland. List of the Members of the Assembly. Other matters settled by the Council were inserted by Mageoghegan into his Report afterwards submitted at Rome. [93-III].

- p. 584 Declaration and excommunication issued by the Cloughouter Congregation against Clanrickard and his adherents. This document was not promulgated during the year 1651. Certificates of assent to the Council's Acts by bishops, nobles, and officers and soldiers of Leinster and Connacht. [112-121].
- 590 At the request of a meeting of the clergy of the province of Dublin, Sept. 1, the Bishop of Leighlin decided to summon a Synod of the province of Dublin. Information of this having been sent to the army of Leinster, the latter on Sept. 7 sent two colonels to be present at the meeting. The Synod met at Ballydrohid, co. Leix, on Sept. 22 and 23. Text of its Acts, and List of those present. [122-141].
- 597 There were other Acts, which were at the time kept secret, and are now given by the author from Mageoghegan's Report. There was a Decree, Sept. 22, as to negotiations with Lorraine, nominating agents for this purpose, with the Instructions for these agents. A decree of Sept. 23 nominated James Dempsey, vicar apostolic of Kildare, to negotiate with delegates of the other provinces as a means of reviving the Catholic Confederation, with Instructions for this delegate. On Sept. 24 the Bishop of Leighlin, Roger O'Morry, and Hugh Rochfort were named as representatives of the Synod to sit with persons from other provinces. [142-166].
- 604 Letter of the Primate to the Ulster leaders, Sept. 29, enclosing a copy of the article with regard to the Censures, agreed upon between Owen O'Neill and Ormonde on Oct. 12, 1649, and urging that its execution should be insisted on. The men of Ulster replied that they thought this matter should be postponed for the present. The Duke of Lorraine made considerable preparations for equipping an expedition to Ireland. Afterwards, however, his zeal cooled. [167-171].
- 606 Letter of the Bishop of Ferns from Brussels to Clanrickard's envoys to Lorraine (Visct. Taaffe, Plunkett, and Browne), July 18. He had always had respect for the excommunication, and had been much disturbed by the irreligious contempt for ecclesiastical censures expressed by some persons. He attributes the losses suffered in Ireland to this attitude, and asks where are now Clanrickard, Castlehaven and Dillon, who had so much contempt for the excommunication. If the envoys hope for

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a successful issue of their pact with Lorraine, they ought humbly to supplicate the Pope for absolution and the apostolic blessing. Text of a form signed by Lorraine, the Bishop of Ferns, Taaffe, J. Preston, and Plunkett, sent by the Bishop to the Internuncio in Belgium, and by the latter to the Pope, in September. G. Browne declined to sign this Submission. [172-175].

Letter of Taaffe to the Bishop of Ferns, from Paris, Aug. 20. p.612
 He seems to have changed his mind as regards the absolution, and complains bitterly about the Bishop's conduct in trying to extort a submission in the name of Ireland, from those who had no authority to seek absolution. He expresses indignation at the Bishop's charges against the Irish nation. Who was more zealous for Ormonde than the Bishop, while things were going well? In this year Fr. Oliver Walsh, Carmelite, was sent by the Duke to Rome to obtain a general absolution. He died at Rome in 1652 without accomplishing his purpose. The Pope made little account of the petition. [176-181].

Letter of Clanrickard to the Bishop of Dromore, Oct. 16, 616
 saying that he would never consent that the agreement with the Duke should stand. [182].

Events in England. King Charles II was crowned in Scotland, 617
 invaded England and was defeated, and escaped to France. This change in the King's fortunes caused Lorraine to lose almost all his hope of achieving success in an Irish expedition. After Cromwell's triumph in Scotland the English were free to turn all their forces against the Catholics of Ireland, who were even before in an almost desperate condition. There were two factions among the Irish, Ormonde's supporters and the Duke's. The King of England feared that the Duke might aim at the crown of Ireland; he preferred that the Parliamentarians should exterminate the Irish Catholics rather than that the Duke should be brought into Ireland, and he never subscribed to any articles made with the Duke. [183-187].

The Bishop of Ferns requested an audience of the King at 620
 Paris. The King stated that he had heard that the Bishop had come with a commission from Ireland to transfer the realm to a foreign prince, and on the advice of Ormonde and Bellings declined to receive him. Letter of the Bishop to Dr. E. Tyrrell, Nov. 11, denying that he had any such commission, and affirming the loyalty of himself and the other bishops. According to Fr. Ponce, this letter was shown to the King. Text of a Report on the state of Ireland, submitted by the Bishop to the Arch-

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bishop of Paris, Nov. 18. [L.D., IV, no. 6]. He excuses the failure of Catholic princes to send aid to Ireland on the ground of ignorance. He defends the Duke of Lorraine from the suggestion that he was seeking domination in Ireland; all the Duke asks is the repayment of money lent by him. He notes the consternation and desolation of the Irish people, to whom are now left only the cities of Limerick and Galway. Though they have considerable forces, these cannot be united into one army, owing to lack of pay and provisions. There is alarm at the prospect of augmentation of the enemy's army. He tells of the slaughter at Wexford, the sufferings of many of the bishops, and the loss of many places by Ormonde's cowardice and the treachery of Inchiquin's army. The Bishop did not obtain the aid for Ireland asked for in this Report. [188-204].

p.635 Muskerry, intending to bring aid to the besieged city of Limerick, made an attack on Broghill, but the enemy obtained the victory. Other skirmishes in this year are related in a Letter of J. Hewson, governor of Dublin, sent to England on Sept. 15. Loughrea was taken by Coote in this summer. Dr. Enos states that Clanrickard abandoned the town to the enemy, on the excuse that it was better to wait for the arrival of aids from the Duke of Lorraine. Some places which had been recovered by the Irish forces were again compelled to surrender. [205-209].

638 Ireton laid siege to Limerick. The author gives a narrative of the siege, based on Ireton's Letter to the Speaker of the English Parliament, dated at Limerick, Nov. 3, and on a Latin narrative by Fr. F. O'Mulrean, who was in the city during the siege, and on other documents. He notes the injury done to the Catholic cause by discord among the citizens of Limerick, many of whom, including some of the leading men, were most pestilent betrayers of the Catholic cause. Hugh O'Neill had entered Munster in 1649 with his Ulster army, and had been made governor of Limerick. In succession to Thomas Stritch, the party who were disposed to surrender elected Peter Creagh as mayor. A discussion took place in a meeting of bishops, clergy and laymen as to the lawfulness of surrendering the persons exempted in the terms offered by Ireton. Col. E. Fennell was prominent as an instrument of the factionists. It appears that the betrayers of the city were partly citizens and partly Ormondists introduced from outside. The author says it must be admitted that there were circumstances appearing to extenuate their perfidy. At the beginning of October the city had been suffering

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for five months from siege, famine and the plague. Hopes of aid from Clanrickard, Muskerry, I. Roche and Moriarty O'Brien had been disappointed, and hope from the royal forces of England had vanished through Cromwell's victories. Lorraine's proposed expedition had come to nothing, and Ormonde and his party and Clanrickard were known to prefer a surrender to the Parliament to the introduction of the Duke. The terms now offered being much more severe than those offered at the end of June, the decision of the clergy against surrender was thought by many of the besieged to be unreasonable. [210-216].

Articles of surrender of Limerick, Oct. 27, 1651. [217-221]. p. 645

Details as to the fate of those exempted by name in the articles; many of them, priests and laymen, were hanged, including the Bishop of Emly. Hugh O'Neill was sent to London, and there imprisoned. The Bishop of Limerick escaped to Co. Kerry, disguised as a common soldier. Among those not exempted, the Archbishop of Cashel was allowed to go into exile in Spain. The Bishop of Killaloe died three days before the admission of the enemy into the city. [222-227]. 646

Narration taken from the *Account of the Geraldines* by Fr. Dominick de Rosario of two very notable matters in connection with the death of the Bishop of Emly, and of three other wonderful occurrences at this time. Citation from Fr. F. O'Mulrean of the names, characters and actions of the principal betrayers of Limerick. [228-235]. 650

A meeting of the Assembly of the Realm having been commanded by Clanrickard to be held at Jamestown at the beginning of November, the delegates of the Dublin Provincial Congregation commenced their journey to this Assembly, hoping to meet there the Archbishop of Armagh and his clergy. But on their way they learned that, in order to cheat the Primate and the honest clergy and people of the success which was expected, Clanrickard and the Commissioners of Trust had prorogued the meeting to Feb. 6, 1652. On Nov. 10 the Primate and others of the province of Armagh met at Jamestown and drew up certain Acts, ordering *inter alia* that certain commissioners should be sent to the Duke of Lorraine's agent; they were to receive instructions from the Primate. An account is given from Fr. Mageoghegan's Report of the results as to alteration of government which followed from the proceedings of the Armagh and Dublin Congregations. [236-248]. 655

Petitions were presented at Rome by John Vangyrsh, with 660

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a view to his obtaining supplies for Ireland. His application was not successful. [249-254].

p.663 During this year the Nuncio continued to reside at Fermo; he was in ill-health. The Archbishop of Dublin (Thomas Fleming) died at Galway in August of this year. The Bishop of Meath (Thomas Dease) died in the same city at the beginning of May. [255].

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PART I. A.D. 1652

Resumption of narrative of Fr. Anthony Mageoghegan's activities. His aim was that the Irish Catholics, ceasing from dependence on the Viceroy, should unite to fight with the aid of supplies to be expected from the Duke of Lorraine. Having prepared his way in Leinster and Ulster in 1651, he went, accompanied by Fr. T. McKiernan, in 1652 to Galway, in order to be present at the Assembly convoked by Clanrickard. They had an interview with the Viceroy on Jan. 13. Viscount Mayo and others were appointed to act as Councillors of the new Confederacy, and to negotiate with Lorraine, but not to conclude anything without consulting the Bishop of Clonfert. Action was taken by Clanrickard against Moriarty O'Brien, for having accused Castlehaven of permitting Ireton to cross the Shannon. Something now happened which ruined all Fr. Anthony's efforts. A letter sent by him in cypher (through the English Secretary of State) to Fr. Crelly, who had now reached London from Paris, was intercepted and brought to Clanrickard, who accused Fr. Anthony of treason, and demanded that he should hand over the key to the cypher. This was refused by Fr. Anthony, on the ground of clerical immunity. An examination was made into the matter by bishops and others, and the Viceroy announced to the Assembly that, if the Father was not punished, he would leave the country. Further proceedings followed. Fr. Anthony was bound under a bond to present himself before the Archbishop of Tuam, and eventually he got away from Galway. [1-36].

p. 1

Galway was surrendered in April. This submission was encouraged by a declaration issued on March 18 by the Parliamentary Commissioners, in which it was declared to be the wish of the Parliamentary government that all religious and peaceful people in Ireland should enjoy the benefit of the decree made on Sept. 27, 1650, promising relief from penal statutes, and that no recusants should be compelled to any kind of worship which was against their conscience. [37-38].

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Text of the above-mentioned Decree of Sept. 27, 1650. Reference to the testimony of Gratianus Lucius, as to the promises made during the negotiations by the heretics for the safety of the Catholic religion. The author comments on the

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heretics' breaches of faith in this and many other points. Gratianus Lucius gives from Bellings the text of the fourth article of the terms of surrender. Under this it was permitted that the clergy then in Galway might remain there for six months from the conclusion of the treaty, and that they would receive safe-conducts to go over-seas, provided that in the meantime they contrived nothing prejudicial to the English state. Before the surrender there was a division of opinion among the clergy as to whether the terms could be accepted with a safe conscience. A letter written by John Duly, official of Tuam, to Massari on Aug. 5 states that the surrender of Galway was due, partly to negligence on the part of the defenders (for which Preston was also blamed), partly to the failure of Lorraine to send the promised aid, and also to the advice in favour of surrender given by certain priests, particularly Fr. V. Brown and Fr. J. Lynch, Warden of Galway, against the views of the Bishop of Clonfert and the rest of the clergy in Galway. A letter of Fr. Gregory French, dated July 28, gives the names of laymen and priests who were ready to approve the articles. [39-45].

p.20 Text of a decree issued at Galway on May 7 by the Commissioners of public taxation in Connacht. It declared that any clergy exercising their ministerial functions were *ipso facto* deprived of their rights under the treaty. It also forbade the use of any crosses, crucifixes, relics or sacred pictures, and ordered that stationary crosses and crucifixes should be destroyed. The plague now again appeared in Galway, the city having been free from it for many months. It did not, however, appear in the College of St. Nicholas, an exemption which was attributed by the Provost to the fact that the College had been the Nuncio's residence. This Provost (Fr. Patrick Lynch), and the Bishop of Kilfenora soon afterwards went into exile in Brittany. Others of the clergy went to Flanders or to Spain. Several nuns also became exiles. [46-49].

22 At the end of February John Fitzpatrick, who commanded some thousands of Catholics in Leinster, made terms with the Parliamentarians, and went to Spain to serve under King Philip IV. This submission was one of the causes leading to the fall of Galway. In February at Garvey the Bishop of Leighlin presided over a meeting of the Provincial Assembly of Leinster, in which commissioners were appointed to make terms with the Parliamentarians. Quotations from statements about this matter by Dr. Enos and Fr. Mageoghegan. The former

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gives a list of commanders and details as to their forces, and the latter considers the offered terms to have been insecure and discreditable. [50-52].

On May 25 a congregation of the clergy of Leinster at Derry-p. 24
maclaughna pronounced ecclesiastical censures against those accepting the pact. The latter, however, do not appear to have receded from the terms. Fr. Mageoghegan held that the Bishop of Leighlin had acted inconsistently. But after the communications with Fr. Crelly, the Bishop and others had become suspicious of Mageoghegan's intentions. [53-55].

Details as to the discussions at Derrymaclaughna. What 26
remained of the Leinster army was transported to Spain, and the whole of Leinster was now under the control of the heretics. [56-71].

After the fall of Galway, Clanrickard entered Connacht, 31
and stormed Ballyshannon. This place was soon recovered by the enemy. Clanrickard, as one falling under excommunication, was rejected by the men of Ulster, and on July 12 Clanrickard, Viscount Mayo, Richard de Burgo and others submitted to Coote, surrendering the castles of Ballymote and Sligo. [72-73].

Clanrickard went to France and from there to England, 32
where he spent the rest of his life. Dr. Enos said that from the beginning of the war there was no enemy of religion and country in Ireland who was not favoured, or even defended, by Clanrickard. Richard de Burgo joined the King. Mayo was executed by the heretics, at a later date. [74].

Muskerry had, some years before, retired from his own 33
territory to Ross Castle. A description of this place, and of the mountains and rivers in its neighbourhood. Muskerry strengthened the fortifications of the Castle, and many ecclesiastics and chieftains found refuge there. He was compelled by lack of food to surrender the castle on terms in July, and went to Spain. Later he returned to Ireland in order to raise a military force which had been promised him by the Parliamentarians, but he was imprisoned by them at Dublin. John Barry, a notable supporter of Ormonde, who had made him lieutenant-general of Munster, was in 1649 (or 1650) shot in an affray about booty; he had been accused of aiding the Parliamentarians. [75-77].

Text of Act for the Settlement of Ireland [L.D.,V, no. 1]. 36
It is declared that it is not the intention of Parliament to extirpate the whole nation. Persons of inferior rank are to be

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pardoned on condition of peaceable behaviour. Persons of higher rank are arranged in ten classes, in accordance with their respective merits and the appropriate considerations. Those in the first five classes are excepted from pardon for life and property. The third class comprises about 100 individuals excepted by name from pardon; among these are Ormonde, Castlehaven, Clanrickard, Fingall and other peers, Sir Phelim O'Neill, General Preston, and Roger O'More. The Act, says the author, was cruel in its terms, and still more cruel in its execution. [78-93].

p. 42 Under pressure from the Irish delegates, the Duke of Lorraine issued on Apr. 14 at Brussels a declaration of his willingness to aid the Irish. The King, on the evil advice of heretics, and hoping that the Parliamentarians might at last repent of their rebellion, put obstacles in the way of an agreement between Lorraine and the Irish. [94-98].

44 At the beginning of July a pinnace sent by Lorraine put in at Inishbofin island, which was governed by George Cusack, a leading Ormondist. Fr. F. Maguirck returned to Ireland in this vessel, bringing a Papal Brief to the Archbishop of Armagh, dated Jan. 13. By this brief the Primate was empowered to give absolution from all censures pronounced by the Nuncio to all who should humbly supplicate for such absolution. Fr. R. O'Ferrall desired that certain alterations should be made in the wording of the Brief, but these alterations were not made. [99-102].

47 Fr. Maguirck reported to the Primate as to his doings in Rome, and his dealings in Belgium with Lorraine. A new Catholic Confederation was set up. Text of a Declaration issued by this Confederation, dated at Inishbofin, Sept. 16. It was signed by officers from each of the four provinces. [103-110].

50 Several of the Leinster officers, including Richard Grace, had submitted to the Parliament before this Declaration was issued. As Inishbofin was now almost the only place from which the Confederates could maintain foreign communications, the Ulster leaders delegated their authority to the Bishop of Clonfert, who was residing on the island. A letter of Proxy, and Instructions to the Bishop were issued by the Primate and others at Drumreilly on July 25. [111-118].

52 Letters of the Primate to the Bishop, July 26, and to Fr. Maguirck and Dr. Thady Egan, about foreign correspondence. [119-122].

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Letters of the Primate, the Bishop of Kilmore, and others p. 54
to the Pope, Aug. 24, and to the Duke of Lorraine, in the same
month. [123-129].

A quarrel arose at Inishbofin between the Bishop and Fr. 57
Maguirck. Letter of Dr. Egan to the Primate, Sept. 9, alleging
that the Bishop and the Governor, Cusack, had become sup-
porters of the Presbyterians; the Bishop had meditated
surrendering the island to them; they had condemned the
Nuncio's excommunication, and were opposing the new Con-
federation. Letter of the Bishop to Fr. Maguirck, Oct. 1,
demanding production of proofs of the charges against the Bishop
of reviving the Ormondist faction, and of endeavouring by
letters to ruin Lorraine's efforts. The Bishop wrote also, on
Nov. 4, to the Primate and other Ulster leaders, denying the
rumours that he was standing with Clanrickard and Mayo, and
that the island was to be surrendered, and inveighing against
Maguirck's "vehement and suspicious" disposition. [130-143].

Text of the Bishop's Apology against Fr. Maguirck, annexed 63
to the preceding letter. [144-154].

Letter of the Bishop to the Primate and others, Nov. 6. 67
This letter relates to public matters, not to the dispute with
Maguirck. [155-157].

The course of Fr. William de Burgo's negotiations as envoy 68
to Lorraine is narrated in a Statement sent by him to Rome,
and (probably) shown to the Duke. Text of the Statement.
The document states what number of men were still in arms
against the Parliamentarians. Discord in the country is no
longer to be feared, as the Confederacy is being revived, and the
prime authors of dissension have either left Ireland or submitted
to the Parliament [158-173].

Cusack surrendered Inishbofin, and was permitted to bring 73
over to the Continent an Irish regiment to serve under Lorraine.
He had been placed in command of the island to carry out the
will of Ormonde and Clanrickard, and Fr. Maguirek was justified
in holding him suspect. [174-175].

When the appointment of an envoy to the Duke of Lorraine 74
was in view, the Bishop of Clonfert had excluded Fr. Maguirck,
and appointed Fr. W. de Burgo instead. The latter's efforts
proved vain. He was afterwards Provincial at Louvain, and
there tried to fill the Irish Dominican college with men of his
own province, Connacht, excluding persons of other provinces,
in particular Fr. P. O'Kearny and Fr. P. Hacket, who came from
Munster. [176-178].

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- p. 76 Richard O'Ferrall, the General of the Ulster army, left his post, and, together with his own people of Co. Longford, made terms with the Irish Parliamentary Commissioners. [179].
- 76 The Bishop of Down sailed from Ireland to go to Rome, but died on Palm Sunday, 1652, during a naval engagement. His papers, which were found among Fr. R. O'Ferrall's collections, were sent by the author in 1664 from Florence to Rome. [180-183].
- 79 Text of narrative of the martyrdoms of Fathers Bernard and Laurence O'Ferrall, Irish Dominicans (1652). [184-186].
- 80 The Bishop of Waterford had gone into exile after the capture of his city in 1650. References to his departure are quoted from a letter written by him to the Nuncio on March 23, 1651. He was entertained by the Capuchins at Nantes, and died there on March 10, 1652. Text of the inscription on his tomb in St. Peter's Church at Nantes. [187-189].

PART II. A.D. 1653

- 85 Text of Decree issued at Dublin on Jan. 6 by the English Commissioners in Ireland. It states that Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests holding papal orders have been seducing the people from obedience to government, and that some of them, having received safe-conducts to go abroad, have been postponing their departure. It is therefore ordered that such Jesuits, etc., are to leave the country within twenty days. The Statute of 27 Eliz. is to be put into execution in Ireland. [1-4].
- 87 Part of the text of the Statute of 1585 is quoted. It was passed against ecclesiastics of England only. In addition to provisions against clergy, it contained other cruel clauses, e.g., those relating to young laymen receiving education abroad, and to the penalties imposed on anyone who should without licence send a son or servant abroad. [5-7].
- 88 On the publication of the Edict of Jan. 6, efforts were made by some to obtain a relaxation of it in favour of the Ormondist clergy. Text of a Petition of the agents of the counties Meath, Dublin, Kildare, Kilkenny, the baronies of Upper and Lower Ormond, and the city of Galway, presented to the Commissioners by Sir Henry Talbot, Edward Comerford, and others. The application was refused by Edmund Ludlow. To destroy the effect of the decree for liberty of conscience, extended to

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Ireland on March 16, 1652, a new decree was issued by terms of which the enjoyment of such liberty was coupled with a prohibition to Catholics to use the ministry of priests (as if religious liberty could exist for Catholics without sacraments and priests). As a consequence of this provision, no ecclesiastics were allowed by the Parliament to remain in Ireland, except some who had given sureties that they would not exercise sacerdotal functions. Even these priests did, afterwards, administer the sacraments, but only to a few persons who could be trusted. [8-11].

Since the defection of King Henry VIII, heresy had never p. 90 won a complete triumph till the present time. The edict of January 6 was executed with great stringency. Of the clergy who were still in the country at the time when the edict was issued, some went into exile in France, Spain, Belgium, Germany, and Italy. Others, ready to suffer death for Christ, remained in Ireland. As they could not dwell with safety in houses of Catholics, they had to take refuge in woods, caves, lairs of wild beasts, and similar hiding-places, where they built huts for themselves and lived in fear of the spies who were busily searching for them. [12].

Among the exiles of this time was Fr. Fiacre Tobin, 91 Capuchin, of Kilkenny. Wishing to release those who had given bail for him from their obligation, he sailed to Brittany. On his arrival he wrote to the Commissary General of the Irish Capuchin Mission, expressing his desire to return to Ireland. Having received permission from Fr. Malachy, vice-commissary and guardian at Charleville, he wrote to him on May 3, giving an account of the ministrations rendered by himself and a few other Fathers to the people of Kilkenny, and telling of his arrest in that city and detention in prison. He returned to Ireland, where about 1656 he was captured by the heretics, cruelly treated, and condemned to exile. He died at Kinsale, having been put ashore there, ill of fever, from a ship bound for the West Indies. [13-19].

General Richard O'Ferrall, after he had made terms with 96 the Parliamentarians, was imprisoned at Dublin and brought to trial in the matter of the death of John Bigot. He was not convicted, and went with a regiment to Spain to serve under King Philip IV. The regiment was transferred by order of the King to Aquitaine. On June 12 he wrote from Madrid to the Nuncio complaining of his grievances. His applications at the court of Madrid were not successful. [20-21].

In March the castle of Cloughouter was surrendered to 97

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Theophilus Jones. By the terms of the surrender Philip O'Reilly was permitted to go to Spain with his regiment. [22].

p. 98 At the same time Viscount Dillon and John de Burgo arranged, with the consent of the Parliamentarians, to transport forces to Spain. Even before this time, there had been frequent recruitments in Ireland of soldiers for the Spanish service. The Parliamentarians were quite willing that such recruitments should be made, as it was their desire to extirpate the Irish, to extinguish their Faith, and to divide the country among English heretics. At the end of this year about 5,000 Irish soldiers went to Spain under Dillon and other commanders. At this time France was not only fighting with Spain, but was troubled at home by the warfare waged by the Prince of Condé, assisted by his brother, the Prince of Conti, to effect the expulsion of Cardinal Mazarin. [23-25].

100 Among the Irish regiments fighting for France against Spain and Conti was the regiment of Cormac MacCarthy, eldest son of Viscount Muskerry. Among those who assisted the French to attract to their side Irish soldiers then serving the Spanish king was Sir James Dillon, uncle of Viscount Dillon. He brought about the surrender of Larmont. His brother, Fr. George Dillon, O.F.M., also gave assistance to the French, and was enabled by their favour to found and promote the house of the Irish Franciscans at Paris. [26-27].

101 Account of defections of Irishmen from Spanish service to the French. Others remained faithful to Spain, for instance, James O'Dempsey and the two brothers Ferriter, who fought for Condé in Belgium. These defections to France caused some coolness in the feelings of the Spaniards towards the Irish, and an apology was put out by Irishmen in Spain. Another Irish apology (published in France) enlarged on the ancient and long-continued ties between Spain and Ireland. An account is given of the life of General Thomas Preston in France from 1652 to his death (in 1655). He blamed the Bishop of Dromore for having seduced him into revolt against the Nuncio. [28-32].

105 Hugh O'Neill, Owen Roe's nephew, went to Belgium in this year, and then to Spain. John O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, had been killed in Catalonia in 1641. His natural son Hugh was granted letters of legitimation by the King of Spain, and died shortly before October, 1660. Hugh, Owen's nephew, then claimed the Earldom, but died in Spain in the same year, leaving as his heir Hugh, grandson of Owen. [33].

106 Viscount Muskerry had been arrested by Cromwell in England,

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and sent to Ireland, where he was imprisoned in Dublin. Eventually he went into exile in France. MacCarthy Reagh was detained in prison in Dublin during this year, and then got over to Belgium. Sir Phelim O'Neill was hanged in Dublin (in March, 1653). [34-36].

During this year, and for some time after, the war was continued by the nobles of Munster. In the summer O'Sullivan Beare was sent to seek for aid from the King of England and others. He wrote to the Nuncio from Paris on June 15, noting how the betrayers of Ireland were engaged in handing over large numbers of Irishmen, like so many cattle, to the French and the Spanish. He obtained some money from the King. [37-42]. p. 107

Other unsuccessful efforts made by the Bishop of Clonmacnoise and Bernard O'Neill in Spain and at Rome are recounted in a Memorial presented by them to the Pope. [43-49]. 110

The narrative presented by the Bishop of Ferns to the Archbishop of Paris was printed with appendices by J. Ponce, and there followed a war of pamphlets between him and R. Bellings in the year 1652-54. The author observes that, as Fr. Ponce had been out of Ireland during the war, he had not to his hand the same abundance of material as was available to Bellings, who had been Secretary to the Confederation. [50]. 113

After an unsuccessful attempt at Paris to arrange the difficulties about the Irish College, the Bishop of Ferns went to Rome, but was not admitted to audience of the Pope. In May, 1653, he presented to Massari a lengthy Apology; it was intended to be shown to the Congregation of Propaganda, and perhaps to the Pope himself. Text of the Defence, divided into 25 articles. [L.D., V, no. 2.] [51-77]. 114

Observations on the opening articles of this Apology, with text of a Statement against the Bishop presented to the Pope in this year. Text of another Statement presented by the Bishop to Propaganda, suggesting measures for dealing with the lack of pastors which was to be feared in Ireland. He recommends new regulations for seminaries and universities on the Continent. He gives a list of the Irish colleges and seminaries in the Catholic world. He submitted to the Pope a report on the state of religion in his own diocese of Ferns. On departing from Rome, he wrote a favourable letter to Fr. R. O'Ferrall on June 5. [78-122]. 129

Hugh de Burgo, Bishop of Kilmacduagh, who had been living in retirement in London, wrote to Massari on Nov. 17. 145

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- to defend his conduct in relation to the Censures. He received a chilly reply from Massari, dated Dec. 29. The Bishop, remarks the author, was a mere Ormondist, like his brother, the Archbishop of Tuam. [123-126].
1. 147 Decree of Pope Innocent X in condemnation of Jansenism, May 30, 1653. This Decree in its wording followed closely the Propositions put out by the Irish clergy at Paris. [127-140].
- 150 Arrest in Italy and punishment of the Irish Carmelite Fathers Gregory Lawless and Stephen Brown, who had rebelled against the Nuncio. [141-143].
- 151 Account of Richard O'Connell, Bishop of Ardfert, who died in this year. On his appointment in 1643, he had to deal with indiscipline prevailing in his diocese as to clerical marriage. His residence at Muckcross. His capture and imprisonment by an heretical Governor. The exemplary piety of his brothers and sisters. Martyrdom of his nephew Maurice. [144-157].
- 157 Account of Fr. Francis O'Sullivan, O.F.M. In 1650 he was appointed Provincial, with a view to a settlement of quarrels among his brethren. In 1653 he was martyred by the heretics. [158].
- 158 Nearly all the clergy of Kilkenny had been dispersed after the taking of the city in 1650. They remained only the Franciscan Fathers F. Tobin and John Daton, and eventually Fr. Daton was the only priest administering the sacraments in the city. In August, 1653, he was arrested, together with Br. J. Verdun, a Capuchin lay brother, and two Franciscan nuns. Fr. Daton was martyred on Aug. 5. The nuns were allowed to depart to Spain. Br. Verdun remained in prison during the rest of the year. A detailed account is given of the sufferings of these ecclesiastics in prison. [159-170].
- 163 Martyrdom on Oct. 18 of Fr. Thady MacMoriarty, last Dominican prior of Tralee. About two years before Peter Feriter, a relation of Fr. MacMoriarty, was hanged at Killarney. He had done distinguished service in the war, and was renowned for his skill in poetical composition in both English and Irish. [171-174].
- 165 In the year 1650 and 1651 the Nuncio wrote several times from Fermo to Fr. Richard O'Ferrall in Rome, about the compilation of a history of Irish affairs. The Nuncio died on Dec. 13, 1653, and was buried in the Cathedral of Fermo. Text of the inscription on his tomb. His labours in Ireland, observes the author, are deserving of laudation for ever, though they failed of success through the obstinacy and malignancy of heretics and Ormondists. [175-184].

PART III. A.D. 1654.

O'Sullivan Beare's mission to France in 1653 to obtain p. 171
supplies had failed; he remained in Brittany. The Catholic
war was continued in the mountains of Cos. Kerry and Cork.
The forces at Valentia surrendered, on condition of being
permitted to go to Belgium. Col. Edmund O'Dwyer came
over from Belgium in 1653 for the purpose of obtaining soldiers.
[1-3].

When the Irish forces arrived in Belgium, they were divided 172
among Moriarty O'Brien, Edm. O'Dwyer, O'Driscoll, Lord
Castlehaven, and other commanders. This distribution
occasioned much quarrelling among the Irish. Now, after
thirteen years, Ireland had rest from warfare, the only Catholic
fighting-men remaining being the so-called 'idle men' (*pueri
desides*). A notable man among these was Daniel O'Keeffe
'Paschalis', who after disappointments in Belgium, returned
to his native county of Cork. [4-5].

Observation on the miserable condition of Ireland after the 174
fall of the Catholic Confederacy. The castles and towns in
which the Catholic faith had been established were now cess-
pools of English heresy. The country was crowded with here-
tical ministers, clergy-hunters, executioners and judges thirsting
for the blood of Catholics. Churches and religious houses were
polluted by soldiers. Plague and the sword were followed by
famine. There were the miseries of the transportations to the
West Indies, when wives were torn from husbands and mothers
from children. There were banishments, forced exiles, shipping
of fighting men to Spain and Belgium. In this year 1654 scarcely
a sixth part of the nation survived, and of these 50,000 were sent
into exile. Innocent blood was shed by the Cromwellians
throughout a large part of the country. [6-8].

In May Cromwell decreed the transportation into Connacht 177
and Thomond of the landowners, nobles, leading men and others
whose lives had been spared under the conditions of the Statute
of August, 1652. Letter of Fr. Peter Talbot from Antwerp
to the Bishop of Clonmacnoise at Rome, referring to the pro-
gress of the transplantation, and recounting his fruitless
approaches to the Spanish Ambassador in London, with a view
to obtaining some toleration for priests. [9-12].

Unreasonable and cruel imposition of taxation by Cromwell. 180
Citation of a passage from *Cambrensis Eversus* [translated in
Kelly's edn., 1852, vol. III, pp. 180-200], in which Dr. John

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Lynch gives details and narratives exemplifying the rage and bad faith of the English. [13-27].

p. 190 Narrative about Fr. Matthew O'Fogorty, Irish Capuchin, professed at Charleville in 1624. He returned to Ireland in 1634. In April, 1654, he fell into the hands of the heretics, and was imprisoned at Clonmel. At about the same time four secular priests and Fr. William Tirry, Augustinian, were arrested. Fr. Tirry was a native of Cork, and related to Bishop William Tirry. He had been chaplain to Viscount Sarsfield, and after the fall of Cork appears to have remained in the Augustinian house there. The four secular priests were sent into exile; and Fathers O'Fogorty and Tirry were brought to trial, and condemned to be hanged. An account is given of Fr. Tirry's martyrdom on May 2, with notice of his speech (*concio*) at the scaffold. [28-40].

197 Fr. O'Fogorty's sentence was commuted to exile. He was transferred to the prison at Waterford, where he found Br. J. Verdun, a Capuchin laybrother. The text is given of a safe-conduct given to the latter by the Governor of Waterford. The two Capuchins arrived at La Rochelle on Aug. 14, and from there made their way to Charleville. [41-46].

199 Great kindness was shown to Irish exiles in France, and they were treated with no less piety and humanity by the Catholic King and the Spanish nation. Specially notable were the favours conferred on the Irish Capuchins by the King of France. When King Louis XIV, with the Queen Mother and Cardinal Mazarin, were keeping Court at Sedan, they were impressed by the holiness and self-denial of the Irish Capuchins there, and the King made a decree in their favour (in July, 1654), the text of which is given. [47-53].

203 Cromwell, who was hostile to France, but on good terms with Spain, conceived a plan for bringing his veterans over to France, and making there a coalition with the Calvinists of France. But the French victory over the Spaniards besieging Arras checked this plan. [54].

204 At the siege of Stenay three Irish regiments fought for the French. Other Irish were fighting there for Spain. Of the latter, those who were under command of Murrough O'Brien, preferred, when compelled to surrender, to join Cormac MacCarthy in France, rather than to return to Belgium. At the siege of Arras, Condé had various Irish regiments serving under him; many of these soldiers before the battle, and more after it, went over to the French. Their hope was to serve

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under the King of England and the Duke of York, and so be able at last to return to their native land and recover their possessions. Philip O'Reilly landed about a thousand Irish in Belgium to serve under the Spaniards; these sturdy veterans made a very favourable impression. [55-57].

When the Duke of Lorraine had been imprisoned in Spain p. 206 by order of the King, and his brother Francis, who had succeeded to his command, had gone over to the French, many Irish regiments which had been in the Duke's service also went over to the French. George Cusack quarrelled with the French, and was eventually given by the Spaniards a command in Belgium. The French had in their service regiments commanded by Inchiquin, Richard Butler, Dermot O'Sullivan, Thady O'Flaherty, and Daniel O'Neill. [58-59].

As regards the Censures of 1648, there was dissidence of opinion among the Irish exiles. Text of a Petition relating to this question sent to Propaganda on April 25 by the Bishops of Raphoe and Clonfert and Patrick Hughes. Writing from Brussels, they speak of the scandal and danger arising from the intrigues of persons who were under excommunication, and ask for the removal and expulsion of these persons. With this petition was sent a long statement by Nicholas Halpin against the Ormondists. Massari did not present either of these documents to the Cardinals. [60-63]. 207

Halpin also wrote to Rome a letter containing very unfavourable reflections on Patrick Crelly, whom he described as a spy employed by Cromwell. The author, while admitting that Crelly had inclined towards an alliance with the English Independents, does not feel able to decide definitely on the degree of his guilt. He has trustworthy information to the effect that, in subservience to Cromwell, Crelly professed heresy and contracted a marriage, but that at the time of his death (in 1658) he repented. [64]. 209

After the reduction of Scotland by Cromwell in 1651, certain 210 of the Irish-Scottish highlanders retired into the mountains, and from there, when opportunity offered, made attacks on the English. Certain Irish priests had come over from France to labour for the Faith among these people. Text of a Report on the Scottish Mission presented in April, 1654, by John Valcher to the prelate of his mission. He notes the divisions among the Highlanders, some of them being desirous of peace, and others of a continuance of fighting against the English. As to religion, puritanism has developed into the opposing sects of Inde-

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pendents and Anabaptists, both strongly adverse to the Catholic church. Atheism has been increasing. But now, many are being received daily into the Church, and the harvest is great, though the labourers are too few. [65-72].

p. 214 Edmund O'Dwyer, Bishop of Limerick, died at Brussels on April 5. Up to the time of his death he continued to dispute the validity of the Nuncio's censures. Halpin's report mentions a suggestion which was made that he should be refused Catholic burial, but the author does not find that such action was taken. After his death the Ormondists continued to justify themselves by his authority, as one who had excellent information as to the origin and progress of the whole controversy. [73-74].

216 Thomas Walsh, Archbishop of Cashel, died at Compostella on May 5. Text of a biographical account of him written by William St. Leger, S.J., rector of the Irish College at Compostella. The Archbishop was born at Waterford, and his biographer gives a list of bishops and many Jesuits and members of other orders who came from that city. The Archbishop's affection for Spain, in gratitude for his education and other benefits received by him there. His care for the religious orders, and especially for the Jesuits. Account of his arrest on an occasion when he was holding a synod, and his examination at Dublin before the Viceroy. His epitaph at Compostella. [75-93].

229 The Archbishop's steady loyalty to the Nuncio in the matter of the censures is the more praiseworthy in view of his affection for the Irish Jesuits. His letter to the Bishop of Clonmacnoise from Compostella, Nov. 30, 1653, shows the scrupulosity of his conscience. The fact that St. Leger in the biography never mentions the Nuncio, and says nothing as to the Archbishop's zeal in the matter of the censures shows the biographer's malignity and his desire to conceal the defection of himself and his accomplices. [94-96].

232 An account of John Callaghan, author of the book against the Nuncio published in 1650 under the pseudonym of Philopater Irenaeus. He had been recommended in 1646 by the Supreme Council for the bishopric of Cork, but on the advice of the Nuncio, who considered him to be a supporter of Muskerry and Ormonde, the bishopric was given to another. After the publication of his book he left Paris and obtained a parochial cure near Blois, where he promulgated Jansenism. His book was condemned by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of the Index, dated June 10, 1654. [97].

PART IV. A.D. 1655-1666.

Pope Innocent X died on Jan. 7, 1655, and was succeeded p. 237
on April 7 by Alexander VII. The Irish had hopes of obtaining
aid from the new Pope. They were encouraged for a short time
by the conjurations in England against Cromwell, and the
failure of his attack on the Spaniards in the West Indies.
However, as Cromwell was able to overcome opposition at
home, and as the King of Spain's war against France prevented
him from bringing his full force to bear against England, the
hopes of the Irish were disappointed. Letters written to
Charleville by Fr. Anthony on July 18, and by Fr. Gregory
on Oct. 10, show how lamentable at this time was the condition
of the Catholics, and especially of the clergy, in Ireland. Fr.
Anthony mentions that he had been obliged to disguise himself
in one place as a gardener, and in another as a travelling Scottish
merchant. The principal Catholics from the three other provinces
had been banished to Connacht. These letters, and many
other testimonies, show that the retort made by an Irish
archbishop, centuries before, to Giraldus Cambrensis about
Irish martyrs was a prophecy not destined to fail of fulfilment.
[1-4].

As John O'Cullenan, Bishop of Raphoe, was described in 241
1655 as Vice-Primate of Ireland, it appears that Hugh O'Reilly,
Archbishop of Armagh, died in that year or a little earlier. [5].

Death of the Irish Capuchin Fathers Matthew and John, 241
who had been exiled in 1654. Fr. John died at Charleville,
and Fr. Matthew, who had been intending to return to Ireland,
at Nantes. Story of some Irishmen of Waterford whom the
Cromwellians put on shipboard for transportation to the West
Indies. After the voyage had continued for some days, the
Irish rose against their guards, put them in chains, and diverted
the ship's course to Nantes. Account of the Irish 'colony'
at Brest. As the ports of Ireland were now all in control of
the enemy, the Irish frigates made Brest their refuge and a
starting-place for attacks on English ships. They brought over
their wives and children to Brest, and the town became in a
large degree an Irish town. [6-8].

Fr. Anthony MacGeoghegan, who has been frequently 243
mentioned under the years 1651-53, left Ireland in June, 1653.
Writing on Feb. 19, 1655, to Fr. R. O'Ferrall, N. Halpin says
that Mageoghegan had been ill, and had remained for some
time in the Irish College at Louvain. The Ormondist priests

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at Brussels had alleged that he was out of his mind. Dr. Enos, president of Louvain, in a letter of April 22 to Fr. O'Ferrall, spoke unfavourably of Mageoghegan. Later, at Rome, Mageoghegan wrote the Narrative of which the author has made much use. [9].

p. 244 Much controversy arose as to the manner in which absolution in regard to the Censures of 1648 should be sought from the new Pope, Alexander VII. Some held that there should be a general absolution. Others thought that a general or 'conditional' absolution would be injurious to the memory of the Nuncio, and to the credit of his supporters, and that absolution should be given to those only who petitioned for it, with acknowledgment of their fault. The Bishop of Clonmacnoise petitioned the Pope for a general absolution. The Pope, however, accepted the opposing view, pressed upon him by Fr. R. O'Ferrall. At this time the Bishops of Raphoe, Leighlin, Clonfert, and Cork were living in exile, in Flanders, Spain, Germany, and Brittany respectively. By a Brief dated August 27 the Pope empowered these four Bishops to grant absolution from the Nuncio's censures to all individual applicants ready to submit to a salutary penance. [10-14].

247 This Brief was printed in Belgium, prefixed by an admonition of the four Bishops to those who were under excommunication. Text of this Admonition, in which the Bishops refer to the rejection by the late Pope of the Appeal as frivolous. They point out that the excommunication had been made not by the Nuncio alone, but also by delegate and sub-delegate bishops, and that the claim made by certain bishops that they were not personally affected by the censures was not valid. The Brief caused great murmuring among the Ormondist exiles; they alleged that it had been obtained surreptitiously and by fraud. The author does not believe that the Brief was procured in order to prejudice the case of the Ormondists, and that its wording need not necessarily be regarded as inconsistent with the fact that a general absolution had been asked for. [15-24].

253 The Archbishop of Cashel had been one of those who had asked for a general absolution. As he had always stood with the Nuncio, his application was perhaps due to a scrupulous feeling that he might have failed his friends in some way. He died before the Brief was obtained, and was absolved *post mortem* by the Bishop of Leighlin. [25].

254 The Irish who settled in Brittany received many kindnesses from the local clergy and people, and pensions were granted

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by the authorities to some of the prelates and noblemen among them. Among the nobles were O'Sullivan Beare, Sir Nicholas Plunkett and O'Sullivan Mór ; the bishops in this region were the Archbishop of Tuam and the Bishops of Killala, Ferns, Ardagh, Cork and Waterford. In 1655 the first four of these prelates appointed the Carmelite Father Oliver Walsh as their proctor at Rome to petition the Pope for a general absolution. This happened before news had come that the Pope had issued his Brief. The author narrates certain incidents in Fr. Walsh's previous career. He was commended to the Bishop of Clonmacnoise at Rome in a letter of the prelates, dated Sept. 12. [26-27].

Text of Petition presented at Rome by Fr. O. Walsh to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland. This document, says the author, deviates from the truth in no small degree. It refers to the military situation eight years before. It cites several documents issued in 1648 and 1649 in relation to the excommunications. When Owen O'Neill had submitted to Ormonde, and the country had been subjugated by Cromwell, this controversy seemed to have come to a stop and been forgotten. But now certain persons desirous of dissension had spread rumours impugning the position of those who had not been absolved by a formal and juridical sentence of the Pope. This quarrel will have lamentable results for the Irish now in exile. [28-47].

Extract from a lengthy refutation of this Petition, written in 1656, by Fr. R. O'Ferrall. A criticism of the Petition was, by order of the Pope, written by Massari, who was now Secretary of Propaganda. He sketches the character and conduct of each of the four petitioning prelates, specifying instances of their ill conduct. [48-56].

Texts of another petition presented to the Pope by Fr. Walsh, and of replies to it by Cardinals Capponius and Albizzi, and Massari. The four prelates are asking for a general absolution only in order to weaken the effect of the admirable Brief already granted by the Pope. For the Pope to grant, as requested, a house in Rome to the Irish Discalced Carmelites would be a scandalous favour to grant to rebels against the Pope and his Nuncio. Fr. Walsh has asked for an audience of the Pope ; he deserves rather to be expelled from Rome, as had happened to the former Carmelite petitioner, Fr. Rowe. [57-68].

Fr. Walsh continued his efforts in 1656 and 1657. Text of a narrative of the whole controversy presented to the Pope by

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Fr. R. O'Ferrall on June 11, 1657. He recounts the circumstances under which the Nuncio found it necessary to issue censures. These were not (as had been falsely alleged) directed against all the Confederates, but only against those who intended to destroy the Confederacy. The great majority of those who had been excommunicated had already been absolved. The reason why the petitioners sought a general absolution was that they had engaged themselves to the heretics never to seek individual absolution, for fear of humiliating themselves, and giving opportunity to the clergy to exercise such censures again on some future occasion. [69-82].

p. 277 The Pope made a new Secretary of Propaganda in place of Massari. Fr. O. Walsh wrote in 1657 to the new Primate, Edmund O'Reilly, expressing his joy at this change. As to the four prelates, the Bishop of Ferns departed to Spain. The Abp. of Tuam and the Bishop of Killala received absolution. Letters of the latter to Fr. R. O'Ferrall, Oct. 31, 1657, and May 24, 1658. The author has information that the Bishop of Kilfenora received absolution in France. Fr. Walsh's efforts accordingly came to nothing, and he left Rome. [83-88].

281 The author explains that although both the Popes Innocent and Alexander had excellent reasons for refusing a general absolution, nevertheless their action seems to have been much influenced by false reports current at Rome about the meaning of an article included in Owen O'Neill's agreement with the Ormondists made on Oct. 12, 1649, and with regard to the Acts of the Clonmacnoise Congregation and the Loughrea Assembly, and the petition for absolution made by the Duke of Lorraine and others in 1651. The Nuncio's supporters in Rome must have failed to collate these documents carefully with each other, and to understand them clearly, with the result that the case of the Ormondists was made to appear worse than it actually was. All the same, apart from this, the justice and truth of the Nuncio's case was more than sufficient. [89-91].

283 Description of several compositions occasioned by the petition to the Cardinal Protector. The first, of Oct. 23, 1656, was in Fr. O'Ferrall's hand; the second, of Jan. 16, 1658, was not in his hand, but had a note on the cover written by him; the third was his Report of March 5, 1658. As to the last-mentioned document [printed as an Appendix to this Vol. 5 of the *Commentarius*], Fr. O'Ferrall feared that it might be transmitted from Rome to the English heretics and the Ormondists;

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nevertheless, Albritius, Secretary of Propaganda, insisted on its being presented to him. [92].

Dr. Enos wrote a refutation of the Petition. Massari wrote p. 285 a narrative, in Italian, of the Irish war. The author never saw the latter document. [93].

When the contestation about the censures was renewed under 285 Alexander VII, Dr. John Creagh, changing his former view, urged that the general absolution petitioned for by Fr. O. Walsh should be granted. Fr. Walsh then tried to get Dr. Creagh made general procurator for Irish affairs at Rome, a position for which Fr. O'Ferrall desired the appointment of Massari, or a person delegated by Massari. [94].

In June, 1659, Fr. R. O'Ferrall, weary of Irish and Roman 286 triflings and vexations, decided to leave Rome. He chose Florence as his retreat, in order to be able to work on the Nuncio's papers, preserved there by the Nuncio's brother Thomas. [95-97].

Fr. O'Ferrall's report of March 5, having got abroad, roused 288 a storm of indignation against him. Letter of Cardinal Albizzi to Fr. O'Ferrall, Aug. 9, 1659, testifying to the Father's loyalty to the King of England; and expressing the opinion that there was nothing in the Report not in accordance with truth. [98-99].

A statement made by Fr. O'Ferrall that Patrick Plunket, 289 Bishop of Ardagh, had incurred the Censures of 1648 led to a quarrel between him and Oliver Plunket (at that time professor in the Propaganda College at Rome). Letter of Oliver Plunket to the Procurator General of the Capuchins, June 14, 1659, enclosing a certificate given by the Bishop of Cork that the Bishop of Ardagh had never been involved in the Censures. Letter of Fr. O'Ferrall to the Procurator General, Oct. 19, 1660, giving evidence from the Bishop's conduct to justify the charge. In December the Procurator General informed Fr. O'Ferrall that Oliver Plunket had expressed his regret and that he was anxious to have O'Ferrall's friendship. The latter wrote in 1662 to the Bishop of Cork about the Bishop of Ardagh. [100-113].

It is clear that the Bishop did join with the Ormondists in 296 the matter of the Cessation and the Censures, though the author has seen no document bearing his signature as evidence of this. [114].

On Nov. 29, 1659, Fr. O'Ferrall wrote to Albritius, requesting 296 that a single copy of his Report might be transcribed for him,

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and on Sept. 13, 1660, he wrote to the Pope, stating that his Report had been transmitted to his enemies from the office of the Secretary of Propaganda, and that copies are being altered to irritate the heretics, who are alleging that he has written against the King's rights in Ireland, and are producing against him testimony from prelates and nobles of the heretical faction. No reply was received by him to either of these letters. [115-120].

p. 301 Certain Irish Capuchins attacked the Report as containing reflections on their own families and other noble families of Ireland. On this matter, Fr. O'Ferrall wrote on May, 1662, to Cardinal Farnese, then Protector of the Capuchins. The Cardinal made no reply. [121].

302 Letter of Philip O'Reilly and Moriarty O'Brien from Brussels, May 1, 1656, to the Bishop of Clonmacnoise and other ecclesiastics at Rome. Thinking that the discord between Cromwell and Spain gave opportunity for a renewal of the war, they desired that the Pope should be asked to grant supplies, and enclosed instructions as to the manner in which the business might be explained. The aid hoped for was not obtained, as the Pope was well aware that the supplies given, under much more favourable circumstances, by Pope Innocent had proved useless, owing to Confederate discord and Ormondist artifice. [122-140].

306 In April, 1657, Anthony Geoghegan, Bishop of Clonmacnoise, was translated to Meath, and shortly afterwards returned to Ireland. He was followed by Edmund O'Reilly, newly appointed Primate. About the same time John O'Cullenan, Bishop of Raphoe, died in exile in Belgium. Fr. John Colgan O.F.M., eminent for his labours in Irish antiquities, died in Jan., 1658. [141].

306 Edmund Dempsey, Bishop of Leighlin, who had gone to Spain, wrote to Fr. O'Ferrall from Madrid on Oct. 28, 1653, complaining that he had been neglected by the Dominicans at Madrid. Writing to the same from Pontevedra on Nov. 12, 1656, he explained why he had left Madrid, and gone to Galicia. He received a letter from the Sacred Congregation, dated Sept. 29, 1657, referring to the lamentable account which he had sent to Rome about the state of his diocese. He died in Spain about this time. [142-146].

310 At Rome, in 1657, a number of Vicars Apostolic were appointed for Irish dioceses. [147].

310 In August, 1657, King Louis XIV, accompanied by the Queen

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Mother and the Court, laid the foundation stone of a new house of the Irish Capuchins at Sedan. [148-149].

In 1658 Fr. Bernardine O'Ferrall, Commissary General of the Irish Capuchins, went over to Ireland to visit the missionaries dispersed throughout the country. Text of the Report sent by him to Rome after his return to France. [150-157].

On Cromwell's alliance with France, the King of England was obliged to leave that country. He went to Germany, and afterwards to Belgium. Both the King and the Duke of York made efforts to draw into Belgium the Irish regiments which had earlier been gathered by them into France. Many of the Irish now crossed into Belgium, and the feelings of the Spaniards towards the Irish became more friendly. The author gives a particular account of two of these Irish regiments. One of these was composed of the O'Ferralls and their followers. The other was that which Cormac MacCarthy, eldest son of Viscount Muskerry, had been commanding in the service of the King of France. [158-160].

Sir James Darcy remained in France in command of the Irish regiment formerly under the Duke of York. Inchiquin and James Preston also stayed in France. A slaughter of the Calvinists of Savoy was made by Irish regiments in the French service. Referring to the sympathy and assistance which on this disaster the Savoyards received from their fellow-Calvinists in many European countries, the author points out the contrast between this conduct and the neglect by Catholic princes and rulers of the Irish. It is, however, to be admitted that many Irish exiles received aid and kindness in France, Spain, and other Catholic regions. [161-162].

For the next 4 or 5 years the King remained in Belgium, waiting for an opportunity of getting back to England. Many conspiracies were made against Cromwell, without success. His death, with text of an anonymous satirical epitaph on him. [163-165].

Richard Cromwell's tenure of the office of Protector was brief, and the government was seized by Lambert, Fleetwood, and some other officers. The Presbyterians got the upper hand over the Independents, and Monck got control of the situation, and summoned a Parliament. [166-167].

Peace was made between France and Spain in 1659. At this time it was generally believed on the Continent that the King of England would profess the Catholic faith, and establish the orthodox religion in his kingdom, after he had been restored

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by the aid of Catholic forces. But in the Parliament of April, 1660, Monck secured the King's recall on terms ruinous for the Catholic religion. In June the King returned to London. [168-170].

- p. 321 A general pardon was granted for all rebellions and offences, with exception of the case of the regicides. Decrees were made by the King which appeared to tend, not to the encouragement of the Catholics of Ireland, but to increase and confirm their ruin. Letter from the King of France to King Charles II, Sept. 7, 1660, protesting against the exclusion of the Irish Catholics from the amnesty. [171-174].
- 323 Before the King left Flanders, there had been negotiations with him there on the part of commissioners of the English rebels; they demanded conditions ruinous to the Catholics, especially those of Ireland. Two of these envoys met the King secretly at the Capuchin convent in Brussels, and had a discussion with him lasting some days. The author was assured by Fr. C. d'Aremberg that the King was in fact a Catholic, but considered it necessary to defer a public announcement of his conversion. At Dublin Broghill and Coote assembled a Convention of 'the principal assassins of the English rabble.' They decided to send envoys to the King, who was still on the Continent, to offer submission on terms including a condition that the property which had been taken from the Catholics should be confirmed to its new possessors. They also resolved to send some person of influence among the Presbyterians to plead the cause of the Irish Cromwellians before Monck and the Parliament. [175-176].
- 325 Envoys were accordingly sent, both to the King and to England. The King agreed to the demands of the envoys, and in a letter to Monck, April 4, 1660, he confirmed his promises. Meanwhile, all the prisons in Ireland were filled with Catholics. A month or two after the King's return the House of Commons presented to him a decree against the Catholics of Ireland in which they were described as 'bloodstained homicides.' The King signed the decree. [177-178].
- 326 Under Clotworthy's influence, a clause was inserted in the Act of Amnesty excluding the Irish Catholics from its benefits. Events at this juncture are illustrated by the text of a letter written on Sept. 7, 1660, by an Irishman in London to a friend on the Continent. [179-182].
- 328 Titles of nobility were conferred upon Broghill, Coote and Clotworthy. Sir John Roberts was appointed Lord Deputy.

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but his appointment was opposed by those who feared he had too much integrity to support their cruel machinations, and the appointment was revoked. [183].

A most cruel edict against the Irish Catholics was drawn up p. 328 by Broghill (now Earl of Orrery), Clotworthy and Mervyn, and issued by the King as 'His Majesty's Gracious Declaration,' Nov. 30, 1660. [L.D., V, no. 3]. [184-226].

Comments on this Declaration. As regards the distinction 352 laid down in it between 'innocent' and 'nocent' Papists, the author remarks that there were very few who could hope for the restoration of their property by being found qualified for classification as 'innocent.' Any concessions which seemed to be made to the Catholics were made of no effect by the administrative methods which were adopted, and the establishment of Protestant Lords Justices and a Protestant Parliament. The concession offered to Irishmen who had adhered to the King on the Continent was worth little, as few of these persons had property in land. Remarks on the 'Adventurers.' [227-240].

The King commanded that the terms of his Declaration 360 were to be followed strictly and exclusively, and that no account was to be taken of concessions which he had privately granted to certain Irishmen who had rendered good service to him. The result of the Declaration was that many persons of rank were almost reduced to starvation. [241].

Changes in ecclesiastical matters in England. The re- 361bellion had been made by the various sectaries, Calvinists, Puritans, etc., while the only people who stood for the King were the Protestants and the Catholics. Later, during the progress of the troubles, dissidence arose between the Presbyterians and the Independents, while the established Church had been suppressed, and its possessions confiscated. Now, on the King's restoration, the Church of England was restored to its former position, and appointments of archbishops and bishops were made. [242-243].

It was a characteristic of the English heretics frequently 362 to change from one sect to another. The more obstinate of these, such as the Independents, Fanatics, etc., refused to conform to the episcopal church, and frequented private conventicles. Such assemblies were feared by the King, as nurseries of conspiracies against his authority, and he issued a Decree forbidding them. When this Decree was issued in Ireland by the Lords Justices and Council, they added 'Papists' to the classes of

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persons against whom the Decree was aimed, though they were well aware that the case of the Catholics was quite different from that of the sectaries. Text of the Decree, dated Jan. 22, 1661. Its result was that the Catholics had to suffer severer torments than ever before, as by domiciliary visits, imprisonments of ecclesiastics, and strict confinement of noblemen to Connacht. [244-249].

p. 366 The so-called 'Rustic' Parliament met in Dublin in 1661, replacing the General Convention. Its membership consisted of those Cromwellians to whom the King had assigned the properties of the Catholics, with a few other heretics, and the Protestant bishops. Text of the Lord Chancellor Eustace's Speech to this Parliament, delivered on May 18 [*recte*, May 8]. [L.D., V, no. 4]. Observations on this speech. [250-275].

373 Text of an order of the Lords Justices and Council, Dec. 10, 1661. Referring to a letter of a priest which had been intercepted, and which appeared to indicate the existence of a seditious conspiracy, the order directs that all persons (with certain exceptions) who, having been transported to Connacht and Clare, had left those parts, should now return. The authors comments on the iniquity of the conduct of the Cromwellian pseudo-Parliament towards the Catholics, as shown by this edict. [276-282].

378 Text of the Humble Remonstrance of the Roman-Catholic Clergy of Ireland. [L.D., V, no. 5]. [283-289].

381 This Remonstrance was signed by 25 ecclesiastics, the last signature that of Fr. Peter Walsh. Referring to Fr. Walsh's pronouncement against the Nuncio in 1648, the author describes him as the 'nefarious architect of many and great crimes.' His conduct in Spain is described in a letter of the Bishop of Leighlin to Fr. R. O'Ferrall, Nov. 12, 1656. The Remonstrance did not receive the subscriptions of the rest of the clergy whether in Ireland or on the Continent. Text of a judgment of the theological faculty of Louvain on the 'Loyal Formulary' [put forth with the aforesaid Remonstrance]. [290-293].

384 It is not to be doubted that the protestation and the formula of obedience were disapproved of at Rome. The author gives the text of criticisms of the Remonstrance made by some person at Rome; this statement gives references page by page to Peter Walsh's published defence of the Remonstrance [*The More Ample Account*, London, 1662]. Fr. Walsh wrote to the King congratulating him on his return, a letter 'savouring in many ways of impiety.' [294-317].

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Extracts from a book by Fr. Redmund Carron, *Loyalty asserted and the late Remonstrance confirmed*, London, 1662. [318-333]. 388

These two Fathers, Walsh and Carron, being safe in London, appear to have been indifferent to the fulminations of the Apostolic See. No evidence appears that Walsh ever gave any sign of repentance. [334]. 390

The new Primate held a Provincial Synod of Armagh in October, 1660. Text of the Synodal Acts. [L.D., V, no. 6]. They contain many detailed regulations on disciplinary and other matters. [335-357]. 390

The Primate had enjoined, under severe penalties, the duty of loyalty to the King. Nevertheless, accusations under this head were made against him at Rome, and the Pope recalled him from Ireland. It had been brought up against him that when he was Vicar General of Dublin in 1648, he had supported the Nuncio. Text of a testimonial in his favour signed by the Bishops of Kilmore and Meath and the dignitaries of the province. He left Ireland in 1661, and remained at Rome from 1662 to 1665. [358-366]. 396

Text of a Report presented in March, 1662, by a certain Carmelite Father to one of the Cardinals at Rome. It relates to the Carmelite mission in Ireland, particularly in Leinster. It states that during Cromwell's rule all the bishops (except the Bishop of Kilmore), and almost all the secular and regular priests had been expelled from the country. The oppressive edicts against the Catholics are described under four heads, viz., the banishment to Connacht, the requirement of attendance at protestant services, the fines for non-attendance at church, and, most iniquitous of all, the enforcement of the Oath of Abjuration. Details are given about priests who remained in Ireland. [367-389]. 398

Under Ormonde, who returned as Lord Lieutenant in 1662, the persecution was much abated. As regards criticism of his action in 1647 in surrendering Dublin and other strongholds to the Parliamentarians, rather than to the Confederates, his supporters maintained that he had acted in the best interests of the Crown. [390-391]. 406

Not a few of the Irish, especially those who had adhered to the Nuncio, preferred to pine away in misery abroad, rather than return to live at home under King Charles II and Ormonde. Death [in 1661] of the Earl of Mountrath, and [in 1665] of the Lord Chancellor Eustace. Both of them, as Lords Justices, 407

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had been strenuous in procuring the ruin of the Irish Catholics. [392].

- p. 408 Inchiquin served with the French army. He was converted to the Catholic faith. On the occasion when he was captured by Algerian pirates, he wrote letters to John O'Mollony, priest, and Fr. Gough, asking for aid. Eventually, he returned to England and recovered his patrimony. [393-394].
- 410 Muskerry also recovered his possessions. The King created him Earl of Clancarty. [395].
- 411 David Roche lived in exile in Flanders, where his manner of life, like that of his martyred mother, was a model of Christian uprightiness. Lord Castleconnell and MacCarthy Reagh also went into exile in Flanders, where they served under Cormac MacCarthy, and were, like him, restored to their rights by virtue of the King's Declaration of November, 1660. [396].
- 412 Viscount Taaffe's wife lived in concealment in London during Cromwell's time; he himself remained on the Continent in the company of the King and Ormonde. Viscount Dillon went with his wife and children to Spain, and afterwards to Belgium. His wife, who was sister to Viscountess Taaffe, was, at Brussels, converted to the Catholic faith by her brother, Fr. Edward White, Capuchin. The author remarks that under divine providence there were advantages gained by the Irish from the wickedness of their enemies. The exiles, on the one hand, learned much from foreigners as regards languages and arts, and aptitude for military and civil affairs, while, on the other hand, those who remained at home were compelled under stress of tyranny to get rid of the indolent disposition (*otium*) which is deeply rooted in Ireland, and the vices associated with that temper, and to engage themselves in every kind of industry. It is noted that the greater part of the Irish regiments in Belgium returned home. [397-399].
- 413 When the Irish regiment brought over to Spain by Lieut. General R. O'Ferrall in 1653 had passed over to the French service, the General spent some years in the Court of Madrid, engaged in litigation about arrears of pay due to him. At a later date, at Vienna, he petitioned the Emperor for military employment. In a letter of April 2, 1661, to Father Richard O'Ferrall, he complains that if Fr. O'Ferrall had permitted him to remain neutral in Ireland, he would now be much better off. O'Sullivan Beare, Earl of Bearhaven, died in Spain in 1661, and shortly afterwards Hugh O'Neill, nephew of Owen Roe, died in the same country. [400-401].

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Notice of Daniel MacCarthy Mór (son of Florence), who went to Spain ; his marriages, and the fortunes of his children on the Continent. Remark about children who had gone into exile with their parents, that in many cases on their return home they had forgotten the Irish language. [402-403]. p. 414

MacCarthy Mór went to Charleville in 1660, and thence to Flanders, where he died in 1661. Many details are given about his charity and self-denial and the religious austerities which he practised. [404-405]. 415

His wife, who was a sister of the Marquis of Antrim, had remained in Ireland. On the King's restoration Antrim presented himself at court, but, through the influence of his enemies, he was ordered by the King to withdraw to Ireland. He was imprisoned at Dublin. Walter Dungan and Peter Sherlock were engaged on the Spanish wars, in which they did credit to their native land. Dungan died in Spain. [406-407]. 418

Account of Fr. Richard O'Ferrall. In 1648 he was chosen by the Nuncio to prosecute his case at Rome, in co-operation with Fr. Joseph Arcamoni. Remarks on Fr. O'Ferrall's motives. It is reasonable to suppose that he was impelled by zeal for the Faith and the Catholic cause, but he may have been influenced also by another motive, namely, a desire to promote the interests of his own family, the O'Ferralls, and of the other 'aboriginal' Irish. Such a motive, though inferior to that of faith, is laudable, if confined within the limits of charity, and it may be believed that it was so controlled by Fr. O'Ferrall. Efforts were made by certain persons to have him removed from Rome, and in 1659 he withdrew of his own accord to Florence. The author refers to his own association with Fr. O'Farrell in the compilation of the present work, and to the complaints made about his Report to Propaganda, March, 1658. The author says that during Fr. O'Ferrall's last illness he had urged him to state his authority for the statement in his Report that the Bishop of Ferns, Fr. Robert Nugent, and others had betrayed the Nuncio's purposes and secrets to his enemies, and that he did not get satisfaction from him on this point. He remarks how Fr. O'Ferrall's memory was affected by his illness. Granting, he continues, that there was a strong presumption of treachery by the persons referred to, he would not himself have ventured to make the statement more positively than as a presumption. In such hateful controversies it is impossible to avoid giving offence to one's opponents, and he 418

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- feels persuaded that Fr. O'Ferrall all along preserved a good conscience. He died on August 13, 1663. [408-428].
- p. 432 Massari, Dean of Fermo, died there on July 30, 1664. [429].
- 432 The scandalous book *Alithinologia*, directed against the Report of Fr. O'Ferrall mentioned above, was published in France in 1664. The author was affirmed to be John Lynch, priest of Galway, and Archdeacon of Tuam. He had been an obstinate opponent of the Nuncio. [430].

PART V. RELATION OF THE NUNCIATURE

- 433 The Nuncio Rinuccini's Report, written by himself in Italian towards the end of the year 1649, at Rome, by order of the Pope, and presented to His Holiness. The Report was translated into Latin, from the original remaining among the Nuncio's papers, at Florence, in 1666, by the author of the present work. An English translation of the Report is given on pp. 483-575 of *The Embassy of Rinuccini in Ireland*, by Annie Hutton, Dublin, 1873.]
- 435 Two adverse factions have always existed among the Catholics of Ireland, the old Irish and the old English. The greater part of the Catholic forces are commanded by Owen Roe O'Neill and Thomas Preston. Establishment of the Catholic Confederation in 1641. Suspicions entertained by the more recent Irish. [1-2].
- 437 In order to divide the Irish, the King of England made the Marquis of Ormonde Lord Lieutenant. Against the advice of Fr. Scarampi, the papal envoy, the Supreme Council of the Confederation made a peace with the King and the Protestants. The appointment of Rinuccini as Nuncio. [3-4].
- 439 While the old Irish revered the Nuncio as a minister of God, the others were anxious only about the money which he was to bring with him from the Pope. On his arrival in Ireland, the Nuncio found that matters of religion were in an excellent condition, but that in military affairs there were almost insuperable difficulties. [5-7].
- 442 The supplies brought by the Nuncio were divided by him between O'Neill and Preston. O'Neill's victory at Benburb, June 5, 1646. At the Assembly convoked by the Nuncio at Waterford to examine the Peace, it was unanimously agreed that it was unjust. The clergy debated three points in par-

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ticular: 1) The lack of money; 2) What enterprise should now be undertaken; and 3) Whether for such an enterprise assistance should be claimed from Preston, or the matter entrusted to O'Neill alone. [8-11].

It was at this time that the conspiracy was started which p. 448 lasted up to the time of the Nuncio's departure from the country. There were divisions in the Ecclesiastical Congregation on two matters of the greatest importance. The plan for an expedition against Dublin was frustrated; this meant a triumph for the Ormondist faction. Remarks on the policy of the Bishop of Ferns and Sir. N. Plunkett. [12-17].

In 1647 Ormonde surrendered Dublin to the English, and sailed to England. The Confederates were routed in two battles. Lord Inchiquin attacked and took Cashel. Battle of Knocknanuss, Nov. 13, 1647, in which Alexander MacDonnell fell. [18-22]. 456

The General Assembly accomplished the final ruin of the Confederacy. Envoys were sent to Rome and to France. The Nuncio spent the summer visiting Catholic towns. Massari arrived from Rome in March, 1648. The Nuncio assembled the Bishops at Kilkenny. [23-26]. 460

The Ormondists had three objects:— 1) To make an immediate agreement with Inchiquin; 2) To pretend a desire to make arrangements with the clergy which would be agreeable to both sides; and 3) To assemble Preston's army as quickly as possible, in order that, in conjunction with Inchiquin's forces, it might move against O'Neill. The Nuncio, to secure his safety, left Kilkenny and fled to Maryborough. On May 27, 1648, he published a decree of excommunication, with an interdict. These censures were supported by seventeen of the bishops, and opposed by eight. [27-30]. 466

The Nuncio arrived at Athlone, and, later, at Galway. The Supreme Council arrested Massari. Narrative of the warlike expeditions of this summer. [31-32]. 472

The Nuncio remained at Galway. Ormonde arrived in the bay of Cork. The Nuncio made preparations for his departure. [33-34]. 475

Ormonde, established again as Lord Lieutenant, entered Kilkenny amid popular enthusiasm, and declared the dissolution of the Catholic Confederacy. The Nuncio made it known that he could not remain in the country under the government of a heretic. He was escorted to his ship (the frigate *St. Peter*) 478

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amid the lamentations of the people, and after a voyage of seven days arrived in France. [35-36].

p. 480 The author notes a number of corrections in matters of detail, which the Nuncio's Report appears to him to require.

He concludes the whole *Commentarius* with a brief epilogue in which he expresses his desire that the work may receive examination by competent judges, and be made to conform to truth in every point.

FINIS

APPENDIX

TEXT OF THE LONDON COPY OF FATHER RICHARD O'FERRALL'S REPORT OF MARCH 5, 1658

[This Report has been referred to above, on p. 284 and p. 288, and on pp. 297-299 there are various quotations from Fr. O'Ferrall's letters about the composition of the document, its confidential transmission to the Secretary of Propaganda, its betrayal to heretics, especially the councillors of the King of England and the Queen, and the corruption and depravation of the text by enemies.

The autograph in Fr. O'Ferrall's handwriting has not come to light. As to the London exemplar (British Museum, Addit. MSS. 33744, ff. 8-17) here printed, the circumstances mentioned in Fr. O'Ferrall's letters show that it is impossible to decide whether this copy was transcribed from the original, or from a corrupt apograph. The same caution must be observed about the citations from the Report given in the *Alithinologia* of John Lynch, who states (on p. 3 of his work) that he had not received the Report itself, but only some pieces (*lacinias*) obtained by him through the agency of friends].

An account of the various origins and classification of the p. 486
present inhabitants of Ireland.

The mission of St. Patrick. The continued obedience of the 487
people to the Apostolic See.

The invasion of King Henry II. The unjustified reflections 488
made by the King on the state of religion in Ireland. The
conditions agreed on by him with the Pope were violated by
him and his successors.

Though the colonists for the most part were unwilling to 489
accept the claim of King Henry VIII to be Head of the Church,
his title of King of Ireland was recognized in the unlawful
Parliament held in Dublin in 1541. Many of the magnates
seized upon monastic lands, and during the reigns of Henry,
Edward VI, and Elizabeth, fear of losing this property kept
them in opposition to the Holy See. A list is given of the
principal Anglo-Irish families thus enriched. Under King
James I, the Catholics were unable to resist the further progress
of heresey, now consolidated in the form of the Protestant or
Anglican Church.

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- p.490 Account of the methods used for extirpating the Catholic religion. Such were slaughter in war, oppressive laws, imprisonment and banishment from the country, prohibition of Catholic education, endowment of an heretical Academy and public schools, publication of heretical books in the Irish language, heretical education of orphans of noblemen. The counter-efforts of the Catholics included the continued appointment by the Holy See of bishops and vicars apostolic, the activities of the regulars, especially the Franciscans, the publication of books of doctrine and piety in the Irish language, and the establishment of Irish seminaries and religious houses on the Continent.
- 491 The reign of King Charles I, and his troubles. The rising in Ireland on October 23, 1641. Names of Irish families prominent in the rising. The General Assembly of 1642. The erection of a Supreme Council.
- 493 The mission of Fr. Scarampi, sent to Ireland in 1643. A classification of the *politici*; these 'statists,' in distinction from the true Catholics, aimed at a union with the heretics. The mission of the Nuncio Rinuccini. The Catholic victory at Benburb.
- 494 The rejection of the Peace by the Nuncio and the clergy, and the fulmination of the Censures. Restoration of the Catholic confederacy, with setting-up of a new Supreme Council, under the presidency of the Nuncio. The proposed expedition against Dublin was frustrated by the *politici*. Charge against Fr. Robert Nugent, Bishop Oliver Darcy of Dromore, Bishop Patrick Plunkett of Ardagh, Sir Nicholas Plunkett, and Bishop French of Ferns, for having, as far as they could, betrayed the Nuncio's intentions and secrets to his enemies. Those members of the Supreme Council who had been imprisoned were restored, and a new Grand Council was set up, of 48 *politici*, who afterwards effected the ruin of everything.
- 495 The Nuncio's excommunication brought about a division in the army and the Supreme Council, and a separation between persons of sincerity and the *politici*. Of the 27 Bishops, 8 directly concurred in the oppression of the Nuncio.
- 496 Account of the attitude of the members of the various religious orders towards the Nuncio. Edicts issued by the Council against the Nuncio, and attacks on his reputation.
- 497 Restoration of Ormonde to power.
- 498 Defeat of Ormonde at Rathmines. Clanrickard was made Lord Lieutenant in his place. He made a betrayal of the

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whole nation to the Parliamentarians. A description of the conduct of the *politici* on the Continent. Pretending to be sincere Catholics, they are engaged in acquiring for themselves offices, trust and authority, not only with Princes and armies, but also at Rome and with the Nuncios Apostolic. Fearing that if the truth were known they would be disgraced, they are stigmatizing as seditious and guilty of treason those true Catholics who speak or write anything about the betrayers of religion and country.

Recommendation to the Sacred Congregation to take steps p.499 to prevent the cardinals and the ministers of the Holy See from being deceived, and to institute an examination of the informations, reports and pamphlets which have been produced to the injury of the Holy See and for the establishment of heretical rule. Account of the attitude of the *politici* in the question of absolution from the Censures.

Suggestion under various heads of remedial measures which might be adopted:— 1) Against the artifices of the *politici* 500 their reports should be examined. A Report in defence of the rights of the Church should be approved, and writings against those rights condemned. Dignities should not be conferred on *politici*. There should be an examination made into the validity of the Censures, and as to the origin and purpose of the General Absolution for which petitions had been presented.

2) As regards the endeavours of the heretics, there should be provision of a numerous and faithful clergy, to keep the Catholics united, if once the ecclesiastical hierarchy should be restored in Ireland. In the matter of marriage, a difficulty has arisen as to marriages of cousins, by the absence of power of granting dispensations, and a remedy should be found for this. As to the Irish language, in which the heretics have taken to publish books, something should be provided by publications in that language, both as an antidote to heresy, and as a means of preserving that original, chaste and elegant language. As to education, the heretics have erected public schools, in order that, the schools of the Catholics having been extinguished, the Irish should be compelled to be either ignorant or impious, but steps have already been taken for erection of Catholic colleges and seminaries. The study of Canon Law has been discouraged in Ireland, and it would be well that at least a few theological students should be allowed to give a year of their course to that study. As regards clerical students, many young men have found it difficult to obtain ordination, as not having

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Ordinaries, or not knowing where to find them, so as to get Dimissorial Letters ; this difficulty should be remedied.

p. 501 3). As regards clerical promotions, great evils have been caused by 'political' clergy, especially when they have been made prelates and superiors. In making promotions, preference, other things being equal, should be given to those whose ancestors have been founders and restorers of churches, rather than to persons descended from those who have suppressed and despoiled churches. Those who are able to reside and have influence over their flocks, should be preferred to those who are unable to reside at all, or to do so with profit to the people, and who make themselves ridiculous by their ignorance of the Irish language. Persons belonging to the diocese in which an appointment is being made should be preferred to outsiders, and persons of good birth (*nobiles*) to others. List of the provinces and sees, with names of the present bishops and vicars apostolic, observations on the qualifications and present places of residence of these prelates, and a note as to existing vacancies in sees.

504 4). With regard to the Regulars, complaint is made about the efforts of the *politici* and the heretics to get their own friends appointed to the higher posts in the religious orders ; they are sending such 'political' regulars to Ireland, and about the Continent, for the purpose of seducing the Catholics to their side, and supplying information to Ormonde, who has himself interfered in the matter of promotions. Fr. O'Ferrall concludes his Report by affirming that he is prepared to prove his statements from public acts, and to disclose even more serious matters, should anyone suggest that there are ambiguities in his report. His detection of defects, errors and crimes has been made without any malicious intention.

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1. Bull of Pope Paul III, condemning and excommunicating King Henry VIII, August 30, 1535. [pp. 26-38].
2. Act of Parliament for the succession of the King and Queen Anne, 1537. [pp. 46-54].
3. Act against the authority of the Bishop of Rome, 1537. [pp. 59-66].
4. Bull of Cardinal Pole, Papal Legate, in relation to Ireland, granting a dispensation as regards the holding of monastic property, May 6, 1557. [pp. 112-118].
5. An apology presented to the King by the nobility and other inhabitants of the English colony in Ireland. [1641-2]. [pp. 253-260].
6. Acts of the Provincial Council of Armagh, held at Kells, March 22, 1642. [pp. 314-319].
7. Decree of the General Congregation of the Clergy of Ireland, held at Kilkenny, May 10, 11 and 13, 1642. [pp. 320-326].
8. Acts of the General Assembly of Ireland held at Kilkenny, October 24, 1642. [pp. 343-352].
9. Declaration of the Catholics of Ireland now at war, addressed to the King. [1642]. [pp. 352-364].
10. A Remonstrance of grievances delivered, on behalf of the Confederate Catholics, to the King's Commissioners at Trim, March 17, 1643. [pp. 375-391].
11. 1) A memorial in favour of the making of a truce, July, 1643. 2) A reply to the same by Fr. Scarampi, August, 1643. [pp. 413-420].
12. Admonitions of the Supreme Council to all His Majesty's subjects against the Solemn League and Covenant, as also against the Declaration of the English Parliament. Jan. 26, 1644. [pp. 451-453].
13. Propositions of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, presented by their commissioners to the King in April, 1644, in continuation of their Remonstrance of grievances. [pp. 478-481].
14. Part of the Peace made with the Earl of Glamorgan, September 3, 1645. [pp. 557-564].

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15. Brief of faculties given by Pope Innocent X to the Nuncio Rinuccini, March 15, 1645. [pp. 591-601].
16. 1) Instructions given by the Pope to the Nuncio, March 16, 1645. 2) The more private instructions. [pp. 602-624]
17. Memoranda sent to Archbishop Rinuccini, Nuncio-designate to Ireland, containing suggestions by the Catholics of England about the conclusion of a peace. [1645]. [pp. 664-671].

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2. Statement by the Earl of Glamorgan, as to the advantages and disadvantages of the proposed peace. [1646]. [pp. 108-111].
3. Articles sent by the Pope to be put forward as conditions of a peace, November 30, 1646. [pp. 118-119].
4. Articles asked for the Catholics of England. [1646]. [pp. 121-123].
5. Message of the King to Parliament, including a declaration that Glamorgan's commission was invalid. Jan. 29, 1646. [pp. 155-158].
6. An account of the realm of Ireland, written by the Nuncio, March 1, and sent to Rome, May 3, 1646. [pp. 167-180].
7. Admonition of the Bishop of Ferns to the Confederate Catholics, when they were entering upon a peace with the sectaries. [1646]. [pp. 287-296].
8. Articles of Peace concluded between the Marquis of Ormonde and the Confederate Catholics, March 28, 1646. [pp. 299-318].
9. Reply of the Clergy assembled at Waterford with regard to the Peace, August 22, 1646. [pp. 330-339].
10. An account of the Peace which was published in August, 1646, and publicly condemned by the General Assembly. (This statement was sent by the Nuncio to Cardinal Pamphili on Feb. 4, 1647). [pp. 500-504].
11. Articles exhibited in the General Assembly against Thomas Preston, General of the army of Leinster, Feb. 8, 1647. [pp. 554-556].
12. Report by the Supreme Council, sent to France at the end of April, 1647. [pp. 591-594].

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13. Articles of agreement concluded at Dublin between the Marquis of Ormonde and the commissioners of the Parliament of England, June 18, 1647. [pp. 626-629].
14. An account of Lord Inchiquin's sack of Cashel, written by an inhabitant of the town. [1647]. [pp. 778-782].

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5. Articles of agreement between Baron Inchiquin of the one part, and Sir Richard Everard and others, in the name of the Supreme Council, of the other part. May 20, 1648. [pp. 166-169].
6. An appeal by members of the Supreme Council to the Holy See against the Nuncio's Censures, May 31, 1648. [pp. 210-219].
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3. A Declaration of the Archbishops, Bishops, and prelates of the secular and regular clergy of Ireland against the continuance of the royal authority in the person of the Marquis of Ormonde, on account of his bad government, unfortunate direction of the royal army, and violation of the articles of peace, made at Jamestown in the Convent of the Friars Minor, August 12, 1650. With the text of the Excommunication mentioned in the Declaration. [pp. 417-428].
4. Instructions given to the Bishop of Dromore and Dr. Charles O'Kelly, Dean of Tuam, envoys sent to the Lord Lieutenant by the Ecclesiastical Congregation held at Jamestown. [1650]. [pp. 447-450].
5. Reply of the Commissioners of the Clergy to the proposals put forward by the Commissioners of Trust, Oct. 29, 1650. [pp. 466-470].
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3. His Majesty's gracious declaration for the tranquility of his kingdom of Ireland, and for defining various rights in regard to the adventurers, the soldiers, and his other subjects there, November 30, 1660. [pp. 329-352].
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5. The humble remonstrance, acknowledgment, protestation and petition to His Majesty of the Irish Roman Catholic clergy living in London. [early in 1662]. [pp. 378-381].
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ABBREVIATIONS

abp.=archbishop; *al.*=alias; bar.=barony; bp.=bishop; bro.=brother; Bt.=Baronet; *c.*=circa; C.J.=Chief Justice; co.=county; col.=colonel; C.P.=Common Pleas; cr.=created; d.=died; d. or dau.=daughter; dept.=department (of France); dioc.=diocese; do.=ditto; doc., docs.=document(s); *ds.*=dominus; e.=eldest; exec.=executed; *f., ff.*=following (page or pages); f.=father; h.=heir; k.=king; K.B.=King's Bench; l.d.=letters (from places); leuit.=lieutenant; m.=mother; *mgr.*=magister; par.=parish; q.=queen; r.=river; refs.=references; rel.=relating; S.=Saint; s.l.=slain; s.l.d.=letter signed by individual; succ.=succeeded (to title); w.=wife.

fol. indicates scattered references in the following 25 or 30 pages.

Names of counties and baronies have in some cases been abbreviated to such forms as Gal., Kilk., Tip., C. & C. (Condon and Clangibbon), I. & O. (Ikeathy and Oughterany), N. & R. (Narragh and Reban), etc.

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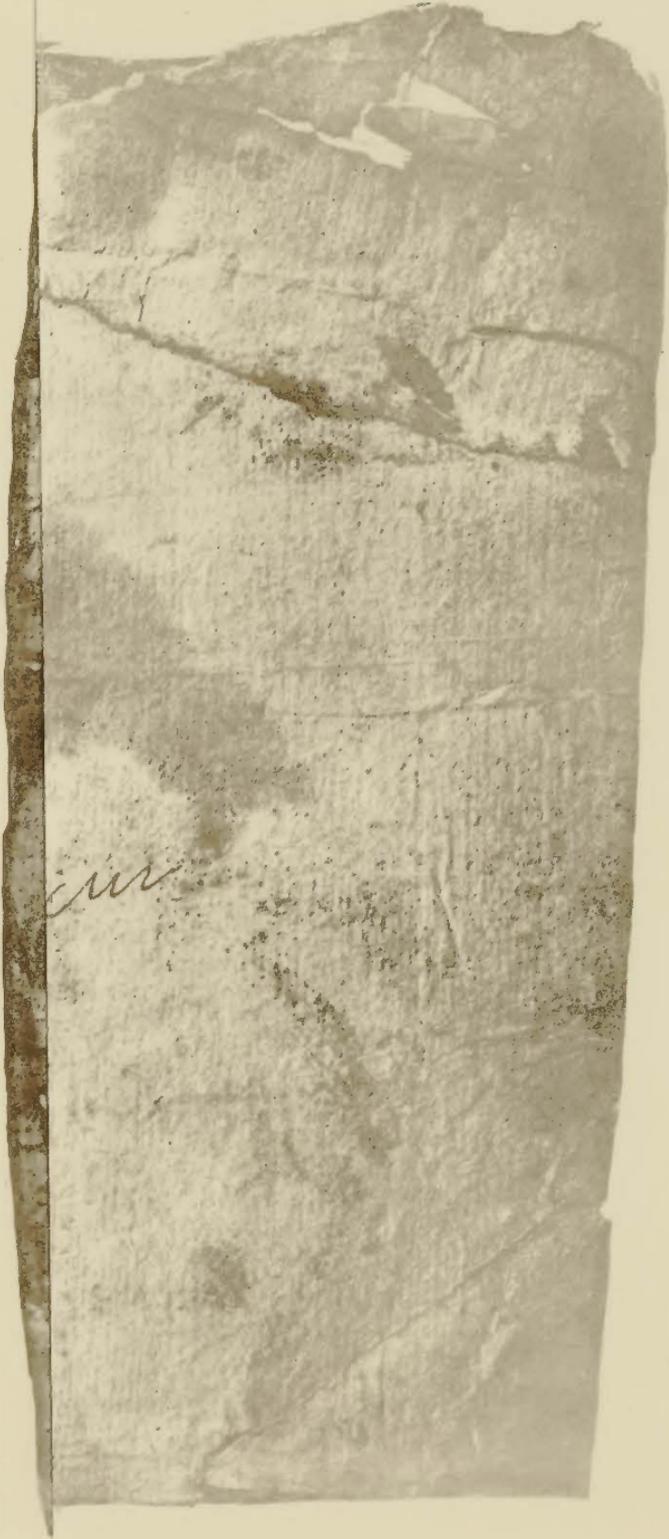
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Letteris missis. 1.º unum in Germania misere a die 25.
Martij, me autem in hoc opere illud exordia
Hollandi Jomarij. 2.º me opellus dedisse in
veritate et aequitate miseris, sed re ipsa tam
infirmitate et ceteris esse iudicio, tantorum voluntate
iniquitate ut opus sit adhibere approbatores
non solum aequos, sed etiam iudicium polentes et
doctos, qui brevis defectus supplebant, in dixerunt
hinc, necus Juri, sed et facti gravitibus,
prolixitate circa bellus Catholicus in Germania
anno 1641 scriptus, demum obliquat hinc conti-
nuitas. Et hanc quibus, hanc quod hic in-
venda dixi, quo protati nostri officiant
ut opus bene examinetur et ad veritates

¶ Iniquorum proderit

cu
cu

probationem. ¹¹ Hac vota tortures Deus, ac stem pram due mado
mem pures felicitat. ¹² ¹³ ¹⁴ ¹⁵ ¹⁶ ¹⁷ ¹⁸ ¹⁹ ²⁰ ²¹ ²² ²³ ²⁴ ²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ ²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² ³³ ³⁴ ³⁵ ³⁶ ³⁷ ³⁸ ³⁹ ⁴⁰ ⁴¹ ⁴² ⁴³ ⁴⁴ ⁴⁵ ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ ⁴⁹ ⁵⁰ ⁵¹ ⁵² ⁵³ ⁵⁴ ⁵⁵ ⁵⁶ ⁵⁷ ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ ⁶⁰ ⁶¹ ⁶² ⁶³ ⁶⁴ ⁶⁵ ⁶⁶ ⁶⁷ ⁶⁸ ⁶⁹ ⁷⁰ ⁷¹ ⁷² ⁷³ ⁷⁴ ⁷⁵ ⁷⁶ ⁷⁷ ⁷⁸ ⁷⁹ ⁸⁰ ⁸¹ ⁸² ⁸³ ⁸⁴ ⁸⁵ ⁸⁶ ⁸⁷ ⁸⁸ ⁸⁹ ⁹⁰ ⁹¹ ⁹² ⁹³ ⁹⁴ ⁹⁵ ⁹⁶ ⁹⁷ ⁹⁸ ⁹⁹ ¹⁰⁰ ¹⁰¹ ¹⁰² ¹⁰³ ¹⁰⁴ ¹⁰⁵ ¹⁰⁶ ¹⁰⁷ ¹⁰⁸ ¹⁰⁹ ¹¹⁰ ¹¹¹ ¹¹² ¹¹³ ¹¹⁴ ¹¹⁵ ¹¹⁶ ¹¹⁷ ¹¹⁸ ¹¹⁹ ¹²⁰ ¹²¹ ¹²² ¹²³ ¹²⁴ ¹²⁵ ¹²⁶ ¹²⁷ ¹²⁸ ¹²⁹ ¹³⁰ ¹³¹ ¹³² ¹³³ ¹³⁴ ¹³⁵ ¹³⁶ ¹³⁷ ¹³⁸ ¹³⁹ ¹⁴⁰ ¹⁴¹ ¹⁴² ¹⁴³ ¹⁴⁴ ¹⁴⁵ ¹⁴⁶ ¹⁴⁷ ¹⁴⁸ ¹⁴⁹ ¹⁵⁰ ¹⁵¹ ¹⁵² ¹⁵³ ¹⁵⁴ ¹⁵⁵ ¹⁵⁶ ¹⁵⁷ ¹⁵⁸ ¹⁵⁹ ¹⁶⁰ ¹⁶¹ ¹⁶² ¹⁶³ ¹⁶⁴ ¹⁶⁵ ¹⁶⁶ ¹⁶⁷ ¹⁶⁸ ¹⁶⁹ ¹⁷⁰ ¹⁷¹ ¹⁷² ¹⁷³ ¹⁷⁴ ¹⁷⁵ ¹⁷⁶ ¹⁷⁷ ¹⁷⁸ ¹⁷⁹ ¹⁸⁰ ¹⁸¹ ¹⁸² ¹⁸³ ¹⁸⁴ ¹⁸⁵ ¹⁸⁶ ¹⁸⁷ ¹⁸⁸ ¹⁸⁹ ¹⁹⁰ ¹⁹¹ ¹⁹² ¹⁹³ ¹⁹⁴ ¹⁹⁵ ¹⁹⁶ ¹⁹⁷ ¹⁹⁸ ¹⁹⁹ ²⁰⁰ ²⁰¹ ²⁰² ²⁰³ ²⁰⁴ ²⁰⁵ ²⁰⁶ ²⁰⁷ ²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁹ ²¹⁰ ²¹¹ ²¹² ²¹³ ²¹⁴ ²¹⁵ ²¹⁶ ²¹⁷ ²¹⁸ ²¹⁹ ²²⁰ ²²¹ ²²² ²²³ ²²⁴ ²²⁵ ²²⁶ ²²⁷ ²²⁸ ²²⁹ ²³⁰ ²³¹ ²³² ²³³ ²³⁴ ²³⁵ ²³⁶ ²³⁷ ²³⁸ ²³⁹ ²⁴⁰ ²⁴¹ ²⁴² ²⁴³ ²⁴⁴ ²⁴⁵ ²⁴⁶ ²⁴⁷ ²⁴⁸ ²⁴⁹ ²⁵⁰ ²⁵¹ ²⁵² ²⁵³ ²⁵⁴ ²⁵⁵ ²⁵⁶ ²⁵⁷ ²⁵⁸ ²⁵⁹ ²⁶⁰ ²⁶¹ ²⁶² ²⁶³ ²⁶⁴ ²⁶⁵ ²⁶⁶ ²⁶⁷ ²⁶⁸ ²⁶⁹ ²⁷⁰ ²⁷¹ ²⁷² ²⁷³ ²⁷⁴ ²⁷⁵ ²⁷⁶ ²⁷⁷ ²⁷⁸ 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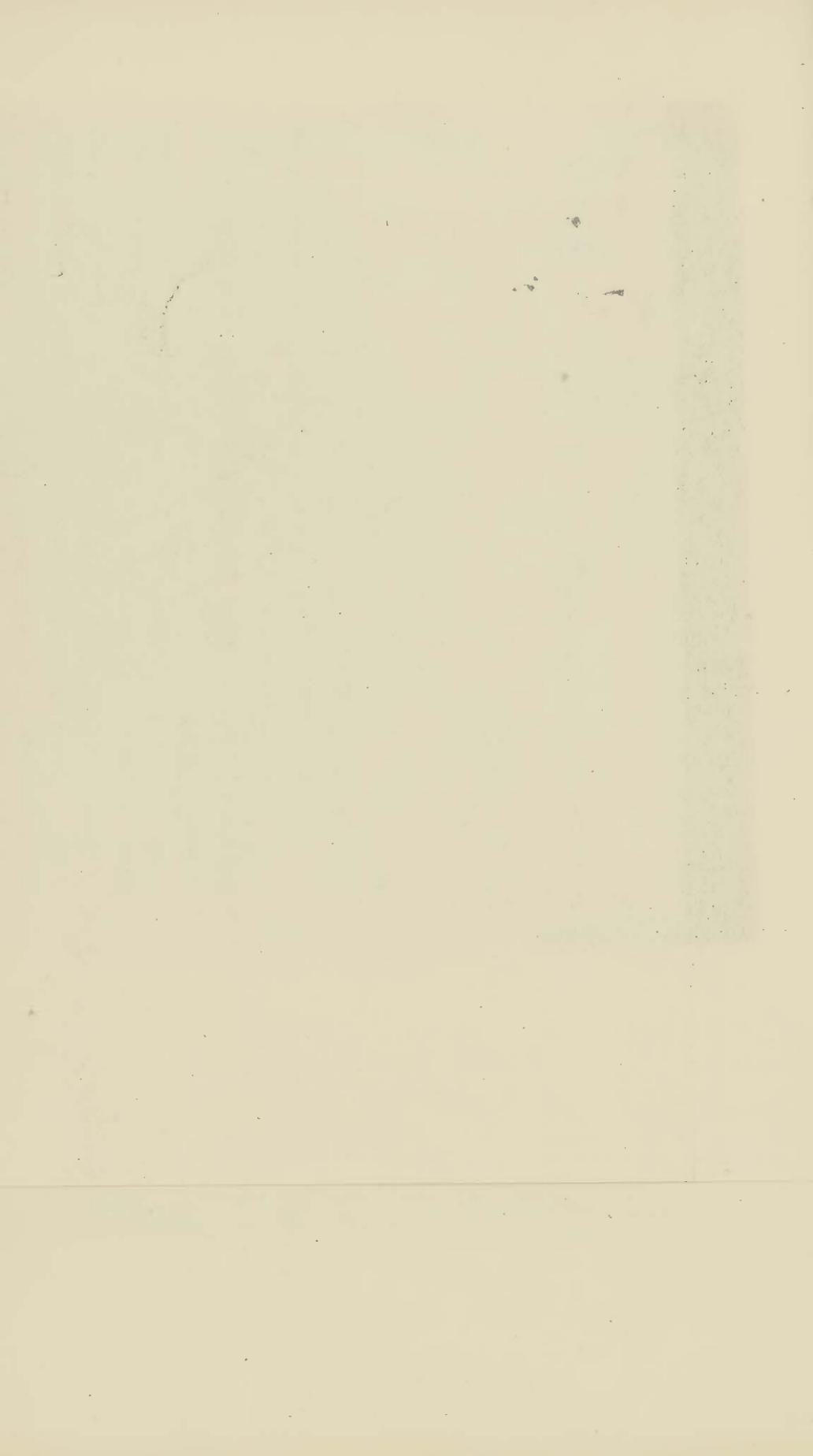
Left out of Vol. 100
for Richard's copy of *Historia*

La

Pl. 8. Letter of Fr. Richard O'Ferrall.

Arch. di Prop. Ibernia. Vol. 298. fol. 565

Pl. 9. *Historia Missionis*, p. 562. Hand of Fr. Robert O'Connell



Florentia Jul. 1864. 65

Deo salutem
Reverendissimo Patri Francisco Haroldo, O.F.M.
Carissime, etc.
[The following text is extremely faint and largely illegible due to the poor condition of the original document. It appears to be a formal letter of address and introduction, mentioning various ecclesiastical figures and locations.]

Pl. 10. Letter of Fr. Robert O'Connell to Fr. Francis Harold, O.F.M.

Episcopi ac Reuerendissimo

Ego Fr. Bernardinus Bernus Capucinus, nunc pater mea merita,
et voluntatem Superiorum beatorum Constitutus Capucinorum Iherosolym.
Comitatus, cui etiam profectuum et facultates singulis Iherosolym.
Comitatus (S. Augustinus) Comitatus, non modo Comitatus, et
labores meos, sed et ipsam vitam ad usum, hoc manus vobis et fideliter
obediendum, et ad pacem vestra mandata profectum exequendum, in fideles
propaganda, illuc personaliter profectum, et obediendum hoc deus
minuta duo corpora et vita mea, quamvis proestetur mihi
spiritus sanctus, quod periculum et vincula me maneat in Iherosolym.
Humillime petens, ut piam suam liberalitatem et Munificentiam erga
pauperes nos hoc Missionarios in Iherosolym, et erga alios quos solius Iherosolym.
defectus inde retardat, continuare dignentur. *Emmanuel. P. P.*
quasi Deus.

In meo ac vno dno

lit
286

408

A finibus terra Ego fr̄ Richardus Capuanus Theonius Mithonensis fr̄
mille militum emensus, per lūm glūm, hyemem, et appera rēma
Adisium tendo, ut illū saltem semel in vita mea potem oculis conspiceo.
Saxa loca et aliquot reliqua Patri mei s̄. Francisci, intellexi vno
alios nostros Mithonensis Capuanam ponti profecturos, sicut R̄m̄. Patri fr̄
Conuentualium electos, fuisse ab Epla superiori s̄. p̄. Francisci no illam
viderent, inde illae non accedam
Quare ab Ema d̄. vna qua possum humiliata peto, ut tribus verbis
ad R̄m̄. d̄. Vicarium Generalom Mithonensis, scriptis subat, ut desiderio
et deuotioni meae satisfiat, clare ostendendo saltem reliquis p̄. ma
cura in recta s̄. clera monstari solitis, pro quo in eternam Deum
precabor pro s̄. vna quam Deus - &

Colando. An.

familia