HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

TWELFTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

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COMMISSION.

VICTORIA R.

(L.S.)

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Queen, Defender of the Faith.

To Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor William Baliol, Baron Esher, Master or Keeper of the Rolls and Records; Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian, Knight of Our Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, Keeper of Our Privy Seal of Scotland, President of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland; Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin and Councillor Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury, Knight of Our Most Noble Order of the Garter; Our right trusty and entirely beloved Cousin John Alexander, Marquess of Bath; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery; Our right trusty and right well-beloved Cousin and Councillor Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of Carnarvon; Our trusty and well-beloved Edmond George Petty Fitz-Maurice, Esquire [commonly called Lord Edmond George Petty-Fitz-Maurice]; the Right Reverend Father in God William, Bishop of Chester; the Right Reverend Father in God Charles, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe; Our right trusty and well-beloved John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Our right trusty and well-beloved Councillor Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford, Knight of Our Most Illustrious Order of Saint Patrick; and Our trusty and well-beloved Sir George Webbe Dasent, Knight, Doctor of Civil Law; Our trusty and well-beloved Sir William Hardy, Knight, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London; and Our trusty and well-beloved Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, Esquire, Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries of London, Deputy Keeper of the Records, Greeting!

WHEREAS We did, by Warrant under Our Royal Sign Manual bearing date the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, and by subsequent Warrants, authorise and appoint certain noblemen and gentlemen therein respectively

named, or any three or more of them, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry into the places in which Documents Illustrative of History or of General Public Interest belonging to private persons are deposited; and to consider whether, with the consent of the Owners, means might not be taken to render such Documents available for public reference, as by the tenor of the first-recited Warrant under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine, does more fully and at large appear:

Now know ye, that We have revoked and determined, and do by these Presents revoke and determine, the said several Warrants and every matter and thing therein contained:

And whereas We have deemed it expedient that a new Commission should issue for the purposes specified in such Warrant dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine:

Further know ye, that We, reposing great trust and confidence in your ability and discretion, have appointed, and do by these Presents nominate, constitute, and appoint, you the said William Baliol, Baron Esher; Schomberg Henry, Marquess of Lothian; Robert Arthur Talbot, Marquess of Salisbury; John Alexander, Marquess of Bath; Archibald Philip, Earl of Rosebery; Henry Howard Molyneux, Earl of Carnarvon; Edmond George Petty Fitz-Maurice; William, Bishop of Chester; Charles, Bishop of Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe; John Emerich Edward, Baron Acton; Chichester Samuel, Baron Carlingford; Sir George Webbe Dasent; Sir William Hardy; and Henry Churchill Maxwell Lyte, to be Our Commissioners to make inquiry as to the places in which such papers and manuscripts are deposited, and for any of the purposes set forth in the original Warrant under Our Sign Manual, dated the second day of April, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-nine:

And for the purpose of carrying out the said inquiry We do hereby authorise you to call in the aid and co-operation of all possessors of Manuscripts and Papers, inviting them to assist you in furthering the object of this Commission, and to give them full assurance that no information is sought except such as relates to Public Affairs, and that no knowledge or information which may be obtained from their collections shall be promulgated without their full license and consent:

And We do further by these Presents authorise you, with the consent of the owners of such manuscripts, to make abstracts and catalogues of such manuscripts:

And We do hereby direct that you, or any three or more of you, shall form a quorum, and that you, or any three or more of you, shall have power to invite the possessors of such Papers

and Records as you may deem it desirable to inspect, to produce them before you:

And Our further will and pleasure is that you Our said Commissioners, or any three or more of you, do report to Us from time to time in writing under your hands and seals all and every your proceedings under and by virtue of these Presents:

And for the better enabling you to execute these Presents We do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint Our trusty and well-beloved John Romilly, Esquire, Barrister-at-law, to be Secretary to this Our Commission.

Given at Our Court at Saint James's, the Twenty-fourth day of March, 1886, in the Forty-ninth Year of Our Reign.

By Her Majesty's command.

HUGH C. E. CHILDERS.

TWELFTH REPORT

OF THE

ROYAL COMMISSION ON HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS.

TO THE QUEEN'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

WE, Your Majesty's Commissioners appointed by Your Royal Commission to inquire what papers and manuscripts belonging to private families would be useful in illustrating Constitutional Law, Science, and the General History of this country, to which their respective possessors would be willing to give access, respectfully beg leave to submit this our Twelfth Report to Your Majesty.

The ordinary work of inspection since the publication of our Eleventh Report has been carried on in England by the Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. W. O. Hewlett, the Rev. J. A. Bennett, the Rev. A. Jessopp, D.D., Mr. R. Ward, Mr. R. Campbell, Mr. Blackburne Daniell, and Mr. W. H. Stevenson; by Sir W. Fraser, K.C.B., in Scotland; and by Mr. J. T. Gilbert in Ireland.

Mr. E. F. Taylor and Mr. F. Skene have continued their work on the manuscripts of the House of Lords; and Mr. W. D. Fane, of Melbourne Hall, Derby, has completed his labour of love on the Coke MSS. preserved at Melbourne, belonging to Earl Cowper, reference to which was made in preceding Reports of your Commissioners. Mr. Fane's Calendar of this collection is contained in the first three parts of the Appendix to this Report.

The second volume of the Calendar of the Manuscripts of the Marquess of Salisbury was issued last year, the third volume is in type, and materials for a fourth volume are complete in manuscript.

The chief collections of manuscripts upon which reports have been completed since the submission of the Eleventh Report to Your Majesty are those of:—

England.—The House of Lords, the Duke of Beaufort, the Duke of Rutland, the Earl Cowper, the Dowager Countess of Donoughmore, S. H. le Fleming, Esq., George A. Aitken, Esq.,

J. H. Gurney, Esq., W. W. B. Hulton, Esq., R. W. Ketton, Esq., P. Vernon Smith, Esq.; the Deans and Chapters of Ely, Gloucester, Lincoln, Peterborough, and Southwell; and the Corporations of Gloucester, Newark, and Higham Ferrers.

Scotland.—The Duke of Athole.

Ireland.—The Earl of Fingall, Lord Charlemont, and Lord Emly.

Your Commissioners beg leave to subjoin an abstract account of some of the above-named collections. Fuller particulars of each will be found in the volumes of Appendix to this Report.

House of Lords.—The papers calendared by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Skene extend from the first meeting of the Convention, on 22nd January 1688–9, to the opening of the third session of William and Mary's second Parliament on 22nd October 1691, but it has not been found practicable to print the whole of their work in the Appendix to the present Report. They contain a mass of information with regard to this eventful period, and amply sustain the interest attaching to this important collection.

The originals exist of two letters communicated to the House during the debate on James's abdication, the first being the Prince of Orange's message to him of 17 December 1688, advising him to retire to Ham, and the second James's letter to the House of Lords, which was delivered by Lord Preston on 2 February 1688–9, but which the House refused to read. There are also some letters of James, intercepted on their way from Ireland to Scotland, which were read in Committee on the State of the Nation in the following June, and which have hitherto been unpublished.

The papers dealing with the legislative business of the House, both achieved and attempted, are rich in matter of interest. In addition to the numerous measures which became law during this period of parliamentary activity, as to which the Calendar forms a kind of commentary on the Statute Book, enabling the Acts to be traced through their various stages of completion, the text is now forthcoming of nearly fifty public Bills which failed to pass, and which, with a very few exceptions, form entirely new historical matter. Besides the two Commons' Bills for attainting persons in rebellion, there are measures introduced in the Upper House, declaring it treason to maintain any correspondence with James II., for vesting in the new sovereigns the estate of the late Queen Mary, and for better securing the kingdom against Jacobite conspiracies. Prominent among ecclesiastical measures is the famous Protestant Comprehension Bill, introduced, together with the Toleration Act, by the Earl of Nottingham, and there are some repeated attempts to deal with the questions of church-rates, tithes, and the repair of churches. There are Bills for better securing the Government against Papists, for making void all gifts to them, and also for exempting them from certain statutory penalties. Legal reform

is represented by Bills for the case of the subject in regard to the general practice and execution of the law (the outcome of an enquiry into abuses connected with the previous reign), for correcting abuses in the Court of Chancery and other Courts of Equity, for the regulation of trials (a measure originally restricted to the peerage), for dealing with insolvent debtors and the recovery of small debts, and for preventing "obstructions to justice" occasioned by the scruples of Quakers to take the usual oaths. Among other attempts at industrial legislation, there are the Bills enjoining the wearing of woollen manufactures during certain times of the year, which occasioned the weavers' riot; for the more effectually restraining the trade with France, and for partially suspending the Navigation Act during the war. Among miscellaneous measures may be mentioned the Bill of 1689 for ordering the forces of the kingdom, based, but with material additions, on the Militia Acts of 1662 and 1663, as well as a comprehensive attempt to deal with the Poor-laws, and a twice-revived project for preventing the clandestine marriages of minors, caused in the first instance by the marriage of young Monck, a relative of the Duke of Albemarle, who failed to obtain a divorce by Act of Parliament. There are also a Lords' Bill of 1689 for reviving the Triennial Act, and two Commons' Bills of 1690, one for restoring Corporations to their ancient rights, and the other for the speedier determining of questions touching the election of members of Parliament.

The proceedings on three occasions when the House went into Committee on the State of the Nation are fully recorded in the MS. Minutes, the value of which, as supplementing the printed Journals, has been referred to in previous Reports The first of these relates to the Commons' resolution declaring the abdication of James II. and the vacancy of the throne. In this case the Minutes give not only authentic particulars of the various divisions which are differently stated by different writers, but also the opinions of the judges and legal assistants who were consulted during the debate. The second was on 15th June 1689, when a quantity of evidence was taken as to the defence of the kingdom against the French, the disarming of Papists, and the recent miscarriages in Ireland. The third, in May 1690, was an enquiry into the changes made by James II. in the lieutenancy and militia of London, in regard to which no report was ever made, in consequence of the prorogation.

In addition to these enquiries by the House itself, there were others of importance conducted by select committees, as to whose proceedings a quantity of information is forthcoming. Among the earliest are those relating to the death of the Earl of Essex in the Tower (in regard to which the record of evidence is incomplete), and the continuance of Papists in London after the orders issued for their removal. The proceedings are also given of the so-called "Murder Committee" or "Committee of Inspections," appointed not only to examine into the trials of

Lord Russell, Colonel Sidney, and others, but also to ascertain who were the advisers of the *Quo Warrantos* against corporations and the asserters of the dispensing power; and of the Committee for Examinations touching the subornation of witnesses against the Earls of Devonshire, Macclesfield, and Stamford, and Lord Delamere.

Under date of 16 April 1689, will be found some curious particulars respecting the privileges claimed by peers when in the presence of the King. Details are also given of two disputes relating to the perquisites of holders of judicial offices, which were also referred to the Committee for Privileges. The first is a claim of the Duke of Grafton against the Lord Chief Justice Pollexfen, which was decided in favour of the Duke, and the second a complaint of Chief Baron Atkyns against the recently appointed Commissioners of the Great Seal, which was ultimately referred to the two Chief Justices. Respecting the alleged abuse of protections granted by peers, some information of interest will be found under dates of March 28, April 9, November 25, and December 23, 1690. A complaint made by the Earl of Macclesfield as to the administration of justice resulted in an elaborate enquiry into the irregularities in courts of law, more particularly in regard to the fees demanded by the various officers, concerning which full returns were delivered. The commitment of the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, in whose case the judges were heard as to whether their offence was pardoned by the Act of Grace, led to a further enquiry by a select committee into the question whether impeachments continued from one Parliament to another. In the case of the Earl of Torrington's impeachment, the judges stated their opinions as to the legality of the warrant of commitment. Similar information is recorded as to the validity of Viscount Preston's patent of peerage, granted by James II. after his abdication.

The judicial business of the House includes the well-known appeals of Oates, Barnardiston, and Pilkington. The Bill for reversing Oates's sentence is not among the papers, having been returned to the Commons, where it remained; but there is a full record of proceedings connected with it. The case of the Earl of Devonshire was considered in the Committee for Privileges, before whom the judges who imposed the fine of 30,000*l.* were heard, in explanation of their sentence. The Earl of Macclesfield figures as a party in three appeals, and the Duke of Southampton in two. There are also a number of other causes, few of which are found reported in the courts below, but which abound in details of local interest.

The Duke of Beaufort, K.G.—With the exception of some interesting letters from Charles I. to the Marquess of Worcester, and a few family letters of the Commonwealth period, the papers described in this Report belong almost exclusively to the latter half of the 17th century. All other documents belonging to the family of an earlier date have probably been dispersed,

or destroyed, at the sack of Raglan Castle during the Civil War. To this calamity must be attributed the absence, from a place where they would naturally be preserved, of almost all traces of the life and works of the author of the *Century of Inventions*.

The greater part of the historical papers now extant at Badminton fall within the lifetime of the first Duke of Beaufort, and seem to have been collected and preserved by him and the Duchess. They comprise a correspondence between her and her father, Arthur Lord Capel, her correspondence with her first husband, Lord Beauchamp, and then a very full correspondence between herself and her second husband, successively Lord Herbert, Marquess of Worcester, and Duke of Beaufort. These letters are historically valuable on account of the close connexion between the Marquess and the King, and the prominent and active position occupied by the Marquess in the political movements of the time. Perhaps the most curious passage is one in a letter written from Oxford, where he describes how he was tricked by Lord Shaftesbury into presenting to the King a proposal for the nomination of the Duke of Monmouth as heir to the Crown. Besides this correspondence, there are other papers of interest. One is a description of Raglan Castle in the days of its glory, written by an old servant of the house. Others are papers connected with the trial and execution of Arthur Lord Capel; an account of the siege of Colchester by one who was with Lord Capel there, and also a narrative of all Lord Capel's military transactions by one of his officers.

A Journal of the House of Commons from December 18, 1680, to January 8, 1681, is also reported at full length, as it is evidently the work of an eye-witness and contains some interesting details which are not reported in the formal journals.

The Duke of Rutland, G.C.B.:—Soon after the first appointment of Your Majesty's Commission, the late Mr. A. J. Horwood was instructed to go to Belvoir Castle, and, by permission of the noble owner, to draw up a short account of the contents of the muniment room. This account was in due course published in the Appendix to the First Report of the Commission, where it occupies little more than four columns of type, the most important part of it being a list of the places to which the medieval deeds relate. Mr. Horwood, however, stated that, for lack of specific permission, he had been unable to see certain volumes of old letters preserved in one of the private rooms.

Considering the very high political and social position which the Manners family has occupied for several centuries, some disappointment was felt at the meagre result of Mr. Horwood's visit to Belvoir, and, upon a fresh application, the late Duke of

Rutland was pleased to authorise an exhaustive examination of all documents in his possession that seemed likely to be of any historical value. This examination was undertaken by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, now one of Your Majesty's Commissioners, and begun by him in the month of August 1885.

Mr. Lyte's appointment as Deputy Keeper of the Records a few months afterwards prevented him from completing the Calendar of the papers which he then began, but he has exercised throughout a general superintendence over the work, which forms Parts 4 and 5 of the Appendix to this Report, and will also furnish material for a future Report.

The condition in which the various documents were found at Belvoir is set forth in Mr. Lyte's preface to the first volume of the Calendar, and need not be described here; but one curious and important discovery made by him deserves special mention in Your Commissioners' Report.

In looking for the key of a lumber room in which various papers of value were found, Mr. Lyte came across a key bearing a label with the words, "*Key of old writings over stable.*" He accordingly repaired to the stables, which are at the bottom of the hill on which the Castle stands, and there, in a loft under the roof, discovered a vast mass of old papers. No one had entered the room for some years; a curtain of cobwebs hung from the rafters, and the floor was so covered with documents, piled to a height of three or four feet, that at first there was scarcely standing room. Over everything there was a thick layer of broken plaster and dirt, which made white paper undistinguishable from brown. In the course of the first half-hour, he found a holograph letter of Lord Burghley, a military petition addressed to the Marquess of Granby, in the reign of George III., and a letter from Charles James Fox. At this stage a labourer was called in to assist in the manual work of separating the manuscripts from the printed matter, which consisted of pamphlets, almanacs, parliamentary papers, catalogues, and files of newspapers coming down to the year 1820. This disturbance of the surface caused a horrible stench, and it soon became evident that the loft had been tenanted by rats, who had done lasting damage to valuable manuscripts by gnawing and staining them. Some documents had been reduced to powder, others had lost their dates or their signatures. The entire centre of a long letter in the hand of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, had entirely disappeared. Those that remained were of a very varied character. A deed of the time of Henry II. was found among some granary-accounts of the eighteenth century, and gossiping letters from the Court of Elizabeth among modern vouchers. Letters to Henry Vernon of Haddon from the Duke of Clarence, the Earl of Warwick, and Kings Edward IV., Richard III., and Henry VII., written on paper and folded very small, lay hidden between large leases engrossed on thick parchment.

The main interest of the Calendar begins with the correspondence of Henry Vernon of Haddon, a prudent courtier, who seems to have found favour with Lancastrians and Yorkists in turn. On the 15th of March 1471, George, Duke of Clarence, wrote to Henry Vernon bidding him to be ready to join him at an hour's warning with a band of armed tenants and servants, and, in a postscript, he asked for information as to the political attitude of the Earl of Shrewsbury and of the men of Derbyshire in general. On the following day, he wrote again somewhat to the same effect, though more urgently. "K.E.," as he described his brother, the late King, Edward IV., was said to have sailed by the coast of Norfolk towards the Humber, and he wished spies to be sent thither, as well as to other parts, to ascertain the truth of the rumour, and to report upon the proceedings of the Earl of Northumberland, the Earl of Shrewsbury, and Lord Stanley. By the 23rd of the month, Clarence, who was at Wells in Somersetshire, had learned for certain that the exiled King had actually landed in the north, and he accordingly summoned Vernon to repair to him with as many men as possible arrayed for war, avowedly to serve King Henry and resist King Edward. Two days later, Clarence's father-in-law, Richard, Earl of Warwick, the celebrated "King-maker," addressed to Vernon a letter, which is, in some respects, the most interesting of all those in the Belvoir collection. The photographic reproduction of it, slightly reduced in size, which is given in the Calendar, shows almost as clearly as the original, the penmanship of two different hands. While the body of the letter and the title of the writer are in the hand of a secretary, or clerk, the signature and the remarkable postscript are in the Earl's own hand. The letter announced that "yonder man, Edward," the King's "great enemy, rebel, and traitor," having landed in the north of England, was marching southward with a foreign army of less than two thousand men and without the good will of the people, and it required Vernon to repair to Coventry "in all haste possible" with as many men defensibly arrayed as he could readily assemble. The postscript, which is perhaps the only specimen of Warwick's writing now extant, shows his sense of the importance of the crisis:—"Henry, I pray you fail not now hereof, as ever I may do for you."

On the 30th of March, Clarence wrote from Malmesbury, thanking Vernon for the despatch of men to ascertain "the rule and guiding of Edward, late King," and for the information which he had sent as to the views of the Earl of Shrewsbury, and again calling upon him to join him in person. Once more, three days later, he wrote from Burford urging Vernon to start with his contingent of men for Banbury. This letter, however, can hardly have reached Haddon many hours before the news that Clarence had openly espoused the cause of Edward IV.

After this there is a gap of five weeks in the correspondence, which makes no allusion to the defeat and death of the "King-maker" at Barnet, on the 14th of April. The Lancastrians

suffered another disastrous defeat on the 4th of May at Tewkesbury, and the tidings of it were sent to Vernon on the 6th, by Clarence, who describes his late associates as "enemies, traitors, and rebels." His letter stating that "Edward, late called Prince," was "slain in plain battle" proves to be the earliest extant authority upon the controverted question as to the manner in which the son of Henry VI. met his end. The letter furthermore alludes to the execution of Edmund, Duke of Somerset, who had been taken prisoner, but the main object of the writer was to command Vernon to appear at Coventry on the 12th of the month with as many men as he could quickly array, to attend the King on his march towards the north of England.

Clarence's orders were repeated on the following day by Edward IV., who specifically enjoined Vernon to repair to Coventry with twenty men. To Henry Vernon were sent a letter signed by the King at Worcester on the 8th, and a letter signed by Clarence at Coventry on the 10th of May. Both of them mention the capture of Queen Margaret, and Clarence mentions also the capture of Lady Anne Neville, whom he, like others, styles "the wife" of Edward "late calling himself Prince," who afterwards married his own brother the Duke of Gloucester. Both call upon Vernon to join the royal standard, but while the King threatens forfeiture as a punishment for non-obedience, Clarence promises to be a "good lord" to an obedient follower. As a reason for these peremptory commands, the King states that "the commons" of divers parts of his realm were making "murmurs and commotions, intending the destruction of the Church," of himself, his lords and all noblemen, and the subversion of "the republic" of the said realm, and Clarence also mentions "the malice of certain persons intending the de-
"struction of the Church and the noble blood of this land
"and the subversion of the same land to the total destruction
"thereof."

The short reign of Richard III. is represented in the Belvoir collection by a letter under the sign manual, announcing that his "rebels and traitors," accompanied by his "ancient enemies of France and other strange nations," had left the Seine, and landed at Angle near Milford Haven, and calling upon Henry Vernon and two of his relations to attend him at once with a certain number of horsemen, according to promise.

Soon afterwards, the new King, Henry VII., describes the Scots as his "ancient enemies," and mentions an insurrection in the north of England under the mysterious personage called "Robyn of Riddesdale." In 1503, Henry Vernon was ordered to escort the King's daughter, Margaret, to Scotland, attired in his "best array," as it was thought unbecoming "that any mourning
"or sorrowful clothings should be worn or used at such noble
"triumphs of marriage." A list is given of the English knights and squires who accompanied the Princess on her journey to the court of her future husband.

Some letters in this collection, addressed to Richard Roos, of Reepham in Norfolk, are interesting chiefly in consequence of their connexion with the celebrated *Paston Letters* of the same period. Several of them are given at full length in the Calendar.

A number of other documents relating to the household of Henry VIII., the Field of the Cloth of Gold, and the visit of the Emperor Charles V. to England, have been already printed in the little volume of *Rutland Papers* issued by the Camden Society, and they are consequently noticed as briefly as possible in the Calendar. Abstracts are given of two holograph letters of Thomas Cromwell. Very soon after the fall of that minister, who had been Lord Privy Seal, Thomas Manners, Earl of Rutland, who was Lord Chamberlain to the Queen, Anne of Cleves, wrote to the Lord Privy Seal of the day, saying that he had been summoned to speak to his royal mistress, soon after 4 o'clock in the morning, with reference to the King's intention to divorce her, and that, seeing her "to take the matter heavily," he had "desired her to be of good comfort," assuring her that Henry VIII. was "so good and virtuous a prince" that he desired nothing which was not conformable to the law of God and the dictates of his conscience, and necessary for the future quietness of the realm.

A certificate concerning the monastery of Warter in the East Riding of Yorkshire, prepared soon after the dissolution, is valuable as giving not only a list of vestments and other ornaments, but also measurements of the church and the conventual buildings, now long since destroyed. In a letter of the year 1543, T. Paston alludes sarcastically to the alliance between "the most Christian Prince," the King of France, and the common foe of Christendom, the Turk, for whose honourable reception great preparations were being made at Toulon.

In the early part of the reign of Edward VI., Henry, second Earl of Rutland, was appointed Lord Warden of the East and Middle Marches adjoining Scotland, and many papers concerning his administration have been preserved at Belvoir. Among them are lists of the beacons in Northumberland, and of the officers and gentry of that county, detailed statements as to the munitions of war belonging to the English, and some careful plans of forts on the Scottish side of the frontier which were then held by the English.

The second Earl of Rutland was appointed Lord President of the North in February 1561, and several of the letters addressed to him in that capacity have been preserved. Among them are reports of the appearance of different ships which were supposed to be conveying Mary, Queen of Scots, from France to her own kingdom. The people on the coast of Yorkshire seem to have anticipated an invasion.

Under date of June 10, 1563, Thomas Randolph, the English envoy to Scotland, gives a long and interesting account of the opening of the Parliament at Edinburgh. Speaking of "the

"four virgins, maids, Maries, damosels of honour, or the "Queen's minions," he says that "a fairer sight was never seen," and that they were followed by others "so wonderful in beauty" that no other court could be compared to that of Scotland. He proceeds to relate how the corpse of the Earl of Huntly was brought into the Parliament house in a coffin, and set upright as if he were alive, and how he was there condemned of treason. He also tells how the "preachers" induced the unwilling Lords to determine that adultery should be accounted a capital offence, and describes the proceedings against the Bishop of St. Andrews for maintaining the mass. Speaking of the relations between Mary and Elizabeth, he says that their familiarity was "entertained by continual recourse of "letters written in whole sheets of paper with their own "hands, the one to the other, by continual messages," and the like, and he expressed a hope that the two would "live like good sisters and friends."

Edward, third Earl of Rutland, who succeeded to that title in September 1563, spent some months in France in 1571. Soon after his return, he engaged himself to Isabel, daughter of Sir Thomas Holcroft. When another lady attached to the Queen's household, Mary Shelton, announced her intention of marrying, Elizabeth is reported to have proved herself "liberal both with blows and evil words."

While staying at Belvoir, or at Newark Castle, the third Earl of Rutland received frequent letters from the court, which are noticed in the Calendar, the Earls of Leicester and Sussex, Lord Burghley, and Sir Francis Walsyngham being reckoned among his intimate friends and correspondents. He was also in constant communication with his uncle, Roger Manners, a member of the royal household, and Thomas Screven, the agent and trusted adviser of three successive owners of Belvoir. The series of letters from these two persons extend over a long period and deal with a great variety of subjects, political, social, and sporting.

George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, figures conspicuously in the correspondence of his brothers-in-law, Roger Manners, already mentioned, and John Manners, who had acquired the Haddon estates by marriage with Dorothy, daughter and co-heiress of Sir George Vernon. The Manners papers give a great deal of new information about the disputes between him and his second wife, the celebrated heiress "Bess of Hardwick," whom he describes as his "wicked wife" and his greatest enemy, but to whom the Queen was ever desirous of reconciling him.

Unfortunately there is not so much information in the Calendar about the captivity of the Earl of Shrewsbury's "charge," Mary Queen of Scots, of whom he was endeavouring to be relieved in December 1583, and again in September following. John Manners, of Haddon, was summoned by Sir Ralph Sadleir to attend upon the royal captive on a journey from Wingfield

to Tutbury in January 1586, and in August of the same year he received four secret letters from Sir Amyas Poulet as to her intended removal. A few days later, he and two others were ordered by Lord Burghley to seize, for the Queen's use, all the jewels, plate, goods, and evidences of his neighbour, Anthony Babington of Dethick, but their search proved almost fruitless. It was doubtless on this occasion that certain old letters of the Babingtons noticed in the Calendar came into the possession of the Manners family. Edward, Earl of Rutland, was one of the noblemen appointed to sit on the commission for trying the Queen of Scots, at Fotheringhay, in September 1586, and, in August following, John, Earl of Rutland, and his wife were ordered to attend her funeral at Peterborough.

There is but one letter from Sir Philip Sidney in the collection, but the correspondence contains frequent allusions to him, to Sir Walter Raleigh, to Sir Francis Drake, and other eminent men of the Elizabethan age.

A copy of a letter from a certain Richard Cogrom to the Earl of Shrewsbury gives some particulars of the preparations made by the Spaniards for the invasion of England. This is followed by a long letter from Robert Cecil at the Court, describing the progress of the great Armada as it sailed up the Channel watched by the English fleet. Writing while the issue was still doubtful, he praises the "magnanimity" of Queen Elizabeth, and states that she was "not a whit dismayed." He himself intended to ride to Margate and to go in a boat as near to the enemy as safety would permit. The next paper gives a more detailed account of the Armada, and records its destruction.

A certain interest attaches to the early letters of Roger, fifth Earl of Rutland, and those which tell the story of his sister, Lady Bridget, a maid in attendance upon Elizabeth, who greatly incensed her royal mistress by a clandestine marriage. Earl Roger disappears from view for a time while travelling, and also while serving under the Earl of Essex in Ireland, but he suddenly becomes prominent again in 1601, through his accidental implication in that nobleman's attempted insurrection. The Calendar gives many curious particulars as to his consequent imprisonment in the Tower, and includes letters from the aged mentors of the family, Roger Manners and Thomas Screven, showing how deeply they lamented the apparent disloyalty of the head of a house "never yet spotted since it took being." The old-established friendship between the houses of Cecil and Manners seems to have proved very valuable to the latter on this as on other occasions.

Under the date of November 8, 1592, there is a letter from Thomas Colwell, a prisoner in the Fleet, to his wife, and a little later there is a long account of his life, death, and burial, which incidentally introduces some very curious hearsay evidence as to Henry the Eighth's treatment of his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and as to Queen Mary's fancied pregnancy. Under the date of December 1596, will be found a lengthy narrative by another

Roman Catholic, Thomas Dowlton, of his examination by the Mayor of Rye and afterwards by the Archbishop of Canterbury and others. There is also an account of the execution of four Roman Catholics at Tyburn in February 1601. A prisoner writing from Newgate on the very day of the coronation of James I. expresses doubts as to the probability of a pardon for himself and other Roman Catholics, and gives a sad account of their state.

Under the date of the memorable 5th of November 1605, the Calendar contains the copy of a letter from the Earl of Shrewsbury giving a contemporary account of the discovery of the Gunpowder Plot, and this is followed by letters on the same subject from the Lords of the Council at Whitehall, and the Earl of Huntingdon.

The correspondence of George, seventh Earl of Rutland, affords several illustrations of the state of political affairs during the years preceding the outbreak of the great Civil War. An elaborate diary kept by him when in attendance upon Charles I. at York and other places in the north of England between the 30th of March 1639 and the pacification of Berwick in the month of June following, has been printed in full, as throwing fresh contemporary light upon the negotiations. The writer describes his visit to the Covenanters' camp after the conclusion of the treaty, and the courteous reception accorded to him and his companions by General Lesley. Later in the same year, Sir F. Fane mentions the unruliness of the English soldiers, who were incensed against their own officers, against the Bishops, and against Roman Catholics generally. He gives an account of an intended attack on Bishop Wren, differing somewhat from that which the Bishop himself sent to Laud.

The Calendar contains frequent notices of military operations on the Continent, more especially of those in which Englishmen were actually engaged. A letter of Richard Hakluyt, the geographer, written in Paris in 1588, gives details of the war of the League, and a horrible picture of some punishments inflicted on offenders :—" A steward was fastened arms and legs with great " spike nails to a couple of trees, and so miserably ended his life ; " a page was broken alive every joint upon the wheel ; an old " gentlewoman was rolled in a vessel of nails, and afterwards " either hanged or burned ; a young maid was first extremely " whipped, and afterwards condemned to pine away with a suffi- " cient quantity of bread and water." An undated paper, which may safely be ascribed to the year 1603, gives curious particulars as to the rules made for the enforcement of military discipline within the town of Hoogstraten.

The Calendar affords several curious illustrations of the manners and customs and superstitions of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It includes, for instance, two documents concerning a charge against a surgeon of Burton-of-Trent of having procured an image of wax of " a maid with a garland on her head and a

flower in her hand," with intent to cause his mother-in-law and all her children, except his own wife, to waste away, so that he might inherit their property. Another document specifies the wages of all sorts of artificers, labourers, and servants, as fixed by the justices of the peace in Lincolnshire in 1621. An anonymous Member of Parliament furnishes a report of the proceedings in the House of Commons in November 1610. Parliamentary elections are occasionally mentioned, and there is a list of members of the House of Commons in 1625. Persons interested in the history and topography of the counties of York, Lincoln, Leicester, Nottingham, and Derby will find a good deal of useful material in the first volume of the Calendar, which cannot be described more fully within the limits of this Report.

The second volume of the Calendar deals with papers ranging in date from 1642 to 1770. For some periods between these limits the correspondence is very abundant; other periods are scarcely represented. Thus there are but few allusions to the siege of Belvoir Castle during the Civil War, though there is a copy of the Order of the Council of State for its demolition.

It has not been thought necessary to include in the Calendar a number of documents concerning the remarkable divorce of John, Lord Roos, but one of them, written in January 1667, shows how the bill for the divorce was pushed through an important stage. "On Wednesday last," says one of his agents, "I got six-" and forty of the House of Commons to the Dog Tavern in the " Palace Yard at Westminster, and gave them a dinner, where " were present Mr. Attorney [General] and Mr. George Montagu " . . . and as soon as they had dined we carried them all to " the House of Commons, and they passed the bill, as the Com-" mittee, without any amendments, and ordered it to be reported " the next day."

Neither this Lord Roos, nor his father John, eighth Earl of Rutland, took any prominent part in politics after the Restoration, and the former, from the time of his succession to the title in 1679 to that of his death in 1711, seems to have occupied himself mainly with local business, music, gardening, and horse racing. It is stated in Collins's *Peerage* that he affected "a rural life," and that "when he married his eldest son to a daughter of " the Lord Russell, there was an article in the settlement that " she should forfeit some part of her jointure, if ever she lived " in town without his consent," and some of the letters noticed in the Calendar show that he could hardly be induced to attend to his Parliamentary duties or to present himself at Court.

Considering, furthermore, that few of his correspondents were men of eminence, it might reasonably be inferred that the Belvoir MSS. of his time would prove almost useless for historical purposes. On the contrary, although they do not reveal the mysteries of contemporary statecraft, they are valuable as illustrations of the social life of the second half of the seventeenth century. The Earl's sister, Lady Chaworth, seldom wrote to him on busi-

ness without adding some notice of the news current in London, and his third wife, Katherine, daughter of Lord Campden, seems to have encouraged several of her relations to keep her informed of everything that concerned themselves or their friends. Thus her correspondence, happily preserved, differs from the ordinary news-letters of the period, in that it gives the gossip of fashionable society rather than the rumours of the coffee-houses or the intelligence supplied by professional purveyors. The Calendar contains abundant particulars as to banquets, masquerades, balls, and other entertainments at Court and elsewhere, matrimonial engagements made and broken, elopements effected, and duels fought. Interspersed among these are notices of new plays and new dresses, horse races, cock fights, and other forms of amusement.

A contemporary criticism of Sir Peter Lely on the score of his representing men as "blacker, older, and moroser" in his pictures than in life, is one of many allusions to the fine arts. The Calendar for this period contains also many passages illustrative of the topography of London, from one of which it appears that Campden House and the surrounding estate might have been bought in 1687 for 8,000*l*.

A letter of the year 1677, interesting in connexion with the early career of the Duke of Marlborough, shows that James II. when Duke of York made an attempt to check the sale of offices at Court. In the reign of William III., Viscount Campden seems to have paid 4,000 guineas to some person unnamed in order to obtain the Earldom which was eventually given to his son. The Earl of Rutland applied for advancement in the peerage as early as 1689, and obtained the promise of a Dukedom a short time before the death of the King. He was created Duke of Rutland by Queen Anne in March 1703, and he died in 1711.

The correspondence of the second and third Dukes of Rutland noticed in the Calendar is very scanty. The latter of these married the daughter and heiress of Robert, Lord Lexington, from whom some diplomatic papers of the years 1693–94 have descended to the present owner of Belvoir Castle.

In the middle of the eighteenth century, John, Marquess of Granby, eldest son of the third Duke of Rutland, became eminent as a soldier, and acquired a popularity which is not yet forgotten. The earliest letter from him which Mr. Maxwell Lyte was able to find at Belvoir gives some account of the devastation of Scotland by the Duke of Cumberland after the battle of Culloden. Many other original letters and three letter-books relate to the campaign of 1747 in the Netherlands, and those of 1759 and the three following years when the Marquess was Commander-in-chief of the British forces in Germany, and carried on correspondence with Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, the Duke of Newcastle, the Earls of Bute and Holdernesse, Viscounts Barrington and Ligonier, and other officers civil and military. Most of the letters addressed to him after the conclusion of

peace with France are of a somewhat formal character, but there are among them several of considerable interest from Lord Townshend, showing his difficulties as Lord Lieutenant in Ireland in 1767 and 1768. A letter of February 2, 1770, gives a curious account of the circumstances under which Charles Yorke held the Great Seal for a few days, and his sudden death.

The chronological series of letters and papers noticed in the second volume of the Calendar ends with an allusion to the death of the Marquess of Granby in October 1770. The volume, however, comprises also a list of old inventories preserved at Belvoir Castle, with some extracts therefrom, and also some notes on various ballads and other poems found by Mr. Lyte in the course of his search there.

A third volume, to be more fully noticed in the next Report to Your Majesty, will deal with the letters of Lord Robert Manners and the political correspondence of the fourth Duke of Rutland, who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from February 1784 until his death in October 1787.

The Marquess of Salisbury, K.G. :—The closing papers of the first volume of the Calendar of Cecil MSS. related to the second arrest and imprisonment of the Duke of Norfolk, and the abundant evidence there produced of his treasons is supplemented and completed by the earlier papers of the second volume. The main charges against the Duke were, his imagination and device to deprive the Queen of her crown and royal style, and so consequently of her life; his comforting and relieving the English rebels who stirred the rebellion in the north, after they fled out of the realm; and, lastly, his comforting and relieving the Queen's enemies in Scotland, who succoured and maintained the said English rebels. So strong was the position occupied by the Duke of Norfolk that Burghley did not venture to arrest him until the main actors in the conspiracy had already been captured, and their testimony secured. In the Tower, and confronted with the proofs of his guilt, the Duke was compelled to withdraw the denials he had at first given to the statements of his accomplices, and to state at length the extent of his treachery in the confessions "written by the hand of your Highness' "sorowful dead servant and subject, Tho. Howard." The Duke acknowledged the consideration shown by Lord Burghley, and desired him to act as guardian to his "poor orphans;" he also expressed his comfort at hearing of the Queen's intended goodness towards his poor unfortunate "brates." The Duke in his last confession, dated 26th February 1572, protests he has ever been a Protestant, though his dealings have given just suspicion that he was a favourer of Papists.

In connexion with the second imprisonment of the Duke of Norfolk in the Tower may be mentioned the documents concerning the conspiracy of Edmund Mather and Kenelm

Berney, which had been instigated and fostered by the Spanish Ambassador in England. The objects of the conspiracy were the liberation of the Duke and the assassination of Burghley and of the Queen. Mather confessed his dealings with the Spanish Ambassador, and that he had conspired with Herle and Berney against her Majesty's person, remitting his case wholly to the Queen's mercy. The Spanish Ambassador had been ordered to leave England in December 1571, but had delayed his departure, ostensibly in order to receive a reply to a letter written to the Duke of Alva, but probably to see the result of the Mather plot. Borghese, the Ambassador's secretary, was privy to the scheme, and on its discovery was arrested and sent to London. The Ambassador, on complaining of the detention of Borghese, was informed that the complicity of himself and his servant in the conspiracy had been found out, and shortly after he left the realm.

A lengthy letter in Italian from Baptista di Trento to the Queen, dated 1577, professes to reveal to Elizabeth the chief actors in a conspiracy to take away her kingdom and life. It states that Leicester was the author and chief head of the conspiracy, and that, having been promoted at Court, he aimed at having the Queen for his wife, and thus becoming King of England; that, to accomplish this purpose, he caused his wife to be murdered. Of the manner of this alleged murder, some very curious details are given. Baptista further says that, some time after, Leicester thought that he would immediately obtain the Queen as his wife, but it happened that her hand was asked for by the Archduke Charles of Austria, and the marriage would have taken place had it not been stopped by Leicester, who, rendered desperate by knowing that the Queen did not wish him for a husband, thought of becoming king by force, and entered into the conspiracy. The writer then refers to the imprisonment of Mary Queen of Scots, and her proposed marriage with the Duke of Norfolk, who promised to free her by means of the said conspiracy, and Leicester approved of this marriage, since he hoped that by the plot he would become King of England, and Norfolk King of Scotland. Baptista then gives particulars of five different attempts to put the plot in execution, and the parts assigned to the various conspirators.

The papers relating to Scotland are not very numerous, but are full of interest. The two chief parties were the adherents of the captive Queen of Scots, who were supported by France and Spain, and those of the young King and the Regent, supported by Elizabeth. In the days of Murray the task of restoring order and quietness to Scotland had been hard enough, but in the feeble hands of his successor, Lennox, matters became worse, and the next Regent, Mar, careful and vigorous though he was, was unable to effect much, his brief tenure of power being closed shortly after he had made proposals to Elizabeth on the basis of which he was willing to execute her wishes

respecting the Queen of Scots. These wishes were revealed to him in the negotiations which Henry Killegrew, Burghley's nephew, had been sent into Scotland to conduct. The instructions he received, dated Sept. 1572, were, mainly to arouse the Scottish leaders and people by informing them of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, "the late horrible universal murder in "France," and bidding them beware lest the like was attempted in their country, and, in a matter "of far greater moment," to effect an arrangement whereby the Queen of Scots might be delivered into the hands of the Regent and his party, and be by them immediately executed. Hostages of good value were to be taken for the assurance of this project. Mar declined at first to listen, but eventually agreed on condition that a large English force was sent to convey the captive Queen into Scotland, and to be present at her execution; that the castle of Edinburgh was handed over to the King's party, and that a sufficient sum of money was granted for the payment of their soldiers. Mar died a few days after, and the next Regent, Morton, who effected a pacification with the Hamiltons and Gordons, refused to entertain the English overtures. In 1572, Mary Queen of Scots, whose hopes of deliverance had before centred chiefly in France, turned her thoughts to Spain. A correspondent writing to Burghley tells him that the King of Spain is informed that if it had not been for the Queen of England Flanders would not have rebelled against the Duke of Alva; that the King is therefore very angry, and has sworn he will be revenged in such sort as that both the Queen and England shall repent that they did ever meddle in any of his countries, adding, further, that the Duke of Alva practises all the mischief he can against Elizabeth by way of Scotland, and that all the spiritualty of Spain offer two millions towards the wars against Flanders and England. At this time the Queen of Scots was lying seriously ill in Sheffield Castle, and a letter from her physicians expresses their fears for her life.

In January 1572 are some letters from the Countess of Northumberland, giving an account of her exertions to obtain ten thousand crowns, the ransom demanded for the release of the Earl, who, with the Earl of Westmoreland, had fled into Scotland after the suppression of the rebellion in the north two years before. The English government were very anxious to secure the Earl from the Regent and the Laird of Lochleven, and having obtained his person by paying the sum asked for, had him conveyed to York by Sir John Foster, and there executed. The Earl of Westmoreland had escaped into the Low Countries, and many of his sayings and doings, as well as those of other English fugitives in those parts, are mentioned in the interesting letters of Edward Woodshawe to Lord Burghley. A few letters of the Countess of Westmoreland will also be found in this volume.

In the early part of 1573, Edinburgh Castle being still held for Queen Mary, the Regent Morton began to besiege it, but

under great difficulties, owing to his want of suitable artillery. One of the papers in this volume is a newsletter, written by one who was sent by the defenders of the castle into France for aid; the cipher names given at the end are curious. A list of the Crown jewels of Scotland taken on the surrender of the castle is also among the documents of this date.

Others relate to the captivity of Mary in England, and specially noticeable are the "Demands and Sayings of the "Scottish Queen concerning her Confinement, with Notes by "[Robt. Beale]," a paper containing also certain requests of the Earl of Shrewsbury, in whose charge Mary was, and Beale's remarks thereon. There is an urgent appeal addressed by James VI. to the King of France, pleading for that monarch's help on behalf of his mother, stating that several persons had been put to death only and solely for having endeavoured to deliver her from prison, and assuring him that when he began to put the work of rescuing her into execution not only would "many Catholic Princes, indeed the foremost," assist so just an enterprise, but that "the greatest part of England" would also incline to his side. Many glimpses into the dealings of the Regent Morton with the turbulent nobility of the realm, his quarrels with the Earls of Argyle, Athol, and Lennox, the Hamiltons, and others, and his general administration of the country, are also here afforded.

There is much fresh light thrown on Scotland and its King at this time in a document entitled a "Memorial of the present estate of Scotland."

The papers relating to Ireland are not numerous, though historically important. Sir Thomas Smith's endeavour to effect a plantation of English settlers on the forfeited lands in Ulster had ignominiously failed. A curious relic of it is found in a receipt given by his son, Thomas Smith, to Lord Burghley, "for "the sum of 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for the maintaining of soldiers to the "winning of his 20 ploughlands allotted to him in the north of "Ireland, and for defence of the rest of the inhabitants in the "Ardes, taken in hand to be won and peopled with the English "nation by agreement with the said Thomas Smith." The subsequent attempt of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to effect a similar plantation in the same parts likewise failed, and that nobleman had to content himself with giving his help to the Lord Deputy in the task of quelling the insurrections in divers parts of Ireland. In June 1575, he writes that he "has been "long suffered to tread an endless maze," and thinks that in honour and equity he ought to be considered in respect of his expenses, without any tedious suit. Elizabeth, who was to have divided with him the profits of any success in Ulster, showed her appreciation of his services, but he, having spent both strength and patrimony in an unsuccessful enterprise, died nearly broken-hearted in Dublin. At Hatfield are preserved two pathetic letters written by him shortly before his death on

22nd September 1576, the one to the Queen, the other to Burghley. In the former, he craves forgiveness of her Majesty for all the offences she has taken against him, speaks of his "hard estate, having by great accounts long ebbed, even "almost to the low-water mark," and prays the Queen "to be as a mother" to his children, "at least by her gracious counte- "nance and care of their education and matches." In the letter to Burghley, Essex commends his son, Lord Hereford, to Burghley's care, desiring that his education might be in that minister's household, and his whole time in England during his minority divided in attendance upon the Lord Chamberlain and Burghley.

Sir Nicholas White writes to Lord Burghley in July 1578 that "that noisome rebel Rory Oge, in a sudden meeting betwixt "the Baron of Upper Ossory and him, is slain, with the loss of "some of their men on both sides. His body was carried away "by his kinsmen and followers, and another of the O'Mores "set up by them in his place, named Rossy McLaghlyn, son to "him whom the Earl of Sussex had in 'holt' at Laghlyn, and "in seeking to escape, by leaping out at a castle window, broke "his back. The cutting off of that rebel is a happy turn, and "when the news was brought to the Lord Deputy he said, "'*Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine in pace.*'"

The Earl of Ormonde, who had been sent as Lord General into Munster, gives some account of his doings in a letter to the Queen, complaining of the lack of victuals, money, and munitions of war, and stating that in twenty-one days he and his men had burned and spoiled a great part of the Earl of Desmond's lands, and all John of Desmond's lands with those of the Seneschal of Imokilly. He had also intercepted five letters showing the "unnatural and traitorous disposition" of the Earl of Desmond. A correspondent writing to Sir H. Wallop thinks that disorders will break out in Munster when Lord Ormonde is discharged, and that, if this should so fall out, it would be very necessary to have one commander, "for sundry "directors do breed confusion, especially when they are more "transported with desire of gain, than with care to discharge "their duty."

The Lord Deputy of Ireland (Lord Grey) is continually complaining of the lack of victuals and money for the troops. The spirit in which the work of repression was carried on, is shown in what he writes on April 6, 1581, "The little service in "Munster I cannot altogether excuse; and yet, my lord, there "hath been more done than I perceive is conceived. For my "part, without it be of some importance, I take no delight to "advertise of every common person's head that is taken off; "otherwise, I could have certified of a hundred or two of their "lives ended since my coming from those parts; but indeed "some hindrance is brought to the greater service that the "garrisons would not remain in some of the places appointed

" first of, by reason that their victuals could not be as readily " conveyed to them, as was hoped of." He complains that the soldiers sent to Ireland were badly chosen, and hopes that the fresh men will be maintained in better state. The peril of Ireland lies most in foreign aids, chiefly in the north. The disquiet and mischief of the land will grow daily more and more, unless speedily looked into and prevented, as he has often certified. In another letter Lord Grey speaks of the great need of money ; " without ready coin, I put not one bit of meat into " my mouth, nor feed my horses." He refers also to the " not overhastiness " of her Majesty to afford the supply.

Turning to foreign affairs, we have in the dispatches and newsletters from France and the Low Countries ample information with respect to the assistance given by Elizabeth to the Huguenots, and to the supporters of William Prince of Orange, and of François Duke of Alençon, afterwards Duke of Anjou. The power of England was courted alike by Spain and by France, and much of Elizabeth's vacillation and consequent difficulties are attributable to her desire neither to play too much into the hands of either Henry or Philip, nor to affront the one or the other beyond recall. Philip had several of the English rebels in his pay, as may be seen by the list of those who " came into Spain, for entertainment at the King's hands " there, and what the King gave them in money at times."

Many of the papers here calendared, relating to France and Flanders, are more or less intimately connected with the negotiations for the Anjou marriage. The holograph correspondence of Elizabeth and the Duke of Anjou given in this volume is extensive, and presents a singular picture of royal love and courtship, a picture to which the letters of Simier add much. Several of the letters, notably those sent in cipher by Simier, are published for the first time. The particulars of these negotiations as gathered from the documents at Hatfield are much too lengthy to be given in Your Commissioners' Report, but a very full *résumé* of them is given in the introduction to the second volume of the Calendar.

Turning to the miscellaneous documents of interest, we have, in the first place, some relating to the condition of the Church. One paper dated in August 1578, and relating evidently to Norwich, is endorsed, " A form of government " according to law, delivered by the Chancellor to the Bishop " and divers others, wherein may appear his desire of good " proceedings." The writer says that the Bishop, as pastor of his whole diocese, must devise and practise the most certain and ready way to obtain a true view thereof, and to this end recommends the revival of the " choice, picked men," called in law, " *Decani rurales*," and, in the Bishop's canons, " Superintendents." The duties of these are detailed, and justices of peace are to be moved to help them in their lawful proceedings, and to be present at their solemn assemblies or preachings. The

office of superintendents is presumed by common law to be jointly at the Bishop and Archdeacon's appointment, unless the custom and prerogative of the Bishop be otherwise, "which is to "be proved of continuance above three hundred years by "ancient recording without interruption, only to appertain "to the Bishop of Norwich," whereby the Archdeacon's right is shut out. The writer then refers to the probate of wills and the granting of administrations, dwelling on the corruption and greediness of the "registers," and thinks that the superintendents could, by attending to these matters, stay infinite suits in the year. They could also choose better men as apparitors, the "lewdness" of which officials in "coursing over the countries, "following their masters' trade and example," is mentioned. Matthew Hutton, Dean of York, writing to Burghley in October 1573, says the contest in the Church at the beginning was over "a cap, a surplice, and a tippet," now it is over "gowns to "bishops, archbishops, and cathedral churches, to the overthrow "of established order, and to the Queen's authority in causes "ecclesiastical." The Dean advises Burghley to have an eye to the Universities, that young wits there be not inured to contentious factions.

Thomas Sampson, the Puritan divine, shows some of his "cogitations for the Church of England," in a letter to Burghley, written in April 1574. Lord North's famous letter to Bishop Coxe of Ely will be found under the date of the 20th of November 1575. It is as severe and unmannerly as the brief epistle said to have been written by Elizabeth, threatening to unfrock the "proud prelate."

There are notices of the plague in Westminster, Stamford Cambridge, London, and St. Albans. Sir William Fleetwood, the Recorder of London, writes to Burghley under date 22 October 1578, that he has been in Buckinghamshire since Michaelmas, "because he was hardly troubled every day with such as came to "him, having plague sores about them; and being sent by the "Lords (of the Council) to search for lewd persons, in sundry "places he found 'dead corses' under the table, which, surely," as the Recorder quaintly remarks, "did greatly amaze him."

The Earl of Leicester writes a pleasant letter to Lord Burghley, from Buxton, saying that he and his brother observe their physician's order diligently, and find great pleasure both in drinking and bathing in the water. He thinks it would be good for Burghley, but not if he takes great journeys abroad ten or twelve miles a day, and uses liberal diet with company dinners and suppers, as he is said to have done at his previous visit. They take another way, dining two or three together, now Lord Pembroke is there, having but one dish, or two at most, and taking the air afoot or on horseback moderately.

The virtues of Buxton water are celebrated in two or three letters. Leicester tells Burghley that her Majesty wills him to write earnestly to his lordship to send her a tun of Buxton

water in hogsheads, which are to be thoroughly seasoned with the water beforehand.

Sir Thomas Gresham, in a letter to Lord Burghley, dated the 9th of August 1573, craves his Lordship's letter of discharge for Dr. Langton, who, he says, has been very evilly handled by one Dr. Ludford, "in plucking down his testimonial upon the Royal "Exchange of the cures he hath done here and otherwise since "his coming hither, which was never seen the like done."

On the occasion of Queen Elizabeth's visit to Audley End in July 1578, the authorities of Cambridge University proposed to present her with a pair of gloves and "the New Testament in "Greek of Robertus Stephanus, in folio, fair bound, gilt and "enamelled, with her Majesty's arms upon the cover, and her "posie." There was also to be a disputation in philosophy before the Queen.

Many other documents of interest in this part of the collection at Hatfield might be noted, but it may suffice to indicate the papers relating to Martin Frobisher; to Margaret, widow of Roger Ascham, Queen Elizabeth's famous tutor and Latin secretary; and to Thomas Tallis, the celebrated musician.

The third volume of the Calendar extends over seven years, from the beginning of 1583 to the close of 1589. In it there are several more letters relating to the Anjou marriage. These, as between Queen Elizabeth and the Duke, are written in a strain similar to that of the letters in the second volume. In one, Elizabeth compares the Duke of Anjou to a "dog, which, "being often beaten, returns to its master." There are many letters from "Moine" on the subject of the negotiations for the proposed marriage. Sir Edward Stafford, in one of his dispatches, has to excuse himself, because of the Queen's anger towards him for sending her news of the Duke's death. In another dispatch the English Ambassador gives an account of the Duke's funeral, and of the special favour shown to himself by the French King.

Stafford's newsletters from the French Court are full of interest through the minute details they give of the chief personages and parties in that realm. His interpretation of the policy pursued both by Roman Catholics and Huguenots is generally accurate, and his characteristic frankness gives a charm to his dispatches. Some of these have already been printed by Murdin, but others are published for the first time in this volume. Sir Edward Stafford describes not only the French King and his *entourage* (especially the Royal bodyguards instituted by Henry III.), and the tangled labyrinth of strictly French affairs, but also the various links connecting France with Scotland and Germany. His dispatches will amply repay perusal. Some of the papers give curious details of the pecuniary straits into which not only Sir Edward Stafford, but also the French Ambassador Mauvissière, and the Scottish Envoy Lord Seton, were driven.

It is impossible to separate the affairs of England from those of Scotland in respect of the papers given in this third part of Cecil Calendar. The interests of the two countries were so inextricably interwoven that, virtually, they formed already the one kingdom which they became not many years later. True, there are the ever-recurrent Border disputes, and the customary complaints of Scotch sufferers from English pirates, or *vice versâ*; but over and above all there is the steady effort made by the sovereigns and chief statesmen of the two countries to establish a permanent mutual amity. There is, in these papers, abundant evidence of the endeavours to this end made by Elizabeth, James VI., Lord Burghley, the Master of Gray, and others.

The papers on Scottish affairs form the majority of those in this volume. Among the letters most deserving of mention are two long ones by Monsieur de Fontenay to Mary Queen of Scots, the letters of the Master of Gray, and especially those of Richard Douglas to his uncle, Archibald Douglas, the Scottish Ambassador in London. Of these last, most are now published for the first time. The letters of Charles Paget and Thomas Morgan to Mary are full of interest, but are better known. Fontenay's lengthy portraiture of James is one of the most animated portions of his earlier dispatch. The letters of Richard Douglas are valuable, not only for their minute accounts of Scottish life and policy, but also from the fact of their author enjoying the confidence of the King. Indeed, his letters consist largely of accounts of his conferences with James, and the difficulties experienced by that monarch in ruling his turbulent subjects are narrated at length. Amongst other matters are the conflicting reports as to the treatment of Mary in captivity, with their consequent effects in Scotland, and the chequered fortunes of men like the Master of Gray, the Hamiltons, the Earl of Bothwell, Archibald Douglas, and others, illustrating the Master of Gray's observation that "Princes' ears are not given to men in life rent."

There are several letters from James VI. and others to Archibald Douglas, fully proving the position of the latter as Scottish Ambassador in London, but a good deal of controversy rages around his person in the correspondence contained in this volume. Nor is Douglas made use of only in State affairs. He is commissioned by divers Scottish noblemen to purchase presents in London, and many a pleasant social trait is revealed in these letters.

We have also documents relating to the marriage of James VI. with the Princess Anne of Denmark; others showing the fondness of the King for hunting; and, among the most interesting and important of all, papers relating to the captivity and execution of Mary Queen of Scots. The general impression left by the record here given of James's policy is that he did not much care what became of his mother in England so long as her life was not touched. When she was executed, the resentment of

the King and nation was loud-voiced and deep. Among the documents deserving special attention with regard to her execution are some memoranda by Lord Burghley; a "Memorial" from Sir Francis Walsingham; the apologetic letter of the Lords to Queen Elizabeth, deprecating her anger at their secret dispatch of the Royal warrant; a similar letter from the Privy Council to the Queen after Mary's death; reasons for the execution, and an account of the execution. All of these, except the second, are in Lord Burghley's hand.

Two curious facts connected with the Queen of Scots' execution are brought to light in these papers. Both are noted in letters of Richard Douglas to his uncle, Archibald Douglas. In one of these letters we read, "His Majesty himself is very "desirous to know what order is taken with his mother's body, "if it be buried or not, or where. Therefore, by your next "letter let me understand the truth thereof." In the other letter the following is stated, with reference to Francis, Earl of Bothwell, "His lordship desired me earnestly to request you that "if it were possible to recover any of the gear which apper- "tained to the Queen, our Sovereign's mother, you would get "some of it for him, and he would give the uttermost price "therefor."

The collection of Manuscripts at Hatfield House contains very few papers touching the Spanish Armada. Three of much interest are to be found in this volume; viz., a list of the ships that served against the Armada; the depositions of two Dutch sailors, who were on board one of the Spanish vessels; and the famous instructions given to the Spanish captains.

The aid given by Elizabeth to the Netherlanders in their struggle against Philip II. is illustrated by many letters and other documents, more especially in regard to the Earl of Leicester's campaigning in the Low Countries. Of much interest, too, are the papers referring to Sir Philip Sidney, including a holograph letter of his to the Queen. Some eulogies on the gallant knight are published here for the first time.

Turning to matters ecclesiastical, attention may be called to a long paper drawn up by Dr. Hammond, at the instance of Lord Burghley, in reply to claims advanced by the Elizabethan bishops as to the divine rights of episcopacy. Dr. Hammond argues for the identity of *episcopus* and *presbyter*, and Sir Francis Knollys, a few months later, thinks that the Queen should bring the bishops to book. Sir Francis inveighs in strong terms against the "undermining ambition and covetousness" of some of the bishops, as he considered their order derived its superiority "directly from Her Majesty." Sir Francis Knollys writes another strong remonstrance with respect to some preachers, whom the Archbishop of Canterbury had condemned because they had refused to subscribe to "his Grace's articles." The Archbishop, when desired by the Queen to appoint a Mr. Willis, of St. John's College, Oxford, to the

vacant deanery of Worcester, strongly protested, and, on being directed to make inquiries regarding Mr. Willis, found that the man was "unlearned," that his wisdom consisted "especially in matters of husbandry," and that his wife, her sister, and daughter, who all remained with him, were "women of evil report." "God forbyd," exclaims the Archbishop, "that such "a man shold be placed there. From that fountaine are "sprongc almost all the evle bishops and denes now living in "England, and yet where is greater zeal pretended?" His Grace prays Lord Burghley to burn or tear his letter.

Reference may be made to the papers relating to the differences between Lord Buckhurst and the Earl of Leicester; to the Earl of Arundel's imprisonment; and to the quarrel (narrated at great length) between the Earl of Shrewsbury and his Countess.

Concerning Lord Burghley himself, this volume yields some interesting particulars. The Earl of Leicester pays a handsome tribute to the services of Elizabeth's great minister, and condoles with him on the temporary loss of the Queen's favour. Lord Talbot sends Burghley a present of an easy chair designed by himself; Lord Audley sends him a horse; and Sir Thomas Shirley sends a cup of gold as a new year's gift; but the present was declined. Burghley is very anxious to have his "foot-cloth moyle" replaced by a new one, but this he finds it difficult to obtain. Sir Thomas Cecil sends his father an interesting note about some hangings for Burghley House.

With regard to Ireland the papers are few, but of considerable importance. Sir Warham St. Leger writes very strongly to the Queen against the policy of receiving traitors to protection, and prays that Her Majesty would abolish such a practice. In another letter, he gives a full account of a very brutal murder committed on one of his servants, whose brother was also slain at the same time. Sir Warham complains bitterly of the impunity of the murderers, and of the difficulty of obtaining justice. He begs that the case may be tried at Dublin. He enlarges on some other abuses in Munster, and concludes his letter with a passage urging the desirability of English officials in Ireland, "for a thing impossible it is for Irish ministers and "English laws to accord well together." The Bishop of Ossory sends the Queen an account of some rioting that took place when he went to take possession of his see, and the litigation consequent thereon. He presents a lamentable picture of the spiritual state of his diocese, and thinks that there is little hope of any reformation in "the irreligious life of the people there," unless the Lord Deputy (Sir John Perrot) is better affected towards the pastors. Other papers from Sir Nicholas Bagenall, Sir John Perrot, and Florence McCarthy, the noted rebel, are deserving of attention.

It only remains to glance at some of the miscellaneous papers calendared in this volume. There are several petitions, chiefly

from servants of the Queen, asking for rewards in recompense for past services, the reward generally sought being some lease in reversion. Other documents refer to Sir Walter Raleigh, "the Quene's dere miniont"; to "the universal medicine"; to Alexander Bonus, who offered, if released from prison, to shew a way by which mercury and silver could each be converted into gold in a short time; to Richard Scarlett, a painter, who complained to the Privy Council that Garter King of Arms had violently assaulted him with his dagger; and to Gilbert Sherington, of Gray's Inn, who, for divers offences, was condemned to "go about Westminster Hall one day in the term time (the "Judges sitting in the Courts there) with a paper on his head "declaring his offences, for example and warning to others." We have also a list of Barons *jure uxorum*; and papers relating to the Court of Wards and Liveries; the controlling of elections for Parliament; salt patents; gifts to the Queen and others by the Earl of Lincoln; John Ball, the famous musician; a cup garnished with fine gold and said to be of unicorn's horn; a sale of diamonds; the expense of travelling from the country to London; the plague in Scotland; barges on the river Lea; the wages of lightermen and others; the repairing of the hospital called "Godshouse" in Southampton; and many other subjects.

The Earl Cowper, K.G.—The manuscripts at Melbourne Hall were first brought under the notice of Your Commissioners by Mr. William Dashwood Fane, who has resided there for many years, and has devoted a great portion of his leisure time to an examination of the muniments. He most generously placed the results of his labours at the disposal of Your Commissioners, who have, with the consent of Earl Cowper, published them in Parts 1, 2, and 3 of the Appendix to this Report, with such slight alterations and omissions as seemed necessary to bring them into a form symmetrical with others of a like character issued under their authority.

The earlier portion of this vast collection of documents was brought together by Sir John Coke, Secretary of State in the reign of Charles I., the most important events in whose life are set forth in the Introduction to Mr. Fane's Calendar; and the later portion consists mainly of the correspondence of Thomas Coke, the well-known Vice-Chamberlain during twenty years to Queen Anne and George I. Many sixteenth-century letters in the collection are addressed to Lord Burghley as Lord Lieutenant of Lincolnshire, and there are numerous papers illustrating state of the navy in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. brought together by Coke when he was appointed a Commissioner to enquire into the abuses of that department of the State. One of Sir John Coke's earliest friends and patrons was Sir Fulke Greville, afterwards Lord Brooke, and the correspondence between them will be found to throw new light on one of the most interesting figures of his time. In September 1625,

Coke was appointed one of two Principal Secretaries of State, and in that capacity he attended Charles I. in the progresses into Scotland in 1633 and 1639. At the end of the latter year he retired into private life; he died in September 1644. Though his official and private correspondence, which is now first published, will not contribute much towards the elucidation of the greater events of his time, its value in furnishing illustrative details of political and social history is sufficient to justify Your Commissioners in publishing a very large portion of the extracts which Mr. Fane made from it.

John Coke, the elder son of Sir John, was elected a member of the Long Parliament in November 1640; from that date to the beginning of 1644, there are numerous letters from him to his father, in which the events of the struggle between King and Parliament are very closely followed. The letters of one Edward Reed in 1641 and 1642, covering partly the same subject, are also interesting and important. The years between 1644 and the Revolution furnish no papers of any consequence, but the correspondence bearing upon public and private affairs during the three reigns succeeding the Revolution is most voluminous and entertaining; its character is so miscellaneous that it would be difficult to make selections which would give a fair idea of it; the subjects ranging between the campaigns in Flanders as seen from the point of view of officers serving therein, sport during William III.'s visits to the Loo in Gelderland, the doings of Court and Parliament, horse racing, and election intrigues in Derbyshire and elsewhere. The majority of these letters were written to Thomas, afterwards better known as Vice-Chamberlain Coke. He was the great grandson of the Secretary through the latter's younger son Thomas (a member for Leicester borough at the commencement of the Long Parliament), whose son John, the father of the Vice-Chamberlain, sat for Derby for some years. Many of his correspondents are little known to fame, but among them may be named the second Earl of Chesterfield, whose daughter Coke married, James Bridges, afterwards Duke of Chandos, and Lord Stanhope, and at a later date the Duke of Marlborough, Harley, and St. John. The papers which relate to Thomas Coke's office of Vice-Chamberlain of the Household afford many glimpses of the manners and customs at the Court of those days which probably no other source could supply.

The Dowager Countess of Donoughmore.—The earlier part of this collection contains several letters and papers of Lord Ligonier's belonging to the years 1760, 1761, 1762, which have in some manner come into the possession of the Hutchinson family. The first is an account of the taking of Carrickfergus by Thurot. There are several documents about Belle Isle, including a letter from Mr. Pitt, announcing its capture,

Captain de Bassemond's letter illustrates the condition of Protestants in France at that time.

But far the greater part of the collection consists of the correspondence of the Right Honourable John Hely Hutchinson, the husband of the first Baroness Donoughmore and father of the first Earl of Donoughmore, extending from 1761 to shortly before his death in 1794. It includes letters from a large number of distinguished persons. Some indeed are only formal, but many write freely and at length as intimate friends. Of the latter class Edmund Burke is the most eminent, from whom are five letters. The most important is that of August 1767, giving his opinion of several politicians. Of Lord Rockingham he observes, "He is gone to the country, without office and with dignity." From Stone, the Primate, there are three. He approves of the Duke of Bedford's appointment as Master of the Horse, "for human creatures certainly ought not to be "subjected to him, but to have made him keeper of the lions in "the Tower would yet have been more unexceptionable." There are numerous letters from Lord Hertford and Lord Townshend, both Lord Lieutenants. Three of the former's describe the formation of the Shelburne Ministry in 1782, and some of the intrigues that succeeded its resignation, while one of the latter's contains a sketch of Charles Fox in his youth: "He defies, corrects, and drives Ministers into minorities in "order to uphold Government," and refers to "Wedderburn's "able dissection of Franklin." Another describes the King's "surprise and concern" at the duel between a Mr. Doyle and Hutchinson, soon after his appointment as Provost, while another duel is referred to "as the taste Mr. Bagnal has been "pleased to take of the new secretary" (Blaquiere). Indeed, as Townshend remarks, "amongst other qualifications for "public station the gladiatorial is one of the most essential in "your country." Though in London, too, Townshend found it necessary to fight. From Wedderburn himself, afterwards Lord Loughborough, there are several letters, and two long and remarkable papers addressed to him in 1793 by Hutchinson, containing a sketch of Irish feeling. French principles are universally execrated, except in Belfast, some parts of Derry, and by some few inconsiderable men in Dublin. Of the manner in which Government business was transacted, and the measures then before Parliament, especially of the Disqualification by Office Bill, the Pension Bill, and the Bill for establishing a Treasury Board. After describing how the Secretaryship of State had become a sinecure, he adds, "The Chief Secretary is "in all departments whatever the only efficient Minister . . . "There is no country probably in Europe where such various "powers and departments are in one man, and that men "unknown to the Constitution, and yet in the course of a long "life I have not known more than two men in that office who "had any previous acquaintance with public business."

In a letter to his wife Hutchinson describes the great debate of May 26th, 1783, when Fox and Pitt were opposed to each other. He gave, and he was well qualified to judge, the preference to the last. "He had a decided superiority and is the greatest speaker I ever heard." Letters from Mr. King and Dean Bond in 1786 describe the beginning of the tithe disturbances, the attempts of Government to suppress them, and the steps taken by the bishops. There are numerous letters from Mr. Orde, Chief Secretary to the Duke of Rutland, relating mostly to Irish trade and the proposed commercial treaty with Great Britain. In one is enclosed a copy of a confidential paper from Mr. Beresford to Mr. Orde, containing objections to the propositions then before the British House of Lords, with Mr. Pitt's answers.

Several letters from Hutchinson's son, afterwards the first Earl of Donoughmore, and others give an entertaining account of the Lord Lieutenant's visit to Cork in 1785, and a paper by him describes how he acted as a medium of communication in December 1792 between the Government and the Catholic Committee as to the mode of presenting their petition to the King. Several letters from Lord Lyttelton relate mostly to the case of his son-in-law, Viscount Valentia, Hutchinson having been one of his counsel. Woodfall, the printer, feels honoured "by being considered by you so far distinct from the general "class of newspaper editors and printers that I am not "altogether unworthy of private confidence." Harvey, the eccentric bishop of Derry, makes some remarks about education, not wanting in good sense, and is disappointed that the College will not contribute to the spire he is building. A letter, full of boyish jokes, from W. W. Grenville at the age of 17 to his schoolfellow, Hutchinson's son, is followed a few years later by one from him as Chief Secretary enclosing the official narrative of Howe's relief of Gibraltar. A bishop urges his claim for promotion on the ground, among others, of "having preserved "the borough by making 40 new freemen in the midst of the "greatest obloquy and newspaper abuse (for our majority was "only 19) and returned two members recommended by Govern-"ment."

But the most interesting part of the collection consists of over thirty letters from William Gerard Hamilton, better known as "Single Speech" Hamilton. Hutchinson and he had become friends when he was acting as Chief Secretary to Lord Halifax, and Hutchinson's opinion of his ability and character may be estimated from his attributing Junius to his pen, an honour disclaimed by Hamilton. The steps he and Hutchinson took in concert to obtain, the one the Chancellorship of the Exchequer, the other the place of Alnager, are fully described, laying bare the secret history of the transaction. The letters abound with pungent observations on persons and affairs. A member is described as "variable in his politics, but uniform in

" his wish to be Chancellor of the Exchequer," and Hamilton observes that as the difference between himself and the Lord Lieutenant " related only to the prosperity of Ireland . . " a dispute on so trifling a subject could not be productive " of any warmth." With these are connected the letters of his friend, Mr. Jephson. A long and important one of June 1765, written by Hamilton's direction, describes the state of English parties, Lord Bute's secret influence, the jealousies between him and the Administration, and the Regency Bill. To the Ministers' conduct towards that measure he attributes the King's overtures to Mr. Pitt. His version of the Duke of Bedford's speech to the King is " solemn and repeated as Lord Bute's promises were, " he knew at the time how little they were to be relied on, but " he blushed to remind his Majesty that even his Royal word " had been pledged to confirm what his Lordship's busy and " meddling temper rendered it impossible for him to adhere to." Other letters throw some light on that obscure passage in Burke's life, his rupture with Hamilton, and the assignment of his pension to Jephson. Several letters relate to the disturbances in Trinity College that ensued on Hutchinson's appointment as Provost, and there is a large bundle of papers relating to the petition against the return of the Hon. F. Hely Hutchinson for Dublin University, and to the visitation of 1791.

The documents calendared were picked out of a very much larger number both before and after Hutchinson's death. It is believed that nothing important in the former period has been overlooked, but among those belonging to the latter period some were noticed that may prove of interest at a future time; for instance, there is a good deal of correspondence of the first Earl of Donoughmore relative to the Catholic claims, and there are despatches and letters of the second Earl when attached to the Russian army during the campaigns of of Eylau and Friedland.

Mr. S. H. le Fleming.—The manuscripts at Rydal Hall, in Westmoreland, consist mainly of the letters and papers of Sir Daniel Fleming, who took a very active part in county business in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William III. They were found in great confusion, but arranged in chronological order, as far back as 1882, by Mr. Maxwell Lyte, who supplied dates to many of them upon internal evidence. The Calendar, however, which forms the Seventh Appendix to this Report has been prepared by the Rev. J. A. Bennett, with some assistance from Mr. Richard Ward.

Among the earlier papers noticed, there is a list of the Royal Navy in 1545, and the original letter of farewell from Sir Timothy Fetherstonhaugh to his wife, written at Chester Castle shortly before his execution for joining in the unsuccessful rising of the Royalists in 1651.

A great part of Sir Daniel Fleming's correspondence relates to local affairs, such as the election of members of Parliament for Cumberland and Westmoreland, the provision of seamen for the Royal Navy, the payment of the Militia, the arrest of suspected persons, the disarmament of Papists and Recusants, and the suppression of Conventicles. His zeal with regard to the last of these matters made him very obnoxious to the Quakers, and there are in the collection several curious letters to him from William Penn and other members of that sect, some of them anonymous. Sir Daniel Fleming was, moreover, a great buyer and reader of books, and he carried on a correspondence with several literary men, of whom Sir William Dugdale was perhaps the most distinguished. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Dugdale describes himself as studying the ancient records in the Tower of London for "little less than twelve hours" a day while preparing his *Baronage of England* in 1667.

A more distinctive feature in the correspondence is a series of letters from Oxford, mostly from Queen's College, which was much frequented by young men from Cumberland and Westmoreland. More numerous still are the letters of news from London, sometimes supplied by friends and relations, but oftener, according to a regular agreement, by clerks in the office of Sir Joseph Williamson.

The continuous series of letters comes to an end with the death of Sir Daniel Fleming in 1701, but the subsequent correspondence comprises some notices of the Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1745, two letters from James Boswell, and one from William Wordsworth to his neighbour Lady le Fleming of Rydal Hall.

Mr. J. H. Gurney.—The MSS. preserved at Keswick Hall, near Norwich, consist largely of papers from the library of Sir Henry Spelman, which passed subsequently through the hands of Dr. Cox Macro, and in the present century through those of Mr. John Patteson, of Norwich. They are of very miscellaneous character; but three amongst them are of very distinctive interest and importance. One is a twelfth century MS. of English laws, which contains the earliest known copy of the treaty between King Stephen and Duke Henry in 1153. The second is a minute-book of the proceedings of a "classis" of Puritan nonconforming ministers in Essex at their meeting at Dedham and elsewhere in 1582–9, kept by Mr. Richard Parker, who was suspended by the Bishop of London in 1588, and who writes out in 1604, at Ketteringham, in Norfolk, an appendix of letters and papers relative to the proceedings recorded in the minute-book. The third is a diary from June 1614 to February 1638–9, of Sir Richard Hatton, who was appointed a justice in the Court of Common Pleas in 1617. This is full of notices of the lawyers of the time, describing their characters and illustrating their biography. It is a quaint or

mixture of law, French and English. One MS. contains a series of short moral poems, headed "The recreacyons of " his age," which are assigned by a hand of the last century to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper from 1558–79. The journal kept by George (afterwards Sir George) Downing during one year of his embassy in Holland, viz. in 1658, fills a volume of 186 folio pages.

Mr. W. W. B. Hulton.—At Hulton Park, Lancashire, are some very valuable papers which came to the family by the marriage, in the time of Charles II., of its then representive with the daughter of William Jessop, a lawyer of Gray's Inn, who was Clerk of the House of Commons in 1660. He acted as legal agent for the executors of Robert Devereux, third Earl of Essex, the parliamentary general, who died in 1646, and by this means appears to have become possessed of a very curious series of letters from the second Earl to Queen Elizabeth, together with two letters to her from the Earl of Leicester. Many of the Essex letters have been printed in the Hon. W. B. Devereux's *Lives of the Earls of Essex*, but some are noticed in this Report for the first time. There is also a letter of sensible advice from the Earl to his young kinsman, the Earl of Rutland, when the latter was about to commence his foreign travels. It is described as being the third letter written on the same occasion; the first is printed in the *Lives* referred to above, but the second still remains to be found. There are interesting money accounts relative to the funeral of the parliamentary general and the disposition of his affairs, and a singular relic is the silver matrix of a seal prepared, apparently, for use by Parliament while the preparations for the return of Charles II. were in progress, but which does not seem ever to have been actually employed.

Amongst some early documents are two bulls granted in 1397 and 1435 to two canons of Cartmel Priory, authorising their receiving plenary absolution, when at the point of death, under certain conditions. These bulls have been incorrectly described in Mr. Mendham's book on the *Indulgences of the Church of Rome.* Amongst recent family papers are estimates by George Stephenson, for the construction of a short railway made by him at the Hulton collieries in 1825–28.

Mr. R. W. Ketton.—At Felbrigg Hall, Mr. Ketton has preserved a large mass of papers of the Windham family, resident there for many centuries. The collection consists chiefly of correspondence between various members of the family, and includes the following:—Letters of Sir John Hobart to William Windham mainly about Norfolk elections and other county affairs between 1673 and 1682, but referring also to events of wider historical interest at the time of the alleged Popish plot; a few letters of Colonel Windham to his mother when cam-

paigning with the Duke of Marlborough; others of James Windham of a little later date showing the widespread ruin caused by the bursting of the South Sea Bubble; descriptions of travels abroad in 1741; letters of Dr. Dampier, of Eton, and of David Garrick, who were guardians of the future statesman, William Windham. Of the latter eminent man are preserved some diaries beginning in 1772, when he was 22 years old, and ending in 1775, which illustrate his early life and pursuits.

These journals are contained in three large note books. The earlier entries are of a chatty, anecdotic character, and chiefly relate to a visit to Ireland which lasted from the latter end of September to the first week in December 1772. The journal is continued from his return to England, and is dated for the most part from Ickleford in Hertfordshire, where his friends the Byngs (the Hon. John Byng, afterwards 6th Viscount Torrington) then lived, and where Windham first met his future wife Miss Cecilia Forrest. There is a gap of some two months between the close of the first and the commencement of the second journal the earliest entry in the second being dated about the 29th June 1773 when Mr. Windham was landed at Bergen on giving up the projected voyage with Mr. Phipps. From that date the diary is concerned with his travels in Norway and Denmark, and is not particularly interesting; then occurs another gap of a few leaves, and then an interpolated note of the 3rd of May 1774, clearly out of the sequence of the diary. The remainder of the book is occupied with pencil memoranda relating to the abandoned voyage, and lists of names of friends and acquaintances.

The third journal is contained in a book of the same size and form as the second, and commences abruptly on the 13 November 1773, runs, with very slight breaks, down to September 1775. During three years Mr. Windham appears to have led the life usual to a young gentleman of parts and fortune, alternating between London, Felbrigg, Ickleford, Binfield (where Admiral Forrest then lived) and other places. It is chiefly interesting for the unusually minute delineation it affords of the writer's character. As in his later diaries (already published), a curiously morbid and despondent tone prevails. No man was more distrustful of his own mental capacities and moral strength. The criticism of Mrs. Baring (who edited the later journals) and of Mr. Ellis (Mr. Windham's biographer) who supplied an introduction to Mrs. Baring's book, will be found to apply strictly to the present journals. Mrs. Baring in her preface says that the diary was in truth chiefly a record of Mr. Windham's health and feelings made for himself alone, which can hardly be supposed to possess much general interest; but there are many passages interspersed in it strongly indicative of his character, which she trusted she should be forgiven for wishing to rescue from oblivion. Mr. Ellis, too, notices that the diary was "wholly devoted to the purpose of self examination"; "full of regrets for waste of time"; and of "lamentations over those habits of indolence from which neither

" the bustle of business nor the tranquility of solitude was found " to be a sufficient preservative."

As a measure of precaution, Mr. Windham made use of Greek in describing certain events which he wished to keep secret, and, further, invariably employed the Greek characters for English proper names. Many of these have proved difficult to decipher and have not been reproduced in their original form in the report. Such portions of the Greek as have been made out together with the names of persons are printed in italics; they will be found to refer almost entirely to the intimacy between Windham and Mrs. Byng (the sister of the lady he afterwards married), an intimacy the degree of which it is difficult and unprofitable to estimate here. There is nothing of politics to be found throughout the diary, nor is any indication afforded of the subsequent and more prominent career of the writer. The only political papers are some letters from French *emigrés*, victims of the Revolution, to Mr. Windham whilst Secretary at War, relative to the Expedition to La Vendée, in which he took a very warm interest. Few of the letters are important, and in most cases it has been thought sufficient to simply give the names of the writers.

Some contemporary copies of letters of the Paston family, of the time of Edward IV., and a very good collection of manuscript ballads and verses, on political, social, and personal topics, make up this interesting collection.

Mr. Philip Vernon Smith.—This collection consists of the papers of Joseph Smith, Mr. Vernon Smith's grandfather, who succeeded Pretyman as Mr. Pitt's private secretary in 1787. Though not numerous, some of them are of considerable interest. Two are holograph letters from George III. The first expresses his regret that Mr. Pitt has been detained at the House by the fertile imagination of Mr. Burke. The second, dated October 26th, 1790, declares that, from his conviction of the importance of peace, he cannot object to any means that may have a chance of effecting it, though not sanguine that Mr. Elliot and his French friend (Mirabeau) are likely to succeed. No encouragement, however, should be given to meddling with the internal politics of France. A letter from Orde, the Chief Secretary, describes the temper of the Irish people, and discusses the best mode of procedure with regard to the Commercial Treaty. Another describes the disturbed state of the country, the attacks for arms by a Catholic banditti, and the inactivity of the magistrates. Of the Irish correspondence the most important is a letter, marked most private and confidential, from Mr. Beresford to Mr. Rose describing the tactics used by the Opposition to inflame the country against the Commercial Treaty and to cause its rejection

by the House of Commons, and the intrigues for the Speakership on Mr. Perry's resignation.

Three letters, in 1786, from Mr. Eden relate to the Commercial Treaty with France, and give his reasons for declining the Vice-Treasurership. In the following year are several letters from Mr. Grenville and Mr. Eden about the disturbances in the United Provinces and the ensuing negotiations, concluding with one from Mr. Pitt to Lord Cornwallis, giving an account of what had taken place, and showing the risk there had been of a war between France and England. In 1796 are several papers referring to the visit to England of M. Nettement as an unofficial agent from the Directory, with suggestions for opening peace negotiations with France. Sir William Jones suggests reforms of Indian prisons, and of legal procedure in India, and mentions that he has translated a legal work from the Arabic. Lord Camden gives his opinion against the the King's right to raise troops for India without the consent of Parliament. Lord Thurlow sends the Prince of Wales his views as to the order in which the Lords should go from the House to Westminster Hall, and an anonymous writer submits plans for an overland route to India.

The Dean and Chapter of Ely.—The manuscripts of the Chapter of Ely, preserved with great care in the library and muniment rooms of the Cathedral, consist of a large number of documents concerned with the history of the old Benedictine monastery at Ely, in so far as that history was concerned with the administration of the estates of the convent from the twelfth century down to the period of the dissolution of the religious houses by Henry VIII. Incidentally these documents afford many valuable illustrations of the methods of tillage, the system of drainage on a large scale, the complexities of land tenure, the pressure of feudal services and other matters, in a district which was to a great extent shut off from the rest of England for several centuries by the barrier of the fens, and subject to the palatinate jurisdiction of the Bishops of Ely. The charters of the Church of Ely concerned with the grants and purchases of land by the convent are very numerous, and comprehend some of great interest. Some of them afford information as to the early history of Cambridge. The most notable manuscript belonging to the Dean and Chapter is the famous *Liber Eliensis*, or early history of the Priory of Ely, of which only a portion has, as yet, been printed, and that, perhaps, not the most trustworthy, or most valuable portion.

The rolls of the Obedientiaries (or monks who held office in the monastery) which remain are more than 200 in number and are in fairly good preservation. A series of Sacrists' Rolls furnishes curious particulars concerning the building of the great

lantern at Ely, and one of them accounts for expenditure bestowed upon an organ, building for the church.

Among other records of which an account will be found in the Appendix is a portion of a letter-book of the monastery of the early part of the fifteenth century which deserves the notice of those who are concerned with the history of the Benedictine Order in England during this period. The Act Books of the Chapter afford a complete history of that body from the Dissolution to the present time. The report upon these muniments and those of the Bishopric of Ely, described below, has been drawn up for Your Commissioners by the Rev. Dr. Jessopp.

Bishopric of Ely.—These muniments are dispersed in three localities. Some are are to be found at the Palace at Ely, some in St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, and some at Ely House, the London residence of the Bishop. The records at the Palace of Ely are very extensive, but mainly concerned with the civil business of the Bishops as administrators of the great franchise of the Isle of Ely, and are extraordinarily complete and voluminous for a period extending over nearly five centuries. Not only are there large masses of sessional papers, but the history of crime in the district might be compiled with ghastly minuteness from the records of the assizes and gaol deliveries; while the social history of town and country over the area of the Isle of Ely—an area which in some sense may be called unique—might be written by the help of these records with a comparatively small expenditure of labour, the sources being so readily available.

The manuscripts at St. Mary's Church, Cambridge, are almost exclusively concerned with the ecclesiastical history of the diocese. A collection of returns made by the clergy and churchwardens of the several parishes at the periodical visitations of the archdeacon of Ely constitutes an *apparatus* for the diocesan history of Ely during the last few centuries such as can hardly be matched elsewhere. Besides these documents, there are some ancient registers of the bishopric and other miscellaneous manuscripts, a brief account of which will be found in the Appendix.

The collection of records at Ely House consists chiefly of the episcopal registers of institutions to benefices, memoranda of the principal events that occurred in the diocese, lists of ordinations, including the names of the persons ordained, and other matters which at the time they occurred seemed deserving of notice. The series of bishops' registers begins with the year 1337 and continues, with certain breaks more or less extensive, down to the present day. The early registers are unusually full of information and deserve the close attention of students engaged in English Church history, as well as of those who are desirous of finding out new facts regarding the early history of the University of Cambridge and its relations with the Bishops of Ely. The other records at Ely House are of a

miscellaneous character, and perhaps represent the sweepings of the muniments which accumulated for ages in the earlier town house of the Bishops of Ely in Holborn.

Lincoln Cathedral; the Episcopal and the District Court of Probate Registry.—In the cathedral muniment room there are now collected together, smoothed out and duly arranged in presses, an enormous number of documents connected with ecclesiastical matters and with the property of the capitular body. The excellent order in which everything is preserved is due to the Dean and Chapter and to the unwearied personal labour of the late Prebendary Wickenden, who devoted himself to the work for many years.

Another very voluminous collection, and one of even wider interest because it contains records of the old diocese of Lincoln when it stretched over many counties, is preserved in the Bishop's registry. These documents too are treated with the greatest care, and a full calendar of their contents would be found to throw light upon a vast number of points of ecclesiastical, historical, genealogical, and topographical interest, reaching far beyond the present Lincoln diocese. A beginning in this good work has been made since the collections were examined for the purposes of this Commission, by the formation of a County Record Society, and by the publication of the *Liber Antiquus* of Bishop Hugh, A.D. 1209–1235.

Peterborough Cathedral.—The historical manuscripts in the Library of Peterborough Cathedral consist of a few volumes, valuable, but chiefly of local interest. These consist of—

The well-known Swaffham cartulary. A note describes how it was discovered by one of Cromwell's soldiers under the seats where it had been hidden by Humphry Austin in order to save it, and recovered by him at the cost of 10 shillings, under the plea that it was an old Latin Bible.

Another cartulary.

A beautiful copy of Wiclif's Translation of the *Harmony* of Clement of Llantony.

Another cartulary which was drawn up by John de Achirch in A.D. 1340. Amongst the earlier charters in this volume there is one of A.D. 1060, which purports to be an original, and has a peculiar point of interest about it. It deals with the restoration of some land to the Church which had been brought about by the influence of Queen Eadgyth, and in the list of attesting witnesses there is a second smaller cross under the regular cross against the Queen's name, as though she had added it with her own hand.

The latest of the books is a register of Richard Ashton, Abbot from 1438 to 1471.

Southwell Cathedral.—Most of the records of the Minster, now the Cathedral, appear to have been destroyed during the Civil War. Three registers contain copies of bulls, grants of endowments, statutes, and wills to the time of Henry VIII., with records of visitations between 1475 and 1514, which give many curious particulars. The visitation books for the peculiar of the Chapter extend (with large interruptions) from 1563 to 1821; and the minute-books of the Chapter (also with large interruptions) from 1590 to the extinction of the minster chapter in 1872. There is a good fifteenth-century copy of the *Liber Festivalis* of John Mirk. The register of the Priory of Thurgarton, Nottinghamshire, is also here; it is a manuscript of the fourteenth century, in good condition, given to the capitular library by Mr. Cecil Cooper, in the year 1677.

A gentleman resident in Southwell, Mr. R. H. Warwick, possesses a commonplace book filled with matters of such unusual interest that an extended list of its contents is given in the Appendix. It was written by William Davenport, of Bramhall, Cheshire, in the time of James I. and Charles I.; and contains a large number of curious poetical pieces and historical notices, including local memoranda relative to the Civil War and the losses suffered therein by the writer. Some of these memoranda have been twice printed from a copy made in the last century by the Rev. J. Watson, but the existence of the original volume was not known. It was purchased by the present owner from a working man, who had obtained it at a sale of the goods of a member of the Davenport family.

Gloucester.—The manuscripts of the Corporation have been recently examined by Mr. W. H. Stevenson. They consist largely of a valuable collection of early deeds, but as these are almost exclusively of local interest, they do not come within the province of this Commission. There are, however, other papers that have yielded some valuable historical matter. The detailed report records the visits of Henry VIII. and of his daughter Princess Mary to Gloucester, and the preparations made for their reception; the levying of troops in the city for various expeditions, ranging from Flodden Field to Charles the First's abortive attempt to suppress the outbreak of the Scots in 1639; the preparations made by the citizens for the momentous siege of the city by the King in 1643, and their equally determined preparations to resist Charles II. when he approached the city in 1651; and the celebration in the city of Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorship. The long series of letters to and from the Lords of the Privy Council reflect the troubles of the local leaders caused by the aimless movements of troops in the reign of Charles I. and by the constant demands for money. There are also some letters connected with the preparations to resist the Armada. Leicester's request in 1584 to have the city's return

to Parliament sent to him for him to fill in the members' names, and the somewhat nervous refusal of the Council to accede to his request, may also be noted. The elections were made in the county court of the city as late as 1555, as we glean from a minute of that year. The minutes and orders printed in the report illustrate the government of the town, its police, sanitary, and trade regulations. Some orders made for the suppression of immorality in the town in the early years of the sixteenth century reveal the existence of much looseness of living in the borough. Much of this is ascribed by the compilers of these orders to the priests and men of religion who formed so large an element in the population of Gloucester. It would be interesting if we could ascertain that Gloucester really had such a reputation for immorality as these orders assert, for it is possible that the zeal of the reformers of these abuses has led them to exaggerate the evil condition of the town. The extracts from later accounts of the same century show that the authorities were by no means remiss in punishing offences against morality. They also record some characteristic punishments of gipsies, vagabonds, and offenders of various sorts, besides containing much other matter of interest. Earlier documents record a visit of Edward the Black Prince to Gloucester to mediate in a dispute between the rich and powerful Abbey of Gloucester and the poor Friars Minor. The award made by the Prince records the use of leaden pipes for the conveyance of water in the borough.

Two small collections of papers in the possession of Mr. C. H. Dancey and Mr. Powell Chandler, relating to the companies of Butchers and of Tanners, have also been reported upon.

The Dean and Chapter of Gloucester.—A report has also been made upon the small collection of MSS. in the Cathedral Library. They comprise little of historical value beyond the registers of the Abbey of St. Peter's, the volumes being principally of literary interest.

Newark.—The Corporation records of this ancient and historic town are not of the interest or extent that would be expected. There are 348 deeds of title ranging in date from the reign of Henry III. to that of James I., of which a good catalogue was made by the late Rev. J. F. Dimock. A search made by Mr. Macray through the contents of three ancient chests resulted only in the discovery of a fragment of the accounts of the gild of the Holy Trinity in 1392–3.

Higham Ferrers.—The Corporation records show that in any ancient borough, however small, there may be found documents well deserving examination. The rolls of the court of the

burgesses of Higham Ferrers go back to the time of Edward I., of whose reign, however, a single roll only is preserved. For the reign of Edward III. there are records for twenty-five years, and thenceforward the series is more or less complete down to the reign of Elizabeth. But the records of her reign are in a very imperfect and tattered condition, and those of James I. and Charles I. very deficient. The vellum rolls end at 1637, and thenceforward to 1724 there is a blank. From the time of Henry IV. to that of Charles I. frequent notices of members of the Chichele family occur; and these with extracts from wills entered on the rolls and various other interesting particulars, will be found in detail in the Report. The Corporation possesses five royal charters.

The Duke of Athole, K.T.—Sir William Fraser's first report on this collection was printed in the Appendix to the Sixth Report of Your Commissioners; it dealt with the ancient charters relating to the Earldom of Athole. His second report, which will be printed in the Appendix to the present Report, refers to the correspondence, which is very extensive and of historical importance. The earliest in date of the letters bears the signature of James III. of Scotland, and was written in August 1473; it conferred the appointment of Stewart of Strathern upon Sir William Murray of Tullibardine. A holograph letter of Queen Mary to the Countess of Athole, dated 18 March [1579–80], referring to the death of her husband, not without suspicion of being poisoned, and another from James VI., then 13 years of age only, to the young Earl on the same subject, will be read with interest. A letter of much later date was addressed by the same King when ruling over England to the Earl of Tullibardine in view of a visit to his "native kingdome" in 1617. The King's letter is characteristic in his phraseology, and in his desire to have at an early point of his journey a foretaste of the dainties of his northern realm. The Earl is required to send forward "capercaillies and termigantis (ptarmigan)" to meet the King at Durham, as "the raritie of these foules will "both mak their estimation the more precious, and confirme "the opinion conceaved of the good cheare to be had there."

A letter from Archibald, Earl (afterwards Marquess of) Argyll requests the first Earl of Athole (of the Murray family) to meet him at Perth to take measures against the "lymmeris and broken men" who then kept the highlands in a state of turmoil. It has been stated by some writers that the Earl of Argyll used his commissions against such outlaws as a means of oppressing those in the North opposed to his party, and a contemporary asserts that Athole himself and eight other gentlemen were surprised and made prisoners. This took place apparently in 1640, and the Earl was brought to Edinburgh and detained there, as we learn from his remonstrance and appeal addressed

to the Committee of Estates and the Earl of Montrose. Argyll's view of the matter which led to Athole's arrest may be found in his letter dated 30 May 1640, in which he states that, as Athole had been "averse from giving satisfaction" to the Committee of Estates, he is afraid the Committee may be "forced to some "hard course to distingwishe their friends from their enemyes." Some months after this, in March 1641, the Earl of Athole received a summons from the Committee of Estates to explain his reasons for subscribing the bond by Montrose known as the "Cumbernauld Band;" and other correspondence with the Committee about the same time shows that he and their residents in his district generally were not very responsive to the demands of the Covenanters either for men, money, or the subscription of the Covenant.

The second Earl of Athole, who succeeded to the title in 1642, is said to have taken an active part with the Royalists under Glencairn in 1653, but there are no papers in this collection to attest the fact. To his brother-in-law, the Earl of Tullibardine, the Earl of Loudoun writes, on the 30th August 1651, an urgent appeal for help against Cromwell and his "sectaries," who had two days before taken prisoners the Earl of Leven and other noblemen. From Oliver Cromwell himself there is a letter addressed to General David Leslie; it bears no date, but was probably written in 1650, a month or two before the battle of Dunbar. The letter of Margaret Hay to Lady Tullibardine gives a glimpse of the situation between the Royalist army and Cromwell's forces before Charles's sudden march into England in 1651.

In 1676 the second Earl of Athole was created a Marquess, and in 1684 he was appointed Lieutenant of Argyllshire, with powers of intromission over the estates of the Earl of Argyll, who had fled to Holland three years before that date. Many details of his occupation of Argyllshire are to be found in his letters at this time. Most of the correspondence between the years 1686 and 1715 is addressed to the first Marquess's son John, Lord Murray, who was created Earl of Tullibardine in 1696. He took an active part in public affairs, being for some time Secretary of State, and from the documents which in that period came into his hands we gain many indications of the condition of Scotland after the English Revolution. Murray's position was a somewhat peculiar one, his father being absent in England and under suspicion of Jacobite leanings. Doubts have been expressed as to his conduct on the eve of the battle of Killiecrankie, but he seems to have been faithful to Mackay, though his Highlandmen, in their fondness for plunder, broke away from his control and pillaged the retreating Royalists. Lord James Murray, his brother, openly put himself at the head of the Athole men who joined the Jacobites; with the object, it is alleged, of controlling the propensities of the Highlanders and of saving his father's houses from ruin. Later, Lord Murray

induced his clan to desert the rebels. There are upwards of 20 letters worthy of notice in this collection which relate to the rising of 1689. The last of them contains a short account of the defence of Dunkeld by the Cameronians. One or two minor historical points emerge from these documents. General Mackay in his *Memoirs* says he reached Perth "about the 22nd or 23rd of July," a statement which it has been difficult to reconcile with his reaching Killiecrankie on the 27th. But his own letters to Lord Murray show that he reached Perth only on the 25th July, and went the next day to Dunkeld. Another point which has given rise to much controversy is the death of Dundee at Killiecrankie. Some historians have maintained that Dundee was not killed on the field of battle, but was carried after he received his fatal wound to Blaircastle, a distance of three miles; and there wrote a letter to King James giving an account of his victory, which Macpherson published from a copy in the Bodleian Library. This letter Macaulay declared to be as "impudent a forgery as Fingal." Sir William Fraser, in his introduction to the calendar of the Athole papers, goes very fully into this question, and the evidence which he gathers from them tends to show that Dundee was not carried from the field of battle alive.

The true story of the tragic end of the Viscountess of Dundee some years later seems to be told in a letter written at Utrecht, October 17, 1695. She was killed by the fall of the upper part of a house known as the "Castle of Antwerp" in Utrecht, in which she was staying for a night. Napier, in his *Memoirs of Dundee*, asserts that the roof of the house was purposely injured by the landlord and his accomplices in order that, on a given signal, it might fall in and smother the whole company of Jacobites who were there assembled. The letter above referred to, written on the spot the day after it happened, gives a very circumstantial account of the event, and leaves no room for supposing it anything but a pure accident.

The letters to Lord Murray after he succeeded to the Marquessate and was created Duke of Athole in 1703 call for little mention, but attention may be directed to the sarcastic sketch of political parties by George Lockhart of Carnwath. There are some schoolboy letters of Lord George Murray, afterwards the famous leader in the rising of 1745, and two letters of Rob Roy, the second of which contains a half humorous complaint against the Duke of Montrose, with whom he had shortly before fallen into money difficulties, and concludes by extolling the Duke of Athole and remarking "there is vast differs (difference) between Dukes." A curious glimpse into the manners and customs of Edinburgh society is given in a letter written in May 1714. One of a little later date shows that Queen Anne's death was not much regretted by her subjects in Scotland. The documents bearing on the Rebellion of 1715 are chiefly con-

cerned with the conduct of the Duke's own family. Of those relating to the Rebellion of 1745, and of some other papers in the collection, circumstances have prevented Sir William Fraser from giving more than an inventory.

The Earl of Home.—Sir William Fraser, in his report on this collection, explains that it refers solely to those muniments found by him at the Mansion-house of The Hirsel, and that another report will be necessary to include the remainder of the Home muniments which are not preserved there. But though the report is thus restricted, it yet contains a considerable amount of information. Passing over the question of descent of the family of Home from the great Earls of Dunbar and March, upon which Sir William Fraser touches, it may be noted that the Homes were an ancient and famous Border House, and that the Earl of Home is their chief representative. He is also the heir of line of the still more distinguished family of Douglas, Earls of Douglas, and Earls of Angus, and has inherited a large portion of their ancient domains, but this report has no connexion with the Douglas muniments.

The first will reported on, of date 1424, is of interest not only in itself, but as one of the few early wills which have been preserved in Scotland. The maker of that will, Sir Alexander Home, was a friend of the fourth Earl of Douglas, and an anecdote in connection with their expedition to the ill-fated field of Verneuil in France, illustrative of their mutual affection, is told in the preface to the report. Several ecclesiastical and consistorial writs in the report are noteworthy, especially the foundation charter of the Collegiate Church of Douglas in East Lothian. A contract, which however was never acted upon, between King James the Fifth for the marriage of one of his illegitimate daughters to the Master of Home, dated in 1537, is given at some length. Sir William Fraser identifies this lady with Margaret Stewart, whose name is not known to history. A contract with the Government in 1549 as to the custody of Home Castle, an important border stronghold, is given in full. This collection of muniments, owing to the widely extended territories of the Home family, contains much varied information as to persons and places in different parts of Scotland. Charters and writs granted by or affecting the Gordons of Huntly and their kinsmen the Setons of Zouch, the Haliburtons, Lords Haliburton, the first Earl of Gowrie, the Lords Borthwick, and the Hepburns of Bothwell, will be found of interest. Among minor names may be noted those of Spens of Chirnside, Hately of Mellerstain, Scott of Howpasley, Lauder, Ker of Samuelston, Mauderston of that Ilk, and several other families now believed to be extinct. Reference may be made to Sir William Fraser's preface for more particular details of the information to be gathered from his report.

In Ireland the work of Your Commissioners has, as hitherto, been carried on by Mr. John T. Gilbert, F.S.A. From him we have received reports on MSS. of the Marquess of Ormonde, the Earl of Fingall, the Earl of Charlemont, Viscount Gormanston. Lord Kilmallock, Lord Emly, the sees of Cashel and Ossory, the Corporation of Waterford, and Mr. B. R. Balfour, of Townley Hall, Drogheda. Some of these reports are now passing through the press, and will, we trust, be published in a few months. Meanwhile, some observations may here be made on the documents to which they relate. The portion of the Ormonde MSS. reported on includes an unique memorial from Ireland to Henry VIII., many important papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with holograph letters of Charles II., James II., and Queen Catherine II. Among the papers of the Earl of Fingall are one ancient chartulary of the noted abbey of Reading in Berkshire, and documents connected with the Irish Catholics in the early part of the eighteenth century. The Charlemont correspondence is replete with matters of the highest interest, social, political, literary, and artistic. A summary account of it has already been given in Your Commissioners' First Report, Appendix, pp. 126–7. Lord Gormanston's MSS. supply an unique specimen of a genealogical memoir prepared and certified under the authority of Lord Strafford during his Government in Ireland. Viscount Kilmallock's papers illustrate Irish affairs, during the reign of James II., for whom, in conjunction with his relative Sarsfield, Earl of Lucan, he took an active part as a military commander. The MSS. of Lord Emly include many letters and papers of importance connected with Lord Pery, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in 1782. The Cashel MSS. supply a curious account of the important abbey of Holy Cross in Tipperary, with notices of the Cistercian order to which it belonged. From the archives of the see of Ossory we have an interesting manuscript connected with the ecclesiastical establishments and arrangements as they stood when investigated by Bishop Otway in the reign of Charles II. The report on the Waterford archives affords interesting information on that town and its people towards the close of the sixteenth century. Mr. B. R. Balfour's MSS. contains matters of importance in connection with the town of Drogheda and its regulations in past times. In succession to the collections here mentioned there are in preparation by Mr. Gilbert reports on the records of the Hon. Society of King's Inns, Dublin, the MSS. of Rinuccini, Nuncio to Ireland, the Guild of St. Anne, Dublin, the Franciscans of Ireland, and further accounts of MSS. of the Duke of Leinster, the Marquess of Ormonde, the Marquess of Drogheda, and of other important collections in Ireland.

The chief collections of manuscripts in England and Scotland now undergoing examination by inspectors acting under the

authority of your Majesty's Commissioners are those of:—The Duke of Rutland, the Duke of Portland, the Earl of Home, the Earl of Lonsdale, Lord Kenyon, Lady Louisa Fortescue, E. R. Wodehouse, Esq., M.P., and the Corporation of Rye.

ESHER (L.S.)
LOTHIAN (L.S.)
SALISBURY (L.S.)
ROSEBERY (L.S.)
CARNARVON (L.S.)
CARLINGFORD (L.S.)
EDMOND FITZMAURICE (L.S.)
W. OXON. (L.S.)
CHARLES LIMERICK (L.S.)
G. W. DASENT (L.S.)
H. C. MAXWELL LYTE (L.S.)

J. J. CARTWRIGHT,
Secretary.

ROLLS HOUSE, LONDON,
August 1889.