HISTORICAL MANUSCRIPTS COMMISSION.

THIRTEENTH 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.

THIRTEENTH REPORT

ON 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 persons 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 Thirteenth Report to Your Majesty.

By the death of the Earl of Carnarvon in 1890, your Commissioners have lost a much esteemed and helpful colleague. From the number of the Inspectors, the death of the Rev. J. A. Bennett, of South Cadbury, Somerset, has removed an invaluable ally, who for many years worked indefatigably in the cause of the Commission. The ordinary work of inspection since the publication of our Twelfth Report has been carried on in England by the Rev. W. D. Macray, Mr. Blackburne Daniell, Mr. Richard Ward, Mr. Walter FitzPatrick, Mr. William J. Hardy, and the late Rev. Mr. Bennett. Sir William Fraser has continued to work among the collections in Scotland; and Mr. J. T. Gilbert among those in Ireland. Mr. E. Fairfax Taylor and Mr. F. Skene have made further progress with the calendar of the House of Lords' manuscripts.

The principal collections examined since the presentation of your Commissioners' Twelfth Report are the following:—

In England.—The House of Lords; the Duke of Rutland; the Duke of Portland; The Marquess of Salisbury; the Earl of Lonsdale; the Earl of Ancaster; the Earl of Buckinghamshire; the Earl of Lindsey; the Lord Kenyon; Sir William FitzHerbert, Bart.; Sir Thomas Barrett Lennard, Bart.; E. R. Wodehouse, Esq., M.P.; J B. Fortescue, Esq.; Theodore J. Hare, Esq.;

Captain Loder-Symonds, and the Corporations of Hereford, Lincoln, Rye, and Hastings.

In Scotland.—The Duke of Roxburghe; and the papers of the Earls of Marchmont.

In Ireland.—The Marquess of Ormonde; the first Earl of Charlemont; B. R. T. Balfour, Esq.; and the late Charles Haliday, Esq.

Your Commissioners beg leave to subjoin an abstract account of some of the above-named collections, fuller particulars of which will be found in the volumes of Appendix.

House of Lords.—The Calendar prepared by Mr. Taylor and Mr. Skene for this Report extended originally from 26 March 1690 to the beginning of the new Session in November 1692; but much of the work has had to be done again, in consequence of a fire at the printers', and, to avoid further delay in publication, it has been thought best to close the volume at the end of 1691.

The particular points on which these papers supplement or correct the statements of historians of this time will be found fully noticed in the Introduction to the Calendar. Without entering, however, into details, a brief notice of the principal documents will illustrate the general character and contents of the present volume.

The attempts of the Whig opposition to obtain that explicit assertion of the *de jure* sovereignty of William and Mary, which they had striven for in vain in the Bill of Rights, are shown in the proceedings on the Recognition Bill, which resulted in a compromise, and on the Lords' Abjuration Bill, the full text of which is now published for the first time. The divisions, which are recorded, as usual, in the MS. Minute-book—an invaluable but hitherto neglected source of information—indicate the close balance of parties in the Lords. With regard to the next party contest, occasioned by the changes recently made by the Tories in the Lieutenancy and Militia of London, the papers and proceedings of the Committee of the Whole House, including a scrutiny of panels in connexion with the charges of jury-packing, throw some instructive light on the inquiry, obtained with difficulty by the Whigs, but cut short by the Prorogation, into the abuses of the Court party in the previous reign. The debates on the *Quo Warranto* Bill, which the Whigs vainly endeavoured to delay, brought out a conflict of opinion among the Judges on the question whether a Corporation by prescription could forfeit its being. Another, but abortive, bill promoted by the Tories, for enforcing the penalty of 500*l.* in the Test Act, was aimed, as the text explains, against the Papists, and had reference, like the bill for vesting in William and Mary the hereditary revenues of the Crown, to the expenses of the French War and the reduction of Ireland. The Regency Bill occasioned by William's intended departure for Ireland, passed,

it appears, after a unanimous expression of opinion from the ten Judges consulted that the King could only delegate his authority by Statute, but with the addition of a proviso by the Commons, which was condemned by Pollexfen, in opposition to Holt and Atkyns, as contradictory to the rest of the bill.

The proceedings of the Session which began on 2 October 1690, about a month after William's return from Ireland, present few features of importance. A petition of the Earls of Salisbury and Peterborough, to be released from their two years' imprisonment in the Tower, deserves notice, as having ultimately led to the Resolution declaring that impeachments were discharged by a dissolution or prorogation, the effect of which was to reverse a previous vote, obtained by a majority of eight, admitting the Earls to bail, but refusing to set them at liberty. The papers laid before the Committee, on whose report this Resolution was made, are important, as showing the materials on which this constitutional question was decided. In the case of Lord Torrington, who had been committed to the Tower, by Order in Council, in consequence of the disaster of Beachy Head, and afterwards, on the House disallowing his privilege of peerage, removed to the Marshalsea by warrant of the Commissioners appointed to act as Admiral in his place, the Judges were unanimous in affirming the legality of the warrant; but the Act conferring statutory powers on the Commissioners, in view of his trial, was held by nearly all of them to be unnecessary. The text will be found of a more important, but abortive, measure of the commons—the Irish Attainder Bill—which arose out of the necessities of supply, but which was wrecked in the Lords by the number of exemptions introduced in Committee, the Lords, unlike the Commons, allowing each petitioner a hearing by one counsel. A bill purporting to prevent the hindrance of business by the numerous and often frivolous election petitions, and transferring their consideration from a Committee to the House, was negatived on the day (5 January, 1690–1) when Parliament adjourned.

The next Session, during which this portion of the Calendar concludes, began on 22 October 1691, three days after William's return from the Netherlands, and a month after the pacification of Ireland by the surrender of Limerick. The Act for abrogating the Oath of Supremacy in Ireland, the effect of which was to exclude all Papists there from places of public trust and the practice of law and medicine, led, as is known, to a contest between the two Houses, the Lords insisting on a proviso exempting those whose rights had been guaranteed by the terms of Ginckel's capitulation. This obvious act of justice was due, it appears, to the initiative of Lord Nottingham, who spoke probably on behalf, if not at the suggestion, of William himself. To the Lords also belongs the credit of attempting to grapple with the abuses of place and office, the peculations connected with the services, and the scandals attaching to the administration

of the public funds. The Calendar contains no more instructive documents than the Report of the Accounts Commissioners appointed by the Act of the previous January, and the Commissioners' Answers to the various questions addressed to them in the course of the inquiry that followed its production. This Report, which Lord Macaulay regretfully supposed to have been lost, but a copy of which appears to exist among the Harleian MSS., is here printed at length, and tells its own eloquent tale.

The restrictions imposed on trade and commerce with France, during the continuance of the war, are shown by a variety of papers of interest. One is a bill designed to prevent the evasions of the Act of 1688 by the practice of importing French goods, by way of merchandise, under colour of sham prizes, and to encourage privateering on the part of British merchants; and of two other Bills, which passed into law, one deals with the exportation of arms and munitions of war, and the going to and returning from France without leave, and the other, containing some restrictions on the sale of wine by retail, which were opposed by the Vintners, imposed heavy penalties on the non-destruction of French imports. A result of these restrictions appears in an Act for encouraging the distilling of spirits from corn in lieu of the prohibited French brandies, which was opposed by the Distillers' Company and by the sugar merchants and refiners, as well as in a private Act for encouraging the manufacture of white paper, in regard to which some interesting information will be found, indicating, among other things, as is the case also with the Act for confirming the privileges of the Hudson's Bay Company, the growing jealousy of the monopolies enjoyed by patentees and joint-stock companies. A bill promoted by the Pinmakers' Company, but laid aside in the Commons, supplies some details with respect to a minor branch of industry, once protected by statute, which is stated to have much decayed of late in consequence of foreign competition. Some evidence in support of a bill for exempting from destruction two cargoes of French salt captured during the war illustrates the difficulty of victualling the fleet. The paralysing effects of the press-gangs upon the coal-trade, and the want, notwithstanding this compulsory recruiting of seamen for the Navy, are shown by two bills for regulating the measures and prices of coals —the result of an inquiry instituted by the Lords —and by an unsuccessful attempt to suspend the Navigation Act, in regard to its restrictions on the employment of foreigners. A bill, designed to check the drain of bullion from the kingdom, by raising the standard, while reducing the intrinsic value, of the silver currency, deserves notice as representing an economic heresy of the day, denounced by Locke in connexion with a somewhat later attempt to reform the scandalous condition of the coinage.

The documents relating to law and the reform of legal procedure are full of interesting matter. Among these is a bill

intended to remedy a variety of corruptions and irregularities, and compelling a counsel, if he neglects to appear for his client, to return his fee, under a penalty of 100*l*. Two bills, which also failed to pass, purported to restrain the jurisdiction alleged to have been usurped by the Court of Chancery to the detriment of the Courts of Common Law. An attempt to anticipate the reform enacted in 1697, by abolishing the scandals of Whitefriars and other privileged places, appears in a measure introduced in 1690 for preventing the collusive escapes of debtors, and the vexatious process for the recovery of small debts forms the subject of complaint in three other abortive bills. A measure dealing with clandestine marriages was lost before leaving the Commons, and a later one failed to pass the Lords, after being largely amended in a Committee, of which Bishop Burnet was chairman. The question assumed additional importance from the abduction and forcible marriage of a young heiress, an offence for which one of the accomplices was hanged at Tyburn, and relief against which was given by a private Act. In connexion with the long-vexed question of the trial of peers and the procedure in cases of treason, the proceedings on two bills explain a further stage in the dispute first adjusted by the Act of 1695.

The private bills, for the most part, have only a local or personal interest. Two of them, however, for the relief of the City orphans whose property had been lost by the closing of the Exchequer, show the ineffectual efforts of the Lords to redress a grievance which had become a public scandal.

A variety of papers throw light on the abuses connected with the grant of Protections, which led to restrictive regulations by the House, and on the multiform grievances complained of as breaches of privilege, a class of cases including an assault on a peer at the play-house by a sentry of the guard, which occasioned an order from the King, at the request of the House, forbidding soldiers to be on duty there in future, and suspending the players from acting till they had begged pardon for the affront.

There are a host of miscellaneous items too numerous to mention, and many of them more curious than important. Enough, however, has probably been said to show the varied character of the collection now calendared, and the main points on which it illustrates and supplements the Parliamentary history of the time.

The Duke of Portland.—The first Appendix to the present Report contains a calendar of one section of the large and valuable collection of manuscripts belonging to the Duke of Portland. It deals with twenty-two volumes of papers of the seventeenth century, which were found by Mr. Maxwell Lyte in a cupboard in the library at Welbeck Abbey, and were at once recognised by him to be the Collections of Dr. John Nalson and Dr. Philip Williams, from which he had seen extracts in Peck's

Desiderata Curiosa and elsewhere. A twenty-third volume contains a list of the different papers in the others. While this Calendar has been in course of preparation, the original documents have been repaired and rebound, but in the same order as before. The manner in which this collection was formed by Nalson, together with many interesting particulars about it, is fully set forth by Mr. Blackburne Daniell in his Introduction to the Calendar of the papers. It will be sufficient in this Report for Your Commissioners to indicate the historical value of the papers thus brought together.

The interest of the Calendar is much diminished by the circumstance that many of the more important documents have already been printed. For instance, of the eight original letters of Cromwell, those announcing the taking of Bristol, Winchester, and Pembroke, the victory of Dunbar, and the surrender of Edinburgh Castle, and that about Colonel Lilburne, have been printed; while the other two, concerning Major Gill and the commissions granted to Fleetwood and Whalley, are unimportant. The intercession of the Dutch Ambassadors for Charles I. has also been printed. Still, from the originals it has occasionally been possible to correct mistakes in the printed copies, and sometimes a change worth noting has been made from the first draft. For instance, in Cromwell's letter about Bristol, " who have *wrestled with* God for a blessing " is a correction for " *waited on* God," which the scribe originally wrote. Many of interest, however, remain, and the letters give a lively impression of the state of different parts of the country during the varying phases of the war.

From December 1640 to the following summer, are numerous papers that passed between the English and Scotch Commissioners, most of which have already been printed. One in June refers to the alleged plots of Montrose and Traquair. The Royalist victories in the summer of 1643 obliged the Parliament to apply to Scotland for aid, and a copy of the address of the English Commissioners to the Convention of Estates will be found in the Calendar. The Commissioners, in October, describe their arrangements for garrisoning Berwick, and the state of affairs in Scotland. In January and February 1644 are notices of the entry into England of the Scotch army, but before they were six months in England begins the series of complaints that lasted for the next two years and a half. The Scotch complained with justice that they did not receive the pay and supplies that had been promised them. A specimen of their complaints will be found in Lord Leven's letter of July 8, 1645 —" We are called to march, march, that a plentiful country is " before us, where nothing will be wanting, but we find " nothing by the way but solitude—pleasant places indeed for grass and trees, but no other refreshment." On the other hand, the Scotch, deprived of their stipulated allowances, took the law into their own hands. All through the autumn and winter,

and till midsummer 1646, occur numerous documents complaining of the oppressive assessments they levied, and the plunderings and other outrages they committed in Yorkshire and elsewhere.

The strained relations between the army and the country where it was quartered culminated with the resolution of the Committee of the Northern Association of 4 June, 1646, that it be recommended to Sir Thomas Fairfax to go down into the northern parts with such forces as shall be thought fit for the preservation thereof. In January 1651, are two interesting letters from General Lambert from Edinburgh, describing affairs in Scotland. In the following August are several documents about the Scotch invasion and the attempted rising in Lancashire under Lord Derby (followed in October by the holograph petition of the latter four days before his execution) and two characteristic replies to the summonses addressed to Dundee and St. Andrews by General Monck. Throughout the early part of 1652, numerous documents, mostly formal, concerning the intended union with England, occur, being the commissions to the deputies for the several counties and boroughs, and their assents to (and in a few instances their dissents from) the union, sometimes with statements of their desires.

With the outbreak of the Irish Rebellion in October 1641 begins a series of notices of Ireland. The earlier ones are mostly given in Nalson's printed work. The Mayor of Pembroke writes on 17 February, 1641–2, that hundreds of poor English have landed, and he is apprehensive that the rebels may attack the town. On the next page are letters from Chester showing the bad condition of the reinforcements for Ireland. On 23 April, the Lords Justices and Council write dissuading the King from coming, on account of the want of fit accommodation for him, and describing how wide-spread the Rebellion is, and how weak the army, and "the high and inexpressible extremities" to which the soldiers are reduced for want of pay and supplies. A year later, comes a long account of the miserable condition of the Protestants and English there, who were "as it were breathing out their last breath." Another letter, the following August, describing the arrest of Sir W. Parsons, Sir Adam Loftus, and others, tells the same tale—"All things "here is very ill in the highest degree, no expectation but ruin, "and that all English and Protestants will be quite rooted out of this Kingdom." The conclusion of the cessation brought no relief to the Protestants, who apprehended they were in more danger than at the beginning of the Rebellion. The Scotch army in Ulster was, if possible, in worse plight, and three regiments had actually returned to Scotland in March 1644, but the remainder were induced to stay at the earnest desire of the Scotch Privy Council. Their condition the next spring was even more deplorable, reduced, as they sometimes were, to live on a pound of unground oats per man a day. The second

cessation concluded between Ormonde and the Irish through Digby's influence in 1646 brought no relief to the English Protestants, and Lord Broghill about the same time urged the necessity of reinforcing the Parliament's forces in Munster with at least 5,000 foot and 1,500 horse, and of sending over money victuals, and ammunition.

To secure, if possible, the co-operation of the Confederate Catholic forces, Lord Clanricarde entered into an engagement on 19 November, 1646, undertaking that all laws restraining the exercise of their religion should be revoked, that they should be left in *interim* possession of the churches and other ecclesiastical possessions they held, that a Catholic Lieutenant-General should be appointed, and that a number of the Confederate Catholic army should be admitted into each of the garrisons held for the King. A month later, the Commissioners of the Parliament in a long report describe the condition of Ireland, stating the portions held by the different parties, and the forces at the command of each, with suggestions for holding the places still in the Parliament's power, and for reducing the rest of the country. In March 1647, Mr. Baron reported to the Assembly at Kilkenny the result of his negotiations in France with Cardinal Mazarin and the Queen of England. This paper, which is a transcript by Nalson, probably from an original now in the Carte Collection, is unfortunately illegible in several places. The Queen, it appears, was at first inclined to comply with the requests of the Supreme Council, but was afterwards diverted by Protestant influence. On the departure of Lord Lisle, the Lord Lieutenant appointed by the Parliament, in April 1647, a dispute about the command of the army in Munster arose between Lord Inchiquin, and Colonel Sidney and Sir Hardress Waller, of which Inchiquin and Sir Adam Loftus and Sir John Temple give their versions. In June, Sir Charles Coote and Lord Inchiquin give long accounts of raids into Connaught and Waterford respectively. The Parliamentary Commissioners in Dublin, in July, describe a high mutiny of part of their troops, in which some were killed and several hurt on both sides.

Several letters in August, from Major-General Sterling, declare the intention of his army to stand for Presbyterial Government against the Independents in England. Lord Inchiquin, in January 1648, describes the wretched condition of his army—"It will be difficult for me to resolve whether the "want of food or clothing be likely to prove most destructive to "us . . our men die daily of their mere want." This was followed by his declaring against the Parliament in April, and the Scotch in June promised to support him, and to conclude no peace without including him. In July, he invited Colonel Jones to join with him, who at first, with the privity of the Parliament, negotiated with him in order to sound his designs, and if possible recall him to his obedience to the Parliament. Jones, in August,

describes his operations in Meath and his intention to fall into the enemy's quarters to destroy their corn as far as possible, which up to October he was not able to do thoroughly. The only traces of Cromwell in Ireland are the Articles for the Surrender of Kilkenny already printed, but there are letters to him in June 1650, concerning Lord Broghill's operations in Kerry. A letter from Lord Broghill himself, also dated in that month, records that one of Lord Inchiquin's ships had been taken by some resolute troopers, who swam after her with their swords in their mouths and hands. A long Remonstrance by Lord Ormonde to the Popish clergy at Jamestown in August charges them with being a main cause of the ruin of the nation, by not using their influence with the people to obey his orders, their disobedience arising indeed from the forgeries invented, the calumnies spread against the Government, and the incitements of the people to rebellion by very many of the clergy. A year later, in January 1652, the Parliament still found it necessary to keep above 350 garrisons in Ireland, and their Commissioners declare that about 100 more would be required, while in Ireland itself or under orders for it were above 30,000 men. The enemy, on the other hand, had nearly as many, and had great advantages from knowing the ways through the bogs, and having constant intelligence of the motions of the Parliament's forces, who seldom or never had intelligence of theirs from the natives, who were possessed with an opinion that the Parliament intended them no terms of mercy.

Among the letters illustrative of the Civil Wars in England we find none from the Earl of Essex of any consequence, except that of 28 June, 1643, to Lenthall, desiring that the army may be paid and some one placed at the head of it in whom they may put confidence. Three from Sir William Waller, in November 1643, describe his repulse from Basing House, and the mutinous spirit of his army, their utter want of necessaries (which is corroborated by a letter on the same page from Mr. Cawley) and a skirmish in Farnham Park. There are several letters from the Commissioners with the Army. At the beginning of the campaign of 1644, they describe a muster, noticing particularly the prevalence of disease among the horses. Just before the second battle of Newbury, they desire supplies for the army. After the taking of Bridgwater, they are much embarrassed "in labouring both to satisfy the expectation of the "soldier and continue the townsman in his propriety." Six weeks later, they send a narrative of the taking of Bristol, where they find the disposal of the captured property still more troublesome, there being conflicting claims on it, and as to some on the part of the Admiralty and the East India Company. They also have difficulty in providing the gratuity promised the army, in lieu of plunder, though "the general had neglected no "expedient to sweeten the soldier with money," and for the supply of the garrison, and complain, that "for want of able

" ministers, *Directories* and orders for the use of the same, the " people here sit in darkness, and the collegiate men still chant " out the Common Prayer Book to the wonted height." A letter of Fairfax of 6 July, 1645, is mostly about the Clubmen.

All through the Calendar from the summer of 1642 to the spring of 1646, there are a great number of letters from Sir William Brereton and others, describing the state of affairs, and the operations in Cheshire and the adjacent counties. Of these the most remarkable are those just before the outbreak of the war, showing how the rival parties endeavoured to raise forces; that of 21 October, 1643, describing the occupation of Wem, the siege of Nantwich and their relief of it, the enemy's attack on Wem and their relief of it, and their final defeat of the Royalists at Lee-Bridge; those of November 11 and 15, describing the forcing of the passage of the Dee, and the taking of Wrexham and Hawarden Castle; and others at the end of that month, describing how their hopes of taking Chester had been disconcerted by the landing of forces from Ireland. From the beginning of October 1645 onwards, till the following February, are numerous accounts of the siege of Chester, including one of the rout of a relieving force at Denbigh, and of a sally of the besieged. The last castle to surrender in North Wales was Holt, which held out till January 1647.

There are a good many papers about South Wales and the neighbouring counties in 1645 and 1646. The first from Captain Batten, in August, describes the defeat of the Royalists in Pembrokeshire, and the taking of Haverford Castle by his seamen, and there is a whole series from General Langhorne describing his operations. Colonel Morgan announces the taking of Chepstow and Hereford, in which subsequent documents show that he was assisted by the treachery of some of the officers of the garrison. There are also several documents relating to the Royalist rising at Cardiff in February 1646, and its suppression.

From Devonshire, at the end of 1642 and beginning of 1643, are letters concerning the first invasion of that county by the Royalists, the forcing of a passage into Cornwall by the Parliamentarians and their subsequent repulse, the invasion of Devon by the Royalists and their repulse at Modbury, and several concerning the proposed treaty, with copies of the documents that passed between the Commissioners of Cornwall and Devon, and its final rupture. From time to time come letters from the besieged garrison of Plymouth, ending with the raising of the siege in January 1646.

In 1642 and 1643, there are several letters from Hull, the earliest from the Committee there about the Magazine and preparations for defence, and later on, from Sir John Hotham to the Parliament. Sir Christopher Wray and Captain Hotham, in November, describe their movements in North Yorkshire, and enclose intercepted letters from Sir M. Langdale and others;

and Sir Hugh Cholmeley, in January, narrates his skirmish with Colonel Slingsby at Guisborough. All through the winter and spring, there is a long series of curious letters from Captain Hotham to the Earl of Newcastle, beginning with one dated December 27. In August 1645, are several letters describing the mutinous condition of the Yorkshire troops, and the writers' apprehensions of the consequences if the King should penetrate into the county.

There are a very large number of examinations, depositions, informations, and the like throughout the Calendar. Of these the most remarkable are the examinations of Pollard, Ashburnham, Wilmot, and Goring, in June 1641, concerning the Army Plot, the examinations of Michael Hudson and others in June 1646, and the examinations of Thomas Coke in April 1651. The second group relates to the King's journey to the Scots, the negotiations between him and them through the French Agent, the objects of Hudson's intended journey to France, &c. The third group, reported on 28 May, 1651, contains a full disclosure of the Royalist plots in England. The Council of State reports, "Many have been apprehended, of whom he hath informed, and "many more yet to be apprehended. His general scheme of "the transactions of the King of Scots hath much confirmed "what we had before, and our intelligence hath confirmed what "he hath said to be truth. We also know how to put together "many things, which before were but hinted and brokenly "suggested."

Of miscellaneous letters and papers, the first that deserves notice is a copy of a letter in Spanish from the Earl of Strafford to some Spaniard of high rank, dated 18 July, 1640, concerning the proposed loan of 400,000 crowns in exchange for Irish levies. From the endorsement this letter apparently came into Pym's hands. A letter in French, of May 6–16, 1641, gives a foreigner's view of affairs just before Strafford's execution, and describes the marriage of the Princess Royal.

The Hampshire Committee on 12 August, 1642, describe the progress of the siege of Portsmouth, and send news of its surrender on 7 September, while Captain Swanley on 28 August, narrates the securing of the Isle of Wight and the neighbouring castles for the Parliament. On the other hand, the members for Oxford City early in September describe the intended fortifications, the first occupation of the city by the Cavaliers, and what followed; and on 21 November is a detailed account of the seizure of Chichester for the King. Edward Lord Herbert, afterwards Earl of Glamorgan and Marquess of Worcester, on 18 September, desires to be excused coming to London, as he fears affronts of stopping and searching by the way, though his coming is "most "necessary for the accomplishing of that great and beneficial "waterwork in attaining the perfection whereof hath cost me "many thousands, not so much out of covetousness to gain unto "myself as to serve my country." Early in the following year

some one at Oxford sends a sketch of affairs from a Cavalier's point of view to a friend at Cambridge, while "Philo-Brittanicus" (said to be Sir Thomas Peyton by Nalson, who had means of knowing, his wife being a Peyton) describes a slight put on the Lords by the Commons. On 2 March, 1643, the King writes a holograph letter to the Queen, partly in cipher, which has been already printed, but with mistakes now corrected in the Calendar. The cipher is the same as in the other letters between the King and Queen, printed in the *Appendices to the First and Sixth Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission*, pp. 4, 5, and 217. From this cipher Mr. Daniell was able to interpret a few words in the letter of 25 January, undeciphered in the printed copies. Another intercepted letter, from a Royalist agent at Rotterdam, in May, is chiefly concerned with the despatch of arms, &c. to England, and Strickland's proceedings in Holland. It is partly in cipher, which Mr. Daniell has deciphered, except some symbols for proper names. Another long letter, partly in cipher, from a Cavalier at Oxford, dated 5 July, to some one at the siege of Exeter, is written in high spirits at the Royalist successes, and shows that the current belief among the Royalists was that Essex, Manchester, and others had offered to come over with the whole army. The signature has unfortunately perished, the paper being exceedingly worn and frail.

At the end of October and November, are letters about the incursions of the Royalists into Bedfordshire and Northamptonshire, and the occupation of Newport Pagnell, and also three from Sir John Byron to the Governor of Aylesbury, making proposals for its surrender to the King. A long intercepted letter, partly in cipher, from Sir E. Nicholas to Lord Goring, dated 1 November, relates to affairs in Holland, the arrangements for procuring arms and ammunition thence, and the Queen's influence. In December 1644, Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper sends Essex an account of the first relief of Taunton, and expresses his astonishment at its defence, the "works being for the most part but pales "and hedges and no line about the town." On 19 May, 1645, Digby and Prince Rupert order Goring to advance to join the King's army at Harborough. "For God's sake," says Digby, "use "diligence and come as strong as you can. In my conscience it "will be the last blow in the whole business." On 15 June the Prince of Wales writes to Goring about the insolencies and injuries alleged against the officers and soldiers who pretend to be under his command. On July 6, Fairfax writes to Lenthall concerning the raising of the siege of Taunton and the enemy's movements, and a month later Rushworth sends him an account of the siege of Sherborne. All through August, September, and October numerous letters from different parts of the country occur, describing the rapid movements of the King and the troops that pursued him down to his arrival at Newark in October. Two letters from Massie, of August 30 and September 12, desire assistance on account of Goring's apprehended advance, and there

are several from Culpeper to Goring in September and October about affairs in Devon, and suggesting that he should endeavour to break through with the horse to Montrose or the King. These schemes were soon rendered impracticable by the renewed advance of Fairfax, who took Tiverton on 19 October, and on 6 January, 1646, Culpeper writes a long letter to Ashburnham apprehending that they will be forced into Cornwall. The Royalist army had become thoroughly disorganised, Culpeper observing that the horse would be very good if they would fight more and plunder less. Three remarkable letters of Robert Wright, the Parliament agent in Paris, describe the negotiations in Paris between the Royalists and the Scots carried on by the Queen and William Murray, and the plans for sending a foreign army to the West under Goring and Sir William Davenant. All these schemes failed, and the King was reduced to fly to the Scots, at whose instance he ordered Lord Bellasis to surrender Newark.

In the summer and autumn of 1648, there are a great many letters relating to the Royalist risings in different parts of the country. There are several about the rising under Langdale, the rising near Stamford, the insurrections in Kent, and especially about the siege of Colchester, of which the most remarkable is one to Lenthall, unsigned, but probably from a secretary of Fairfax, describing the beginning of the siege. The rout of the Duke of Buckingham's party at St. Neots is described in a despatch from Colonel Scrope. There are also several documents relating to the revolt of the fleet, including a long narrative by Peter Pett of what took place at Chatham.

After 1648, down to the expulsion of the Parliament in April 1653, the character of the documents changes, there being fewer relating to domestic matters, and many more concerning foreign affairs. There is a very interesting series of letters from Blake and some of his officers, relating to his operations against Prince Rupert's fleet on the coasts of Portugal and Spain, the earliest being a letter to the King of Portugal, 10 March, 1650. The most important are two from Blake and Popham and from Blake himself of August 15, and October 14, describing skirmishes with Prince Rupert's ships, and the capture of the Brazil fleet, and from Captain Saltonstall, of November 22, describing the destruction of most of the enemy's ships near Cartagena. Between March and June 1651 are numerous papers, being the copies of those that passed between the States-General and the English Ambassadors, presented to Parliament on July 2. Most of them are printed in Thurloe. There are also other papers and letters describing their reception and other matters. The United Provinces sent ambassadors in their turn, from whom papers occur in December, and the first six months of 1652. Even before the outbreak of the war an engagement with Van Tromp occurred, caused by the refusal of the Dutch to strike their flag. In April and May 1652 are several papers from

M. de Barriere, the agent sent by the Prince de Condé to solicit aid from the Parliament, and there are, in 1652, three letters from the Prince himself, one a holograph, still retaining fragments of the silk with which they were tied.

After April 1653, till the restoration of the Long Parliament in May 1659, the papers become very much scarcer, the Calendar for these six years filling only about nine pages, the reason being, that comparatively few documents were now addressed to Lenthall or the Parliament, the sittings of which were no longer continuous as they had been since November 1640. There are reports of a few speeches of the Protector, supplying some corrections in those printed in Carlyle, some verses on Cromwell's accident while driving, a long paper from a Royalist agent to the King of Spain, giving reasons why he should declare in favour of Charles II., and an interesting letter from that ill-used enthusiast James Naylor. With the restoration of the Parliament letters again become numerous, and in particular in December and January there is a great number from different parts of the country, describing the joy caused by their second restoration. There are several letters of Monck, but all have been printed except one of January 16, 1660, describing the arrangements he was making at York, and his dismissal of the officers disaffected to the Parliament.

The contents of the second volume of the Calendar of the manuscripts at Welbeck, which has been prepared by Mr. Richard Ward, are of a very miscellaneous character, comprising ancient charters, royal letters, and letters and papers chiefly of the Vere, Penn, Holles, Cavendish, and Harley families in the seventeenth century. Among the royal letters are several of Elizabeth before and after she became Queen, of Queen Mary, of Mary Queen of Scots, and of Catherine de Medici, of Henry IV. of France, and of James VI. of Scotland.

The series of letters from King Charles II. to various persons whose names are written in cypher, the key to which has not been discovered, were found folded and packed together in a little leather box. By their appearance it would seem that they had been sent over for delivery but had never been used.

There is also a letter from Louise Marie, daughter of the Duke de Nevers, who was wife of two successive Kings of Poland, celebrated for her connexion with the Duke of Orleans and his master of the horse, Cinq Mars. It is an answer to an appeal for help from Charles II. Considering the condition of Poland at that period it is not wonderful that she declines to assist him. Among the miscellaneous letters is one of Dr. Covell, afterwards Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, from Constantinople, where he went as chaplain to the embassy, to Peter Dent, a well-known Cambridge apothecary and naturalist. Dent wrote a learned medical work, into which much of the information contained in this letter was afterwards probably incorporated. Covell seems to have been a keen observer and an ardent

botanist, especially with regard to plants useful in medicine. Covell's library was, after his death, bought by the Earl of Oxford. Beginning in 1677 is a series of letters from Dr. George Hickes, afterwards Dean of Worcester, who acted as chaplain to the Duke of Lauderdale during part of that nobleman's mission to Scotland. They are principally addressed to Dr. Simon Patrick, who afterwards filled the sees of Chichester and Ely, and give a good deal of information as to the feeling in Scotland at that particular period upon Church matters, Lauderdale having been specially sent to Scotland to encourage episcopacy in that country. The adroit way in which the writer used the Doctor's degree offered him by the University of St. Andrew's to obtain a promise of English preferment from his patron shows that he was a man of great tact and skill in advancing himself in his profession.

The final letters in this series consist of a selection made from a large mass of drafts of diplomatic correspondence intended to be sent round, as was the custom of the time, as a kind of circular letter, to the accredited English agents at the various Courts of Northern Europe. They are chiefly formal and full of petty matters, the interest in which has long since disappeared. The account, however, given by William Gregg in a letter dated 28 February, 1702, of the amusements which were popular at that time at the Court of Denmark do not give us a very exalted notion of the taste or refinement prevalent at the Court.

Some of the papers which relate to Sir William Penn have been already printed in the *Memorials of Sir William Penn*, in which case they have been only mentioned in Mr. Ward's Calendar. Many of them, however, were not known to the author of that work, and in that case they have been dealt with rather fully. Attention should be directed to the journal of Captain Penn during his cruise to the southern seas in the years 1650–2. It appears to be in his private log, in which he sets down without comment, and in bluff, sailor-like way, the events as they happened day by day. He seems to have been an excellent seaman, always on the alert, always in movement, and very anxious, as far as lay in his power, and in accordance with the notions of the times, to do his best for his men. The note at the end, that "The Admiral did not set his foot ashore after his departure from Fallmouth untill he arrivead there againe," speaks highly for his standard of duty and his sense of the responsibilities of command.

There are several interesting letters from Oliver Cromwell to Penn. That of 9 July, 1653, which is holograph, contains a touching tribute to General—as he is described—Deane. "I "often thinke of our great losse in your deere General Deane, "my most nere friend. I wish that the honest interest he "carried onn may still be maintained amongst you." In another, of 20 December, 1654, just as they are starting for the West India expedition, Cromwell administers a gentle rebuke

for some dispute which had arisen between Penn and General Venables the commander of the land forces, which is a model of firmness and tact. That Cromwell was determined to have his requests treated as royal commands is exemplified in his letter of 15 January, 1655, in which he expresses his displeasure that his wishes have been disregarded, and insists that a kinsman of Penn's should be displaced, and that his nephew, Whetstone, should "be lieutenant to yourselfe according to your promise to "me, it being my desire that he should continue under your eye "and care." The series ends with the impeachment of Penn by the House of Commons in 1668.

The Cavendish papers begin with an undated, childish letter, from William Cavendish, subsequently Earl, Marquis, and Duke, of Newcastle, written to his father when he was about twelve years of age, giving an account, in excellent French, of his reception at Worksop of Prince Charles, afterwards Charles I., who was on his way from Scotland to join the King, his father, in London. The aunt and uncle there mentioned are the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, at whose house the reception took place, and who seem to have deputed their nephew to do the honours to the little Prince. This Countess of Shrewsbury, from whom there are many letters, though none of them of much interest, was the sister of the Earl of Devonshire and Sir Charles Cavendish, and daughter of the celebrated Bess of Hardwick, whose high spirit, from some of the expressions in her letters, she seems to have inherited.

Amongst other letters we have an interesting series written to Lord Newcastle by Hobbes, the philosopher, partly from abroad, when he was travelling with the young Earl of Devonshire, and partly when in England. Hobbes seems to have been ready for everything, horses, scientific experiments, natural philosophy, and speculations of all kinds, subjects which the Earl, as he then was, would appear to have entered into with as much zest as the writer. There is also a letter from the Earl of Newcastle to Sir Anthony Vandyke and one from the poet Suckling, both of them full of the flowery compliments and extravagant expressions which were typical of the period in which they were written.

Newcastle was an ardent royalist, but after the battle of Marston Moor he went abroad, and remained there till the Restoration. We have a touching letter, written by him from Hamburg in 1645 to the Prince of Wales, in which he recounts his sufferings, and congratulates the Prince on attaining to man's estate. His first wife died in 1643, and at the end of 1645 he married Margaret, daughter of Lord Lucas, who was in attendance upon Queen Henrietta Maria in her exile. The Queen does not appear to have been favourable to their union, and it was only after some difficulty that they were enabled to carry out their intentions. Walpole's *Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors* contains an account of both the Duke and Duchess, who appear to have given themselves up entirely in later life to literary pursuits,

and to have indulged in somewhat strange flights of fancy, both in verse and in prose.

His son by his first marriage, Lord Mansfield, seems to have returned to England as soon as matters settled down, and to have made his peace with Cromwell's government. He must have succeeded in keeping the property together, as his family never appear to be suffering from poverty. Several letters remain, which passed between the father and son shortly before the Restoration under the pseudonyms of Deane and Bishop. These letters show that though they were anxious about their property, yet it was still in their possession, and that the annual value was to be reckoned by thousands.

The second and last Duke of Newcastle of the Cavendish line died on 26 July, 1691. There seems to have been much uncertainty and great intriguing as to which of his daughters was to be made his heir. The Duchess, his wife, writes to her daughter, the Countess of Thanet, in July 1691, "Your "father has been formerly very unreasonable, that's no news to "you," and again, "I hear nothing but common fame, and that makes him very unjust." After his death it was found that he had left the bulk of his estates to his daughter, the Countess of Clare, and in the year 1692 the Dukedom of Newcastle was conferred upon her husband, John, Earl of Clare.

In the year 1704 begins a correspondence between John, Duke of Newcastle and Robert Harley. In a letter from the Duke to Harley there is an interesting passage written evidently with reference to the English title to be conferred upon the Elector of Hanover. He says, "I return you a million thanks for pre- "venting any dispute about the title of Clarence, and I should "be glad to see the paper of reasons why the Dukedom of "Cambridge is not as good. My grandfather opposed General "Monk having that title, at the Restoration, though he might "at the same time have been made a marquess by another title, "and I had once an occasion myself to desire the Crown not to "dispose of that title out of the family whilst I lived." It should be remembered that he was Earl of Clare before he was Duke of Newcastle, and his remarks offer a strong presumption that, at all events, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries it was considered that the titles of Clare and Clarence had the same origin, and that the former was not confined exclusively to the royal family. Other letters pass between the Duke and Harley at the time of the disgrace of the Marlboroughs and the fall of the Godolphin ministry. Harley writes partly in cipher, the key to which has, however, been supplied in one of the letters. The Duke was then Lord Privy Seal, and the only man of importance in the old ministry who preserved his office. He was killed by a fall from his horse in July 1711. A claim seems to have been made to his estates by a member of the Pelham family, under a will other than that which gave the property to his daughter, Lady Harriet. We have, however, nothing more than

passing references to the subject, and the claim, if pressed, was certainly not successful.

Of Nathaniel Harley's letters from Aleppo there is not much to say. They are a record of a life such as many scores of men who devoted themselves to commerce must have spent in those days, cut off from home and receiving no letters from their relations for years at a time. In one letter he gives us an insight into the postal arrangements of the day. "I see you wonder why so many of "your letters should miscarry. I suppose the gentlemen you "gave them to are ashamed to ask you for the postage, and yet "do not care to pay it themselves. For my part I cannot tell the "reason why any postman cannot forward a letter at the post-"house as well as the best merchant on the Exchange." He writes at another time, "Pray, sir, inform your clark who "superscribes your letters that no merchants are wrote esquires, "but fools, coxcombs, and cuckolds."

Some entertaining sketches of travel, chiefly in the Eastern and Midland Counties, by Thomas Baskerville, who lived in the time of Charles II., conclude the second volume of this Calendar.

The Marquess of Salisbury.—The fourth part of the Calendar of the manuscripts at Hatfield House extends from the beginning of the year 1590 to September 1594. The paramount influence during these years of Lord Burghley and Sir Robert Cecil is strongly evident in the pages of this Calendar, that of the father throughout this volume, that of the son in the portion which belongs to the second half of the period. One indication among others of their position in the kingdom is in the number of letters and petitions addressed to them. They appear, indeed, mainly in the character of receivers of communications; comparatively seldom as the writers. Many documents, however, bear the pertinent annotations of the Queen's aged and experienced minister, whose failing health a colleague in state affairs, Sir John Fortescue, feelingly bewails, because he is a counsellor whose like "never would be seen again, and certainly never had been in England before." Allusions to the decay of Lord Burghley's physical powers are numerous. Very early in the volume a rumour of the recovery of his health, which his correspondent rejoices over, is stamped by Lord Burghley himself as *relatio falsa*. A couple of years later the father, at the end of instructions to the son, writes, "if I may not have "leisure to cure my head I shall shortly ease it in my grave," but he was ready nevertheless to give personal attention to the business of state if Her Majesty misliked his absence. The last picture of the aged minister outlined in this volume is from the hand of his secretary, and is not without pathetic interest. "Truly, methinks, he is nothing sprighted, but lying upon his "couch he museth or slumbereth. And being a little before "supper at the fire, I offered him some letters and other papers

" and he was soon weary of them, and told me he was unfit to " hear suits." Sir Robert Cecil's name is not prominent until the decline of the year 1592. He had, it is true, been sworn of the Privy Council a twelvemonth before; but it is in connexion with the business of the valuable prize carrack that evidence of his active interference in matters of state begins to accumulate, and it is at this point and in the same connexion that he makes one of his few appearances as the writer of a letter. He writes from Dartmouth to Queen Elizabeth to tell her of his " blessed " state as " a vassal to the Creator's celestial creature," pleased out of angelic grace to pardon and allow his zealous and careful desires. " My services are attended with envy," he writes, " I must be offensive to the multitude and to others that " may be revengeful, who also have many and great friends. I " can please none, because I thirst only to please one, and " malice is no less wakeful in itself than fearful to others, were " not my trust in her divine justice which never suffereth her " creatures to complain." Sacred are " those lines," whose nature does not appear, but whose author was doubtless the Queen herself, and which, anyhow, gave him comfort such as could best be expressed in silence, lines " written anew in his " heart, adjoined to the rest of his admiring thoughts, which " always travailing from wonder to wonder, spend themselves " in contemplation, being absent and present in reading secretly " the story of marvel in that more than human perfection." The inference is that the style of address of the young courtier was approved of by his father, for it is the latter's careful endorsement of a draft of the letter which makes it possible to identify the writer and to fix the date. The incidents of his visit to Dartmouth are to be obtained with greater particularity from the Calendar of State Papers of the time than from this collection.

From this point onward Sir Robert Cecil's name becomes of more frequent occurrence and presently the most frequent of any. One indication of his growing influence is the number of presents he receives and the number of hinted or open offers made to him of reward in the event of the successful exertion of his interest on behalf of the seekers of grant or office or judgment. Whether or not approaches of this nature were acceptable is a matter of doubtful inference only so far as these papers throw light on the question, but on two occasions the fact of such means having been used is indignantly denied. The first denial comes from Sir John Perrot, and is found in his will, written in the Tower, " upon which he received the Sacrament in the presence of Sir " Michael Blunt and shortly after he died." Obviously the time and manner of this testimony could not possibly be more solemn. The second is given two years later, in a letter to Cecil himself, by Sir Thomas Sherley, who characterises a statement of the kind as a most vile and monstrous lie and a dangerous slander, and withal absurd, because " the personages were too honourable to

" use any such means." Sir Robert Cecil, however, undoubtedly liked a good bargain and his position was not unprofitable to himself. The Queen valued him, and one of the causes of her resentment against Sir Henry Unton was his bitter speech against her young minister.

The Earl of Essex is among those whose names appear again and again in the following pages, not seldom as the writer of a letter, more often as a receiver. During the period of his expedition to France, towards the end of 1591, his name recurs constantly and his correspondents are numerous. Included among them are the Queen herself, Lord Burghley, the King of France, Marshal de Biron, the French Ambassador, Sir Henry Unton, and not a few others, some of whom express warm attachment. The account of this expedition to be derived from this Calendar is very fragmentary, but many facts connected with it are to be gathered, such as the Queen's disapproval of his proceedings, the manner of his brother's death before Rouen, and the disorderly state into which the soldiery under his command fell during the time he forsook them to make his hurried journey to the Queen's presence. Sir Thomas Leighton, left in charge in his absence, was thoroughly weary of his position, and wrote that the disorders were so great that he, for his part, hoped for no redress until Lord Essex should re-appear, and attributed them to the want of pay and supplies. Marshal de Biron tells Essex of extraordinary complaints of the conduct of the English soldiers being brought to him, of burnings accompanying their passage everywhere, and sack of gentlemen's houses, and even of churches. "Il n'y a que la trop " grande cessation qui est cause du mal . . . les gens de " guerre ne sont jamais plus gens de bien que quant ils sont le " plus occupes," is the Marshal's sage reflection. Others testify to the great sickness among the troops and their want of victual, and it is clear that great numbers, when Essex departed for England, followed him " without any order or licence or were " run away no one knows whither."

Essex is not nearly so prominent in the latter part of the volume as he is in the earlier. One might almost infer from the aspect of these pages that just as Sir Robert Cecil's star was rising, Essex's favour with the Queen declined. Yet for a while he is evidently in close communication with the Queen, being the medium by which her wishes are conveyed to Cecil himself. But there comes a time when he separates himself from the action of the Queen and Council, forbearing out of modesty indeed to censure, but venturing to express his satisfaction nevertheless at his absence from the meeting of the Council which had arrived at a decision with which he disagreed. Several of his letters are addressed to Robert Cecil, whose " offers " of kindness and professions of affection " he affects to have willingly embraced and promises justly to requite. A letter to the last-named, singing the praises of Francis Bacon and

urging him to press upon the Queen the young lawyer's transcendent claims to the vacant office of solicitor is endorsed 5 May 1594. Now it is that as to Essex himself, with regard to his royal mistress, all presumption and hope had died within him, though duty and passionate zeal for her service, he affirms, could never die. Of the enthusiasm engendered by Essex's leadership, a sentence in a letter from Sir H. Palavicino is evidence. Writing with regard to the projected expedition to Brittany in July 1594, he says, "It is already public that the "Earl of Essex is not going, and thus cools most of the heat "of the enterprise." Another interesting letter is that addressed to him by his "son," R. Brackenbury.

To a considerable extent, though not to the extent which marked the last volume, the fourth part of the Calendar presents materials for the history of Scotland and Scotch personages. These materials are chiefly, though not entirely, to be found in the correspondence addressed by various persons to Archibald Douglas, whose position in England, though he appears to have discharged some of the functions of a Scotch Resident Ambassador, it is somewhat difficult on the evidence which these papers afford to determine. It is certain that in the year 1591 he was not formally accredited to the Queen, yet in the previous year he is found to have made a complaint "by his King's direction" and to have obtained redress, while there are numerous instances of a desire to secure the aid of his influence. In 1592 also a friend describes him as "remaining in England to the great "honour of His Majesty and his country, in whose absence little "or nothing would be accounted of the nation,' and he is contrasted, much to their disadvantage, with "these counterfeit "ambassadors that has been from time to time at Her Majesty," among whom, it is to be supposed, it must be intended to include the Lord Justice Clerk, Douglas's trustiest friend, who was sent on a mission to England in the spring of 1590. With King James, Douglas was in great disfavour, and in the Chancellor of Scotland he had a persistent and powerful enemy. His relations with the Queen and her ministers in England, however, were intimate, cordial, and, one may say, useful. In July 1593 the Queen sends him 100*l.* "for his present relief," and another 100*l.* the month after. On this occasion he was the intermediary of communications from a party among the Scotch nobility, as in 1590 he had been the intermediary through his nephew, Richard Douglas, of the proposals of the Earl of Bothwell. Factious lawlessness, "unrestlessness," fickleness, "not inconstant in inconstancy," envy, hatred, malice, and uncharitableness, not making pause at murder; these seem to be the characteristics which mark this period in Scotch history, but the materials here are necessarily imperfect. A portrait of the King—"a virtuous and good prince otherways"—drawn by Douglas's nephew, his faithful correspondent and ally at the Scotch court, is interesting. Discussing a suggestion of

his uncle's, he says, " I confess and must acknowledge that " that were both the safest and most sure way if we had to do " with a prince that either would freely hear reason, or, when " it were heard, judge of it according to the truth or appearance " thereof; but such is the unhap of us and our time that we " have to do with one who thinks and judges of all matters not " as they are, but according to the opinion of those to whom he " gives himself, as it were, over; *In cujus animo nihil est* " *liberum, non amor non odium, nisi jussa et indita.*"

The papers which relate to Ireland are few in number. Under July, 1592, is a draft in Lord Burghley's hand of the warning addressed by the Queen to the Earl of Tyrone on the subject of the lawless behaviour of his son-in-law, Hugh Roo O'Donnell, and his son called " Con," requiring him to reduce the former to dutiful behaviour and himself to cause the latter to be taken and delivered up if by any escape justice should not be satisfied. Two portraits of a very opposite character, though it would seem of one and the same person, possess a somewhat romantic interest. A friend of Mr. Waad, the Clerk of the Council, one " that doth understand the state of Ireland as well as any man " of his calling," paints the first picture in decidedly dark colours. A certain mystery attached to the birth and parentage of the gentleman whom it was intended to depict, one Bryan Reaughe O'More by name. For a long while he had been held to belong to the clan McLaughlyns, " an inferior nation of the O'Mores," but in due time his mother discovered to her son " before many bad people which are to be his followers, and " some of her own friends," that the McLaughlyns could not claim the honour of his origin, he being the very son of Rory Oge O'More, begotten by the " Shenan,' side, " unto the which father " the said Bryan among his followers and friends sticks unto." He appears to have been the terror of Queen's County and the neighbourhood, and Sir Charles Carroll, meeting him in London, promptly took steps to have him clapped into prison, from which he was about to be released by the intervention of Mr. Pusie Butler, " to whom the Queen hath been very gracious," when this friend of Mr Waad's interfered to prevent, if he could, the catastrophe which, it is plain, he most heartily believed that this release would be. Ineffectual, however, the interference must have been if the person who eighteen months later is called Brian More, and then described under quite another aspect, is the same individual. At any rate there are coincident circumstances. This " Irish Gent " also, innocently coming to London for no other cause than to see the Queen and learn English fashions, was (such was his mishap) on the very first night of his arrival carried to the Compter, an " infectious " lodging, in which he compulsorily remained for seven and twenty long months, until released by Lord Burghley. The " valorous deeds " of this " choice gent " are recounted in heroic fashion by his friend, Mr. John Byrd, and the story of his achievements was

sent to Sir R. Cecil on 17 July, 1594. A few documents on the subject of the trade of pipe staves in Ireland, in which Sir Walter Raleigh was interested, and the copy of a letter on the subject of the succession followed in the case of the lordship of Muskry pretty well exhaust the number of those which have reference to Irish matters.

Among the miscellaneous papers are a number of letters of Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir John Gilbert, Sir Francis Drake, Sir Francis Vere, and other famous fighting men. Commerce finds its representatives in Richard Carmarthen, Thomas Middleton, and Alderman Billingsley. Events of the wars proceeding in France and the Low Countries are detailed in many papers. An account of the battle of Ivry is well worth perusal. The names and movements of recusants, the coming and going of priests and seminarists, the recruiting from among the youth of the country of the English Catholic party on the Continent, the information or offers of information of spies, the examinations of suspected persons, confessions of others, intercepted letters from notorious Catholic emissaries, all such may be classed together in a single reference as bearing upon one leading subject of men's thoughts during the time. As doctrinally at the opposite pole to the Catholic party may be mentioned two letters from the Puritans Greenwood and Barrow, written to Lord Burghley from the Fleet Prison, in November 1599. The replies from the various seaports—Bristol, Southampton, Hull, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and others—to a demand from the Lords of the Council in June 1591 for vessels to join the Queen's ships for the purpose of intercepting the Spanish India fleet, are both instructive and interesting. It was in the following year that the great Portuguese carrack was taken, and numerous papers relate to the proceedings connected with the discovery, protection and disposition of her contents, and the distribution of the ultimate profit which resulted from her capture. Of the events of the time none perhaps is more pathetic, as it appears in the Calendar, than the sudden and mysterious sickness and death of the young Earl of Derby in April 1594, in connexion with which followed the trial and execution of Richard Hesketh. There are several letters from noble ladies in this collection, some already alluded to, and among them two from the stricken young Countess of Derby, one dictated amid the anxiety of her husband's dreadful sickness, when it is little wonder that "her senses were overcome with sorrow."

The Earl of Ancaster.—This collection consists mainly of the correspondence of Lord Willoughby de Eresby, in the time of Elizabeth, when governor of Bergen-op-Zoom, with the Earl of Leicester and others; letters addressed to the Earls of Lindsey, including news letters written by members of the Bertie family; some curious household accounts and inventories. Abstracts of the deeds earliest in date are also given in the account of these papers printed in the Appendix to this Report.

The Earl of Dartmouth.—A very full Calendar of Lord Dartmouth's manuscripts was printed in an Appendix to the Eleventh Report of Your Commissioners. The few papers here described were found subsequently. Among them are Privy Council Minutes made in 1710 and 1711 by the first Earl when Secretary of State; three original letters of Jonathan Wild, the thief-catcher, specimens of whose handwriting which must be almost unique; many important letters of George III. written during his struggle with America; and a few interesting letters relating to dramatic affairs at the beginning of this century, when the third Earl was Lord Chamberlain. Quite recently Lord Dartmouth has discovered a large mass of other papers, many of which also relate to America, which have been sent up to London for examination. A report upon these is being prepared by your Commissioners for publication at a later date.

The Earl of Lonsdale.—I. At Lowther Castle:—In this collection are two manuscript note-books of proceedings in two of the parliaments of Charles I. The first of them extends from 24 April to 12 June 1626, when Charles's second parliament was hastily dissolved, on its determination not to proceed with the question of subsidy until the charges against the Duke of Buckingham, and other grievances, had been properly considered. The greater portion of the notes appear to have been made during the time the debates were going on—the handwriting is therefore somewhat cramped, and the meaning of the entries at times rather vague, but a careful transcript of the whole has been made, which will be found a very important addition to the printed journals of the House of Commons and to the other known sources of our information about parliament at that period. The subjects mainly under discussion during the six or seven weeks that this record was kept were the proceedings of the select committee on the charge against the Duke of Buckingham and the doctors' evidence before that committee touching the alleged poisoning of King James; the terms of the remonstrance to Charles on his imprisonment of two of the members, and of the representation to be made to him of the abuses which had crept into the government. A comparison of one entry under June 1, with an entry of the same date in the printed Commons' Journal shows that "Mr. Lowther" was the compiler of these notes. There were, however, two members of that name then sitting in the house, John, member for Westmorland, who was knighted a few days after the above date, namely, on June 6, and Richard, probably a younger brother of John, who was member for Berwick. The second note-book is written in a different hand with greater neatness and regularity, and is probably compiled from memory or from rougher notes made during the debates. It reports some of the proceedings of the parliament succeeding that dissolved in 1626, between 4 June 1628 and its adjournment on 26 June;

and again between its meeting on 20 January 1629 and the 20 February, when it was adjourned and subsequently dissolved, The Petition of Right and the bill of tonnage and poundage were among the chief matters debated; and among the debaters it is interesting to note the names of many members who have not hitherto been chronicled as taking any active or prominent part in establishing the principles of parliamentary government which were then being mooted almost for the first time.

The third manuscript volume described in the Calendar is an account of a little tour through the Lowlands of Scotland to Edinburgh by C. (probably Christopher, afterwards rector of Lowther) Lowther and two companions, which is of much topographical interest.

Among the miscellaneous seventeenth century papers are some relating to the proceedings taken against the Quakers in Westmorland, and giving the names and abodes of those imprisoned in the gaols of Appleby and Kendal in 1665; some letters from Queen's College, Oxford, showing the classes of students and the nature of the education in vogue there about 1670; and letters of Sir Thomas Osborne, afterwards Earl of Danby and Duke of Leeds. To the time of the Revolution belong some curious letters to Sir John Lowther from Carlisle, detailing the manœuvres by which Sir Christopher Musgrave secured possession of that garrison in December 1688; and among the many correspondents of the first Viscount Lonsdale, in the time of William III., are William himself and Lords Nottingham, Shrewsbury, Godolphin, and Portland, whose letters though not of great historical importance, are interesting for their references to current events. Of the reign of Queen Anne are letters to and from Thomas, Lord Wharton, some written at the time of his being Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Under the year 1733 will be found a long letter of the Duke of Newcastle upon the state of Europe generally, and in 1745 is a curious minute made by the same Duke about George II.'s treatment of his brother Henry Pelham. Three or four letters about the rebellion in the latter year will also be read with interest, as well as some from Henry Fox, when holding office in 1755, 1756, and 1760. In 1757 the active politician John Robinson was at work in Whitehaven and Appleby settling election matters there, and his letters to Sir James Lowther from those places give an amusing picture of the methods adopted to conciliate both the electors and the mob. Illustrating the history of the early years of the reign of George III., we have letters of the Earl and Countess of Bute, Lord North, and George Grenville, one from the Duke of Rutland in July 1779 requesting Sir James Lowther's interest on behalf of "Lord Chatham's son, "Mr. Pitt, a particular friend of mine," who had declared himself a candidate for Cambridge University, and one very long letter and two short ones from Lord Rockingham in 1780 on the proposed measures of parliamentary reform. In March 1781 the Duke of Rutland writes to congratulate Sir James Lowther

on the success of Mr. Pitt's first appearance in the House of Commons, and Sir Michael le Fleming in an undated letter appears to refer to the same occasion when he writes that "Mr. Pitt, your member," was beyond anything he could have had an idea of, and that the whole House was astonished and pleased. There are many interesting though not historically important letters of Pitt to Sir James Lowther, afterwards Earl of Lonsdale, and to his kinsman and successor in the title, Sir William, between 1783 and 1805; and among the other correspondents during the same years are the Prince of Wales and Charles Fox. A long letter of Sir John Beckett, from Leeds, touching the supplies of corn and the cost of living in 1800, compared with previous years, is worthy of special notice. Among William Lowther's correspondents was his old tutor and connexion by marriage, Dr. Thomas Zouch, of Sandal, near Wakefield, a learned author of repute in his day. Henry Zouch, an elder brother of Thomas, was a correspondent of Horace Walpole, and Walpole's letters to him are in Lord Lonsdale's possession; they are, however, all printed in Cunningham's edition, with the exception of two of slight importance.

Under the dates of December 1788 and January 1789 will be found letters of the Prince of Wales to Lord Lonsdale commenting on Pitt's proposals regarding the Regency during the King's illness. To students of the personal and political history of the opening years of this century two bundles of correspondence entitled "Correspondence relating to Mr. Pitt's death" and "Negociations with the Grenville party" respectively, will be of surpassing interest. In dealing with letters of such comparatively recent date and touching upon topics not without their bearing upon controversies of the present day, Your Commissioners have thought it best to print the large majority of the letters at full length and to leave each reader to draw his own conclusions from them. The names of Lord Lowther's correspondents at this time will suffice to show the great value of the views expressed by them on the political crisis of 1806; among them are:—the Earl of Essex, Lord Mulgrave, Lord Camden, the Earl of Westmorland, W. Spencer Stanhope, George Canning, George Rose, Charles Long, afterwards Lord Farnborough, Wilberforce (who writes a singular letter in recommendation of Henry Brougham, when yet unknown), Lord Melville (Dundas), and Lord Grenville. The selections from the correspondence at Lowther Castle conclude with letters of the Hon. Henry Lowther to his father, chiefly when engaged in the Peninsular War. It should not be omitted to mention that there is also a large number of letters of the poet Wordsworth to Lord Lonsdale, which have been recently examined by Prof. W. Knight for the purposes of his new Life of Wordsworth; no extracts therefore are given from them in the Calendar.

II. At Whitehaven Castle.—Here are preserved a few letters of Roger Kirkby, who sat in the Long Parliament for Lancaster,

to Christopher Lowther in July and August 1641, narrating some of the proceedings in the House; a remarkable letter of William Penn, from "Pennsberry," in 1701, to Sir John Lowther, showing the difficulties with which he had to contend in the colony named after him; a few London news letters, during the reign of Queen Anne; and letters of Bishop Nicolson of Carlisle in 1714 and 1715.

Sir William FitzHerbert, Bart.—The manuscripts at Tissington may be described as of four distinct classes, three of which may be thus distinguished :—

1. Letters of, and orders signed by, General Monck.
2. Private correspondence of George Treby, afterwards Lord Chief Justice; this has no special historical value but the news-letters among it are interesting, and many of the writers are of note, among them may be named Sir Robert Southwell, Titus Oates, Bishop Burnet, Lord Somers, Baron Powys, William Penn, and John Locke.
3. The Popish Plot documents, which also must have belonged to Treby, as he was chairman of the Committee of Secrecy, and in other official positions at the time. How they came to Tissington does not appear.

In the first twenty letters of the third class we have an unusually curious and interesting set of documents, for they are evidently the original letters of the secret correspondence between the Courts of France and England in the latter part of the reign of Charles II. The only ciphers (as a rule) made use of in these letters were certain numbers in the place of names. The body of each letter seems to have been written in an ordinary hand, only with sympathetic ink, probably with lemon juice as is suggested by Coleman himself in a letter of his printed in the *State Trials*, which having once been brought to light is still legible, though oftentimes faint. Sometimes the whole of a letter has been written in this light brown ink; sometimes the secret writing occurs as a part only of a letter, of which the rest is written in common black ink, upon ordinary harmless topics; sometimes it appears as interlineations throughout a letter written with common black ink. In order to bring out these characteristics as far as possible, these twenty letters have been copied by Mr. Bennett in his report, line by line, as in the originals, italics being used to represent the common writing in common black ink, the usual type being used to represent those portions which are written with the sympathetic ink. The interpretations of cipher numbers (sometimes in brackets, sometimes as interlineations) are given here as they are in the originals. These are all written in black ink, and are the work, it would seem, of those who were employed to decipher and prepare the letters as evidence. In the same way, the underscoring of certain passages seems to be the work of these interpreters, and to be intended to

mark passages of specially incriminating weight. None of these letters are signed, but it seems probable that some of them were written by Sir W. Throckmorton, and others by Mr. St. Germaine.

The rest of the letters belonging to the correspondence of this conspiracy are copies of other letters of the same nature as those noticed above. The words found upon many of them "translated by, &c." evidently mean, in many cases at least, translated out of cipher or sympathetic ink, as in several instances both the originals and the transcripts are preserved. A careful comparison of these copies with the originals shows that the copies are quite accurate.

In order still further to represent the nature of these papers a few notes have been added, and all editorial additions are in italics, enclosed within square brackets.

Upon the whole, there would seem to be little doubt that all these papers are either a part of the actual letters, or formal copies of original letters, which were seized in the house of Mr. Coleman, secretary to the Duchess of York, and made use of for his prosecution.

The fourth class of manuscripts reported upon by Mr. Bennett consists of a series of letters written between October 1745 and February 1746, from Morpeth, Carlisle, Chesterfield, Manchester, Newcastle, &c., describing the Pretender's march upon England, some of the skirmishes which took place, the feeling of the inhabitants of various parts, and the means of defence which were being adopted; altogether forming a very graphic picture of this troublesome time.

Other correspondence exists at Tissington, the bulk of it being the papers of Alleyne FitzHerbert, afterwards Lord St. Helens between the years 1795–1835. It is of great interest, and Your Commissioners hope to be permitted to deal with it more at length at a later period. Among his correspondents are King George IV., the Princess Elizabeth, the Princess of Orange, Mr. Canning, Lord Chesterfield, Lord Exeter, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Mr. Wilberforce, the Duke of Wellington, Prince of Sweden, Madame de Stael, Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Gally Knight. There are also many letters between Gally Knight and George Ellis when abroad in 1788, official correspondence with foreign ministers and with the ambassador at St. Petersburg in 1802, and correspondence with the British Museum, &c.

J. B. Fortescue, Esq., of Dropmore.—This collection occupies about 300 small portfolios, arranged by the founder of Dropmore, Lord Grenville, after his retirement from political life. Besides Lord Grenville's own correspondence, there are many letters of an earlier period, such as the correspondence of Lady Grenville's great grandfather, Robert Pitt, some letters to Miss Ann Pitt, labelled "Literary Curiosities," and some to Richard Berenger, the author of two books on horsemanship and other works. Although the letters at Dropmore would obviously have furnished

valuable material for the Duke of Buckingham's *Memoirs of the Court and Cabinets of George III.*, and Lord Stanhope's *Life of Pitt*, they were never shown to either of these members of Lord Grenville's family, and they remained practically unknown until their present owner, Mr. J. B. Fortescue, gave permission to Mr. Maxwell Lyte to examine them on behalf of the Historical Manuscripts Commission. A Calendar in chronological order of the principal letters and papers down to the end of the year 1790, a date which practically corresponds with that of Grenville's elevation to the peerage, has been prepared by Mr. Walter FitzPatrick, and forms one of the Appendix Volumes to this Report. Mr. FitzPatrick has prefixed to the Calendar a lengthy Introduction, in which the valuable historical material furnished by these papers is fully set forth. It is unnecessary therefore for your Commissioners to do more than indicate here some of the more remarkable features of the correspondence. During the first twenty-eight years of the period, from 1698 to 1790, embraced in the Calendar, the central figure is Thomas Pitt, Governor of Madras for the East India Company, and founder of that branch of the Pitt family which gave England two of her greatest statesmen.

The correspondence opens with letters from Robert Pitt to his mother and other friends in England, referring chiefly to private trade with China and Japan, in which his father was extensively engaged. Besides carrying on this external commerce, Thomas Pitt, soon after his arrival at Madras, opened a lucrative traffic in diamonds with native merchants from the interior of the country. In March 1702, he purchased for 48,000 pagodas, from Ramchund, one of these dealers, a stone of extraordinary size and beauty, with which his name has since been associated. A very full account of this transaction will be found under date of 29 July, 1710. In October 1702, he sent his son Robert to England in charge of the great diamond. Robert, within a few months after his return, married Harriet Villiers, daughter of Viscountess Grandison. His marriage and preparations for his election as M.P. for the borough of Old Sarum, of which Thomas Pitt had acquired control by purchasing the site of the castle from Lord Salisbury in the year 1691, would seem to have so engrossed Robert's mind as to cause him to neglect his father's instructions, and particularly that one enjoining frequent correspondence with Madras. Moreover, he was soon engaged in violent quarrels with his mother, brothers, and sisters; highly-coloured accounts of which, sent to Madras by the parties themselves and by candid friends, excited the Governor's bitter indignation. The great diamond was also, in many ways, an occasion of trouble to Governor Pitt. Circumstances relating to its purchase and transmission to England, which he had desired to shroud in absolute secrecy, were noised abroad, with much fictitious embellishment, through, as he thought, his son's indiscretion. And to these private causes of anxiety were added others of a

more public nature. The vigour with which he pursued his own particular interests, and those of the Old Company, stimulated by a personal quarrel with his kinsman John Pitt, President of the Coast of Coromandel for the New Company; and his high-handed manner of dealing with refractory members of the Madras Council, raised up formidable enemies against him both in London and in Madras.

All these sources of vexation, Robert's negligence and ungoverned temper, the disorder and extravagance of his family, the alleged misconduct of his wife, the "villany" and "hellish designs" of his enemies are animadverted on in the Governor's letters to England in a trenchant style and with powers of invective that his grandson the Great Commoner might envy. In other respects the correspondence throws a favourable light on Thomas Pitt's character. Several letters from London highly commend the ability and success with which he promoted the interests of the Company; good service which strengthened the hands of his friends on the Board of Managers. His own letters give excellent advice to Robert, show constant solicitude for the welfare of all his children; and occasional liberality to poor relations or acquaintances, the education of whose families he sometimes takes upon himself.

Several letters to Governor Pitt from old friends in London are brief chronicles of political events at home, of the progress of the war, and of the strife of rival factions at the India House. In one, of exceptional interest, dated 25 July, 1707, Captain Harrison relates how the smouldering feud between the Old and New Companies burst out into open warfare with such disastrous results as to call for the intervention of the Lord Treasurer, who offered himself as arbitrator. By the exertions of Lords Godolphin and Halifax, a thorough amalgamation of interests was effected, which soon led to the ascendency of Sir Gilbert Heathcote's party in the Court of Directors. With this party Governor Pitt had been in open strife for several years, in consequence of their partially repudiating liability for a financial transaction, by which he reaped large profit from the embarrassments of Mr. Tillard, their Governor at Fort St. David. In 1708, his arbitrary conduct in dismissing from the Company's service and threatening to whip and hang Mr. Fraser, a leading member of the Madras Council, for participation in a local feud, by alienating some of his staunchest supporters in the Court of Directors, enabled his enemies to carry a vote for his recall.

After his return to England in 1711, Governor Pitt entered Parliament as M.P. for the borough of Old Sarum. The hostile action of the Directors appears to have severed permanently his connexion with the East India Company. But his wealth and borough influence gave him political weight under the Hanoverian dynasty, of which he was a zealous supporter.

The great diamond still remained on Governor Pitt's hands. On 2 October, 1714, he reports having shown it to the King and the Prince of Wales, who admired but did not buy it. On 29 June, 1717, the Governor informs his son that the French Government have agreed to pay for it 125,000*l.*, a sum that fell far short of his previous expectations.

A letter of Robert Pitt, dated 2 May, 1726, conveys intelligence to his eldest son Thomas, at Utrecht, of the Governor's death, and of the dispositions of his will. Robert himself died in the following year, leaving two sons and four daughters, of whom only the eldest son, Thomas of Boconnoc, and a younger daughter, Anne, figure at all prominently in this volume. Thomas Pitt, M.P. for Oakhampton, was Warden of the Stannaries and Steward of the Duchy of Cornwall for Frederick, Prince of Wales. His part of the correspondence relates chiefly to the general election of 1747, during which he was a principal agent, under the general management of his brother-in-law, Dr. Ayscough, in procuring the return to Parliament of the Prince's adherents. The letters give some curious information in regard to the working of the electoral system in rotten boroughs, but are devoid of general political interest.

The correspondence of Anne Pitt, Maid of Honour to Queen Caroline, and afterwards Keeper of the Privy Purse to the Dowager Princess of Wales, possesses both literary and social interest of a high order. No letter of her own appears in the collection. Perhaps she is now best known by Horace Walpole's answer to a foreigner who asked if her brother the great Minister was like her: *Ils se resemblent comme deux gouttes de feu.* But the letters addressed to her by Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, the Duchess of Queensberry and her brother Lord Cornbury, Mrs. Montagu, Lord Chesterfield, George, Lord Lyttelton, and Horace Walpole, indicate the high rank she held as a wit and beauty in the most brilliant society of her time. Lady Suffolk's familiar gossip and badinage open amusing glimpses of life at the fashionable watering-places of Bath and Spa. The letters of the Duchess of Queensberry, from Ambresbury, are characterised by sprightly wit and wilfulness and generous feeling. Mrs. Montagu describes a visit to Northumberland in the more high-flown and erudite style proper to a reigning Blue-stocking. One or two short letters from Lord Chesterfield, in which he laments the deafness which condemns him to privacy, are chiefly valuable, perhaps, as specimens of finished elegance. But it is the letters of Horace Walpole, especially those written from Paris during the years 1765 and 1766, that appear to be best entitled to the name of "literary curiosities," by which Lord Grenville distinguished Anne Pitt's particular collection. It is noteworthy that, although the correspondence preserved by Miss Pitt ranges over a period of more than 30 years, from 1734 to 1768, during which her brother William fills so great a place in English history, it does

not contain a single letter from him, or, indeed, any definite allusion to him. Interspersed, in chronological order, with the later Pitt letters, are others addressed to Richard Berenger Gentleman of the Horse to King George III.

With the year 1779 the papers of the Pitt family, and the miscellaneous papers of which the interest is mainly literary or social, come to an end. The remainder of this appendix volume is occupied by part of the correspondence of William Wyndham Grenville, beginning with his official life in 1782, and continuing to his elevation to the peerage at the close of 1790.

W. W. Grenville was the third son of George Grenville, who succeeded Lord Bute as Prime Minister in the year 1763. In 1782, his eldest brother, Lord Temple, having accepted the office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in the Administration of Lord Shelburne, Grenville accompanied him as Chief Secretary. The new Lord Lieutenant suddenly found himself confronted by an Irish difficulty of the most formidable character. The Rockingham Ministry, by repealing the old Irish Act known as Poynings' law, and other restraining laws passed subsequently in the British Legislature, had conceded the legislative and judicial supremacy of the Irish Parliament in Ireland, in a manner accepted as sufficient by the Irish leader Grattan and his friends. On the other hand, Grattan's political rival, Flood, insisted that a formal renunciation by the British Parliament of the power of binding Ireland by enactments was necessary to the security of Irish independence. At first this controversy appeared to have little practical importance; moderate men of all parties being opposed to further agitation. But a speech of Lord Abingdon in the British House of Lords, to which Lord Shelburne made no reply, and a judgment pronounced by Lord Mansfield in the English Court of King's Bench on an Irish case brought before him by appeal, creating an impression of English bad faith, stirred all Ireland into angry ferment. In the course of a few weeks, the great body of public opinion veered round to the side of Flood, and raised what had been regarded as a factious cavil into a national question.

This rapid change of popular feeling is graphically described in letters dated July 12 and 23, and August 1, 1782, from the Earl of Mornington, an Irish peer, better known by his later title of Marquess Wellesley, offering congratulations and assistance to his old school friend Grenville. The sudden rise of Flood, and the growing unpopularity of Grattan, "that first of all men in ability and virtue," are vividly sketched. And "Ned Cooke," their school-fellow at Eton, who had served his apprenticeship in Irish state-craft under Lord Carlisle, is specially recommended as a safe guide in the crooked ways of political management. "The hot-bed of Eden's corruption forced out every man's principles, and Cooke was witness to the whole process." Lord Mornington's letters, on various topics, appear henceforward at intervals, to the end of the volume, and are always excellent

reading; being conspicuous for clearness of view, felicity of expression, variety of interest, and a rare power of giving or adding attraction to every subject they touch upon. They also evince warm affection and gratitude to Grenville, who, by his influence with Lord Temple and W. Pitt, appears to have been mainly instrumental in opening for the writer a public career in England. A very short sojourn in Dublin completely converted Lord Temple to the Irish view of the political situation. In concert with most of the leading Irish politicians, including Grattan, he drafted a Renunciation Bill, and strenuously pressed its adoption on the English Government. And in order that he might have a confidential channel of communication with the Cabinet and with the King, he sent his Chief Secretary, who was M.P. for the county of Buckingham, to reside in London. Lord Temple's letters to Grenville, following each other in rapid succession, almost monopolize the space covered by the period of his first residence in Ireland; namely, from the end of November 1782 to the end of April 1783. On April 29, he writes to his brother that he has received a not very gracious letter of recall from Lord North.

In a letter from W. Pitt to Lord Temple, dated July 22, 1783, will be found a curious account of an interview which Lord Thurlow sought with Pitt, after a long conference with the King on the previous day. Letters from Lord Mornington to Grenville, written in the autumn of 1783, give interesting information of Irish affairs during the short rule of Lord Northington; and during the years 1784 and 1785, he continues to send his English friends lively accounts of Irish affairs under the Government of the Duke of Rutland.

In November 1787, on the death of the Duke of Rutland, Grenville's eldest brother, who in 1874 had been created Marquess of Buckingham, was appointed, for the second time, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. He took with him Alleyne FitzHerbert, afterwards Lord St. Helens, as his Chief Secretary; and Lord Mornington's younger brother, Arthur Wesley, who had lately entered the army, as a member of his military staff. From December 1787 to the autumn of 1789, the correspondence consists chiefly of confidential letters from the Marquess of Buckingham, as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Mr. Grenville in London. The principal subjects with which these letters deal are the illness of George III., the Regency Bill, and the controversies arising out of it. For about five months of this period, from the beginning of January to the beginning of June 1788, Mr. Grenville's election as Speaker of the British House of Commons severed his ostensible connexion with the Ministry. But he continues throughout to be his brother's principal adviser and correspondent, and medium of communication with Mr. Pitt. Interspersed occasionally with Lord Buckingham's letters are others from his private secretary, Scrope Bernard, giving lively accounts of debates in the Irish House of Commons, in which Grattan is the leading figure.

During Lord Buckingham's second term of office, the course of Irish business at first runs smooth. The system which he inherited from the Duke of Rutland, and followed for a time, of winning the support of all the great borough-owners, by distributions of place, pension, and patronage, irrespective of English party lines, gave his Government enormous strength in both Houses of Parliament. But, by setting his face against any reform of abuses, he exasperated the independent party of Grattan and Lord Charlemont, with whom he had formerly maintained friendly relations.

Lord Buckingham's somewhat exaggerated estimate of his political successes served, however, only to deepen his chagrin at what he considered a want of appreciation of his merits on the part of the King. His whole correspondence bears evidence that he allowed an eager craving for marks of Royal favour, and a jealousy of such distinctions when bestowed on others, to govern his conduct, warp his judgment, and trouble his peace. A high sense of desert for special services rendered to the Crown, and of the dignity and importance of his office, made him regard every disappointment of his personal aims not only as inexcusable ingratitude, but as detrimental to the public interests. And, at the same time, an arrogance of temper that hardly brooked the slightest control, an obstinate intolerance of the most trivial act or omission that seemed to him to derogate from his pretensions, by provoking powerful resentments, defeated those aims, and embittered his public life. Almost from the first moment of his resuming office, these various influences brought him into angry conflict with the Home Secretary, Lord Sydney, and with the King, on the subject of military promotions. The King appears to have regarded the administration of the army as a branch of the public service reserved to his own prerogative. Lord Buckingham, on the other hand, insisted that the right of recommending to all appointments in the Irish army, below the grade of Colonel, appertained to the Lord Lieutenant, and was essential to the system of Irish Government. In letter after letter, betraying extraordinary excitement, he insists on resigning his Government unless the appointment of Colonel Gwynne, the King's equerry, to a lieutenant-colonelcy of Irish cavalry is cancelled. On the other hand George III. kept vigilant watch on the Lord Lieutenant's exercise of military patronage, carefully scrutinized his lists, demurred to every irregular nomination, and finally rejected all that were prompted by private partiality. Repeated tokens of royal displeasure, and a consequent loss of prestige in Ireland, so preyed on Lord Buckingham's mind as to make his Government a martyrdom, until the King's illness in November brought military promotions to a standstill, and diverted his thoughts to more important subjects.

It would appear from Lord Buckingham's letters dated in May and June 1788, that the post of Secretary of State was

offered to Mr. Grenville at the close of the parliamentary session in England. But as his vacating office during the recess would entail a long contest for the county of Buckingham at his brother's expense, or resigning the county to a hostile interest, he asks Mr. Pitt, on June 11, to postpone his promotion to the beginning of the following session. Letters from Mr. Pitt and Lord Buckingham, written during the winter of 1788–9, are filled with interesting details in regard to the condition of the King, the schemes of Parliamentary leaders, the political views of the Prince of Wales, the constitutional powers of the Lord Lieutenant, the Regency Bill, and the uncertain state of Irish opinion. The policy of Government was to postpone consideration of the King's illness in the Irish Parliament until Pitt's proposals for a limited Regency had been adopted by the British Legislature; and then to pass an Irish Bill framed on the same lines. In order to carry these points, Lord Buckingham laboured during the recess, by a liberal use of patronage and promises, and a still more liberal use of threats, to confirm the wavering allegiance of his majority in both Houses. At first his hopes of success were sanguine, provided Mr. Pitt remained in office. But, as the meeting of Parliament drew near, they were in a great measure dashed by the "treachery" of Lord Earlsfort and others in whose fidelity he had most trusted; and gave place to gloomy forebodings. The prospect grew darker every day. Grattan, in concert with Fox declared against restrictions on the Prince's authority as Regent The news from England left no hope of the King's convalescence, or of Pitt retaining office under the Prince of Wales. The Lord Lieutenant's threats and promises availed nothing against those "lavished" with equal freedom in the Prince's name. In these circumstances he shrank nervously from calling Parliament together. And when, in deference to the wishes of the English Cabinet, the Irish session was opened on 5 February, 1789, he saw himself, with intense mortification and dismay, abandoned by the whole mercenary army of placemen and pensioners, who had hitherto sustained the power of Government in both Houses. Of his official advisers only Fitz-Herbert, the Chief Secretary, and Fitz-Gibbon, the Attorney-General, who aspired to the office of Lord Chancellor, and had everything to dread from Mr. Fox, remained faithful. An Address to the Prince of Wales asking him to assume the Government of Ireland with full regal powers, during the incapacity of his father, was voted without a division by both Houses. After much vacillation, and in some fear, the Lord Lieutenant, yielding to pressure from Mr. Pitt, refused to forward the Address to the Prince.

On February 20, unexpected intelligence of the King's convalescence changed, as if by magic, the whole political situation, and the views and feelings of the actors. A panic spread through the ranks of Opposition. As the fact of the King's recovery became better established, panic developed into rout.

In order to check this tendency, the great borough-owners combined with Grattan and Lord Charlemont in an association pledged to oppose any Administration that should deprive a member of place or pension for his vote on the Regency question. On the other hand, Lord Buckingham, in a long letter, dated February 25, unfolds plans, for which he solicits Mr. Pitt's support, of stripping the great borough-proprietors and their adherents of office and pension, and forming, by a redistribution of their spoils and a large creation of peerages, a new Parliamentary majority which will enable him to set them at defiance. But experience and the able counsels of Fitz-Gibbon soon forced on the Lord Lieutenant a most unwelcome conviction that his heroic policy was impracticable. He confesses, in a letter dated March 21, that a league of the great borough-owners under the patronage of the Prince of Wales, and sustained by the Whig party in England, must prove too strong for an Administration founded, as his was, on a system of corruption. The county members whom he thought he had won over from Grattan, carried a Pension Bill against him in the House of Commons. Nor did he feel quite sure of receiving adequate support from England. Some of his most influential antagonists, who had long been main props of Irish Government, writing to powerful friends in London, appear to have attributed their opposition during the King's illness to the intolerable arrogance of the Lord Lieutenant. The Prince of Wales wrote to an Irish adherent that his father was displeased with Lord Buckingham. From another source the Lord Lieutenant learned that the whole Cabinet, with the exception of Mr. Pitt, strongly condemned his general conduct. And although a private letter from Grenville, followed by an official letter from Lord Sydney, conveying full though somewhat tardy assurances of the Prime Minister's support, calmed his apprehensions, Lord Buckingham had good reason to believe that Lord Thurlow, the English Chancellor, and Lord Townshend, a former Chief Governor of Ireland, both of whom were known to possess the Royal ear, had declared strongly against measures of punishment for opposition on the Regency question. After much searching of spirit, he allowed the olive branch to be held out, in separate negotiations, to the members of the coalition. Most of these, disregarding their mutual engagements, and the dismissal of Mr. Sheridan, Secretary for Military Affairs, whom Lord Buckingham sacrificed to his resentment and replaced by Mr. Cooke, eagerly grasped at conditions of amnesty, which had been made "personally humiliating." The Duke of Leinster and Mr. Ponsonby, more closely connected with the English Whigs, and Lord Shannon, coerced by his wife, held to their agreement, were dismissed from office, and brought a large body of adherents to reinforce the party of reform. By a skilful use of the rich sinecures and pensions thus placed at his disposal, and by adding largely to every grade of the peerage, an unfailing expedient of parliamentary

management in Ireland, the Lord Lieutenant was able to recruit his ranks in the House of Commons, so as to re-establish the superiority of Government on a narrower and more precarious basis.

The unmeasured exultation displayed in Lord Buckingham's accounts of the defeat of the Irish coalition was soon and severely chastened by fresh proofs of Royal disfavour. In letter after letter he eagerly presses for a few lines of approbation from the King's hand, which would confound the malice of his foes and repay all his sacrifices. Grenville's significant silence on this topic only increases his brother's impatience and chagrin. Nor does the latter find much comfort in Grenville's report of the few cold words of Royal approval which Pitt's importunity at last extorted. Worse soon followed. The very first act of the King after his recovery, in relation to the Irish Army, was to appoint a Major Taylor to a Lieutenant-Colonelcy of Cavalry, which the Lord Lieutenant again claimed for his nephew. A brief letter from Lord Sydney, dated March 20th, 1789, announces the arrangement as settled, and requests the Lord Lieutenant to give it effect. The latter, resenting both act and letter as gross outrages to his public character and private feelings, announces to his brother a fixed resolution to resign. But before the Lord Lieutenant could take any decisive step, a severe illness, brought on by the agitation and overwork of many months, completely prostrated him; and, in June, compelled him to repair to Bath. He did not return to Ireland. Continued ill-health, of mind and body, unfitted him for any arduous occupation, and in October 1789, he resigned his appointment of Lord Lieutenant, and was succeeded by Lord Westmorland.

The death of Lord Lifford, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, in April 1789, enabled Lord Buckingham to requite the staunch support of Attorney-General Fitz-Gibbon, by strenuously advocating his claim to the vacant dignity with Mr. Pitt.

In the beginning of October, the Duke of Chandos dying without male heirs, his title became extint. Thereupon Lord Buckingham renewed, through his brother, an application for a Dukedom, which the King had more than once refused. Pitt's appeals to the King to bestow the coveted dignity, urged both by letter and in a personal interview, were answered by unqualified denials. And although the Prime Minister, by a visit to Stowe, appears to have averted any public expression of resentment, Lord Buckingham's official life closed in bitter chagrin.

On 5 June, 1789, Mr. Grenville succeeded Lord Sydney as Secretary of State for Home and Colonial Affairs. His correspondence after this date contains many letters on matters of business pertaining to his office from the King, Mr. Pitt, the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Dundas, and others. There are several letters from Lord Thurlow dealing with points of law, colonial questions, and judicial appointments submitted for his opinion by

Mr. Grenville. The deferential tone and measured language of the Secretary of State contrast strikingly with the pungent criticism in which the Lord Chancellor's letters abound. In discussing the claims of settlers removed from Mosquito shore to compensation from the British Government, Mr. Grenville is provoked, on 17 April, 1790, by the caustic remarks of his colleague, into adding a paragraph of formal remonstrance. But his resentment is disarmed by a prompt reply, disclaiming any intention of giving offence. Lord Thurlow's letters are generally characterized by strong sense and a captious spirit.

On 18 October, 1789, Mr. Dundas, in a letter declining on public grounds, and out of consideration for the claims of the Lord Advocate, to accept the vacant Scottish office of Lord President of the Court of Session at Mr. Grenville's suggestion, gives an interesting account of his own political position as the mainstay of Mr. Pitt's Administration in Scotland.

There are many letters from Lord Westmorland and his Chief Secretary, Major Hobart, during the course of the year 1790. These deal chiefly with creations of peers and bishops, and other details of political management in Ireland. In one, dated May 10, the Viceroy, who elsewhere conforms with good grace to the King's views of military promotion, strongly opposes a proposal to raise a militia force in Ireland, as fraught with danger to English rule. On May 7, Mr. Grenville acknowledges the receipt of a private letter from Lord Westmorland complaining of the persistent opposition of Mr. Stewart, afterwards Lord Castlereagh, in the Irish House of Commons, and adds, "I trust I have put that business in a proper train." Lord Camden, through whose patronage Mr. Stewart's father had recently obtained a peerage, was a member of the Cabinet.

In July and September 1790, the correspondence is greatly enlivened by two letters from Lord Mornington, who had left England on a foreign tour. The first gives an amusing account of mishaps that befel the writer in a journey to Spa; and animated descriptions of that watering-place and the surrounding localities. The second sketches in vivid colours the social and political aspects of the French capital in the early days of the Great Revolution. It would be difficult to imagine a more startling contrast than that which Paris of the new era, as described by Lord Mornington, presents to the Paris of the old monarchy portrayed in Horace Walpole's letters, only twenty-two years before.

The first volume of the Calendar closes with two letters of Lord Auckland from the Hague. One, dated December 15, congratulates Mr. Grenville on his elevation to the peerage, and on the termination of disturbances in the Austrian Netherlands by the mediation of England and Prussia. The second, written on the last day of the year, deprecates the adoption of measures, proposed by the Prussian Government, which might have the

effect of involving England in a premature and an unprofitable quarrel with Russia for the protection of Turkey.

The Delaval Family, of Seaton Delaval.—These family manuscripts, which were lent to Your Commissioners by Mr. John Robinson, of Newcastle-on-Tyne, do not need to be described here at any considerable length. The most important of them are letters addressed to Captain George Delaval, who served in the Navy during the reigns of Queen Anne and George I., and was sent on a special mission to the King of Portugal in 1711. Two interesting letters of the Earl of Chesterfield which are in this collection have been printed elsewhere. Of later date are four letters of Samuel Foote.

Captain Loder Symonds, of Hinton Waldrist, Berks.—These chiefly consist of papers of Henry Marten, the regicide, to whom, and to whose father previously, the manor of Hinton Waldrist belonged, passing from him by purchase to an ancestor of the present owner. There is, however, precedent to these, a small parcel of deeds, dating from the twelfth century onwards, several of which in the sixteenth century relate to the college of St. Nicholas in Wallingford Castle, and a very minute account-book of farm produce and expenses for the years 1610–1620, which probably refers to a farm in the parish of Harwell. The Marten papers comprise a few which belonged to the elder Sir Henry, Judge of the Prerogative Court and the Admiralty. Amongst these are papers relating to the case of Samuel Palachio, a Jew employed to raise men in the United Provinces for the Emperor of Morocco, who had been arrested at Plymouth in 1614 at the instance of the Spanish Ambassador on a charge of piracy, which was not substantiated. A short letter from Dr. John Donne in 1662 is printed in the Appendix. The names of all persons assessable for taxes in the Berkshire hundreds of Hormer, Ock, and Murton, and the towns of Abingdon and Wallingford in 1628, are contained in seven rolls.

The papers of Colonel Henry Marten do not contain as much as might be expected with regard to the Civil War period. A list of prisoners in the Southwark Compter on 26 December, 1642, who had been committed by order of the House of Commons, is followed by a list of eleven London citizens, who were in custody in Lambeth House on December 22, in the same year, for signing the petition to the House of Commons for peace, for which offence Clarendon says that the principal promoters were upon other pretences "compelled to forsake the town" (*Hist. Reb.* VI., 208). Two letters are printed in full in the Appendix; the one from Colonel Samuel Luke (of *Hudibras* fame) dated 23 May, 1643; the other from John Lilburne while in exile, dated from Bruges, 8 September, 1652, in behalf of a wounded sailor about to return to England after having been taken prisoner by the Dutch, and vigorously remonstrating against the little care shown by the

government in regard to the wounded and prisoners, in order, as he says, to manifest a piece of his English spirit. News is brought on 30 August 1650, that Ashton, the Governor of Antigua, had proclaimed King Charles there. Major Wildman and Marten are found corresponding very confidentially under the signatures O and A ; O designating (as appears from a cipher key) Marten, and A. Wildman. There are fragments of drafts of many political papers by Marten, but it does not appear that any of these were ever printed. Amongst his family letters, many relate to the difficulties in which he was involved by his extravagance, and to his imprisonment for debt, which led to the alienation of his estates.

Amongst some petitions is one to the Committee for Plundered Ministers, from inhabitants of Reading on behalf of the Puritan minister William Erbery, who had been inhibited from preaching in consequence of Socinian tenets which were imputed to him. Erbery or Earbery was of Brasenose College, Oxford, and it was with him that, in 1646, Francis Cheynell, then of Merton College, held a public disputation at Oxford, of which each disputant published his own account. His connexion with Reading has not been noticed by his biographers.

A small distinct parcel of papers relate to the family of Chambre, of Denbighshire, a member of which was married to the second Earl of Meath. The Calendar ends with an account of two papers which came into the possession of the Symonds family in Herefordshire from that of Harley. The first is that narrative of John Hampden's death in which the bursting of his own pistol is said to have been the cause. This has been noticed by several writers, but appears to have been never before printed at length, except in the *St. James' Chronicle* in 1761, apparently from this very copy, the existence of which in this collection is for the first time mentioned by Mr. C. H. Frith, in his Life of Hampden in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, where the account is regarded as deserving the consideration which some have refused to it. The other is a characteristic letter from Dean Swift, relating to an applicant for a place in the choir of St. Patrick's Cathedral, dated 9 February, 1719.

Edmond R. Wodehouse, Esq., M.P.—This collection numbers some thousands of books, rolls, deeds, and papers, chiefly relating to the families of Buttes, Bacon, and Wodehouse, and their estates in the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. Some of them refer to Sir Nicholas Bacon, Lord Keeper, and there is a grant of arms to him in 1568; but none of his correspondence is preserved here. The agreement on the marriage of his son Nicholas with Anne Buttes, in 1561, deserves notice, not only as an early specimen of an elaborate marriage contract, prepared doubtless under the supervision of the Lord Keeper himself, but also as indicating the manner in which these estates passed from the family of Buttes to that of Bacon, though in reality the

devolution was very complicated. The period covered by these muniments extends from the reign of Henry III. to the beginning of the present century. They appear to be very valuable from a topographical as well as from a genealogical point of view The amount of information they contain with regard to many families of Norfolk and Suffolk, and especially those families to which they more particularly relate, is considerable. Ample illustrations of local manners and customs, and of manorial rights and privileges, such as rights of common and fishery, may be gathered from the unusually extensive series of court rolls, bailiffs' accounts, and rentals, which commence as early as the first half of the fourteenth century. Attention may especially be drawn to two custumals of the manor of Great Ryburgh. Among the papers relating to the church, tithes, and glebe lands of that parish are the proceedings in a dispute between Thomas Buttes and the vicar there in the reign of Elizabeth, which ended in a suit in Chancery. The principal charges made by Buttes against the vicar, Thomas Waterman, were the following: "There have been no catechising at G. Ryburgh for the space of theise iiij yeres last past and more, nor teaching the Articles of the Fayth, the Commaundementes, and the Lordes Prayer, as is prescribed in the Catechisme. No repayering the Chauncell, or personage, but letting to fearme his benefise there, and that unto verie unmeete persons. No hospytalitie kept, nor releeving the poore there by hym, but yerelie selling of dykerowes. No prayer for her Maiestie the xvij. daye of November last past, although the Inhabitauntes were redy at the Churche doores for that godly purpose: for he was then gadded to the spirituall Courte to followe his suyte ageinst Robert Harvy of G. Ryburgh for tythes oniustlie requyered. . . . . I [Thomas Buttes] have also glased at myne owne proper cost and chardge all the windowes in the Chauncell, which ar in nomber v, and those verie large & greate, which did, cost mee with the scripture written within the said Chauncelles wales more then xx *li.*"

Very little correspondence is comprised in this collection, but there are two letter-books containing copies of numerous letters between the King and the Privy Council and the Lord Lieutenant, Deputy Lieutenants, &c. of Suffolk, between 1608 and 1640, and between 1664 and 1676. They relate to matters of general historical interest as well as to local affairs. Three long letters from John Nixon, rector of Cold Higham, near Towcester, to Miss Bacon, give an account of his travels in Warwickshire Derbyshire, Leicestershire, Notts, and Lincolnshire, in 1745, and 1746, and in France (through Dieppe, Rouen, Paris, &c.) in 1750. A few more letters exist among the miscellaneous papers, but are of small importance. Several handsome rolls of pedigrees and arms of the Bacon family, and other families related to it, are preserved in the chest.

Only a few manuscript volumes not connected with the families above named and their estates have been discovered. These are: (1) a copy of Higden's *Polychronicon*; (2) "*The Statutes of the Garter*"; (3) a Report relating to Daniel Archdeacon and Francis Mowbray, in the time of James I.; (4) a Summary of Proceedings in Parliament, &c., 1625–8; (5) a poem entitled "*The Caledonian Forest*"; and (6) an heraldic MS.

Hastings Corporation.—Unfortunately the earlier records of this very ancient town are missing, with the exception of the charters of Edward I., Edward III., and Richard II. to the Cinque Ports; and of a few grants. The Court Books and Hundred Court Books begin in the time of Elizabeth; the entries therein are of local interest mainly. Among them is a noteworthy memorandum of the attempts to re-build the pier in 1596 and 1597, and of the utter destruction of the works by "one great " and exceeding high spring tide with a south east wind." Another entry relates to the sixteen barons of the Cinque Ports who were elected to carry the canopy over James I.'s head at his coronation, which is very precise as to the apparel to be worn by them; the barons were to pay their own expenses, but to have the canopy divided among them. The chamberlains' and pier wardens' accounts illustrate local customs very fully, but there are none earlier than the 17th century.

Hereford Corporation.—The early registers of the acts of this Corporation have almost entirely been lost, having been sold for waste paper some sixty years ago by a woman who had charge of the civic buildings. Two volumes, however, containing the records of part of the sixteenth century, were subsequently recovered, but the contents of these chiefly consist of enrolments of recognizances and conveyances. In one of them, however, is found an interesting list of pageants shown on Corpus Christi Day in 1503, with the names of the numerous trade-gilds to which they were respectively assigned. But although the robbery of documents extended far beyond the registers, and appears to have somehow embraced all that related to the Civil War period, the stores of papers that remain, comprehending all that were entered on annual files, are of vast extent, filling about one hundred sheepskin sacks. From these all the more important documents have now been separated and placed in a large iron chest, while some have been carefully bound. The royal charters and grants are thirty-two in number, beginning with one from Richard I. in 1189 and ending in 1834. These are all fully described in the Calendar. A number of interesting local title-deeds are in separate boxes and parcels, of which many are of the time of Edward III. The bailiffs' and mayors' rolls of receipts and expenses begin at 1264 and extend, with many blanks, to 1507; but a few scattered rolls of later date are here and there found. In the early mayors' inventories,

which commence at 1475, are found not merely the insignia of office, the "harness" for soldiers, and the other articles of civic property handed on by each outgoing mayor to his successor, but also the names of all the prisoners then left in confinement, with specification of their offences; this inclusion of prisoners in the inventory ceases towards the end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. The series of miscellaneous documents commences at the year 1362, and is of widely diversified nature. All the items that seem specially noteworthy are fully described in the Calendar, and they need not be recapitulated here, beyond the mention of a few particulars to show the interesting character of the entries. A thief availed himself of sanctuary in one of the parish churches in 1514 to save his life. In the same year a poor tinker got into trouble for commending the valour of the Scots at the battle of Flodden; and the two parliamentary burgesses for the city complain, one of them very bitterly, of the non-payment of their "wages." Of two printed proclamations of Henry VIII. in 1530, of great rarity, one against vagabonds, and the other forbidding the circulation of the Scriptures (as well as some other books) in the English tongue, there are very clean and perfect copies; and of five of Queen Elizabeth in 1560-1 Among the other miscellaneous papers are:—A certificate of the delivery of some gipsies to a justice of the peace, 1530; an order forbidding the exportation of provisions to foreign countries in 1531 on account of scarcity; a writ in 1540 forbidding the circulation in England of groats and two-penny pieces bearing the print of the harp, which have been coined only to be current in Ireland; two letters from Archbishop Nicholas Heath in 1554 and 1555 respecting the election of burgesses for Parliament; an account of a solemn thanksgiving-procession in the city in 1555 upon news of the birth of a prince; letter from the Privy Council in 1584 for the suppression of traitorous books, especially *Leicester's Commonwealth;* a report of the seizure of a number of Latin Roman Catholic books in a private house in 1586. In 1597 the Earl of Essex writes an application for his being allowed to nominate the parliamentary burgesses. Cases of alleged witchcraft occur in 1635 and 1662. The original returns of inquiries respecting local charities made by the Commissioners for charitable uses in 1650-1, and similar returns in 1664; these are now bound up in a volume. In 1715 there is mention of an unlawful game "lately found out, called Rooley Pooley."

Rye Corporation.—The muniments of this Corporation were reported upon for Your Commissioners by the late Mr. Riley (Report V., p. 488), but the unbound documents calendared by Mr. W. J. Hardy and Mr. W. Page, and printed as Part IV. of the Appendix to this Report, which are some of the most interesting, seem to have escaped his notice. These letters and papers together with the legal proceedings—letters of process as

they were termed—of the borough court were filed with a leathern lace and made up in yearly bundles. From their appearance at the time when they were recently brought to the notice of the Commission, it would seem that, for the most part, they had never been opened since they were fastened together at the end of each mayor's year of office; and it is possible that the oak chest at the Town Hall, in which they were found, is the one in which, some three centuries ago, such papers as then remained and those that subsequently accrued, were ordered to be placed. But unfortunately, all the bundles have not been thus carefully preserved; in several instances they have been opened and their contents roughly handled, whilst, in a few cases, the bundle for a particular year is entirely wanting or contains but a few uninteresting papers. It is particularly unfortunate that this is the case with regard to the bundle for the Armada year, 1588, and also with regard to the bundles for the years which saw the commencement of the struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament. The documents described in the present Calendar cover a period of nearly a century—from the year 1568 to the year 1663; but the regular series does not commence till 1571. This is probably the date at which began a system of preserving letters and miscellaneous papers connected with the town's affairs; for, on 20 September in that year, at a meeting held at Canterbury before Serjeant Manwood to settle certain controversies between the Lord Warden and the Cinque Ports, one of the questions for discussion was the propriety of sending copies, from Dover Castle to each of the Ports, of letters and orders from the Lords of the Council and others touching the service of the Ports. It may be here observed that at the end of the seventeenth century the importance of Rye had materially decreased, except as a place of passage to France, owing to the silting up of its harbour; it is consequently, in the earlier documents now calendared that matters of greater historic and general interest will be found. In the sixteenth century, Rye was perhaps, next to London and Dover, the most important port of passage from England to the Continent; so that when the religious troubles arose abroad numerous followers of the reformed religion, who fled to this country to escape persecution, found refuge at Rye. From the year 1561 such persons had been flocking thither; some only remained a day or two and then passed further inland, whilst others took up their abode in the town: those who remained came chiefly from France, and seem to have been quiet and well-disposed persons; but together with them came others who, under the cloak of religion, "entered at sondry portes and crekes into "the realme, whereby the naturall good subjectes are like not "only to be corrupted with the evil conditions of them which are "nawght, but also by the excesse nombre of both sortes, shall "sustain, divers wayes, such lackes as is not mete to be born "with all." It was therefore, in October 1571, ordered by the Lords of the Council that a return of the "strangers" living in

Rye should be prepared and sent to London. The certificate made in accordance with this order, and dated on the 10th of November following, describes all the persons mentioned as well-conducted. The massacre of Saint Bartholomew caused a considerable augmentation in the number of foreign refugees at Rye; and in the following month (September 1572) special precautions were taken against allowing the landing of "disaffected persons." A large proportion of the refugees were mariners, who brought their ships with them and had thus a means of gaining a livelihood. Indeed, they appear to have added considerably to the prosperity of Rye; their ships traded to Rochelle, the Azores, Sierra Leone, and Guinea, and so a stimulus was given to the general trade of the town.

The sympathy which the people of Rye seem to have felt for the French and Walloon refugees was not long in showing itself also for the Hollanders who, just prior to the date last mentioned, had entered upon their struggle for independence. This sympathy showed itself conspicuously in the encouragement given by the townspeople to the *Gueux de la mer*— "water-beggars," or freebooters as they are generally termed in the documents here reported upon—who, under letters of marque from the Prince of Orange, attacked and plundered any Spanish vessels they fell in with. The spoil thus taken was usually sold at some English port—much of it at Rye; but these water-beggars were not long content to confine their attacks to Spanish ships; French and English vessels were alike subject to their onslaughts, and they soon became no better than professed pirates. Their conduct was so troublesome, that in September 1571, the mayor and bailiffs of Rye were directed to prevent victuals passing to the relief of any of the Prince of Orange's fleet. The example of the Dutch water-beggars was followed by the adherents of Henry of Navarre, at first only against the Leaguers of France, but afterwards against those of any nationality who professed the Roman Catholic religion. This going "awarfare against the papists" or "going aroving" as it was called, was fully approved by the inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, who not only aided the foreign freebooters, but went on similar expeditions on their own account. On 2nd August 1577 the Lieutenant of Dover Castle was directed to give order that "no ship or other vessel be suffered to depart to the seas until the "owner, lader, and master thereof do put in bonds and sufficient "sureties to the value of the ship and furniture to Her Majesty's "use, not to damage any of the subjects of any foreign Prince "with whom Her Majesty is at amity, and specially the subjects "of the realm of Scotland." In November of the following year, several inhabitants of the Cinque Ports, mostly foreign refugees, were fined for committing piracy. A great deal of information about these freebooters, and about Queen Elizabeth's policy towards the Prince of Orange and his followers in the Low Countries, is brought to light in the papers here calendared.

Unfortunately, as has been stated before, the bundle of papers for the year 1588 is missing, but from the volumes of proceedings at the Courts of the Mayor and Jurats of Rye, called "the Hundred Court Books," we get some information as to the share which the town took in the expedition against the Spaniards. In September 1587, the Mayor and some of the Jurats had attended at Dover to consult with the Lord Warden concerning the service to be done in the Narrow Seas. It was at first proposed that the Cinque Ports should supply twelve ships for the Queen's service, but it appears that only half this number was eventually sent. The number was made up as follows:—Hastings and Winchelsea, one ship of 60 tons burthen; Rye and Tenterden, one ship of the same tonnage; Romney and Lydd, ditto; Hythe, one pinnace not to be under 25 tons burthen; Sandwich one ship of 120 tons burthen; and Dover one of 100 tons. The vessel apparently chosen by Rye for this service belonged to a Captain Russel, a French refugee, residing in the town; she was purchased by the Corporation upon a valuation made by three of the Jurats and an equal number of Russel's fellow refugees. One of the church bells was sold to buy powder to be laid up probably, in that part of the church which was then used as a powder store: the town was also fortified and a strict watch kept.

There is a pitiable account, dated in January 1590, of the condition in which the soldiers who had been sent to assist Henry IV. in his war against the League returned from France. About the same time are several orders for the apprehension of soldiers returning from France without passports from their commanders; desertion from the army of the Earl of Essex being evidently very general. The Leaguers of France committed great depredations in the Channel, and at the commencement of the year 1591 the inhabitants of Rye proposed to fit out two vessels to protect the shipping coming to their port; whether or not this was done we do not learn, but the complaints of those whose vessels had been attacked and plundered continue. Rye sent a ship with the English fleet which sailed from Plymouth in 1596 and captured Cadiz, and there are allusions in the papers here calendared to the services rendered by the town to the fleet which, in the following year, was despatched to intercept the ships sent by Spain to make a descent upon Ireland. In 1599 the fishermen of Rye made themselves of considerable use in gaining information as to the movements of the Spanish fleet.

Some depositions taken at Rye on 30 March 1603 contain curious allusion to a proclamation—made in London by the Earl of Southampton—of Lord Beauchamp as King of England. Several of the letters and orders also refer to the Bye and Gunpowder plots.

After the close of Elizabeth's reign, there is not much of general historic interest in these papers. The harbour, from the causes before alluded to, was rapidly decaying, despite the efforts of English and foreign engineers to preserve it; the silting

up was in their opinion due to the "inning" or draining of the adjoining salt-marshes.

There is some information regarding a Huguenot settlement at Rye during the first half of the seventeenth century. In the civil war, the town seems to have sided with the Parliament, and to have parted with some of its plate in order to forward that cause; and we also find that the fishing industry suffered from the attacks made upon it by the Royalist men-of-war.

Besides the foregoing matters of historic interest, information will be found regarding the jurisdiction of the Court of Admiralty of the Cinque Ports held at Dover, and also the proceedings at the "Guestlings," "Brotherelds," and "Courts of Shipway" to which the Barons were called by the head officers of the port who by rotation undertook the office of "Speaker."

Particulars will likewise be found of the jurisdiction of the Cinque Ports at Yarmouth fair, the coronation services due from the Barons of the Ports, the ancient and curious laws as to Withernam, and many other points of general and local interest.

It should be mentioned that the Corporation have now caused the papers found in the old chest before described, including those under the direction of Your Commissioners calendared, to be carefully flattened and placed between boards.

In Scotland Sir William Fraser has been engaged in the interval between more pressing public duties in drawing up accounts of the manuscripts of the Duke of Roxburghe, the muniments of the Earls of Marchmont, and other collections; but the general report upon these must be reserved for Your Commissioners' Fourteenth Report.

The following particulars may be here given in relation to the work of Your Commissioners in Ireland, which has been carried on as heretofore, by J. T. Gilbert, F.S.A.

The Marquess of Ormonde.—A further report, now nearly ready for the press, on the documents at Kilkenny Castle, contains notices of several royal letters, correspondence of peers, and miscellaneous papers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Among the latter are panegyrical and satirical verses on public personages in the times of Charles I. and the Commonwealth. There is also here an unique series of lists of the English army and its officers in Ireland in various years from 1598 to 1686. These documents are of great interest, and furnish many details in relation to individuals and the services on which they were employed, as well as to the localities at which they were stationed from time to time.

The first Earl of Charlemont.—In succession to the first instalment of the Charlemont papers, published since our last report, a second volume, embracing the correspondence of the Earl from 1784 to his death in 1799, is now passing through the press. The contents of this collection serve to illustrate many important public transactions in a period of high historical interest. In the correspondence are included elaborate and remarkable letters written by the Hon. Robert Stewart, subsequently Marquess of Londonderry. The collection also contains several papers in relation to literature and art, amongst which are communications from Horace Walpole and Edmond Malone, editor of Shakespeare, as well as letters in relation to Hogarth and his works.

Acts of the Privy Council of Ireland, 1556–1570.—This unique volume, which formed part of the collection of the late Charles Haliday, Esq., Governor of the Bank of Ireland, Dublin, bears the autographs of the viceroys and members of the Privy Council in the times during which it was in official use. The contents are specially valuable as exhibiting the internal arrangements under which the English Government in Ireland was carried on towards the middle of the sixteenth century. It contains, among various other matters, many details of the relations of the Governmental administrators at Dublin with the Anglo-Irish of the Pale and with the chiefs of important native clans in Ulster and elsewhere. This manuscript having been long in private custody was unknown to writers on the history of Great Britain and Ireland in the years to which it belongs. Mr. Gilbert's report on its contents, now nearly ready for the press, will furnish new and authentic matter in relation to important persons and transactions in the second half of the sixteenth century.

B. R. T. Balfour, Esq.—Through the renewed liberality of Mr. Balfour, of Townley Hall, Drogheda, another important manuscript has been placed at the disposal of the Commission. It has been identified by Mr. Gilbert as a long missing volume which more than 250 years ago belonged to Sir James Ware, the eminent historiographer. After Ware's death it passed successively into the collections of the Earl of Clarendon and the Duke of Chandos. This manuscript contains, with other writings, a history of the Geraldines of Munster by Thomas Russell—a work hitherto supposed to have been lost. In the volume are also various transcripts in the hand of Sir James Ware from manuscripts not now known to exist. A report on this volume and its contents will, we hope, appear at an early date.

Among the reports in progress on Irish collections may be mentioned those on the manuscripts of the Duke of Leinster, the Marquess of Drogheda, the Earl of Fingal, Lord Emly, Lord Upper Ossory, and Colonel Fitzpatrick, the Right Hon. the O'Conor

Don, the Honourable Society of King's Inns, Dublin, the Rinuccini Memoirs, and documents of the Kilkenny municipality. So soon as the arrangements of Your Commissioners will permit, Mr. Gilbert hopes to proceed also with reports on the following important collections:—Manuscripts of the Earl of Meath; registers of the primates of Ireland; correspondence during the war in Ireland, 1689–1691; the private memoranda and correspondence of Earl Harcourt, Viceroy in Ireland 1772 to 1777; and documents connected with Connaught from the thirteenth to the sixteenth century.

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J. J. CARTWRIGHT,
Secretary.

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